15th ICTA

International Congress of Turkish Art
Uluslararası Türk Sanatları Kongresi
Congresso Internazionale di Arte Turca

Proceedings

Editors

MICHELE BERNARDINI, ALESSANDRO TADDEI

with the collaboration of MICHAEL DOUGLAS SHERIDAN

Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Republic of Turkey
Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı

Ankara
2018

15th International Congress
of Turkish Art

Naples, Università di Napoli "L'Orientale"

16-18 September 2015

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In memoriam of Professor Ernst Grube

MEHMET NURİ ERSOY
Kültür ve Turizm Bakanı

Türkler ve İtalyanlar paydaş oldukları Akdeniz havzası içinde ortak coğrafi konumlarının doğal bir neticesi olarak yüzyıllar boyunca çeşitli vesilelerle ilişki kurmuşlardır. Kökleri Türklerin Anadolu'yu yurt edinmeye başladıkları XI. yüzyıla dayanan ticari, askerî ve siyasi bağlarla gelişerek günümüze kadar uzanan bu tarihî sürecin en çarpıcı evresi, hiç şüphesiz XV. yüzyılda Fatih Sultan Mehmed döneminde yaşanmıştır. Tarihin akışını değiştiren nadir hükümdarlardan olan sultanın yönetiminde kurulan ilişkiler neticesinde oluşan kültürel etkileşimin dönemin Osmanlı ve İtalyan sanatçılarının eserlerinde hayat bulması elbette tesadüfi değildir. Bu etkileşimin kanıtı ve aynı zamanda iki yönlü birer yansıması niteliğindeki Fatih'in Şiblîzâde Ahmed Çelebi'ye atfedilen tasviri ile Bellini'nin meşhur portresi bugün insanlığın ortak mirası olarak muhafaza edilmektedir.

İki büyük medeniyet arasında kurulan güçlü siyasi ve kültürel bağlar çerçevesinde derinleşen bu dostluğun tarihi süreç içinde daha nice izlerini bulmak mümkündür. Bilhassa içinden geçmekte olduğumuz süreçte bu ilişkilerin evrensel ölçütlere uygun olarak bilim insanları tarafından keşfedilmesi, çalışılması, değerlendirilmesi ve anlamlandırılması günümüze tutacağı ışık bakımından ayrı bir önem taşımaktadır.

Başladığı 1959 yılından bugüne dört yılda bir, ara verilmeksizin düzenlenen, sürekliliği, katılım niteliği ve bilimsel değerlendirme kriterleriyle ülkemizin kültür ve sanat tarihi alanında uluslararası düzeyde kabul görmüş en saygın etkinliklerinden biri olan Uluslararası Türk Sanatları Kongresi'nin 15.'sinin Napoli'de Şarkiyat, Türkiyat ve Orta Doğu alanında dünyanın en önemli akademik kurumlarından biri olan Napoli L'Orientale Üniversitesi ev sahipliğinde gerçekleştirilmiş olması anlamlı bir buluşmaya işaret etmektedir.

Türk sanatlarının dünyaya tanıtılmasında büyük önem taşıyan Uluslararası Türk Sanatları Kongresi; ilk kez 1959 yılında 19-24 Eylül tarihleri arasında Ankara'da "Milletlerarası Birinci Türk Sanatları Kongresi" adıyla dönemin Ankara Üniversitesi Rektörü, Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Türk ve İslam Sanatları Enstitüsü Müdürü, İlahiyat Fakültesi İslam Sanatları Ordinaryüs Profesörü Suut Kemal Yetkin'in yönetiminde, müdürü olduğu enstitünün bir etkinliği olarak yapılmıştır. Başlangıcından itibaren Türkiye ve Türkiye dışından çok önemli bilim insanları, kültür ve sanat kurum ve kuruluşlarının yöneticileri; tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanan bir yaklaşımla gerek sundukları tebliğler gerekse üstlendikleri komite üyeliği görevleriyle Kongre'nin devamlılığına ve saygınlığına büyük katkı sağlamışlardır.

Birincisinden itibaren akademik çevrelerde gördüğü alaka ve kazandığı saygınlık Türk kültürü ve sanatını konu alan Uluslararası Türk Sanatları Kongresi'nin düzenlenme gerekliliğini, üstlendiği ve yerine getirmekte olduğu görevin önemini kanıtlamaktadır.

15. Kongre'de de uluslararası katılım zenginliği sevindirici ölçüdedir. Üç gün boyunca üç ayrı salonda gerçekleşen oturumlarda Hırvatistan, Yunanistan, İtalya, İspanya, Almanya, İngiltere, ABD, Ukrayna, Fransa, Japonya ve Macaristan'dan bilim insanları ve araştırmacılar bildirileriyle katılım sağlamışlardır.

Öte yandan Türkiye'nin farklı bölgelerindeki devlet ve vakıf üniversitelerinin sanat tarihi, mimarlık tarihi ve güzel sanatlar bölümlerinden akademisyenler ile devlet ve özel müzelerden araştırmacılar tebliğlerini sunmuşlardır.

Uluslararası Türk Sanatları Kongresi'nin en değerli bilimsel katkılardan biri de Kongre'de sunulan bildirilerin yer aldığı kitaplardır. Bugün bir külliyata dönüşmüş olan Kongre bildiri kitapları Türk sanatı alanında çalışan araştırmacılar ve akademisyenler için çok önemli başvuru kaynakları niteliğindedir. 15. Uluslararası Türk Sanatları Kongresi'nde sunulan ve Yayın Kurulu'nun bilimsel kıstaslara göre değerlendirerek seçtiği altmış bildiriyi içeren

elinizdeki bu kitap, Kongre'nin saygınlığına ve akademik niteliğine uygun bir özenle hazırlanmıştır.

15. Uluslararası Türk Sanatları Kongresi'nin dört yıla yayılan hazırlık döneminin ve organizasyonunun başarıyla gerçekleşmesini zarif ve içtenlikli konukseverlikleriyle sağlayan İtalyan (Yerel) Organizasyon Komitesi Başkanı Prof. Dr. Michele Bernardini ve tüm yerel organizasyon komitesi üyelerine; bilimsellikten taviz vermeksizin kıymetli zamanlarını Kongre çalışmalarına ayıran başta Uluslararası Türk Sanatları Kongresi Başkanı Prof. Dr. François Déroche ve Ulusal Komite Başkanı Prof. Dr. Zeren Tanındı olmak üzere Kongre'nin bilimsel komitelerinin üyelerine; bildiri sunan katılımcılara; Kongre çalışmalarında emeği geçen Bakanlığımız Güzel Sanatlar Genel Müdürlüğü çalışanlarına teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

<center>***</center>

For centuries, the Turks and the Italians have both had a stake in the Mediterranean basin, and as a result of this shared geography it is only natural that on numerous occasions they have established relations with one another in a variety of ways and to a variety of ends. The roots of these commercial, military, and political ties go all the way back to the 11th century, when the Turks first began to settle in Anatolia, but the most striking phase of the Turkish-Italian relationship was undoubtedly that which occurred in the 15th century under Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror, one of those rare rulers who irrevocably changed the course of history. It is hardly a coincidence that the relations built during Mehmed's rule led to a period of cultural interaction that left powerful traces in the works of both Ottoman and Italian artists. One proof of, and indeed a double-sided reflection of, this interaction are the contemporaneous portraits of Sultan Mehmed produced by the Ottoman artist Şiblîzâde Ahmed Çelebi and the Italian artist Gentile Bellini, each of which today serves as a shared and tangible example of the human heritage bequeathed to the world during this era.

The ever strengthening political and cultural ties between these two great civilizations left many more traces over the course of history. And indeed, in our current era, it is particularly significant that the depth of these relations is being continually discovered, studied, evaluated, and interpreted in line with universal criteria and in such a way as to shed light on our own times.

Given the long historical context of Turkish-Italian relations, it is especially important that the 15th International Congress of Turkish Art was hosted by the University of Naples "L'Orientale," one of the world's finest academic institutions in the field of Oriental, Middle Eastern, and Turkish studies. The Congress has been held every four years since 1959, and owing to its continuity, consistent quality, and scholarly approach it has become one of the most highly respected international academic events focused on the culture and art of Turkey and one of the key elements in making Turkish art known to the wider world.

The first Congress was held in Ankara between September 19 and 24, 1959. It was organized by Suut Kemal Yetkin, who was the Rector of Ankara University, Director of the Ankara University School of Divinity's Institute of Turkish and Islamic Art, and Professor Ordinarius of Islamic Art in the same school. Originally held under the auspices of the university's Institute of Turkish and Islamic Art, since its commencement the Congress has steadily made increasingly invaluable contributions to the field both within Turkey and abroad through the voluntary participation of important scholars and cultural and artistic institutions and establishments. These contributions have come in the form of both presentations and duties performed by members of the Congress committee, which have ensured the Congress' durability and high esteem. The intense scholarly interest that has been shown in the Congress ever since the very first one was held may itself serve as proof that the Congress, with its singular focus on Turkish culture and art, has succeeded in the duties that it

has aimed to perform, as well as indicating the vital necessity of an academic event of the Congress' caliber.

The 15th International Congress of Turkish Art in Naples proved extraordinarily rich in terms of participation. Over the course of three days and across three separate meeting halls, the Congress hosted the contributions of scholars and researchers from Croatia, Greece, Italy, Spain, Germany, Great Britain, the United States of America, Ukraine, France, Japan, and Hungary. At the same time, Turkey itself was represented through the contributions of academicians working at public and private universities in the fields of art history, the history of architecture, and the fine arts, as well as by researchers based in state and private museums.

Apart from the many presentations held at the International Congress of Turkish Art over the years, another of the Congress' most valuable scholarly contributions has been the conference proceedings that it has published. These have become a true corpus in the field of Turkish art, and have come to serve as crucial reference works for scholars and researchers working in this field. The book that you now hold contains 60 of the presentations given at the 15th International Congress of Turkish Art, chosen by the Board of Publication according to rigorous academic criteria and prepared with great care so as to accord with the Congress' esteemed reputation for scholarship.

I would like to extend my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Michele Bernardini, the Chair of the Italian National Committee, as well as to all the members of the Italian National Committee, whose gracious and sincere hospitality was instrumental in allowing the four years of preparatory work for the 15th International Congress of Turkish Art to result in the great success that it finally achieved. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. François Déroche, the President of the International Congress of Turkish Art; Prof. Dr. Zeren Tanındı, the Chair of the Turkish National Committee; and all the members of the Turkish National Committee, for setting aside much of their valuable time in order to work on the Congress and help to maintain its rigorous academic standards. Finally, I wish to extend my gratitude not only to all those who presented at the Congress, but also to all those at the Directorate General for the Fine Arts in the Ministry of Culture and Tourism who contributed to the Congress.

Mehmet Nuri Ersoy
Republic of Turkey, Minister of Culture and Tourism

INTRODUCTION

FRANÇOIS DÉROCHE
President of the ICTA

Is it necessary to give a reason for organizing an International Congress of Turkish Art in Naples? The long history of relations between Italy and the Ottoman Empire would fully justify it. This was actually the reason why, in 1963 already, the founders of these congresses had decided to hold the second ICTA in Venice, on the shores of the Adriatic Sea. Half a century later, the 15th ICTA has been held on the shores of the Tyrrhenian Sea, where for three days, from September 16 to 18, 2015, more than 130 participants gathered in Naples to present the results of their researches.

Art historians could not fail to be touched by the exceptional setting of this beautiful city, the more so since the organizers had selected to welcome them exceptional places in the heart of the city and close to the Mediterranean Sea. How could we not keep a fond memory of the inaugural session, under the impressive vaults of the Basilica of San Giovanni Maggiore, just a stone's throw from the premises of the L'Orientale University which hosted the congress? The more recent buildings where the sessions were held during the three days were nonetheless historic buildings: the Palazzo Du Mesnil of the L'Orientale University and the National Library of Naples. The head of the latter was not satisfied with having put at the disposal of the congress a room for the sessions; he had also organized an exhibition, *La conoscenza del mondo islamico a Napoli (XV-XIX secolo) / The Islamic World through Neapolitan Eyes (Fifteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)*, where many manuscripts from the library's collections could be admired by the participants. And when the day ended, they could also enjoy the charms of the Parthenopean City, thanks to the organizers' care.

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey and the Turkish Embassy in Italy played a leading role in organizing the 15th Congress. It is my pleasure to thank His Excellency Ambassador Aydın Adnan Sezgin and Drs. Murat Salim Tokaç and Nihat Değirmenci, the General Director and Deputy-General Director of the General Directorate of Fine Arts at the Ministry of Tourism and Culture. As has been the case since the 10th congress held in Geneva in 1995, the Max van Berchem Foundation (Geneva) has made available to the organizing committee scholarships that have allowed young researchers to participate in this congress and thus contributed to making the Ottoman art more widely known.

In Naples itself, the 15th Congress was fortunate to rely on many supports: the Municipality of Naples was represented at the opening ceremony, but it was mainly the University of Naples "L'Orientale" that was committed with determination to prepare this important scientific event. On behalf of all the participants, I would like to thank the Rector, Prof. Elda Morlicchio, as well as the organizing committee, Dr. Luca Berardi, Dr. Lea Nocera and Dr. Alessandro Taddei for their commitment to this endeavor and for the work they have done. I will not forget the University students who accompanied us during these three days - but were active well before the participants arrived. But our debt is above all with Prof. Michele Bernardini who accepted to take charge of the project and who, without ever departing from his good humor, brought it to a successful conclusion: I express here the deep gratitude of all participants to him and mine in particular for giving us the best reason to have had this congress in Naples.

François Déroche
President of the ICTA

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The Inaugural Session of the 15th ICTA in the Basilica of San Giovanni Maggiore,
Naples 15th September 2015

PREFACE

In 2012, during a colloquium held in Naples at the University of Naples "L'Orientale" (Codex and Text, December 6-7), a group of scholars-members of the scientific committee of the International Congress of Turkish Art (ICTA) – suggested for the first time the idea of holding a congress in Naples, which would become the 15th ICTA. The proposal was warmly welcomed, and an Italian committee was soon created. The committee was directed by Michele Bernardini and made up of Luca Berardi, Lea Nocera, and Alessandro Taddei. With the warm support of the Rector of the University of Naples "L'Orientale", Prof. Elda Morlicchio and the Director of the Asia, Africa and Mediterranean Department, Prof. Roberto Tottoli, the committee began to organise the enterprise, which involved various institutions and sponsors both in Italy and abroad. During this first phase, we had an initial series of meetings in Istanbul with the help of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı*), and in the meantime the Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Italy contacted us regarding the first steps of the event's organisation. In this connection, a substantial role was played by H.E. the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Italy, Aydın Adnan Sezgin, who spent a great deal of his time, together with various executives, facilitating the organisation of the event and helping us in the creation of a budget. We are also particularly grateful to the General Directorate of Fine Arts, the General Director of Fine Arts Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat Salim Tokaç, and the Deputy Director-General Nihat for their great help. Further assistance was provided by the President of the International Committee of the ICTA, Prof. François Déroche, who not only gave input in terms of his institutional role, but also as a promoter of the previous ICTA conference in Paris (September 19-21, 2011), which had been coordinated by Frédéric Hitzel.

Another series of meetings was organized with the National Library of Naples "Vittorio Emanuele III", where we obtained substantial support from the director of the institution, Dr. Vera Valitutto; from the director of the library's manuscript section, Emilia Ambra, and from Mariolina Rascaglia; and Dr. Vincenzo Boni, experts in the library's manuscript section. At these meetings, we agreed to hold an exposition in the National Library simultaneously with the congress, with a catalogue edited by Luca Berardi and entitled *La conoscenza del mondo islamico a Napoli (XV-XIX secolo) / The Islamic World through Neapolitan Eyes (Fifteenth-Nineteenth Centuries)* (Naples, September 15-26, 2015).

The preparations for the congress involved various other institutions whose support of the project was enthusiastic from the very beginning. Among these institutions were the Bruschettini Foundation for Islamic and Asiatic Art; the Turkish Culture and Tourism Office in Italy; the Yunus Emre Institute in Italy; Turkish Airlines; the Istituto per l'Oriente C.A. Nallino in Rome; the City Council of Naples; the Fondation Max van Berchem; and the Museo Umberto Scerrato of the University of Naples "L'Orientale".

After a first meeting in Istanbul focused on preparations for the congress, we sent out the first circular on July 1, 2014. In the circular, we underlined the main topics according to which participants could shape their contributions, subdivided into three main categories: Turkish Arts and Aesthetics; Italy and the Turkish World: Interactions; and Archaeology and Excavations. The circular was sent to various associations and institutions, as well as individual scholars and research groups. The result was a large number of applications – more than three hundred all together – with the International Organizing Committee deciding on the choice of papers to be given on the basis of the abstracts submitted. The adjudication utilized the blind evaluation method. In the end, 129 papers were accepted. Finally, after the issuance of a second, third, and fourth circular devoted to technical and logistic matters, the programme was ready.

The plenary session was held in the monumental site of the Basilica di San Giovanni Maggiore in Naples on Wednesday September 16, 2015, in the presence of H.E. the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Italy, Aydın Adnan Sezgin; the Rector of the University of Naples "L'Orientale", Prof. Elda Morlicchio; the President of the ICTA, Prof. François Déroche; and the organizer of the 14th ICTA in Paris, Prof. Frédéric Hitzel, who, with various other institutional figures, introduced the congress.

In the following days, three parallel sessions were held in three locations: two different halls of the Rectorate of the University of Naples "L'Orientale", along with the National Library of Naples "Vittorio Emanuele III". As a particular feature of this congress, we can note the great variety of contributions touching upon the topics of Ottoman art and architecture, interactions between Italy and Turkey, archaeology, numismatics and epigraphy, the decorative arts, the art of the book, music, contemporary art in Turkey, collections and collectors, devotional religious architecture, rugs and textiles, Ottoman art in the Balkans, and ceramics and Ottoman art. A large space was used for discussions, which were wide ranging and highly insightful. The majority of chairpersons were selected from among both the members of the scientific committee and various eminent colleagues in the academic milieux of Naples and other Italian universities.

The end result was a highly satisfactory exchange of ideas and future projects. During the course of the conference, we decided to produce the transactions of the congress, and thus, soon after the congress' close, we began to plan a volume to feature a selection of the very best contributions. With this aim in mind, we sent out a further circular detailing the rules for the submission of papers. Then, following a further meeting in Istanbul in November 2016, and again using the blind evaluation method, the scientific committee selected the 70 papers that are now published in the volume. The editing work began immediately afterward with the collaboration of various friends and colleagues, first of all Dr. Michael Douglas Sheridan, who exerted a great effort in the editing of the English texts, and Prof. Serpil Bağcı, who furnished a further reading and helped us with the Turkish abstracts of the non-Turkish contributions.

The editing included various choices. Firstly, a large format was decided upon, thus providing continuity with publications of the previous ICTAs (a list of which is included at the end of this preface). Each text includes colour illustrations (with a maximum of 12, at the end of each article), maps, tables and notes. Bibliographies were done according to the Harvard system of quotation, with a few changes. We adopted a double system of transliteration, especially for texts dealing with Ottoman art, in which we used the Turkish alphabet with reference to the Perso-Arabic script used for Ottoman Turkish. A Turkish abstract was added at the end of all the texts, along with a short biographical notice.

A particularly noteworthy feature of this congress was, and is, the presence of various young scholars presenting research produced in universities in Turkey, Europe, or the Americas. These younger scholars were provided with financial support by the Fondation Max van Berchem of Geneva. These papers reveal the great vitality animating current studies in the field of Turkish art, and give a good idea of the various new research fields being explored.

For the University of Naples "L'Orientale", this congress also represented the occasion for a relaunch of our tradition of Turkish studies in Italy. Founded in 1732 as the Collegio dei Cinesi and later transformed into the Istituto Orientale di Napoli and finally the Università di Napoli "L'Orientale", the hosting institution has a long tradition of teaching in the area of Turkish Language and Literature, beginning with the towering figures of Luigi Bonelli (1885-1947), Alessio Bombaci (1914-1979) and Aldo Gallotta (1941-1997). For this reason, this further occasion to promote Turkish history and art represented for us a crucial moment in our own tradition and studies.

So many people need to be thanked for their help and the amount of time they spent in organising the congress, as well as for the effort they exerted in making these proceedings a reality, that it is unfortunately impossible to list them all. Nevertheless, we must mention here the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey which had a crucial role in the realization of the Congress and for the publication of the proceedings; the scientific committee of the ICTA, who put forth a great effort in the evaluation of the papers; H.E. the (former) Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey in Italy, Aydın Adnan Sezgin, without whom realisation of any aspect of the project would have been impossible; and finally the Rector of "L'Orientale", Prof. Elda Morlicchio, who put all her effort into helping us produce the good result that, it is hoped, is finally achieved with the publication of this volume.

The editing of the English text was made possible by Eleanor Sims, in celebration of the life and the Italian career of her late husband, Ernst J. Grube. Professor Grube deeply loved Turkey and his many Turkish colleagues: he had attended the very first International Congress of Turkish art in Ankara, in 1959; early in his Italian career, he taught the history of Islamic art at the Orientale in Naples; and at his death in 2011, he was an Italian citizen.

Michele Bernardini & Alessandro Taddei   Naples, September 8, 2018

List of the International Congresses of Turkish Art

1st International Congress of Turkish Art, Ankara (1959), Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat
    Fakültesi Türk ve İslam Sanatları Tarihi Enstitüsü;
2nd International Congress of Turkish Art, Venice (1963), Fondazione Cini;
3rd International Congress of Turkish Art, Cambridge (1967) Cambridge University, Jesus
    College;
4th International Congress of Turkish Art, Aix-en-Provence (1971),Université de Provence;
5th International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest (1975), Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum;
6th International Congress of Turkish Art, München (1979), Ludwig-Maximilians Universität;
7th International Congress of Turkish Art, Warsaw (1983), Uniwersytet Warszawski;
8th International Congress of Turkish Art, Cairo (1987), Wazārat al-Thaqāfa;
9th International Congress of Turkish Art, Istanbul (1991), İstanbul Üniversitesi;
10th International Congress of Turkish Art, Geneva (1995), Université de Genève;
11th International Congress of Turkish Art, Utrecht (1999), Universiteit Utrecht;
12th International Congress of Turkish Art, Amman (2003), al-Jāmiʻa al-Urduniyya;
13th International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest (2007), Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum;
14th International Congress of Turkish Art, Paris (2011); Collège de France;
15th International Congress of Turkish Art, Naples (2015); Università di Napoli "L'Orientale".

ARTICLES

MATERIALS OF EUROPEAN ORIGIN IN OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION: THE ITALIAN TILES OF TOPKAPI PALACE*

Hatice Adıgüzel
İstanbul Üniversitesi

When we consider 18th-century Ottoman architecture in general, we can see that tile decoration was used less as compared to previous centuries. One of the main reasons for this, certainly, is the fact that local production began to lessen gradually beginning at the end of the 17th century. Another important reason was the introduction of different decorative styles based on the conception of "Westernization". The European trends in architecture observed in this period overshadowed tiles in interior decoration, and *kalemişi* paintings of Baroque/Rococo style or murals started to be favoured instead. However, tile decoration maintained its presence in many buildings. The main production centre of Ottoman tile-making in the 18th century was Kütahya. The Tekfur Palace workshops, which were founded in the first half of the century, joined the production arena for a short period of time, and tile usage in construction and restoration works in this period was met mostly by the production in these two centres. After the Tekfur Palace workshops were closed down, Kütahya was almost the only centre remaining. What is more, from that period onwards, the tiles produced in Europe were favoured in Ottoman regions distant from the centre, especially North Africa, as well as in the capital of Istanbul.

In this article, I trace the tiles of Italian production among the tiles of European origin that were imported to Istanbul during the Ottoman era, especially in Topkapı Palace. The studies conducted in this area are based on the views of tile history experts in different countries in Europe as well as in Italy, together with studies conducted in museum collections and libraries, mainly in Italy.[1] The documents found in archives and archeological data obtained has supported my claims. Thus, based on a certain number of tiles, the article identifies such features as the production centre, period, workshop, technique, and data, and indicates the means of transportation to Istanbul and the resulting interaction there.

The European tiles in Topkapı Palace served as the subject matter of my Ph.D. dissertation, completed in 2014. In the evaluations I made of the samples both *in situ* on buildings and those kept in the storehouses of the palace, I have found products from Italy, Holland, Spain, France and England. Moreover, there are some samples which, though apparently of European production, cannot be traced to a certain centre. Among these, Italian and Dutch products are more common as compared to others in terms of the design varieties involved. The European tiles which can be seen *in situ* are found largely in various parts of the palace's harem section, in addition to several other buildings. During my research, I obtained permission from the administration of the Topkapı Palace Museum to work only in the parts that are open to visitors. Therefore, it was generally only there that I was able to work to identify the *in situ* samples.

For the European tiles in the palace storehouses, I utilised the Topkapı Palace Wall Tiles Digital Database Project, which was directed by Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu with permission from

the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.[2] As introduced by Yenişehirlioğlu at the 14th International Congress of Turkish Art, this project aims to digitally record certain data – such as the description, techniques, sizes, photographs, and quantities – from different centres and periods, ranging from the Ottoman period to the present, for the tiles that have been collected from various parts of the palace and preserved in stores, and thus to provide easy access to them (Yenişehirlioğlu-Kocaaslan 2008: 295; Yenişehirlioğlu 2013). The largest part of the project has already been done, and hopefully it will be completed in the near future. Therefore, the European tiles in the stores which I have evaluated are limited to those already transferred to the database.

Most of the tiles of European origin that arrived in Istanbul during the Ottoman period are located in Topkapı Palace. Yet the fact that there are tiles from the same period in different buildings in Istanbul and the majority of them are similar or identical to the ones in Topkapı Palace indicates that there were common commissioners and common stocks. Topkapı Palace, like a tile museum, served as a resource for buildings constructed or restored by the state, even after the dynasty moved to the Bosphorus and its environs from the 18th century onwards. Since early times, it has been a tradition to preserve construction materials like tiles, which can be re-used when buildings are renovated. For instance, an archival document from 1738, during the reign of Mahmud I, indicates that some of the tiles were removed from Edirne Palace and taken to Istanbul to be used again (Ahmet Refik 1932: 52–3; Ahmet Refik 1988:139). Moreover, as pointed out by Yenişehirlioğlu, traces of plaster behind some tiles in the stores of the palace indicate that they had been used once or many times previously. The fact that there are tiles dating to the 16th to 20th centuries in the stores is a result of circulation over the centuries (Yenişehirlioğlu 2013: 14).

When we consider the intensive use of Italian tiles among the tiles of European origin, we can observe that they were not as favoured as the blue-white Dutch tiles. Dutch tiles were preferred in departments directly related to the sultan, such as the Imperial Hall, the Kiosk of Osman III, the Chamber of Abdülhamid I, the Mabeyn Kiosk, and the Chamber of Selim III. The use of Italian tiles was secondary as compared to these, and can be observed more in such sections as the entrance of the Valide Sultan Apartment (Fig. 1) and the staircase of the Darüssaade Ağası Apartment (Fig. 2), or inside the windows, or in wardrobes, as is seen in the Bath of the Valide Sultan (Fig. 3) and concubines' quarters, where they served mainly in a functional manner, to fill in gaps or for hygienic purposes. The reason for this could be that they were considered of lower quality as compared to the blue-white Dutch tiles, based on appearance.

History and Production

The use of glazed tiles in architectural decoration in Italy was limited as compared to Islamic countries. Until the Renaissance, floors were covered with stone and marble, while walls were generally decorated with frescoes or mosaics. In time, the use of glazed tiles began based on commercial ties with Eastern countries and relations with Spain. When Naples began to be ruled by Spain in 1442, Valencian tiles started to reach Italy, and within a very short period of time local artisans were being influenced by these products. Italian tin glazed tiles and ceramics started to be called *maiolica* during this period (Lane 1960: 46, 48; Berendsen 1967: 75–6). Italian artisans of the 16th century brought together Byzantine, Gothic, Islamic, and Spanish influences and introduced the humanist approach into this synthesis, and this influenced production in other important countries in Europe, such as France, the Flemish region,

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[2] I would like to extend my thanks to Prof. Dr. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu for her contribution in this respect. I would also like to thank Topkapı Palace experts Dr. Selda Kalfazade and Dr. Canan Cimilli for their kind attention and understanding during my research.

Germany, and Austria. In addition to certain products that were exported, some artisans migrated to these countries and started to produce tin glazed tiles and ceramics under Italian influence combined with the local features in each country (Pica 1969: 40; Riley 1987: 51).

In the 18th century, together with the Baroque and Rococo styles, the use of tiles on walls became more common as a way of making architecture more colourful and vibrant. Naples and its environs became the most important site of production for Italian wall and floor tiles in this period (Pica 1969: 56; Donatone 1997: 58). In the 19th century, the tile and ceramic industry in Naples began to evidence certain well-established features. The *Scuola di Arti e Mestieri*, which was opened under the King of Naples, Joachim-Napoléon Murat, and the annual expositions organized by the French government supported various crafts and helped to increase production: an increase in the number of workshops opened in the region can be observed towards the middle of the century. According to a record from 1807, there were 47 tile companies and 25 ceramic companies. In a census from 1845, the number of companies producing tiles or ceramic products was 161 (Donatone 1997: 107–10; Colonnesi 1986: 18).

In the 18th century, the products of some of the workshops in Naples were sold in Sicilian markets. This importation led to production under Neapolitan influence in Sicily. Despite great similarities, however, these products could not match the quality of the tiles made in Naples, either in terms of technique and or of decoration (Reginella 1995: 11, 13, 19, 21).

Based on the data above, when we consider the tiles in the Topkapı Palace collection that are attributed to Italy, we can state that they are from a period ranging from the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th century. The technical and stylistic details of many of the products represent Naples and its environs. However, as designs of similar style were produced in Sicily as well, it is difficult to clarify whether certain examples are products of Naples or Sicily. We can trace the workshops of only a very few products. The tile industry of Naples in the 18th century was shaped by the enterprise and production of family workshops. The Giustiniani, who were dominant in this region from the end of the 17th century, and the Massa, Chiaiese, Barberio, and Attanasio, who joined the trade in the 18th century, were the most influential workshops in Naples. Among these, the Massa workshop in particular worked with contemporary architects of the period to produce a rich tile heritage. The tiles at the San Chiara Monastery in Naples are among the most striking products of this workshop (for detailed information about these workshops, see Donatone 1981; Donatone 1997; Borrelli 1982). According to the tile expert Colonnesi, some of the products in Topkapı Palace are similar to the style of the Massa workshops, though this is not certain. However, it is difficult to identify them with any certainty, since stamps were not used in the region's production in the 18th century. Based on a decree that came into force in Naples in 1825, it became obligatory to mark each product with the workshop stamp. Because of this decree, which aimed to prove that products were made in the kingdom and to ensure that Naples productions would not be confused with the goods of other regions, as well as to prevent free movement at customs, it is easy to trace the tiles of the 19th-century workshops (Donatone 1997: 111; Colonnesi 1986: 18).

For this study, I observed three tiles located in the palace stores with stamps on the back. One of these is in an oval cartridge decorated with curves, which reads in three lines "Guido Mariano, Napoli". The first line of the inscription is indistinct. The second line is partially legible (Fig. 7a–b). Yet the complete form of the stamp was observed on the back of tiles of different designs in the private collections of Santo Campanella (Fig. 7c) and Carlo Dell'Aquila. The stamp belongs to the Marino Guida e Fratelli workshop, which was active in Naples at the end of the 19th century (Sinagra 1995: 46, 50, 85, 100; Dell'Aquila 2000: 90). It is clear, then, that some of the products of this workshop reached the Ottoman palace.

The other two stamps belong to different workshops, and they were observed on the back of tiles of identical design. One of the stamps has the inscription "Ricciardi Benincasa No 10" in an oval medal (Fig. 7d–e). This stamp belongs to the Carlo e Luigi Ricciardi workshop,

which produced tiles in Naples in the 19th century (Fig. 7f). Another tile of the same stamp and design is found in Sicily/Ragusa, in the Cecilia Tumino collection (Sinagra 1995: 46, 55,103; Dell'Aquila 2000: 60, 91). In the palace collection, on the back side of another tile of the same design is a stamp consisting of the letters *FR* (Fig. 7g–h). A tile currently in the private collection of Carlo Dell'Aquila, which is known to have belonged to S. Lorenzo Church in the Laterza region of Taranto province, has the same stamp (Fig. 7i) (Dell'Aquila 2000: 50,76, 109). I was unable to obtain detailed information about the workshop represented by this stamp consisting of two letters. Together, these three samples can certainly be dated to the period after the stamp decree introduced in Naples in 1825. The fact that the colour pink is used in the decoration justifies this opinion, because pink started to be used in Neapolitan tile-making after the introduction of industrial production methods based on British influence.

Technique

Chemical analyses to identify the technical features of the tiles of Italian origin in Topkapı Palace have not yet been conducted. After analysis, it will be possible to supply more concrete data about the paste and glazing of the tiles evaluated. However, it is possible to make a general evaluation of technical features, such as designing methods, the rough paste and glaze structures, colours, and their sizes, as well as how these changed by region and over time.

In all the tiles, the decorative method is tin glazed earthenware, which is the main decorative technique used in the history of European tile making. In this technique, after the tile surface has been shaped, glaze is applied, which is then turned opaque white by the addition of tin. When this glaze is not quite dry, designs are made using dye. During the firing process at the kiln, the dye penetrates into the glaze and is vitrified. In fact, the infrastructure of this technique is based on the lusterware (*lüster*) method used in early Islamic tile-making. Lusterware spread to Spain through the Umayyad conquest, and then to other European countries, Italy in particular (Lane 1960: 47; Berendsen 1967: 75-76; Öney 1987: 15, 131; Lemmen 1993: 42). In time, some countries improved on this technique according to their own technological capacity, and decorations differed through the contribution of regional and periodic styles.

The fact that tile is generally used in floors in European architecture limited the use of lusterware, which was not very suitable for flooring because it wears easily. As such, Spanish artisans from the 15th century onwards generally chose to produce decorated tiles in cobalt blue on an opaque white surface. The smooth surface introduced by the opaque white base granted to Renaissance artisans the chance to use tile and ceramic surfaces as a canvas. Thus, Italians, utilizing developing painting techniques, became the creators of *maiolica* ware featuring very colourful designs. In the 17th century, the Dutch became the creators of a blue-white style influenced by Chinese porcelains, thus differentiating themselves from the Spanish and Italians. They basically adopted a tin glazed decorative conception, following the changes that had been experienced in terms of application technique, materials, and form. The same technique served as the basis of the products called *faïence* by the French. All these developments ended with the introduction of serial production via transfer printing, which was developed in England, along with subsequent methods. Finally, in the second half of the 19th century, under the influence of England, machines replaced traditional tile-making methods in all over Europe (Fig. 8) (for publications which evaluate tile history in a comparative manner among the predominant European countries, see Lane 1960; Berendsen 1967; Riley 1987, Lemmen 1993).

The pastes of the tiles in the palace collection, like Italian products of the time, are of a red colour sometimes approaching pink. In general, one edge of a tile ranges between 20 and 21.5

cm, while the thicknesses are between 1.7 and 2.6 cm. The sizes of the tiles dated to the 19th century are somewhat smaller. Among the products evaluated are some that feature border tile designs as well. However, most of these have the same size as the square tiles (Fig. 6).

When we analyze the colours, we observe that they differ according to centuries and centres. In general, opaque white is used as the background colour. The outlines of the designs are made with manganese purple that sometimes approaches shades of black. The most common colours in the products of the 18th century are yellow, blue and green; sometimes a light manganese purple is used as well (Fig. 4-6). The shades of colour in the 19th century start to change due to chemical alterations. In some products, under the influence of England and after industrial production methods began to be used in Italy, pink started to be used. In this period, the use of outlines becomes less frequent (Fig. 7). In addition to these general features, there are different types of samples. For instance, in one design only the colour blue is used (Fig. 5i), whereas in Italian products of the late period it is not common to use only one colour. Such designs may have been produced especially for the Ottoman palace.

Composition, Style and Motifs

We can divide the schemes of composition used in designing into three main groups. One of these is the scheme in which the entire design is contained in a single tile. The second is that in which the main subject is contained in one tile yet connects to other tiles via corner or side motifs and interim motifs (Fig. 5i). The third scheme represents extensions that spread into wide areas, which require at least nine tiles for a full realization of the design. Most of the samples evaluated belong to this last group. The composition schemes of border tiles are in two types. In one of these, the border tile has motifs that can be extended only on one side, and the design is completed across two tiles (Fig. 6a, c). In the second scheme, there are half motifs on both corners, and the design can continue by combining tiles of the same design (Fig. 6b,d).

In terms of style, Baroque/Rococo and neoclassical features are dominant. In the tile-making of the Italian Campania region, which covers the ancient cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, neoclassical compositions and motifs were common from the middle of the 18th century. The decorative motifs of those found in excavations in the region also formed the subject of tiles (Donatone 2002: 37).

We can trace these features in the products found in Topkapı Palace. When we consider the motifs in general, we see that interwoven floral and geometrical motifs are widely used. Acanthuses, palmettes, and flowers in rosette-shaped folded leaves are located in the spaces of the circular, lobed, or angular frames. Stars are also a favoured motif in the Italian tiles of this period. These motifs, which are designed in two layers and provide a three-dimensional impression through making the points different colours, are called "wind stars" (Fig. 1). Another interesting motif that parallels the neoclassical style is ivy interwoven into a circle, which is very common in Italian tile art. It is possible to observe similar motifs in the ceramics of the period as well (See Donatone 1968: tav. 33b; Donatone 1973: f. 49). Meander and weaving motifs are representations of the same style (Fig. 4e–f, g).

Among the Italian tiles in the palace, there are few tiles with animal figures. One of these features butterflies among flowers and leaves (Fig. 4h). The same tiles can be observed in Surp Krikor Lusavoriç Church in Kayseri (Tişkaya 2004: 162-3). Another tile with an animal figure is rather more interesting, featuring a parrot figure located between a medallion and some plants (Fig. 2, 9a). Designs in which a parrot is combined with similar plants and twigs were used in most parts of Italy, especially in the 18th century. The tiles of the San Gregorio Armeno Monastery in Naples (Colonnesi 1986: 57) and the border tiles in the Giacinto

Tortolani collection[3] have almost identical motifs to the tile found in Topkapı Palace. Italian designs with parrot or bird figures placed among plants are thought to have been influenced by Portuguese tiles in the 17th century. We also see this influence in the 17th-century tiles of S. Maria Ognibene Church in Naples (Donatone 1984: tav. 32a). Similar motifs can be seen in 18th-century decorated ceramic objects. Parrots and flowers seen in a plate of the Antonio Giustiniani workshop in the Guido Donatone collection have the same design as the tiles of Topkapı Palace (Donatone 1968: tav. 13).

The fact that tiles with figures are limited in number might be attributed to the Islamic mindset which does not generally approve of the depiction of humans or animals in public spaces. The use of animal figures on various materials (ceramic, glass, metal, cloth, etc.) is quite common; among these, birds are one of the the most favoured. Yet figures on tiles are less common. The famous blue-white tiles that decorate the façade of the Circumcision Room at the palace are among the rare examples of this. However, the production and use of figure-based tiles in European tile-making are more common as compared to tiles with floral or geometric motifs. They are especially favoured in religious architecture compositions with Christian themes. Repetitive tiles with floral and geometric compositions are secondary in terms of usage.

Documents, Findings and Conclusion

It is a fact that the use of materials of European origin in Ottoman architecture increased from the 18th century onwards. The commercial ties which developed in this period undoubtedly contributed to this increase. The meticulous research conducted by Deniz Mazlum based on archival documents reveals that materials such as marble, steel, lead, glass, metal equipment, dye, and wall tiles were imported from different centres in Europe in the 18th century (Mazlum 2013: 503–6). If such studies, which are limited in number at the moment, increase by evaluating the archival documents of both the Ottoman state and the relevant countries in a comparative manner, they will certainly lead to important conclusions about the quality and quantity of construction materials, as well as about commissioners, merchants, companies, and probably artisans as well.

Within the scope of this study conducted in the Ottoman state archives, the earliest document encountered indicated that tiles arriving from Europe dates back to at least 1756. Based on this document, which was sent to the Belgrade *Muhafızı* (Commander) and the Belgrade provincial treasurer, we learn that tiles were ordered from Vienna (*Beç*) to be used in the buildings of Sultan Osman III (BOA., A.DVN.MHM.d.158, 234/673, 1170; for this document, see also Ahmet Refik 1988: 182). The tiles were ordered by the Istanbul customs official (*gümrük emini*) Seyyid İshak through an English merchant resident in Galata. Seyyid İshak worked as customs official at intervals from 1737/38 to his death in 1763. He also worked as the building official (*bina emini*) and imported goods from Europe (Mehmed Süreyya 1996: 802–3). The document orders that the tiles, in 12 crates, should be sent immediately to Karagümrük from Belgrade without delaying them at customs.

Another document dating to September 6, 1757, as specified by Mazlum, indicates that over 7000 European tiles (*Frengi kaşi*) were used in the construction and restoration of Beylerbeyi Palace (BOA, D.BŞM. BNE, d.15924,1170). In a surveillance register (*keşif defteri*)—which covers the restoration of the buildings of Beşiktaş Palace and is dated May 22, 1767—it is stated that missing Spanish tiles in the marble-columned kiosk had been replaced (BOA, D.BŞM, d.3857, 1180). A statement (*takrir*), again signed by Seyyid İshak and dated to the 1760s, concerns the provision of security for the marbles and tiles to be imported from Spain for the palace (BOA, C.SM. 6274; Mazlum 2013: 503-4).

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[3] I would like to thank Dr. GiacintoTortolani for the photographs of the tiles in his private collections.

A petition (*arzuhal*) written by the English ambassador in Istanbul to the palace and dating to 1766/67 states that tiles ordered from Austria, Holland, and Saxony had been delivered to the palace. However, these tiles had not been paid for, and the importing merchant experienced difficulties because of the long delay; the petition requests that the money be paid to the merchant (BOA., İE. HR., 18/1641, 1180).

These archival documents are significant because they prove that tiles were being ordered from Europe by official means from the middle of the 18th century. It is also meaningful that these dates parallel the date of the closure of the Tekfur Palace workshops that had granted a short period of relief to Ottoman tile art. We also should keep in mind that the countries specified in the documents may not directly indicate products of that specific country, as there is a possibility that products from different regions were obtained through commissioning merchants.

The archival documents indicate that architectural materials imported from Europe were generally transported into Ottoman territory by sea. An underwater archaeology study conducted in 1995 by the Tekirdağ Archaeology and Ethnography Museum also supports this claim. The findings of this study emphasize the importation of tiles produced in Italy. The study was conducted to the west of Marmara Ereğlisi (Perinthos), the Örencik Rock (Harmankaya) Lighthouse, and environs, where a shipwreck with tiles was found. Perinthos, which was the most important port city in the region of Thrace, maintained its importance in military and commercial terms throughout the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman periods. Örencik is a rock mass lying about 800 m offshore. It is dangerous for vessels because it is located on a shipping route. During the course of the study, a wreck full of amphora from the Hellenistic period and a wreck full of roof tiles and construction bricks from the late Roman/early Byzantine period were observed. The most recent wreck is loaded with tiles, and may have sunk after crashing against Örencik while travelling, probably, from Italy to Istanbul, as suggested by the museum authorities based on the results of the study (Işın 1997: 99-100). The vessel's cargo consisted of tiles produced in Italy. During the study, some of the tiles were removed from the wreck and transferred to the Tekirdağ Museum collection (Fig. 10). Most of the tiles are still in the wreck awaiting removal. The study states that the tiles date back to the Renaissance period. However, the tiles, identical samples of which are in the Topkapı Palace collection, represent southern Italy's 18th-century technique and stylistic features (see Fig. 4c, 5i). Therefore, the wreck likely dates back to this century at the earliest. The vessel was most probably carrying cargo ordered by the palace.

When the research concerning the other tiles that made up the wreck's cargo is completed, it will be possible to make more accurate and concrete statements about the relations between 18th-century Italian tile producers and their Ottoman clients. However, at least for the time being, it can be argued that these tiles were carried from southern Italian cities by ship and travelled along the Mediterrenean coasts to arrive in Istanbul. Tunisia might have been a connection port in this shipment, because after Tunisia improved its commercial ties with Italy at the beginning of the 18th century, tiles began to be imported extensively from Italy. This importation network based in Naples continued throughout the 19th and 20th centuries (Alvarez Dopico 2010: 413). These tiles, which can be observed especially in civil architecture examples of the Ottoman period in Tunisia, have the same style as the ones in Topkapı Palace.

In conclusion, it can be said that Italian tiles which can be seen *in situ* in the interior decoration of Topkapı Palace as well as in the palace's stores add distinction to the rich tile collection of the palace. These tiles, which were decorated in the dominant styles of their periods, in a way complemented the other Baroque and Rococo decorations found in the palace. Even as they represent a variety of Ottoman taste, they also reveal the design repertoires and export limits of their production centres. Among the tiles with floral and geometric composition that represent Ottoman taste, some of the tiles may have been

produced on commission. The fact that many of the designs on the tiles that are not present in the collections that contain Italian and similar tiles have not been observed in archival research supports this opinion. In particular, there are some products whose designs were not completed; these may have been sent as samples.

As a last word, we need to mention the influence that tiles imported to Istanbul from Europe had on local Ottoman production. The changes seen in colours and designs, though not in terms of decorative technique, are a result of these influence. It is easy to establish the link between the colour yellow, which started to be used almost simultaneously in the Tekfur Palace and in Kütahya ware in the 18th century, and Italian and Spanish tiles: since the Renaissance especially, yellow was one of the typical colours of Italian *maiolica*, and it was adopted in Spanish tiles based on Italian influence. The fact that the colour entered the vocabulary of local Ottoman production once again in the 18th century could be an influence of the ceramics and tiles being imported to Topkapı Palace at that time. Though we lack data about the migration of artisans, there is at least a possibility that local masters saw the tiles and ceramics of European origin, and this can be supported through the transfer of definitely European motifs and styles into the Ottoman design repertoire.

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BOA.,İE. HR., 18/1641, 1180.

Turkish Abstract

18. yüzyıl Osmanlı mimarisinin geneline bakıldığında, çini süslemenin önceki dönemlere göre daha az kullanıldığı gözlemlenmektedir. Bunun ana nedenlerinden birini, kuşkusuz, yerel üretimin 17. yüzyıl sonlarından itibaren giderek zayıflaması oluşturmaktadır. Diğer önemli bir neden ise "Batılılaşma" olarak adlandırılan anlayışla birlikte, farklı dekorasyon biçimlerinin yerleşmesidir. Bu dönemde mimaride görülen Avrupa eğilimleri, iç dekorasyonda çiniyi geri planda bırakmış, Barok ve Rokoko üslubunda kalem işi süslemeler veya duvar resimleri ilgi görmeye başlamıştır. Bununla birlikte, Kütahya ve Tekfur Sarayı atölyelerinin üretimleri birçok yapıyı süslemeye devam etmiştir. Diğer yandan 18. yüzyılda çeşitli Avrupa ülkelerinden getirtilen çinilerin Osmanlı mimarisinde yer almaya başladığı görülmektedir. Gerek bu dönemin sınırlı yerel üretimi, gerekse dekorasyonda moda olan Avrupa kökenli süslemeler, bu ithal çinilerin kullanımının başlıca nedenleri olarak değerlendirilebilir. Başkent İstanbul ile çağdaş dönemlerde, Kuzey Afrika bölgesi başta olmak üzere merkezden uzak Osmanlı eyaletlerinde de Avrupa çinilerinin tercih edildiği görülmektedir.

Osmanlı Başkentine Avrupa'dan çini gelmesi, 18. yüzyıl ve sonrasında Batı dünyası ile kurulan ticari ilişkilerle alakalıdır. Bu dönemde iki kültür arasında oluşan barışçıl ortam, bir ticaret nesnesi olarak seramiklerin ve çinilerin sirkülasyonunu kolaylaştırmıştır. Avrupa'nın seramik ve çini ihracatında ön planda olan ülkeleri, yerel üretimin zayıflığını fırsat bilerek, mimaride çiniye önem veren Osmanlı topraklarında pazar elde etmiştir.

18. yüzyılda Osmanlı başkenti İstanbul'a ulaşan Avrupa çinileri arasında İtalya üretimlerinin sayıca fazla olduğu dikkati çekmektedir. Bunların neredeyse tamamı Topkapı Sarayı'nda bulunmaktadır. *İn situ* ve depo örnekleri birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, Hanedanın evi ve yönetim merkezi Topkapı Sarayı'nda oldukça zengin bir desen repertuarı ortaya çıkmaktadır. Ancak, sınırlı olmakla birlikte, İstanbul'da farklı yapılarda da İtalya üretimi

çiniler vardır. Bunların büyük bir kısmının Topkapı Sarayı'ndakilerle aynı olması, ortak çini sağlayıcılarına veya ortak bir stoğun kullanılmış olmasına işaret etmektedir.

İtalya'da 18. ve 19. yüzyılllarda, duvar çinisi üretiminde Napoli'nin merkez oluşturduğu Campania bölgesinin ön planda olduğu görülmektedir. Bu üretimlerin başlıca etki alanında Sicilya bölgesi bulunmaktadır. Coğrafi konumundan dolayı, tarihi boyunca, Avrupa'ya doğudan gelen kültürlerin uğrak noktası halinde olan Sicilya'da çini ve seramik geleneği oldukça köklü bir geçmişe sahiptir. Bölgede, özellikle İspanya etkileriyle, İtalya'nın diğer bölgelerine göre, daha yoğun çini kullanımından söz edilebilir. Sicilya, 18. yüzyıl boyunca Napoli'den çini ithal ettiği gibi, kısa sürede bu bölgenin üretimlerini taklit etmeye başlamıştır. Her iki bölge, yoğun ticari bağlardan dolayı, Kuzey Afrika bölgeleri ile Osmanlı başkenti İstanbul'a çini ithal etmekte gecikmemiştir.

Topkapı Sarayı'dan bulunan İtalya üretimi çiniler 18. yüzyıldan 20. yüzyıl başlarına kadar olan bir zaman dilimine aittir. Örneklerin çoğunluğunun teknik ve üslup detayları Napoli ve çevresi ile Sicilya bölgesi üretimlerinin özelliklerini yansıtmaktadır. Ancak, aynı yüzyıllarda benzer üslupta tasarımlar Sicilya'da da üretildiği için bazı örneklerin Napoli veya Sicilya üretimi olup olmadığını kesin olarak belirlemek zordur. Az sayıda örneğin atölyelerine dair izler sürülebilmektedir.

Topkapı Sarayı'nda iç dekorasyonda *in situ* görülebilen ve depolarda stok halinde bulunan İtalyan çinileri Saray'ın zengin çini koleksiyonuna farklı bir soluk katmaktadır. Ait oldukları yüzyılın hakim üsluplarıyla bezenmiş olan bu çiniler, bir yerde Saray'daki diğer Barok ve Rokoko süslemelerin tamamlayıcıları olmuşlardır. Temelde Osmanlı beğenisini yansıtan bitkisel ve geometrik kompozisyonlu bu çiniler, üretim merkezlerinin desen repertuarı ve ihracat sınırlarına da ışık tutmaktadırlar.

Bu çalışmada Osmanlı döneminde, genelde İstanbul'a, özelde Topkapı Sarayı'na gelen Avrupa kaynaklı çiniler içinde İtalya üretimi olanların izi sürülmektedir. Bu anlamda yapılan tespitler başta İtalya'da çeşitli müzelerde yapılan müze koleksiyonu ve kütüphane araştırmaları ile gerek İtalya'da gerekse Avrupa'nın farklı ülkelerinde çalışan çini ve seramik tarihi uzmanı görüşlerine dayanmaktadır. Ayrıca ulaşılan arşiv belgeleri ve su altı arkeolojisi sonuçları elde edilen bulguları güçlendirmiştir. Böylece belli sayıda çini üzerinden üretim merkezi, dönem, atölye, teknik, üslup gibi özellikler aydınlatılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Bunun yanında İstanbul'a geliş yollarına dair veriler ile ortaya çıkan etkileşimlere yönelik düşünceler aktarılmaktadır.

Biographical Note

Hatice Adıgüzel is graduated (2003) at the Istanbul University, Department of Art History. She obtained (2006) her MA degree at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Department of Art History, and her PhD degree (2014) at the Istanbul University, Department of Art History. Since 2009, she is holding a position as a lecturer in the Department of Fine Arts of the same University. Her researches focus on Ottoman architecture and architectural decoration.

Fig. 1 – Entrance of Valide Sultan Apartment (©Hatice Adıgüzel)

Fig. 2 – Staircase of Darüssaade Ağası Apartment (©Hatice Adıgüzel)

Fig. 4 – Tiles from Topkapi Palace stores (Topkapı Palace Archive, (©Topkapı Palace Archive, photo "Wall Tiles Digital Database Project Archive, Topkapı Palace Museum")

Fig. 5 – Tiles from Topkapı Palace stores (©Topkapı Palace Archive, photo "Wall Tiles Digital Database Project Archive, Topkapı Palace Museum")

Fig. 3 – Valide Sultan Hammam.
(©Hatice Adıgüzel)

Fig. 6 – *In situ* bordure tiles from Akağalar Hammam (Ladies restroom of Topkapı Palace).
(©Hatice Adıgüzel)

Fig. 7a-b, d-e, g-h – Stamped tiles from Topkapi Palace storages (Topkapı Palace Archive)
(©Topkapı Palace Archive, photo "Wall Tiles Digital Database Project Archive, Topkapı Palace Museum")
7c – The stamp of Marino Guida e Fratelli Workshop (Sinagra 1995: 85)
7f – The stamp of Carlo e Luigi Ricciardi Workshop (Dell'Aquila 2000: 91)
7i – A stamp consisting of the letters 'FR' (Dell'Aquila 2000: 76)
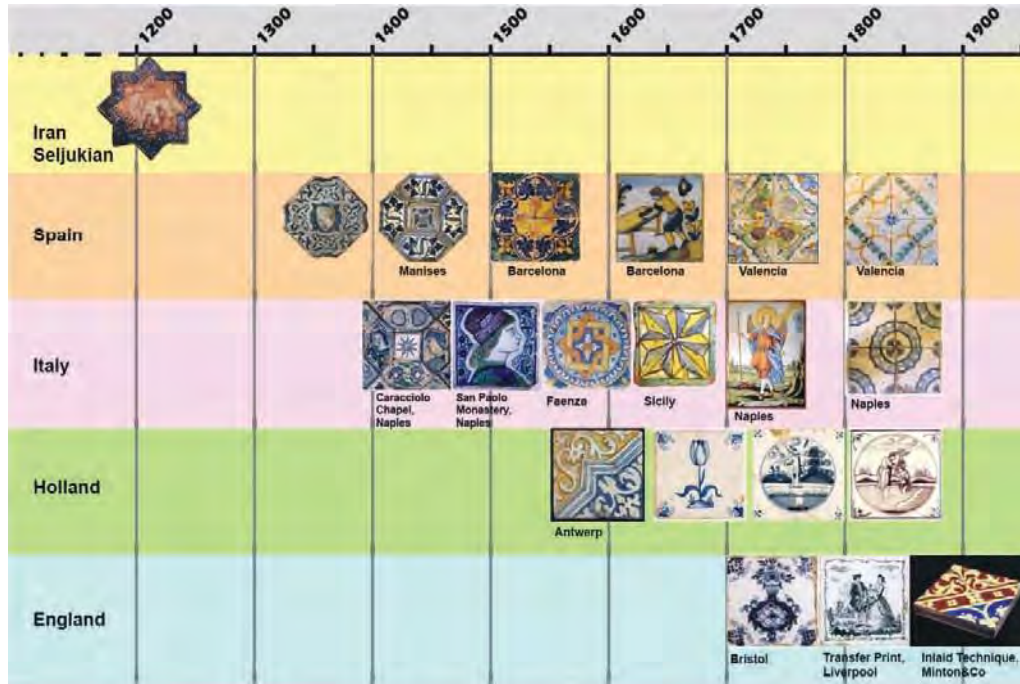
Fig. 8 – Timeline shows the evolution of tin glazed tiles from Islamic countries to Europe

Fig. 9a – Tiles from staircase of Darüssaade Ağası Apartment.
(©photo by Hatice Adıgüzel)
9b. – A tile from San Gregorio Armeno Monastery in Naples
(Colonnesi 1986: 57)
9c – Border tiles from GiacintoTortolani collection
(©photo by Giacinto Tortolani).
9d – A ceramic plate from Guido Donatone collection
(Donatone 1968, tav.13)
Fig.10 – Tiles from Tekirdağ Museum collection found in
the ship-wreck (©photo by Hatice Adıgüzel).

KAZASKER MUSTAFA İZZET AND GIUSEPPE DONIZETTI WITHIN THE ART SCENE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: FROM MANUSCRIPTS TO SCORES, FROM ISTANBUL TO NAPLES

Ayşe Aldemir-Kilercik
SÜ Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi

Giuseppe Donizetti, born in 1788 in Bergamo, in the Northern Italy's Lombardy region and who was the elder brother of the famous Italian composer Gaetano Giuseppe (d. 1848), was invited to Istanbul by Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-39) in 1828 to adapt Ottoman military music to the Western system and served as the Headmaster of the Royal Ottoman Bands/*Osmanlı Saltanat Muzıkalarının Baş Ustâkarı*.[1] Donizetti, widely known as Donizetti Pasha, stayed at the same post during the reign of Abdulmecid (r. 1839-61), son of Mahmud II, until his death at his house at Pera in 1856 (Fig. 1).[2]

Two pages of scores, both written by Giuseppe Donizetti in 1846, one for Abdulmecid and the other for his mother, Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan (d. 1853), are kept in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella, the Library of San Pietro a Majella Conservatory in Naples.[3] The notes were donated to the Biblioteca in 1932 by his grandson and namesake, Giuseppe Donizetti (Figs. 2-3).[4] Giuseppe Donizetti's son Andrea corresponded regularly with the family's close friend Antonio Dolci of Bergamo. We learn from a letter dated 17 November 1846[5] that Giuseppe Donizetti sent the scores of the songs he composed for Sultan Abdulmecid and his mother, Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan to Baroness Basoni, a member of a prominent family of Bergamo, asking for her opinion.[6] Each score consists of two leaves, printed on yellowish beige paper. The 1a pages have nothing on them. The decorated titles of the songs and the lyrics in Ottoman script are on pages 1b, with the scores starting on the same pages and flowing on to pages 2a. The lyrics in Latin alphabet are placed between the lines of the scores. The lyrics for the song composed for Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan were written by Faik. We do not know who wrote the lyrics for the song for Abdulmecid, because whereas Faik included his pen name in the last quatrain of his poem, there is no name in the lyrics for the other song.

As Faik was quite a common name during those years, it is not easy to establish the poet's identity with certainty. He may have been the famous composer, Hacı Faik Bey (d. 1891), who was trained at *Enderun* from a tender age. He was a leading singer at the musical gatherings of the time, and he was a poet, writing the lyrics for several of the songs he composed. He used the pen name Faik in his poems, and since he was trained at the Ottoman Imperial Court and had close relations with the members of the same, it may well be argued that the lyrics of the songs Donizetti composed may have been written by him.

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[1] For Giuseppe Donizetti's biography, see Aracı 2006. Spinetti 2007.

[2] Giuseppe Donizetti lies in Istanbul, in the underground graveyard of the Saint Esprit Church which is in the courtyard of the French Highschool Notre Dame de Sion.

[3] The scores record numbers are NAP 34.4.435 and NAP 34.4.436.

[4] This information is given on the labels on the scores. The label reads Giuseppe Donizetti as the donor and 24 February 1932 as the date of donation.

[5] This letter is kept at Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris; cote: R-78481.

[6] Emre Aracı believes that the scores in Naples are the very scores which were sent to Basoni, as mentioned in the said letter; Aracı 2006: 132. However, as noted in footnote 4 above, the labels on the scores state that they have been donated to the San Pietro a Majella Conservatory (Biblioteca del Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella) by the composer's grandson Giuseppe Donizetti in 1932. No other copies of the scores are known to exist.

The scores, written in Istanbul are framed with embellishments.[7] The score for Sultan Abdulmecid is framed with leaves of curling reeds and flowers with petals at all four corners. On top of the page are two baskets full of fruit and flowers, one to the right and one to the left, tied together with garlands and acanthus leaves. Between the garlands are ensigns, swords and trumpets with rays as from a rising sun at the very top. The song's name, *Şarkı-i Cedîd der sitâyiş-i Hazret-i Sultan Abdülmecid*, which means, the new song in praise of his majesty Sultan Abdulmecid is written in the space at the center of this decoration and the lyrics, written in *talik* script, are placed in the space between the decoration and the scores further down.

> Ey pâdişâh-ı menba-i ihsân u mekremet, Vey fahr-ı asr- zîver-i dîhîm-i saltanat; Etmiş tecessüm hilkat-i zâtında cümleten, Hilm ü nezâket ü kerem ü adl ü merhamet; Gelmiş değil nazîrin adîmü'l-adîlsin, Devrinde buldu kâr-ı cihan hüsn-i temşiyet; İhyâ-yı mülk ü millet ve teyîd-i dîn ile, Eslâfa eyledin hele pek çok müsabakat; Evsâf-ı zât-ı pâkini tarif eylemek, Mümkib değildir etse cihan sarf-ı makderet; Çeşm-i felek bu mertebede emn ü rahâtı, Hiçbir vakitte görmedi ey kân-ı ma'delet; Durdukça âlem eylese hak zât-ı pâkini, Pîraye-i erîke-i iclâl ü saltanat.[8]

Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan, well known for her fondness for music, had established many charitable foundations. The register including 14 foundation charters of the *Valide Sultan* (mother queen) covers the period 1840-51. According to the last charter, dated 1851, Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan donated 439 books to the library of *Valide Mektebi* (School of Mother Queen).[9] The score of the song composed for her also has a decoration composed of two vases filled with large flowers and leafy branches, one to the right and one to the left at the top, curling branches hanging from under the vases. The song's name *Şarkı-i Cedîd der vasf-ı Hazret-i Valide-i Sultan Abdülmecid Hân* (the new song in praise of her majesty the mother queen of his majesty Sultan Abdulmecid) is inscribed within a garland of flowers between the two vases. Once again, the lyrics in *talik* script can be found in the space between the decoration and the scores.

> Cihan eltâfına memnûn, Serâpâ feyzine makrûn, Nihâdın cûduyla meşhûn, Ola ömrün şehâ efzûn; Edince fasl-ı saza agaz, Olur hanendeler demsaz, Edip hoş guş-ı söz u saz, Ola ömrün şehâ efzûn; Olup bin şevkiyle mecbûr, Nevâlar eylesin santûr, İşittikçe olup mesrûr, Ola ömrün şehâ efzûn; Nihâl-i gülşen-i nâzsın, Cihânda şâh-ı mümtâzsın, İnâyetle ser-efrâzsın, Ola ömrün şehâ efzûn; Desin Faik kulun şarkı, Bulasın nüzhet ü şevki, Edip devletle her zevki, Ola ömrün şehâ efzûn.[10]

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[7] The scores, first published by Emre Aracı (Aracı 2006) were played in Vienna in 2009 again by Emre Aracı.

[8] (O my Sultan, the source of generosity and benevolence, the pride of his age and jewel of the royal crown. My sultan who embodies in himself all beautiful characteristics such as kindness, gentleness, generosity, fairness and compassion. In fairness, none has equalled you. During your reign, the earthly processes were very well handled, by upholding the land and nation and strengthening religion. You surpassed your predecessors in many ways. Even if all the world made an effort, it is not possible to describe your beautiful personality. The world never saw such security, welfare and justice. May God Almighty ensure your continuity on the royal throne, as long as the world survives. May he ensure the continuation of your reign).

[9] Ankara Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, no 11. The last of the 14 charters drawn at various dates was dated 1267/1851 and included at the end a detailed register of the books donated by the mother queen to the library; Istanbul 1993: 237.

[10] (The whole world is happy with your graces. It has embraced your blessing and grace all throughout. It is filled to the brim with the generosity of your character. Long may you live. When they start performing, the singers become friends. Playing and hearing pleasant music, long may you live. You are the gentleness of the secret rose garden, you are a unique sultan of the world. Your head is high with grace. Long may you live my sultan. Let your subject named Faik sing. May you taste all pleasure and find the fervour and calmness of the heart. Long may you live o may sultan.)

The lyrics seem to be about the musical gatherings at the Imperial Court, in which the mother queen also participated.[11]

Upon Sultan Abdulmecid's orders, Ohannes Mühendisyan prepared *talik* typeface, first in 1842, with the letters written by the famous *talik* script master Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet (d. 1849), and later in 1848 with the letters written by Racih Efendi. Thereafter *talik* script was frequently used at printed materials. Sultan Abdulmecid was insistent on extensive use of *talik* script in printing press as well. The clearest indicator of this wish can be found in the rather long afterword of *Hilye-i Hâkanî,* printed by Mühendisyan with calligrapher Racih Efendi's *talik* letters in 1848. Here we learn that, Sultan Abdulmecid had ordered the preparation of new *talik* typeface for the printing press, upon which, samples prepared with colored papers were presented to him (Fig. 4).[12] The *Hilye-i Hâkanî* text was chosen to bring luck, and the new letters were first used for this text.[13] By the Sultan's request, many magnificent books were printed with *talik* typeface.[14]

During these years, in addition to numerous books, many manuscripts, most notably Korans and prayer books were copied in the same script. The lyrics of the two songs discussed in this article were printed in this era when printing in *talik* script proliferated. The famous calligrapher during the reigns of Sultan Mahmud II and Sultan Abdulmecid is Kazasker Mustafa İzzet (d. 1876), who was enrolled in the *Enderun* on the orders of Sultan Mahmud II, became a student of great masters of calligraphy, Mustafa Vasıf (d. 1853) and Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet, and who worked under the patronage of both sultans, teaching calligraphy to the daughters and sons of the sultan and earning their admiration.[15] He also wrote the prominent architectural inscriptions during Sultan Abdulmecid's reign. When the Fossati brothers repaired St. Sophia during the years 1847-49, Kazasker Mustafa İzzet wrote the monumental inscriptions (Allah, Muhammad, the names of the four caliphs, and Hasan and Hüseyin)[16]. The inscription consisting of two lines in *celi talik* script on the monument presented as a gift by Sultan Abdulmecid to Washington in 1853 was also written by him[17].

[11] The second quatrain of the song means, *When they start performing, The singers become friends, Playing and hearing pleasant music, Long may you live.*

[12] Samples prepared for the Sultan; İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, no. 81940 and 81941.

[13] *Hilye-i Hâkanî*, is Hâkanî Mehmed Bey's (d.1606) long poem on the physical attributes of prophet Mohammed: Uzun 1997: 166-8.

[14] In his article 'İhtirât-ı Bedîa: Tıbâat', published in *Muharrir Mecmuası* in 1876, Ebüzziya Tevfik argues that Sultan Abdülmecid's innovation in the printing press consisted of the *talik* letters prepared by the late Racih Efendi who was Enderûn-u Hümâyûn's Persian instructor, adding, "Whereas this was initiated on the orders of Mahmud Han it was to be completed during the reign of Abdülmecid": Ebüzziya Tevfik 1293 (1876): 70-4. Thus, it may be surmised that Sultan Abdülmecid inherited his fondness for the *talik* script from his father. The calligrapher to implement this wish of Sultan Mahmud II was no doubt Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet. The calligrapher's close relations with the court are well-known. Most of the inscriptions in *talik* script of the buildings constructed during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II are by Yesarizade. The *celi talik* inscriptions at the tomb of Nakşidil Sultan (d. 1817), mother of Sultan Mahmud II and at the Nusretiye Mosque are by Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet. Yesarizade also wrote the inscriptions at the Tevfikiye Mosque at Arnavutköy and the wooden Hidayet Mosque at Eminönü constructed on the order of Sultan Mahmud II, as well as the repair inscriptions of the Beyazıt Firefighting Tower, Galata Mevlevihane and Kasımpaşa Mevlevihane, and the inscriptions at the tomb of Sultan Mahmud II. Kazasker Mustafa İzzet (d.1876) was also a student of Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet.

[15] For the biography of the calligrapher, see İnal 1955: 154-62.

[16] The monumental inscriptions can be seen in Gaspare Fossati's illustrations depicting the interior of Ayasofya, made in 1852; Istanbul 2000: 144-7. One of the said inscriptions can also be seen in the oldest known photograpy of Ayasofya's interior, taken by James Robertson or Gaspare Fossati, probably after1849; Istanbul 2000: 150-1.

[17] The inscription reads, *Devam-ı hulleti te'yid için Abdülmecid Han'ın, Yazıldı nâm-ı pâki seng-i bālāya Washington'da,* meaning, "Abdülmecid Han's good name was written on this tall stone in Washington to confirm the continuation of friendship".

Like Yesarizade, Kazasker Mustafa İzzet had close relations with the Court, copying numerous manuscripts for the Sultan and his entourage. A Koran copy in *nesih* script, bearing the seal of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan (d.1883), one of the wives of Sultan Mahmud II and mother of Sultan Abdulaziz, was made by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet in the year 1259/1843-1844[18] and endowed by the said mother queen who had a rich library to her own tomb (Fig. 5).[19]

The 30 chapters of Koran copied by Mustafa İzzet[20] on Sultan Abdülmecid's order to be endowed to the tomb of Sultan Mahmud I are dated 1257/1841 (Fig. 6).[21] Another Koran copy made by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet in *nesih* script for Sultan Abdülmecid, is dated 1264/1848.[22]

A *Delail'ül-Hayrat* copied by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet in *nesih* script bears the seal and foundation register of Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan.[23] This book is dated 1844-5 and is one of the books donated by Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan to *Valide Mektebi* (School of Queen Mother) in 1851.

Another Koran copy in *nesih talik* made by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet (d.1876) in the year 1288/1871 was given by Sultan Abdulhamid II to Müşfika Kadınefendi as a wedding gift[24] and donated by Müşfika Kadınefendi to the tomb of Abdulhamid II in 1918 (Fig. 7).[25]

It is known that the manuscripts copied by Mustafa İzzet are quite valuable. At an inheritance register dated 10 Zilkade 1274/22 June 1858, a Koran copy in talik script and bearing Mustafa İzzet's seal was valued at 10,000 *kuruş*.[26] On this date, the calligrapher is alive and copying numerous manuscripts for the Sultan and his entourage. At the auction for Hasan Sadreddin Efendi's books on 22 Cemaziye'l-ahir 1304/18 March 1887, approximately 10 years after the calligrapher's death, a *Delail'ül-Hayrat* bearing his seal was sold for 2592 *kuruş*.[27] Compared to the manuscripts sold or recorded in the inheritance registers around the same dates, these prices are quite high, indicating that in contrast to his contemporaries, Mustafa İzzet was held in high esteem, like old masters.[28]

Kazasker Mustafa İzzet, who was also a composer, singer and *ney* player, was a favorite name in the musical gatherings at the Imperial Court. Mustafa İzzet signed a Koran he copied in 1824, during the time he served as court musician with the title *serheng-i şehriyari-i kiler-i hassa* (imperial watchman in the Sultan's Pantry).[29] At this date, Mustafa İzzet was a Court musician for four years (Fig. 8).[30]

Mustafa İzzet has also produced a compilation of lyrics in *talik* script.[31] This undated and rare compilation was illuminated by a master whose name we do not know (Fig. 9).[32]

[18] İstanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 408; Istanbul 2010: 440-1.

[19] Pertevniyal Valide Sultan's foundation charter dated 1285/1868-9 is at v.1a and 346a.

[20] İstanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 1162-91; Istanbul 2010: 438-9.

[21] We learn that the Koran copy is made to be endowed to the tomb of Sultan Mahmud I from the record at the end of the 30th chapter; Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no.1191, v. 26a-27a.

[22] Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, ms. IS 1586; Arberry 1967: 70.

[23] İstanbul, Beyazıt Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, no.1265; unpublished.

[24] İstanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no. 406; Derman 2010: 336-41.

[25] The foundation register written at the end of the Koran copy by the calligrapher Kamil Akdik (d.1941) is at v. 352a.

[26] *Bâ-hatt-ı Mustafa İzzet Efendi talik Mushaf-ı şerîf 1 kıt'a 10000 kuruş, 10 Za 1274.* For the inheritance register, see İstanbul Müftülüğü Arşivi, Kısmet-i Askeriye-KA.1751, s.61b; Erünsal 2013, 442.

[27] For the auction, see İstanbul Müftülüğü Arşivi, Beytülmal Kassamlığı-BK.70, s.24b; Erünsal 2013: 197.

[28] For the comparison, see Erünsal 2013: 433-50.

[29] Londra, Khalili Collection, QUR 44; Bayani, Stanley and Rogers 2009: 214-7, 288.

[30] For his entry to *kiler-i hassa* in 1235/1819, see İnal 1955: 154.

[31] İnal 1955: 161.

[32] İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, no. T 5649. I am grateful to Mr. Harun Korkmaz who brought this rare and valuable piece to my attention. There is no signature of the calligrapher or the

We know that there are two other works written by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet in *talik* and illuminated by a master illuminator. One of them is a *Delail'ül-Hayrat* dated 1835 (Fig. 10).[33] Its illuminator is called Mehmed Salih. And the other is a Koran copy dated 1837 (Fig.11).[34] The illuminations of this Koran exhibit magnificent examples of rococo style and bear the signature of Hasan the illuminator.[35] The illuminations of *Delail'ül-Hayrat* and Koran copy are identical. *Delail'ül-Hayrat* was embellished by Salih the illuminator.[36]

As to the scores kept at *Biblioteca del Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella*, we do not know who illuminated the scores and who wrote the lyrics in *talik* script. However, the decoration above the scores, consisting of depictions of vases and baskets overflowing with large flowers, curling acanthus leaves and garlands are very much like the embellishments of the three works copied by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet I just described. The embellishments therefore may have been made by Hasan or Mehmed Salih the illuminators.

On the other hand, the calligrapher of these three rare books, the *Delail'üil Hayrat*, the Koran and the lyrics compilation is Kazasker Mustafa İzzet, a master of *talik* script as well as a famous singer. Considering this calligrapher's close relations with the Imperial Court and his place at the musical gatherings there, he must have been in the same circles with Giuseppe Donizetti. Donizetti's music includes themes from the traditional elements of Ottoman music. He no doubt, shared his opinions on art with the composers at the Court. He must also have asked for the opinion of Kazasker Mustafa İzzet, the most famous *talik* calligrapher of his time about the *talik* calligraphy of the scores and lyrics of the songs he dedicated to the Sultan and his

illuminator, however, Kazasker Mustafa İzzet, used the expression *li-muharririhi* in the lyrics of the songs known to be composed by himself, meaning these lyrics is written by the compiler. This proves that the compilation is by Mustafa İzzet; Korkmaz 2015: 195-7. Although there is no illuminator signature in the compilation, it is believed that the illuminations are by one of the masters the calligrapher worked with for other manuscripts. The illuminations of the title on v.3b of the compilation are quite similar to those in a *Delail'üil-Hayrat* bearing the signature of Mahmud Celaleddin (Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 575; Demiriz 2005: 219), in a prayer book bearing the signature of Süleyman el-Vehbi el Bursevi (İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, A 5757; Demiriz 2005: 246) and in a *Delail'üil- Hayrat* bearing the signature of Kazasker Mustafa İzzet (İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, A 5559) which will be discussed below. All three manuscripts were embellished by illuminator Salih. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Zeren Tanındı for drawing my attention to this similarity.

[33] İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, no. A 5559; Demiriz 2005: 234, 243-4.

[34] İstanbul, SÜ Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, env. no. 100-0281; Derman 2010: 330-5; Tanındı and Aldemir Kilercik 2012: 128-9. The copy at SSM could be the copy in *talik* evaluated at 10,000 kuruş in 1858, as mentioned above. It is believed that the only illuminated Koran copy made by Mustafa İzzet in *talik* script is the one at SSM.

[35] The calligrapher's signature reads *Mustafa İzzet'e tahrîre olunca tevfîk, eyledi mushafı ta arş-ı berîne ta'lîk Sene 1253 Muharrem* (when God helped Mustafa İzzet to copy this, he hung the Koran to the highest spot, writing in *talik* script. Year Muharrem 1253), and on the opposite page we read the name of the illuminator as well as the date: *zehhebe Hasan 1256*. We understand that during those years Kazasker often worked together with Hasan the illuminator. There is a Koran copy written by Kazasker and illuminated by Hasan at a private collection in Istanbul.

[36] Mustafa İzzet's signature reads *El-hamdülillâhi'llezî veffakanî li-itmâmi tahrîr delâili'l-hayrât ale't-tahkîk bi-hüsn-i hattin yürâ'atehû berâ'atehû et-ta'lîk alâ yed-i az'afü ibâdullâhî te'âlâ Elhâc İzzet Mustafa an-mü'ezzinân-ı hazret-i zıllı Hüdâ min-telâmîz-i Yesârîzâde -gufira lehümâ-. Sene ihdâ ve hamsîn ve mietân ve elf.* (Praise be to the God who enabled me to copy this *Delaili'l-Hayrat* with a beautiful script indicating good things. This copy was made in *talik* script by one of the weakest and lowest subjects of God Almighty, a *müezzin* in the shadow of God and a student of Yesarizâde Elhac İzzet Mustafa, may God have mercy on him and his father. The year 1251). The illuminator's name is written as *Esseyyid Muhammed Salih*. The dates this *bu Delail'üil-Hayrat* and the Koran copy were written by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet in *talik* script are very close. It is believed that these two manuscripts are related, they may have been commissioned by the same person, perhaps a woman from the Imperial Court, perhaps a Mother Queen. However, no proof of this view has been attained as yet.

mother.[37] Kazasker, in return may have recommended one of the master illuminators, who had embellished the books he had copied in *talik*. Hacı Faik Bey, who is believed to have written the lyrics for the songs, was also present at the musical gatherings at the Imperial Court at the time. Thus, Donizetti the composer, Mustafa İzzet the singer and calligrapher and Faik the poet from *Enderun* could easily have come together around Sultan Abdulmecid and his mother Bezm-i Âlem, leading to the creation of a lively art atmosphere at the Imperial Court.

These pages presently kept at the *Biblioteca del Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella* in Naples attest to interconnected relations and collaborations existing in the Ottoman capital's art and culture especially during the period in question. We should remember that these scores do not constitute the sole evidence of this network of complicated relations. To cite one other example, Necib Paşa (d. 1883) who would succeed the Italian composers Callisto Guatelli and Berti Pisani as the head of *Muzıka-yı Hümayun* (the Royal Band) after Donizetti's death, is the son of Yesarizade Mustafa İzzet, master of *talik* style script and calligraphy teacher at the Imperial Court. Necib Ahmed Paşa was trained at *Enderun* where both his father and grandfather Mehmed Esad Yesari (d. 1798) worked. He did not become a calligrapher following the footsteps of his father and grandfather, but became part of his father's musical circles at the Imperial Court from a tender age as well as taking music lessons from his father and other musicians. Necip Ahmed Paşa, who was buried in the courtyard of the tomb of Mahmud II, as per the request of Sultan Abdulhamid II, was also a prominent score collector.[38] The famous composer Hacı Faik Bey and Necip Ahmed Paşa taught Sultan Mehmed VI Western and Turkish music before he ascended the throne.[39] Doubtless, this was not the first time Hacı Faik Bey worked with a *Muzıka-yı Hümayun* commander.

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[37] The *talik* script of the scores are of calligraphic quality. They may have been written by a scribe at the Court, but the order of the lines and the quality of the writing indicate a master calligrapher. Kazasker Mustafa İzzet was quite used to writing lyrics, so he may easily have written them himself or suggested to Donizetti a scribe or calligrapher he admired.

[38] Özcan 2006: 488-9.

[39] Özcan 1996: 474.

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Turkish Abstract

Osmanlı Saltanat Muzıkalarının Baş Ustâkarı Giuseppe Donizetti tarafından 1846'da bestelenmiş, biri Sultan Abdülmecid, diğeri ise annesi Bezm-i Âlem Valide Sultan için hazırlanmış iki şarkının nota sayfaları, Napoli'deki San Pietro a Majella Konservatuarı'nın kütüphanesinde (Biblioteca del Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella) korunmaktadır ve Osmanlı başkentinin kültür ve sanat hayatında özellikle bu dönemde iç içe geçmiş ilişkiler ve işbirliklerinin varlığını ortaya koymaktadır. Dönemin en ünlü talik hattatı, bestekar, Kazasker Mustafa İzzet, Saray ile olan yakın ilişkisi ve Saray'ın musiki ortamlarındaki yeri nedeniyle Giuseppe Donizetti ile aynı ortamlarda bulunmuş olmalıdır. Donizetti, Sultan'a ve annesine ithaf ettiği notaların talik hatla yazılması konusunda da Kazasker Mustafa İzzet'in fikrini alabilmiş olmalıdır. Kazasker de, talik ile yazılan notaların tezhibi için, talik hatla kopya ettiği kitapları süsleyen bir müzehhibi önermiş olabilir. Şarkıların güftesini yazdığı düşünülen Hacı Faik Bey de, aynı dönemde Saray'ın musiki ortamlarında yer almaktadır. Böylece, Sultan Abdülmecid ve annesi Bezm-i Âlem'in çevresinde bestekâr Donizetti, hanende ve hattat Mustafa İzzet ve Enderunlu şair Faik, kolayca bir araya gelerek Saray'ın sanat ortamının canlanmasına yol açmış olmalılar.

Biographical Note

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Fig. 1 – Giuseppe Diotti
Portrait of Giuseppe Donizetti (1828)
Bergamo, Museo Donizettiano
(©Museo Donizettiano, Bergamo)

Fig. 2 – *Şarkı-i Cedîd der sitâyiş-i
Hazret-i Sultan Abdülmecid*
Napoli, Biblioteca
del Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella.
(© Biblioteca del Conservatorio di S. Pietro a Maiella)

Fig. 3 – *Şarkı-i Cedîd der vasf-ı Hazret-i
Valide-i Sultan Abdülmecid Hân*
Napoli, Biblioteca
del Conservatorio di San Pietro a Majella.
(© Biblioteca del Conservatorio di S. Pietro a Maiella)

Fig. 4 – *Hilye-i Hakani* sample, prepared by Ohannes Mühendisyan,
with calligrapher Racih Efendi's *talik* letters in 1848
İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, no. 81941.
(©İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi)
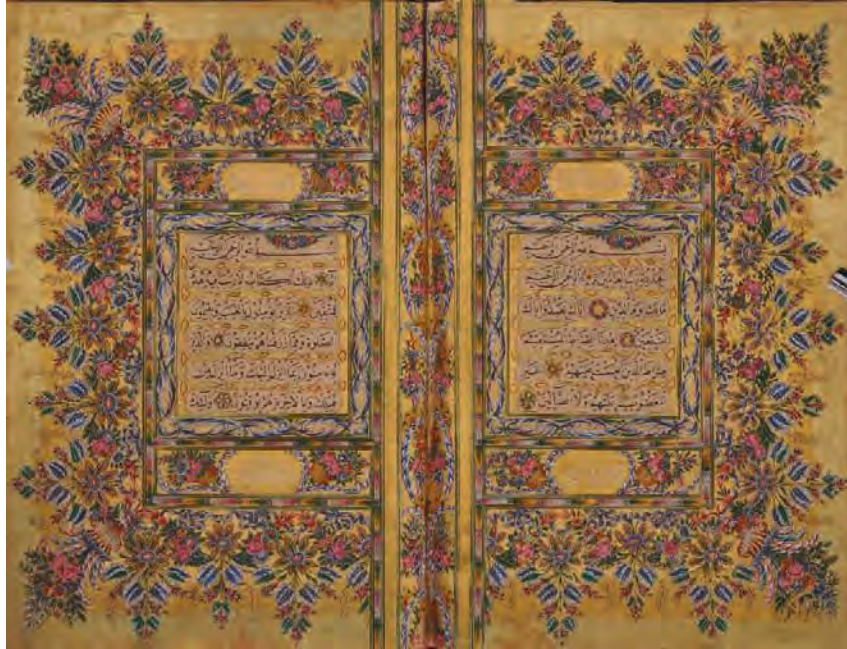
Fig. 5 – Koran copied by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet
İstanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no.408.
(©Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul)

Fig. 6 – Koran copied by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet
İstanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no.1162.
(©Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul)

Fig. 7 – Koran copied by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet
İstanbul, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, no.406.
(©Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul)
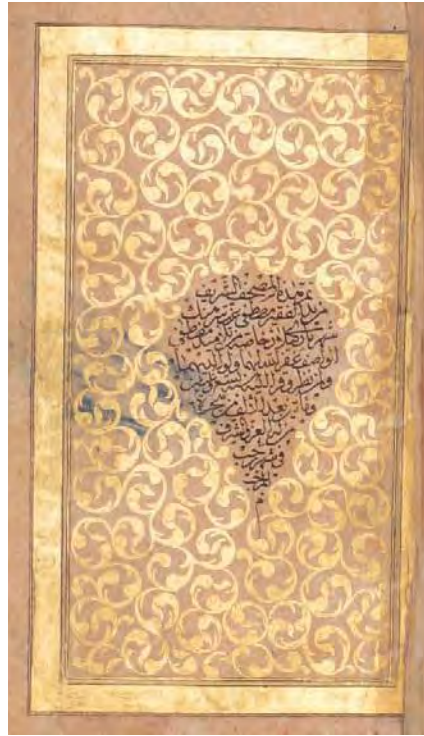
Fig. 8 – Colophon of the Koran copied by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet
London, Khalili Collection, QUR 44.
(©Khalili Collection, London)

Fig. 9 – Compilation of lyrics written by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet
İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, no.T 5649.
(©Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi)

Fig. 10 – *Delail'ül-Hayrat* copied by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet
İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi, A 5559
(©Istanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi)

Fig. 11 – Colophon of the Koran, copied by Kazasker Mustafa İzzet
İstanbul, SÜ Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 100-0281
(©SÜ Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi)

TRACING KADIRGA PALACE: MATERIAL AND ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE

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Introduction

Kadırga Palace is located in the Kadırga district of Istanbul's so-called "historic peninsula," which lies by the shore of the Sea of Marmara. The area lies *intra muros* of the Constantinian Walls, built in the 4th century, and thus testifies to the significant construction activities that took place in Constantinople between the 4th and 7th centuries. At the same time, the area also features the Kontoskalion harbor, one of the most important in Constantinople (Figs. 1, 2). Kontoskalion has gone by many names over the years, as well as having its location much debated, but its construction is believed to have begun during the time of Emperor Julian (r. 361-363), and thus Kontoskalion is also known as the Harbor of Julian, as well as going by the Latin name *Portus Novus* ("New Port"). The harbor was destroyed in a devastating fire in 465, and later enlarged during the time of Anastasius I Dicorus (r. 491-518). Kontoskalion suffered another fire in 561, after which it was reconstructed by Justin II (r. 565-578) and given the name of the empress Sophia (Müller-Wiener 1998: 8). In later years, during the time of the emperor Theophilus (r. 829-842), the city's arsenal was set up here, though the harbor facilities continued under the name Kontoskalion (Müller-Wiener 1998: 8; Müller-Wiener 2001: 30, 63). Throughout the Byzantine period and after, various structures appear to have been built in the area. One of these was the Kadırga Palace, which historical sources claim to have been constructed on the remains of an earlier structure (Necipoğlu 2013: 444). The mosque complex of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in the Kadırga area was likewise constructed over the remains of a church (Necipoğlu 2013: 450). The harbor continued to be used in Ottoman times as well, sheltering Ottoman galleys until the 16th century (Figs. 3, 4).

The Kadırga Palace was constructed by Esmahan/İsmihan Sultan – the daughter of Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-1574) and the *haseki* Nurbanu Hatun – and Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and was designed by the architect Sinan (Necipoğlu 2013: 441). The harbor ceased operation around the same time that the palace was built, being filled due to construction on the Golden Horn harbor and the discomfort that the odor would create for palace residents (Müller-Wiener 1998: 32). The area filled was designed as the Kadırga Square, onto which the main entrance of Kadırga Palace opened (Necipoğlu 2013: 451). The palace did not, however, remain in use very long: İsmihan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha considered it ill-fated because they lost their children there, and so they moved to the new palace constructed in the old Hippodrome (*At Meydanı*). Historical sources indicate that Kadırga Palace, also called the "Old House of Felicity", was likely abandoned at the time of the construction of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's mosque complex in 1574 (Necipoğlu 2013: 444).

Kadırga Palace and related research

The earliest studies conducted on Kadırga Palace were by Behçet Ünsal (1912-2006), Orhan Erdenen (1920-2014) and Sedad Hakkı Eldem (1908-1988). More recently, Tülay Artan has published research on Kadırga Palace as well.

The earliest of these studies was produced by Behçet Ünsal. Two drawings held in Topkapı Palace were identified by Ünsal as being of a "palace for a pasha". These drawings are believed to represent a survey study conducted toward the repair of Kadırga Palace. Ünsal stated that the palace and the mansion have non-linear borders and a circumference of approximately 38,500 *arşın* (~2618 m) (Ünsal 1963: 179-182). A short time later, Orhan

Erdenen redefined the palace in line with the documents that had been published by Ünsal (Erdenen 1965: 1923).

Sedat Hakkı Eldem examined the problematics of the design and the location of the palace. Simultaneously analyzing the documents prepared for the repair following the 1767 earthquake; the survey plan prepared for the palace's repair prior to the wedding of Hibetullah Sultan in 1803, along with the subsequent financial account book; and the insurance maps of Jacques Pervititch, Eldem developed a hypothesis concerning the plan and the location of the palace. Specifically, Eldem gathered his information from the following sources:

- The trace of a wall seen on Pervititch Map Sheet No: 5, Parcel No: 63 (Fig. 6);
- The opening directions of doors in an archival plan (Fig. 7);
- The street name *Sarayiçi* ("Inner Palace") on Pervititch Map Sheet No: 6 (Fig. 6)

As a basis for his arguments, Eldem located the palace on the map by doing the following:

- Aligning the west corner of the archival plan to Sarayiçi Street and the south corner to Kadırga Harbor Avenue;
- Superimposing the trace of the wall on Pervititch Map Sheet No: 5, Parcel No: 63

As for the hypothetical plan of the palace, this he produced based on descriptions in the repair books, as well as by using existing typologies of Ottoman vernacular architecture (Fig. 7).

Based on Eldem's findings and on historical sources, Tülay Artan prepared a reconstruction of the location and the plan of Kadırga Palace. Initially, though, Artan identified the inhabitants of the palace over time (Table 1).

PERIOD	PEOPLE, INSTITUTION	EVENTS	SOURCE
	Ibrahim Han, ambassador to Persia	1582–84: Ibrahim Han lives at the palace	Historian Selaniki Mustafa Efendi
	Kalaylıkoz Ali Pasha, governor of Rumelia	Following the departure of Ibrahim Han in 1584, Kadırga Palace is granted to Kalaylıkoz Ali Pasha, the governor of Rumelia	
	Kalaylıkoz Ali Pasha, governor of Rumelia	Following the death of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 1579, in 1584 Kalaylıkoz Ali Pasha is married to the granddaughter of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, Esmahan Sultan (d. 1585). However, it is known that the sultan did not live in the palace, which was used for state guests and ceremonies.	
	Ibrahim Han (1565–1622), son of Esmahan Sultan and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha	The palace is called "the Hearth of Ibrahim Han" (*Ibrahim Han Ocağı*). The palace is given to relatives of Ibrahim Pasha. It is used as the embassy to Persia and left otherwise unused.	Eremya Çelebi Kömürciyan and Evliya Çelebi
	Haydar Mirza, crown prince of Persia	1593: Circumcision ceremony of Haydar Mirza	Historian Selaniki Mustafa Efendi
17th Century		Following the death of Ibrahim Pasha in 1622, the palace is returned to the state.	
1645, 1652, 1655, 1660, 1715: Fires around the palace			
First half of 18th century: Transfer of ownership status from private to state			
1724-1728: Repairs			
18th century	Ümmügülsüm Sultan (1708-1732), daughter of Sultan Ahmet III	Used by Ümmügülsüm Sultan and her husband Nevşehirli Ali Pasha	Two repair documents dated 1724 and 1728
	Esma Sultan the Elder (1726-1788), daughter of Ahmet III	Esma Sultan marries Yakup Pasha, governor of Adana, at the palace in 1743. In 1744, Esma Sultan marries at the palace again, this time with the new governor of Adana, Yusuf Pasha.	

	Office of Grand Vizier	In 1755, due to a fire at the Sublime Porte, the palace sees use as the office of the grand vizier.	
	Esma Sultan the Elder	Esma Sultan marries at the palace a third time in 1757, to Muhsinzade Mehmed Pasha, the governor of Rumelia.	
		In the 1767 earthquake, the palace is damaged.	
19th century		The palace is unused between 1788 and 1803.	
	Hibetullah Sultan (1785-1841), daughter of Sultan Abdülhamid I	Hibetullah Sultan marries Alaedin Pasha, the governor of Anatolia, at the palace in 1803.	
		The palace is deserted in 1841 following the death of Hibetullah Sultan.	

Table 1 – Timeline of the Kadırga Palace (after T. Artan, E.F. Alioğlu, and Y. Erkan)

Artan draws the reader's attention to the fact that the fountain referred to in the archival document – Akar Çeşme – can be seen on Pervititch Map Sheet No: 5 (Fig. 8), as *Akar Çeşme Mektebi Sokak* (Akar Fountain School Street), with the mansion of Bali Pasha being referred to as *Bali Paşa Yokuşu* (the Bali Pasha Slope). Furthermore, pointing out *Sarayiçi Sokak* (Inner Palace Street) on Pervititch Map Sheet No: 6, she identified the trace of a palace that has not survived as the Kadırga Palace (Artan 1994: 211). It is at this point that Artan approaches *Sarayiçi Sokak* differently than Eldem inasmuch as she accepts this street as having been inside the palace. Artan claims that the palace measured 210-270 meters along the east-west axis and 100-160 meters along the north-south axis. The palace's boundaries were formed on the west by the Bali Pasha Slope and on the east by Akar Fountain School Street, with Inner Palace Street cutting the palace in two along the north-south axis. The palace had two side gates opening onto Bali Pasha Slope and Akar Fountain School Street. Artan states that the "palace buildings were arranged around three courtyards terracing down towards the monumental square obtained by the filling of the Kadırga Harbor," and she identifies three distinct levels in the palace's design, listing Kadırga Square as the first courtyard, Selamlık Square as the second courtyard, and the square of the harem as the third courtyard. In the palace's design, the first level was made up of managerial and service spaces, the second level administrative and *selamlık* spaces, and the third level of spaces belonging to the harem (Artan 1994: 211) (Table 2, Fig. 9).

Space No.	Space Name	Space No.	Space Name	Space No.	Space Name	Space No.	Space Name
	1st level		2nd Level		3rd Level		Green Areas
1	Gate opening to Kadırga Harbor	10	Road	26	Harem Courtyard	**35**	Marble space
2	Chamber over the gate. It should be repaired.	11	Selamlık Square	27	[illegible] until the gate of Kalfalar Chamber, repair some of the spaces	**36**	Big pool
3	Place in Teberdarlar Chamber	12	Moon Chamber and Divan. Is ruined, Divanhane is absent	28	Divanhane as it is, repair	**37**	Repair of the small kiosk at the center of the garden
4	Kethüda chamber, should be repaired as it is	13	Selamlık Courtyard	29	and the "old" bath in ruins	**38**	Greenhouse
5	Above, building; below, stables	14	Coalshed	30	Old chamber (standing), should be repaired	**39**	Garden
6	Unidentified	15	Mabeyn Chamber [illegible] repair should be [illegible]. Or should be renewed altogether	31	Gilded Plane Chamber	**40**	Part of the garden
7	Woodshed	16	As it is Gate Kiosk	32	Gilded Walnut Chamber		
8	Kitchen should be renewed	17	As it is [illegible] chamber	33	Bath		
9	[illegible] repair	18a	Mabeyn Passage	34	Bath, in ruins		
		18b	Mabeyn Passage	41	Courtyard		
		19	Mabeyn Square/Courtyard	42, 43	Laundry		

		20	Ruined bath				
		21	Stairs linking gate keeper's quarters with 1st and 2nd levels.				
		22	Chamber of the Eunuchs, should be repaired as it is				
		23	Ağalar Chamber, will be repaired altogether, in ruined state				
		24	New chamber of the eunuchs				
		25	[illegible] gate				
		44	Opens toward Bali Pasha				

Table 2 − Space classification of Kadırga Palace, Alioğlu, Erkan 2015 (after Artan)

The only information concerning the palace's actual description is that the section where Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had his private and official meetings was more plain (Figure 10), while İsmihan Sultan's privy quarters were "magnificent" (211; Necipoğlu 2013: 444).

Evaluation

In view of the aforementioned studies of the Kadırga Palace together with the extant remains, certain tangible conclusions can be arrived at. First of all, Behçet Ünsal's approach is a correct way to identify the plan of the Kadırga Palace as the repair survey, due to the fact that the building construction or its repair requires exact measurements.

The street identified by Sedad Hakkı Eldem as *Sarayiçi* is in fact Inner Palace Street. It is possible to verify this in the maps of Ayverdi (19th century), German Blue (1913), and Pervititch (1938). However, the name of this street must refer to a church that was built inside the palace at a later date, probably the Surp Hovhannes Church (1827). Eldem considered this street to mark the palace's western boundary. In any case, whether it is named Inner Palace Church Street or simply Inner Palace Street, it must be considered a street that was within the palace. At the same time, the plan put forward by Eldem contradicts the topography of the region; that is, it is clear that Eldem did not consider the slope of the terrain. For example, the harem is placed at a point where the steep slope is still present, disregarding the terraces (Fig. 11/b, c, d). In a way, then, the harem becomes buried in the soil. This approach neglects the local topography and even the still extant walls. It also presents a palace design that disregards the view available from the heights of Kadırga (Fig. 12).

Artan reviewed the design of the Kadırga Palace with a new approach that took the local topography into consideration and discussed the palace in terms of three discrete levels. This argument can be verified through the German Blue Maps prepared prior to World War I in 1913-14, through the Pervititch Insurance Maps of 1938, and through street elevations seen on present-day maps. Detailed analysis reveals that the first level was formed as a platform ranging between elevations of +1.20 and +7.05, the second level as a platform ranging between elevations of +25.40 and +15.30, and the third level as a platform ranging between elevations of +38.90 and +21.05 (Fig. 11/a, c, d). These three terraces also represent the functional division of the palace.

Based on these findings and a review of the Kadırga survey plan, the following conclusions can be reached. We can observe that some of the traces or alignments (Fig. 13) seen in the survey drawing – such as the corners, gates, staircase, and roads – were still extant in the 20th century and are partially extant in the present day. In particular, the location of the corners identified in the survey drawing as A, B, and C is evident on all the maps (Figs. 13-15). These corners serve as the hinge connecting the survey drawing to the current configuration of the land.

It should be noted, however, that there is no 100% match between the archival plan of the Kadırga Palace and the aforementioned maps (Fig. 16). It can be argued that negligence of the

local topography has been the cause of this distortion, because as far as the repair of the relevant closed spaces is concerned, the topographic characteristics may not have been accorded especial importance. At this point, then, the archival plan must have taken the closed spaces into consideration.

Therefore, the Pervititch map – the most comprehensive of all – must be checked against the archival plan for comparison. As a first step, corners A, B, and C – which must have been extant for a long time – are checked in the Pervititch map, with the main effort here being to create the appropriate angles between the first, second, and third levels. Secondly, the length of the space identified as Number 6 is adapted so as to be equal to the length of AB. In this manner, the archival plan and the Pervititch map can be matched with a significant amount of precision (Figs. 17, 18).

Both the previous studies and present-day observations at the site reveal the following in relation to the Kadırga Palace:

- The approach taken in Artan's article, which identifies three levels in the plot (Fig. 19), is a correct one.
- In the design of the palace, at those places where the plot levels out, open spaces and large building complexes were built, while at steep parts of the plot small units were preferred (Fig. 18).
- The main entrance and service areas (first level) and administrative spaces and *selamlık* (second level) formed a buffer zone between Kadırga Harbor and the harem.
- Between the harem and the *selamlık*, the mansion of the eunuchs was placed as a second buffer zone.
- Structures such as the harem and its courtyard, which required a high level of privacy, were placed on the third level, at the north side of the plot on the highest level.
- The north side of the harem was designed as an open, green space.

It should be noted that the Kadırga Palace must be evaluated in relation to the Sokollu Mehmed Pasha complex. However, the scope of this article is limited to the palace, and only new historical evidence will reveal the relationship between the palace and the complex in view of observations made on site.

Conclusion

In ancient settlements, the cultural layers of different civilizations from different periods overlap or are found side by side. Historically, the physical structures of a certain civilization are utilized by the subsequent civilization, even though the primary civilization may have disappeared. The so-called "historic peninsula" in Istanbul is one example of this, having been transformed by a series of consecutive civilizations. The initial Roman period is marked by such elements as the palace, the senate, the hippodrome, mansions of various types, colonnaded streets stretching to the city gates, forums, and triumphal arches. With the acceptance of Christianity, religious structures were added. The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 helped the city to recover from a high degree of dilapidation, and new structures meant to address the needs of the community were either reused or newly built. Apart from Muslims, there were a variety of ethnic and religious groups in the city, though some of its important churches were transformed into mosques, with new monumental mosques and social/religious complexes being added as well. New residential neighborhoods developed around the mosques, dervish lodges, and synagogues. Significant elements of the Roman transportation infrastructure, such as forums and roads, remained a part of the residential fabric after the Ottoman conquest, though the main ancient thoroughfare, called the Mese, became the Divanyolu under the Ottomans. In subsequent years, extramural neighborhoods like Eyüp, Sütlüce, Galata, Tophane, Beşiktaş, Üsküdar, and the shores of the Bosphorus began to grow more important than ever before. In the so-called Tulip period

(1718-1730), Western elements began to emerge in both architecture and in the urban fabric, dramatically changing the building morphology of the city. Starting from the 19th century, and especially with the Tanzimat reforms, large-scale spatial transformations began to be implemented in the city, while in the 20th century the city adapted itself to new means of transportation, especially the automobile. This period is characterized by construction with concrete, tall buildings with multiple storeys, and a wider network of roads. Like Western cities, Istanbul was drawn into a spatial organization that was bound to the automobile, which later evolved to become an essential aspect of urban planning policy.

A similar process of evolution can be witnessed in the Kadırga region. This article is based around the fact that the traces of the past are recoverable through extant remains, street alignments, and street names – even in a city that, like Istanbul, is possessed of multiple historic layers. Specifically, the current evidence (both physical and archival) have allowed us to locate the long vanished Kadırga Palace, largely through review of earlier studies. On the one hand, in terms of the history of architecture, this information is instrumental for any reconstruction of the past on a 1/1 scale, but on the other hand, it also highlights the vulnerability of historic layers to urban transformation projects.

Beginning in the 2000s, megaprojects began to take over the urban fabric of Istanbul. What we have seen since then is not a natural evolution of the city, in which each new era adds on to the city's basic structure, but rather a period of enforced transformation. Within the new legal and institutional framework designed to support this process, the effects of these rapid transformations on the city have caused irreversible changes: what the city built over several millennia is now being destroyed and remade. Even so, the previous natural evolution of cities still offers opportunities for future generations to understand the past by means of work on site.

In this article, the underground traces of the past – those still relatively untouched by the current development projects – have revealed themselves in the course of our search for the Kadırga Palace.

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Turkish Abstract

Kadırga Sarayı Tülay Artan tarafından Esmahan (Ismihan) Sultan (1545-1585) ait olarak tanımlanmış bir Mimar Sinan eseridir. Saraya ait birçok yapı 16. yüzyıl sonrasına ait birden çok yapım evresi göstermekte olup 18. yüzyılda Esma Sultan'a intikal etmiştir. 19. yüzyılda geçirdiği yangın sonrasında bulunduğu alan yapılaşmaya açılmış, böylelikle Kadırga Sarayı ortadan kalkmıştır. Sedad Hakkı Eldem sarayın planı üzerine yorumlarda bulunmuş, haremlik ve selamlık bölümlerini göstermiş ve sarayın Osmanlı saray tipolojisine uygun olarak inşa edildiğini belirtmiştir. Artan ve Eldem tarafından sağlanan planlar dışında, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivlerinden ele edilen belgeler, sarayın geçirmiş olduğu evrime ışık tutmaktadır. Bugün saray haritadan silinmiş olsa da, bazı kalıntılar sarayı tespit etmemize olanak tanımaktadır. Sarayı araştırma fikri, Kadırga'daki bir sokağın (Sarayiçi Sokak) adından doğmuştur. Bu sokak, sarayın içinden kuzey-güney yönde devam eden merdivenli bir geçide denk gelmektedir. Bu makalede Kadırga Sarayı'nın fiziksel izleri belgelenerek arşiv belgeleri kullanılarak konu hakkındaki bilgimiz geliştirilmektedir. Bu açıdan, bu araştırma, geçmiş ile günümüz arasında bir bağ kurmaktadır. Kadırga'nın kentsel değişiminin tarihi, çok katmanlı Istanbul'un bir ögesi olarak Kadırga Sarayı üzerinden yapılmaktadır.

Biographical Note

E. Füsun Alioğlu graduated from the Istanbul State Academy of Engineering and Architecture (İDMMA), Department of Architecture in 1978. She received the title of PhD with her thesis titled "A Study on the Traditional Urban Fabric and Houses of Mardin" in 1989. E. Füsun Alioğlu started her academic career in 1982 as an assistant at the Istanbul State Academy of Engineering and Architecture (İDMMA). She held the position of the Chairperson for the Department of Architecture at Yıldız Technical University (YTU), In 2008 she moved to Kadir Has University, where she currently works as a teaching staff for Department of Architecture but also as the Program Coordinator for the Master's Program in Conservation of Cultural Assets. She published articles, conference papers and other scientific contributions – either of national and international impact – on History of Architecture, Conservation of Cultural Heritage, Architectural Education and Professional Practice of Architecture .

Dr. Yonca Erkan (Ph.D. at the Istanbul Technical University; 2007) works as Associate Professor of architecture at the Kadir Has University since 2008, where she is the UNESCO Chair Holder on the Management and Promotion of World Heritage Sites: New Media and Community Involvement. In 2017, she worked as a senior consultant at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre as the HUL/World Heritage Cities Programme Coordinator. She is a jury member of European Union Cultural Heritage – EUROPA NOSTRA Awards in Education, Training and Awareness Raising (Category IV), as well as Heritage in Motion Awards. Dr. Erkan was a member of the Turkish National Commission for UNESCO (2010-2014). Her research interests include management of world heritage sites, urban conservation and community involvement.

Fig. 1 – Constantinople in 4-7 c. AD (after Müller-Wiener 2001)

Fig. 2 – Distribution of harbors in Constantinopolis (after Müller-Wiener 2001)

Fig. 3 – Istanbul, 1500s. Kadırga Harbour
(https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/40050/Byzantium_Nunc_Constantinopolis/Braun-Hogenberg.html)
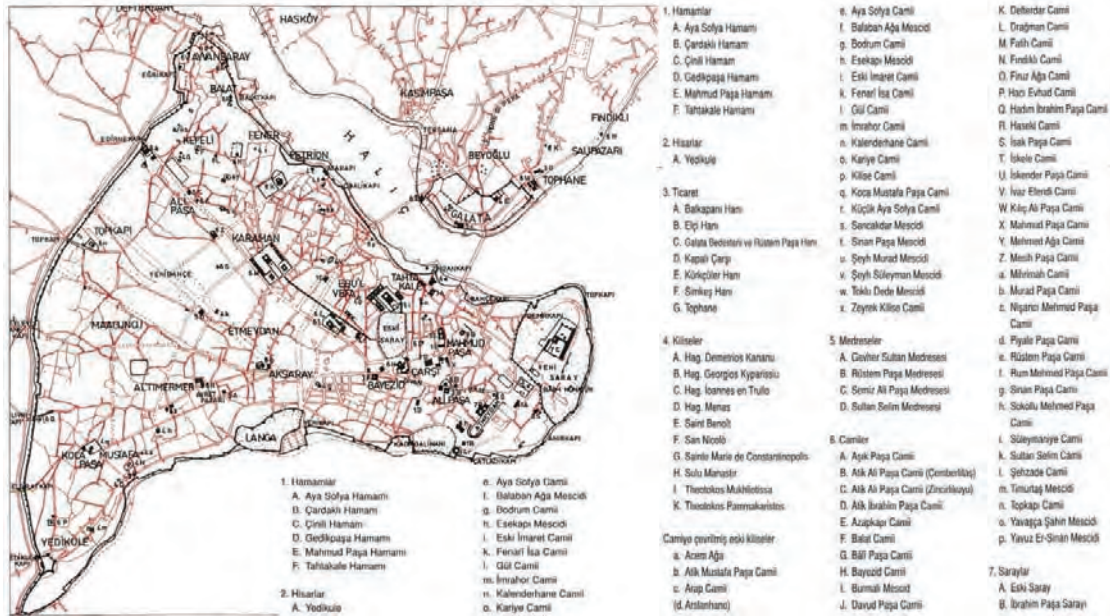

Fig. 4 – Istanbul, 16th century (after Müller-Wiener 2001)

Fig. 5 – Kadırga Region in present-day Istanbul (after Müller-Wiener 2001)

Fig. 6 – Pervititch, Sheet No:5 and 6, trace of the wall
and Sarayıçı Street (after Pervititch 2000)
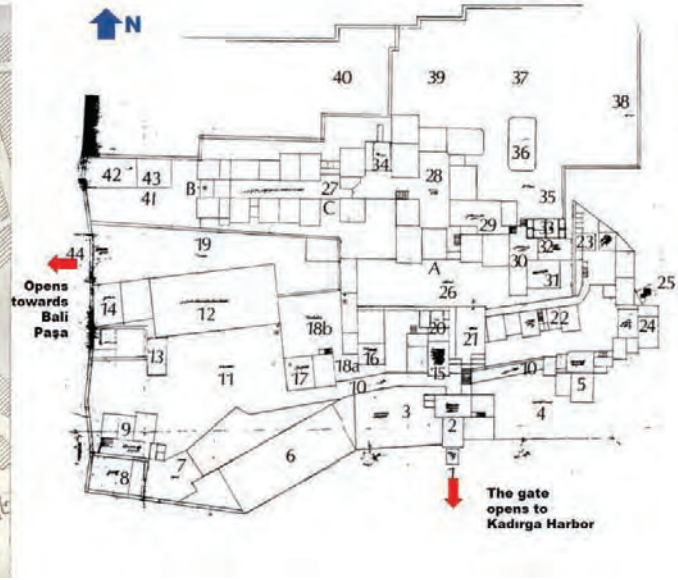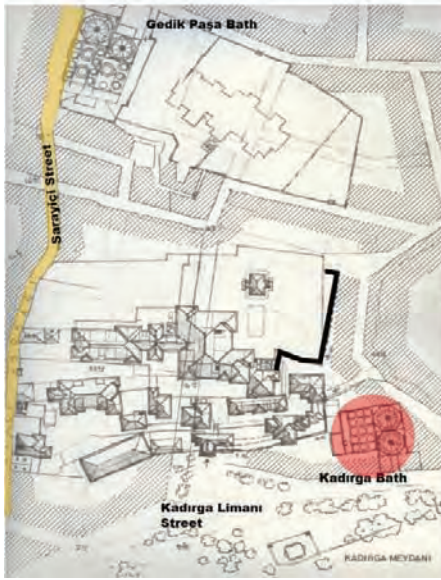
Fig. 7 – Left: Restitution plan of Kadırga Palace (after Eldem 1986).
Right: Archival plan (after Ünsal 1963)

Fig. 8 – Pervititch Map Sheet 5 and 6 (Akar Çeşme Mektebi Street, Bali Paşa Slope and Sarayiçi Street)
(after Pervititch 2000)
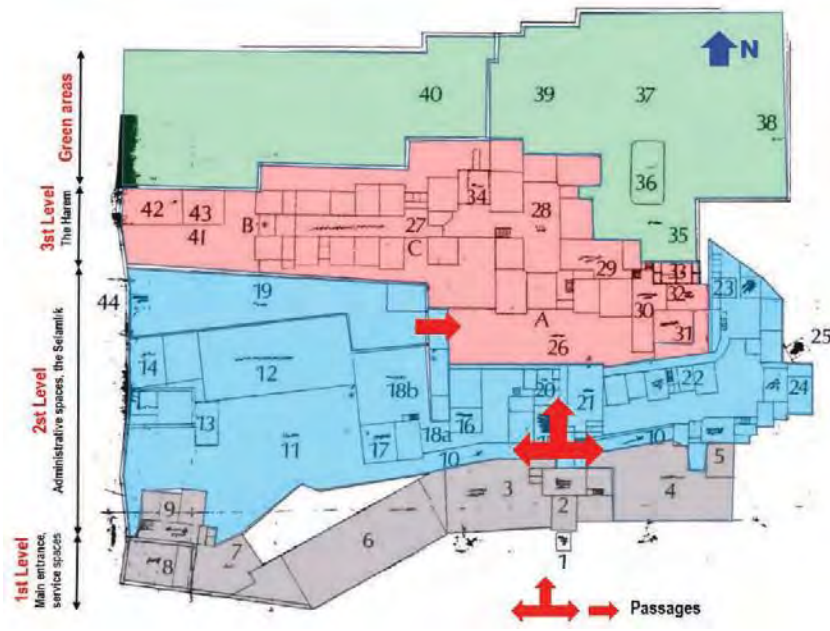
Fig. 9 – Kadırga palace, Alioğlu, Erkan 2015 (After Artan 1993 and Ünsal 1963)

a)   Entrance gate of the palace   b) Divanhane   c) Arz odası

d) Divanhane courtyard

Fig. 10 – Depictions of the Kadırga Palace: drawings by an anonymous artist
accompanying the Austrian Ambassador 1573-1578 (after Necipoğlu 2013)

a) Street elevations and cross-section in the map of Pervititch (Alioğlu, Erkan 2015)
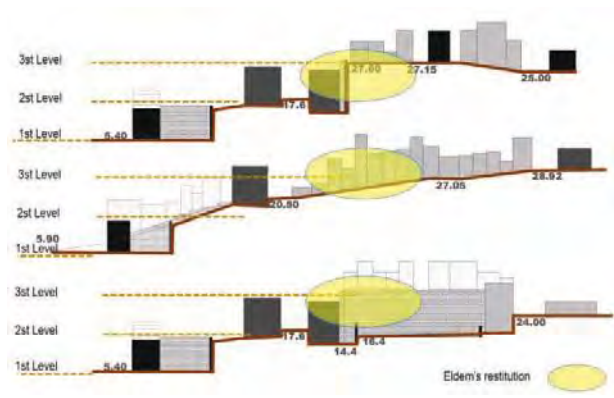
c) Perpendicular cross-sections
(North-South axis A-A, B-B, C-C)
(Alioğlu, Erkan 2015)
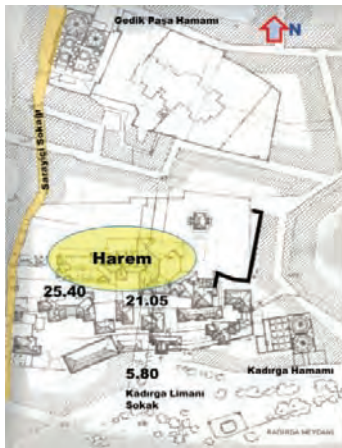
b) Reconstruction of Eldem and
its relation to the plot
(Alioğlu, Erkan 2015)
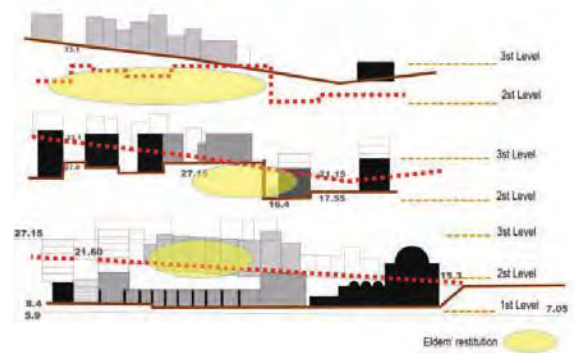
d) Cross-sections parallel to the plot (East-west axis)

D-D, E-E, F-F (Alioğlu, Erkan 2015)

Fig. 11 – Reconstruction of Eldem and its relation to the topography (Alioğlu, Erkan 2015)

Fig. 12 – Existing retaining walls and sea-view from + 27.00 elevation (Alioğlu, Erkan, 2015)
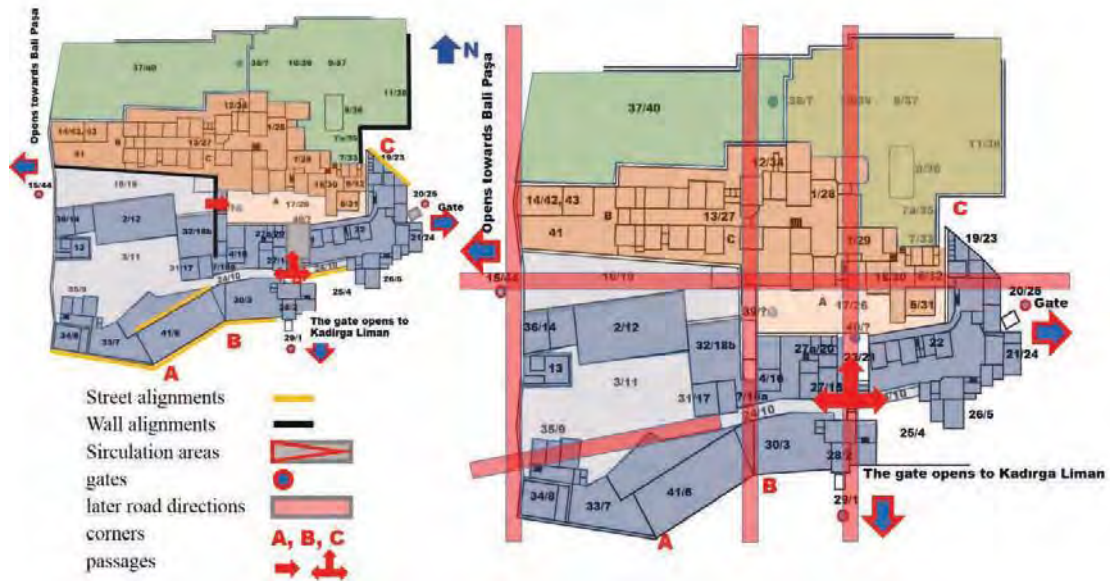
Fig. 13 – The corners, gates, roads and alignments in the Kadırga Palace (Alioğlu, Erkan, 2015)
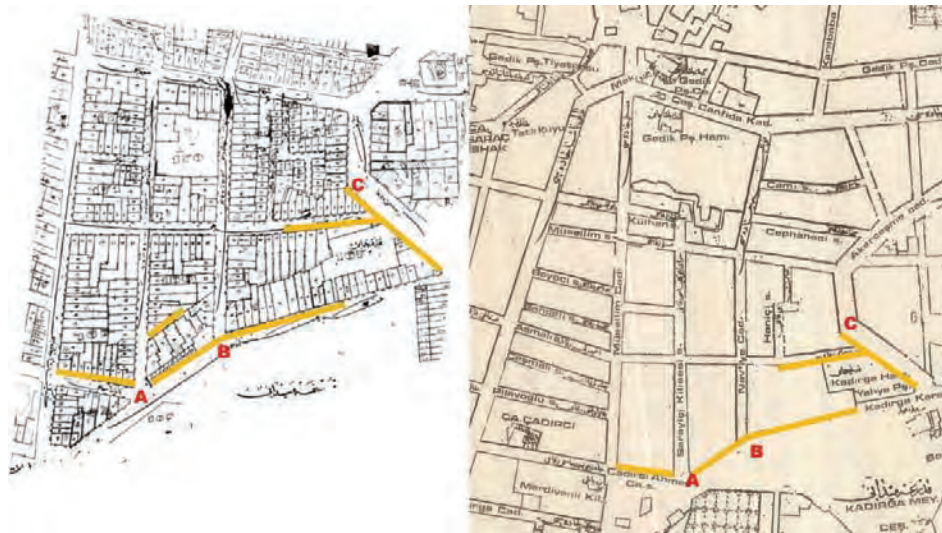
Fig. 14 – Cadastral Plan (Left) and Ayverdi Map (right) corners and road alignments

Fig. 15 – German Blue Map (Sheet H/6 and H, corners, roads and stairs in Pervititch Map (after Pervititch 2000)

Fig. 16 − Comparison of the archival plan of Kadırga Palace and Cadastral plan with
German Blue and Pervititch Maps (Alioğlu, Erkan 2015)
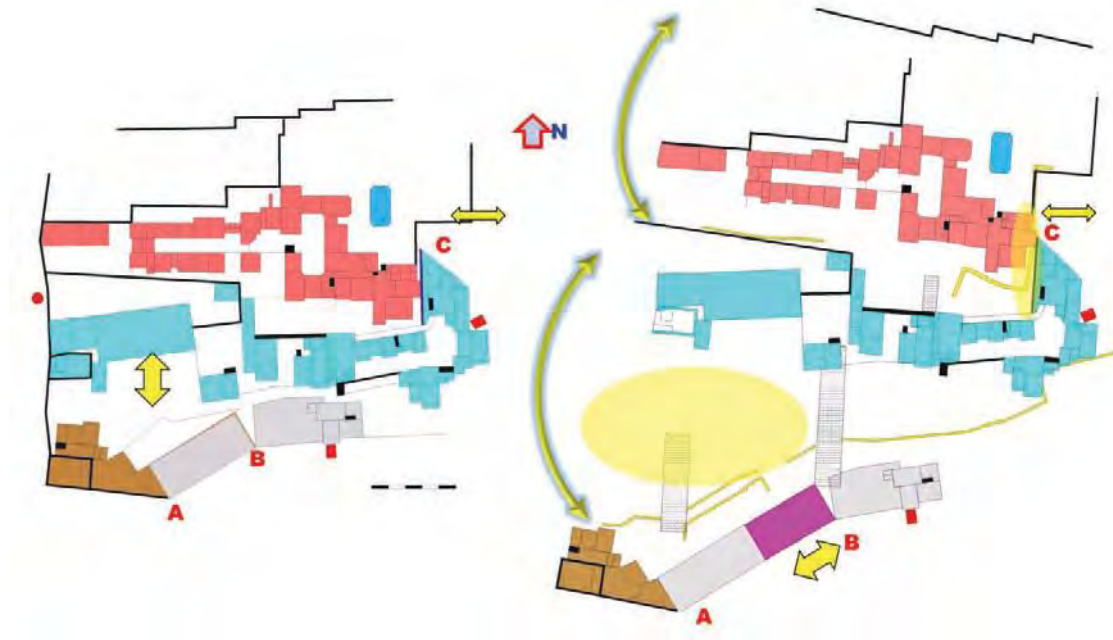
Fig. 17 − Plan of the Kadırga Palace:
On the left the original archival drawing, on the right after the rearrangement
of the angles between different levels (Alioğlu, Erkan 2015)

Fig. 18 − Adapted plan superimposed to Pervititch's map
(Alioğlu, Erkan 2015)

Fig. 19 −The probable location of the palace in perpendicular cross-section of the plot (north-south axis) and cross-section taken to the width of the plot (East-West axis)
(Alioğlu, Erkan 2015)

ITALIAN SCULPTORS AND FUNERARY STATUES
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL

Selda Alp

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Political, economic, and artistic relations between the Ottoman Empire and Italy date back very far and continued right up through the empire's final days. The legal and political rights granted to non-Muslims in the empire from the mid-19th century led to, on the one hand, development in the commercial relations between the empire's non-Muslim communities and European merchants, and thus to the formers' gradual enrichment, and on the other hand to an increasing dominance of Western lifestyles. As a consequence of these developments, Istanbul became a stage for the activities of numerous European companies and merchants attempting to increase their share in the Eastern Mediterranean trade, and so the Ottoman capital came to serve as host to numerous foreigners coming over from Europe for a variety of different purposes.
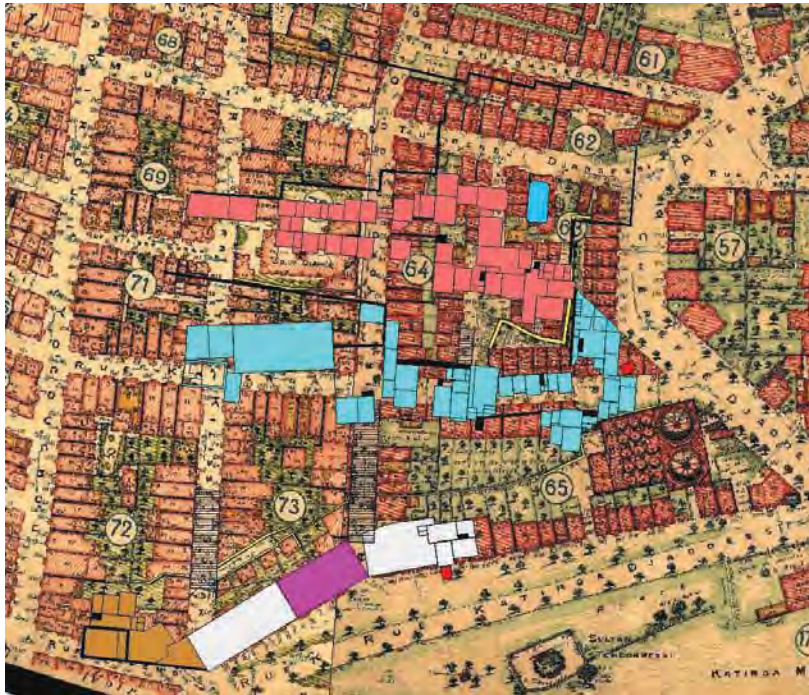
In the 19th century, many European artists — including painters, sculptors, decorators, and especially architects and engineers — were commissioned for work on palaces, on embassies, and on the civil buildings constructed for notable representatives of Istanbul's non-Muslim communities. Among these artists taking part in this era's architectural and artistic activities, the Italians represented the largest and most influential group of foreign artists.

It was the fields of music, fine arts, architecture, and medicine that predominated in Ottoman-Italian artistic relations (Evren 2008: 34-224), with many Italian artists coming to Istanbul after the 1860s. While Italian artists and those in other professions came to the city perhaps primarily with commercial expectations at first, over time they displayed their own peculiar social and cultural traditions through the monasteries, schools, hospitals, churches, and cemeteries of Istanbul's Latin Catholic communities.

This article focuses on Italian sculptors and the creators of monumental funerary art. This group of artists makes up what is likely the least well known group among the artists in question. The funerary portrait busts, statues, and reliefs produced by Italian sculptors are to be found in cemeteries of Istanbul's Greek, Armenian, and Latin communities from the end of the 19th century (Alp 2015: 145-246). Some of these artists' signatures have been detected on some funerary monuments. One such artist is Girolamo Fiaschi. Fiaschi's dates of birth and death are unknown, but it is understood from *Annuaire Oriental* commercial almanacs that he was a sculptor and creator of monumental funerary art. His workshop addresses were Pangaltı Caddesi No. 4 and Büyükdere Caddesi No. 1 (*Annuaire Oriental* 1883: 421; *Annuaire Oriental* 1888: 405). Fiaschi's funerary monuments have been found in the Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery, the Şişli Greek Cemetery, and Haydar Pasha Cemetery: at Feriköy, his signature had been detected on the monument of Faustino Pedrelli (1871) and the bust of Paolo Pedemento (1898), at Şişli on the Blessa family monument (1883), and at Haydar Pasha on the monument of Julius M. Van Millingen M. D. (1878) (fig.1-6). On these graves, the artist's name is inscribed as "GIROLAMO FIASCHI CARRARA-ITALIA" and "G. FIASCHI." Additionally, the barely visible letters "G. F." behind the bust of Paolo Pedemento (1898) in the Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery indicate that Fiaschi likely made this monument as well. These monuments, together with the commercial almanacs, reveal that the artist worked actively in Istanbul from 1883 to 1898. Back home in Italy, Fiaschi created the statues of Mary, St. Adalberto, and St. Filippo Neri on the western facade of St. Adalberto Cathedral in Cormons, in addition to a number of

marble busts in private collections.[1]

Rossetti E. Spagnolo was another Italian artist working in Istanbul in the second half of the 19th century. In the *Annuaire Oriental* almanacs he is recorded as a monumental funerary artist working in marble, with his workshops located at Kuledibi No. 12 near Galata Tower and on Hacı Ali Avenue (*Annuaire Oriental* 1881: 163; *Annuaire Oriental* 1903: 947). One of his more significant works is the Paschalis Tranos monument (1874), which bears the artist's signature (Fig. 7-8) (Papazoglou 2005: 50, 388). This monument also once had a statue of an angel that has not survived but is known from old photographs of the grave. The statue indicates that the sculptor must have been an artist of Italian origin who was skilled in the making of statues (Alp 2015: 189). It is estimated that Spagnolo also worked on both simple and monumental funerary art together with Caruana, particularly at the Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery (Fig. 9-10).

Spagnolo appears not to have put his signature on all of his funerary monuments. Nevertheless, in addition to the aforementioned work, there are also some reliefs that are considered to have been from his hand. For instance, three monumental graves with reliefs date to the period when Spagnolo was working actively. One of these is the Negropontis monument in the Şişli Greek Cemetery (Fig. 11). This monument's style differs from the traditions of Greek funerary art, while the base of the relief suggests a Catholic artist. Another monument thought to have been created by Spagnolo is the Longobardae monument in the Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery (Fig. 12). While the figure is comfortable and naked at this monument resembles Negropontis monument, the reliefs are similar as well. Additionally, the Rossi monument at Feriköy features similar workmanship with reliefs, and the statues of angels seem likely to have been done by Spagnolo (Fig. 13).

What these works, whether signed or unsigned, have in common that suggest that they are the work of Spagnolo are the ouroboros medallion and hourglass motifs together with butterflies, pigeons, and wings. Moreover, the forms, mouths, and sizes of the snakes on the Negropontis, Longobardae, and Rossi monuments, as well as their characteristics reflective of the Latin Catholic tradition (uncommon for non-Muslim cemeteries in Istanbul) and the workmanship of the monuments' statues bring Spagnolo to mind as well. The usage of Catholic iconography and a neoclassical style may also be associated with the Italian tradition of monumental funerary art. The statue of praying angels on the Paschalis Tranos monument in Şişli was definitely created by Spagnolo, and similar statues on these other unsigned monuments are thus very likely to be Spagnolo's work as well.

Another sculptor active in Istanbul in the mid-19th century was Ernesto Cali, who was born in Naples in 1821. Cali's uncles, Antonio and Gennaro Cali, were also sculptors and in fact trained Ernesto, and their funerary monuments are to be found in the cemeteries of Naples (Oliveres 2004: 131). Ernesto Cali may well have sculpted funerary monuments on commission in Rome, Paris, and London as well. One of Cali's most remarkable works in Istanbul is the Henri Maurice Rampascher monument (1867), located in the Feriköy Protestant Cemetery. The signature, reading "ERNESTO CALI SCOLPI NAPOLI 1867," can be seen on the lower part of the tomb (Fig. 14). The monument's marble panels are thought to have been brought over from Italy. No other monument sculpted by Cali has thus far been discovered in Istanbul, nor is there any publication concerning the artist's life and works. Only two of his statues, *Diana* and *Maiden*, appear in auction catalogs.[2] The *Diana* bust bears the same "ERNESTO CALI SCOLPI NAPOLI 1869" signature seen on the Rampascher monument.[3]

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[1] http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/etexts/Stout41/Stout41P009299.gif   (Date   of   access: 25.09.2013); http://www.comune.carrara.ms.it/Allegati/1692_634661996418125000.pdf (Date of access: 25.09.2013); http://www.cormons.info/citta/duomo_gb.htm (Date of access: 25.09.2013).

[2] http://www.artprice.com/artist/565275/ernesto-cali/lots/pasts/5/Sculpture-Volume.

[3] http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/27670781_ernesto-cali-italian-19th-century-a-marble-bust-of, http://www.sworder.co.uk/index.php?_a=viewProd&productId=69375.

Luigi Giona was another Italian sculptor active in Istanbul in the second half of the 19th century, though it is not known exactly when this artist came to the Ottoman capital. Giona sculpted the funerary monuments of Nikoleta Sigru (1867) and Dimitrios Lapardas (1868) in the Şişli Greek Cemetery (Papazoglou 2005: 37, 276). Additionally, the Albert Kun monument in the Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery (Fig.15) features a statue with praying child that is quite similar to one found on the Nikoleta Sigru monument (Alp 2015: 242).[4] The Kun piece does not bear a signature, but it was almost certainly done by an Italian artist, and the style and technique and execution and expression used in its angel and child statues are reminiscent of Giona's signed work, and thus the Kun monument was probably Giona's as well (Alp 2015: 240–5).

The works in Istanbul created by Giona, as well as other Italian artists, are all similar to other 19th-century Italian funerary statuary. They were either imported to or made directly in Istanbul. Simpler examples of such statues can also be found in Greek and Armenian cemeteries. One of the first examples of an angel or child statue in this manner is a funerary statue by Luigi Pampaloni and called *Prayer* or *Samuel in Prayer* (1827), which is exhibited at the Nervi Galleria d'Arte Moderna in Genoa (Berresford 2004: 204). The statues of praying children, as well as the praying angels found in the 19th-century works in Istanbul, reflect the Italian funerary sculpture tradition. This statue—which was copied many times, particularly in Italy—was used in the Angelina Maffetti grave as well as in many graves in the Cimitero Monumentale della Misericordia in Soffiano, Florence (Berresford 2004: 32 and 200).[5]

The funerary monuments directly imported to Istanbul and dating to the second half of the 19th century resemble others found elsewhere in the world as well. What is more, the non-Muslim cemeteries of Istanbul also feature funerary monuments brought from other countries, including Germany, France, the United States, and England. Besides the Italian sculptors and funerary sculptors whose work at non-Muslim cemeteries is identifiable, there were others active in the city as well, as indicated in the *Indicateur Ottoman* and *Annuaire Oriental* almanacs: among these are Salvator E. Genovesi, Charles Caruana, Carmelo Caruana, Felix Caruana, Romano, Saverio Borg, Lorenzo Gallia, Salvatore Gallia, Paolo Gallia, Geraci, Gherassimo Sarris, and Jean Sarris (Table 1, Fig. 16–17). Unfortunately, monumental work by these artists has not been identified in Istanbul's non-Muslim cemeteries, and it may be assumed that they probably executed simpler work. Salvator E. Genovesi and Romano were two of the more prominent names among these artists. The *Annuaire Oriental* records, particularly between the years of 1890 and 1923, make it quite clear that during this period there was a demand for sculptors, monumental funerary sculptors, and marble masons, depending on increase in numerical proportions.

The *Indicateur Ottoman* and *Annuaire Oriental* almanacs show that the sculptors and monumental funerary artists worked as families (Table 1). What is more, Charles Caruana used the *Annuaire Oriental* to attract attention via large advertisements of his variety of work in marble. Caruana worked not with family but with Spagnolo, at the workshops located at Kuledibi No. 12, near Galata Tower, as well as on Hacı Ali Avenue; the two artists carved co-signatures into the grave monuments that they produced together. Thus, although many of the artists worked as families, they also collaborated with other sculptors according to mastership rather than family connections.

Sculptors from Geneva, Florence, Bologna, Rome, and Venice were recorded as members

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[4] Similar examples (Alp 2015: 188, 190, 242) of such statues of a naked child praying are thought to have been made by the artist as well.

[5] The Angelina Maffetti grave in the Cimitero Urbano in Lucca—as depicted in Berresford (2004): 32, Fig. 31 — is the same as the statues seen in the Cimitero Monumentale della Misericordia in Soffiano in Florence (200, Fig. 414). Similar child and angel statues were created in many European countries as well as the United States in the first half of the 19th century.

of the Italian Workers' and Solidarity Society (Società Operaia), with Giuseppe, Romildo, Francesco, Romano, G. Battista, Carmelo, Virgiglio, and Enrico all being registered in the society as sculptors. G. Battista and Enrico were also skilled in woodwork. The media of the others were not specified, but most likely they worked in marble. It is possible that at least some of the names registered in the society between the years of 1865 and 1920 collaborated with architects or received commissions from families.

Although one would expect more sculptor's signatures on the monuments in the Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery, this is not the case. The only two graves at Feriköy known to have been made by an Italian artist are the monuments of the Pedrelli and Pedemento families, which were sculpted by Girolamo Fiaschi. It seems that Italian families often commissioned Greek artists for their funerary monuments. For example, the signatures of P.C. Pascalides and Antonios Zirimis, both of whom were active in the second half of the 19th century, are extant on the monuments of Italian families there. This situation might be explained by the fact that families commissioned native ateliers rather than relying on artists of the same national or ethnic origin.

The ateliers of Italian sculptors and monumental funerary artists were concentrated near Galata and Çukurbostan in Pera, Yeni Çarşı, Yeni Cuma, Hobyar, Şehsuvar, Kule Kapısı, Galata Tower, Asmalı Mescid, Kuledibi, and Şişhane. There were also other workshops in Feriköy and Pangaltı, both of which are near Latin Catholic and Protestant cemeteries. G. Semprini also constructed a series of stores for the purpose of providing revenue for the Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery. Such stores were found near cemetery entrances and probably rented out to sculptors and funerary artists.

The most prominent names were Italian sculptors working on funerary monuments with busts and statues. As already mentioned, for instance, Italian artists like Luigi Giona and Girolamo Fiaschi did work for the Şişli Greek Cemetery. These sculptors probably employed at architectural decoration by reliefs and statues. Italian family chapels in the Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery may also have been created by Italian architects and sculptors.

In conclusion, the European sculptors and monumental funerary artists who worked in Istanbul in the 19th century brought contemporary fashions in funerary sculpture over from Europe. It was Italian artists, especially, who played a fundamental role in changing traditional grave types and iconography in the non-Muslim cemeteries of Istanbul, which they did by importing the fashions of significant Italian cities like Rome, Florence, and Naples. Luigi Pampaloni's 1827 statue *Prayer* or *Samuel in Prayer*, which featured a praying child, was copied many times in Italy, and its angel version became very popular all across Europe, including, rather interestingly, in the non-Muslim cemeteries of 19th-century Istanbul. This new fashion in monumental funerary art was preferred not only by local Latin Catholics and Protestants, but also by Greeks and Armenians, with Catholic symbols and iconography coming to adjoin Greek and Armenian funerary monuments thanks to the work of Italian artists.

The last quarter of the 19th century was a period that saw changes and transformations in Ottoman-Italian relations. On the one hand, the Ottoman Empire and Italy were at times allies, as in the case of the Crimean War, while on the other hand Italian imperialist policies were opposed by the Ottoman state. During Turco-Italian War of 1911-12, as well as after World War I, many Italians with offices in Istanbul were deported. At the same time, some Italian architects and sculptors are known to have continued living and working in the city at this time. Following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, monuments to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk were executed by Pietro Canonica in Istanbul and the new capital of Ankara, showing that there was still a demand for Italian artists.

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Turkish Abstract

Osmanlı-İtalya arasında uzun bir geçmişe dayanan siyasi, ekonomik ve sanatsal ilişkiler Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemine kadar artarak devam etmiştir. 19. yüzyıl ortalarından itibaren imparatorluk genelinde yaşayan Hıristiyan azınlıklara tanınan hukuki ve siyasal haklar, bir taraftan söz konusu toplulukların öteden beri Avrupalı tüccarlarla kurdukları ticari ilişkilerinin gelişmesine ve giderek zenginleşmelerine diğer taraftan Batı tarzı bir yaşam biçiminin ağırlık kazanmasına neden olmuştur. Bu gelişmelerin bir sonucu olarak imparatorluk başkenti İstanbul, Doğu Akdeniz ticaretinde daha fazla pay almaya çalışan çok sayıda Avrupalı şirket ve tüccarın faaliyetlerine sahne olmuş, farklı amaçlarla Avrupa'dan gelen birçok yabancıya ev sahipliği yapmıştır. 19. yüzyıl İstanbul'unda saray, elçilikler ve gayrimüslim cemaatinin ileri gelen temsilcileri için yaptırılan yapı faaliyetleri için başta mimar ve mühendis olmak üzere ressam, heykeltıraş ve dekoratör gibi çok sayıda Avrupalı sanatçı görev almıştır.

Dönemin mimari ve sanatsal etkinliklerde yer alan en etkin ve sayıca fazla olan sanatçı grubu İtalyanlardır. Söz konusu sanatçılar arasında belki de en az tanınan grubu heykeltıraşlar ve bunların eserleri oluşturmaktadır. 19. yüzyıl İstanbul'daki Rum, Ermeni, Levanten ve Latin mezarlıklarında bulunan bazı mezar anıtlarında Girolamo (Girolamo) Fiaschi, Luigi Giona, Rossetti E. Spognola ve Pozzi Oreste gibi ünlü İtalyan heykeltıraşlar tarafından yapılmış portre büstler, melek heykelleri ve kabartmalar bulunmaktadır. İtalyan heykeltıraşların, mezar anıtları ve heykellerinde adı geçenler ile sınırlı olmadığı anlaşılmaktadır. Dönemin *Indicateur Ottoman* ve *Annuaire Orientel* gibi ticaret yıllıklarında heykeltıraşlar ve anıtsal mezar ustaları gibi başlıklar altında İstanbul faaliyet gösteren başka İtalyan sanatçıların yer aldığı görülmektedir. Ticaret yıllıkları yanısıra Società Operaia Italiana di Mutuo Soccorso in Costantinopoli cemiyetinin (İtalyan Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi) kayıtlarında da İtalyan heykeltıraşların isimlerine rastlanması sanatçıların İstanbul'daki faaliyetlerini doğrulamaktır.

19 yüzyıl Avrupa sanatında ağırlık kazanan mezar tipleri, mezar heykelleri ve kabartmalarının İstanbul'daki Hıristiyan mezar anıtlarına doğrudan veya dolaylı olarak taşınmasında İtalyan sanatçıların önemli bir rol oynadığı gözlemlenmektedir. Bu bildiride başta İtalyan heykeltraşlar tarafından sipariş üzerine yapılan ve ithal edilen mezar heykelleri olmak üzere, dönem kaynaklarından tanınan diğer sanatçılar, sanat ortamı ve dolaşımı hakkındaki tespit ve tartışmalara üzerinde yoğunlaşılmıştır.

Biographical Note

Selda Alp completed her undergraduate and graduate studies at the Department of Art History of Hacettepe University in Ankara. Her doctoral thesis on Grave Monuments with Figures in 19th century Greek, Armenian and Levantine Graveyards in İstanbul, was discussed under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu. She has been working as a faculty member in the Department of Art History at Anadolu University since 1995. She gives lectures on Western art and contemporary Turkish art. She published articles on funerary sculpture of the late Ottoman period.

Table 1 – Italian sculptors and the masters of monumental tomb

Sculptors and the masters of monumental tomb	Workshop Addresses	ANNUAIRE ORIENTAL (Year and page number)
Salvator E. Genovesi	Çukur Bostan Street, No.138 Çukur Bostan Street, No. 17 Dierahis Çıkmazı Street No. 6	(1889, p.500), (1891, p.662), (1893, p.604),(1894, p.576), (1895, p.604), (1896, p.736), (1902, p.881), (1903, p.952), (1909, p.1231), (1913, p.980), (1914, p.902), (1921, p.832),
Caruana & Spagnolo	Kule Dibi Street Galata Tower Square No.23 Hacı Ali Street Kule Street No. 12	(1885, p.361), (1902, p.876), (1901, p.756), (1881, p.163), (1900, p.724), (1903, p.947)
Charles Caruana	Kule Kapısı Street No. 4 Galata Tower Square No. 23 Hazeran Street No. 93	(1881, p.163), (1893, p.576), (1894, p.576), (1895, p.574, 580), (1896, p.706), (1898, p.707), (1902, p.839),
Felix Caruana	Kule Kapısı Street No.12	(1881, p.163)
Carmelo Caruana	Bit Pazarı Street No. 48	(1904, p.917), (1909, p.1178)
Girolamo Fiaschi	Pangaltı Street No. 4 Büyükdere Street No. 1	(1885, p.361), (1898, p.405)
Romano	Against The Feriköy Latin Cemetery	(1881, p.239), (1883, p.421), (1885, p.391), (1888, p.405), (1889, p.473,480) (1891, p.542, 549), (1893, p.576, 581), (1894, p.581)
Saverio Borg	İskender Street No.30	(1896, p.706), (1898, p.707), (1900, p.724), (1903, p.909), 1904, p.917)
Saverio Bordji	Prens Rodolphe Street No.31	(1896, p.706), (1898, p.707), (1900, p.724), (1903, p.909), 1904, p.917)
Lorenzo Gallia	Şehsuvar Street No.46 and No.48	(1898, p.707)
Salvatore Gallia	Şehsuvar Street No. 46	(1898, p.707)
Paolo Gallia	Şehsuvar Street No. 46 Şehsuvar Street No. 50	(1898, p.707)
Geraci	Büyükdere Street Pangaltı Altmansfer Apartment/House	(1885, p.361)
Gherassimo Sarris	Yeni Çarşı No.20	(1912, p.921), (1914, p.902),
Jean Sarris	Yeni Çarşı No. 20	(1912, p.921), (1914, p.902)
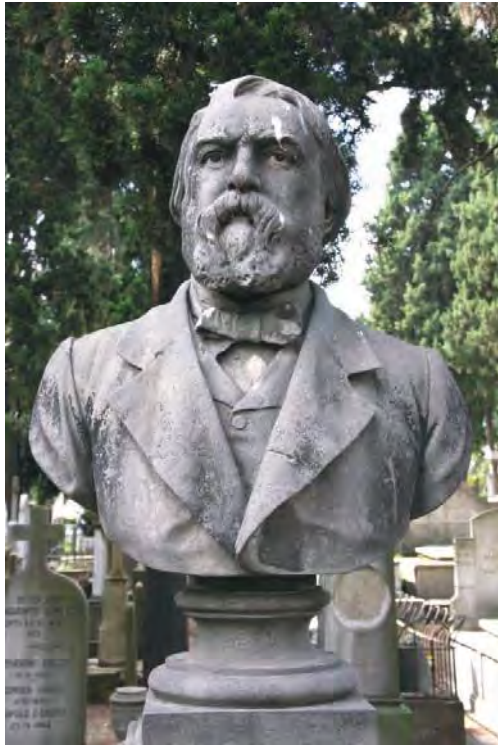
Fig. 1 – Family tomb of Pedrelli, Feriköy Latin
Cemetery (©Selda Alp)

Fig. 2 – Girolamo Fiaschi's signature, Family tomb
of Pedrelli (©Selda Alp)

Fig. 3 – Tomb of Paulo Pedemento, Feriköy Latin Cemetery
(©Selda Alp)

Fig. 4 – Family tomb of van Millingen, Haidar
Pasha Cemetery (©Selda Alp)
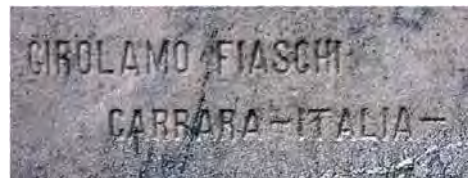
Fig. 5 – Girolamo Fiaschi's signature,
Family tomb of van Millingen
(©Selda Alp)

Fig. 6 – Blessa Family tomb, Şişli Greek
Orthodox Cemetery (©Selda Alp)

Fig. 7 – Tomb of Paschalis Tranos, Şişli Greek
Orthodox Cemetery (©Selda Alp)

Fig. 8 – Rossetti Spagnolo signature, Tomb of Paschalis
Tranos, (©Selda Alp)

Fig. 9 – Family tomb, Feriköy Latin
Cemetery (©Selda Alp)

Fig. 10 – Spagnolo & Caruana
signature (©Selda Alp)

Fig.11 – Family tomb of Negropontis, Şişli
Greek Orthodox Cemetery (©Selda Alp)

Fig. 12 – Family tomb of Longobarda, Feriköy
Latin Cemetery (©Selda Alp)

Fig. 13 – Family tomb of Rossi,
Feriköy Latin Cemetery (©Selda Alp)

Fig. 14 – Tomb of Lampascher, Feriköy Protestant
Cemetery, Ernesto Cali's signature,
(©Selda Alp)

Fig. 15 – Family Tomb of Albert Kun, Feriköy Latin
Cemetery (©Selda Alp)
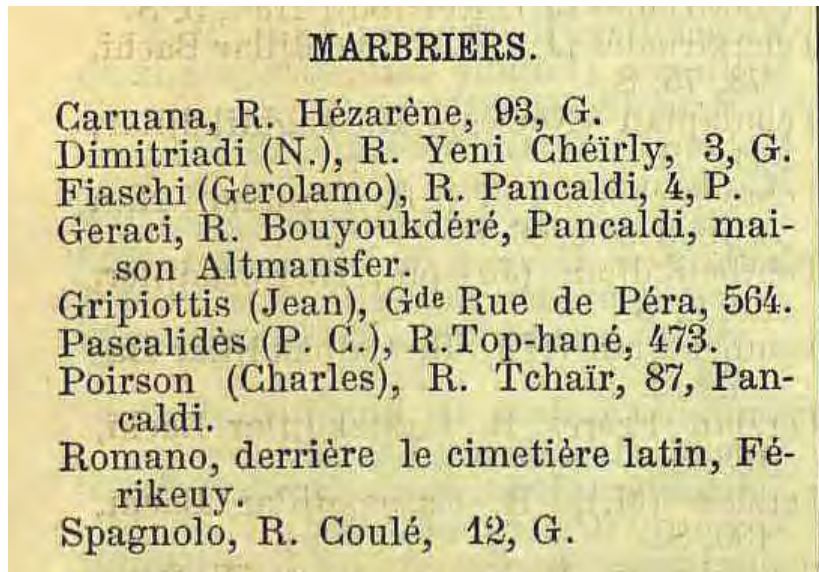
Fig. 16 – *Annuaire Oriental*, 1885: 361.

Fig. 17 – *Annuaire Oriental*, 1896: 706.

ERNST EGLI'S YEARS IN TURKEY
OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE AND THE ENCOUNTER WITH TURKISH HOUSES, DESIGNS, AND STRUCTURES FOR ANKARA. MEMOIRS FROM "THE EAST"

Leyla Alpagut
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This paper discusses the Eastern interests of a Western architect through the writings and designs of Swiss architect Ernst Egli, focusing on his quest for a synthesis of the traditional and the modern, how he positioned historical identity, and how he shaped and implemented this perception in the production of new and modern Turkish architecture. His writings — in which he describes his travels, investigative trips, impressions, designs, and structures — not only provide information that facilitates an understanding of the architectural environment of the period, but also reveal the architect's versatile personality.

Egli was invited to the Republic of Turkey in 1927, a time when both Turkey and the world were undergoing significant transformations, in order to organize the curricula of the Academy of Fine Arts (*Sanayi Nefise Mektebi*) and to provide training (Fig. 1). He also served as the chief architect of the Ministry of National Education. This first period of Egli's residence in Turkey, which was to last 13 years, was an era right after the founding of the republic when the modernity project was gaining momentum, based on the ideals of creating a modern society and modern cities. As a relatively young architect at 34, Egli found himself right in the midst of these intense expectations, and he would come to love and embrace the country and refer to it as "my Turkey," like a second homeland.

Egli not only helped to implement modernism in Turkey by designing new buildings, but he also linked his work to the values that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk wished to introduce to the new republican society. By providing an environment that was structured in a modern fashion, Egli served contemporary initiatives aimed at giving the country a Western appearance. Within this context, the field of architecture — which was considered a tool of state propaganda — managed to politicize Egli's professional practice: the construction of the nation via reforms and urban construction would become products of the same conception and would complement one another, and the republic's achievements were announced both domestically and to the Western world through images of the new society and architecture published in contemporary periodicals such as *La Turquie Kemaliste*. Moreover, the documentary "*Türkiye'nin Kalbi Ankara*" (Ankara: The Heart of Turkey) — which was filmed by the famous Russian director Sergei Yutkevich in 1933 at the request of Atatürk — also revealed that the new rationalist, progressive thought was a part of the same mentality with all of the achievements in terms of factories, schools, hospitals, and indeed the whole Anatolian community, both rural and urban. Most of the modern structures included in the documentary were designed by foreign architects, especially those from German-speaking countries, such as Clemens Holzmeister, Robert Oerley, Theodor Jost, and of course Ernst Egli.

When Egli came to Turkey, he rejected the idea that the notion of "International Architecture" should be simply transferred or imitated directly from Europe. In designs prepared during his first period in Turkey from 1927 to 1940, as well as in his memoirs of this period, his effort to create a synthesis between modern architecture and national identity or tradition emerges as a dominant concept. What is more, we cannot ignore the role of the journeys he took through Anatolia in 1928 in the formation of this concept, not to mention his own distinctive approach to the architectural profession. Anatolia transfixed Egli with its vast geography and variety of regional conditions, religious structures, and indigenous traditions

(Fig. 2). In the meantime, what he saw in Anatolia allowed him to better understand the magnitude of the task he faced:

> On this trip, I saw the worrisome state of schools, the saddening heritage of the old period, and thus understood the magnitude of the task of developing the education system and constructing schools. Under the influence of what I saw, in Ankara I prepared primary school models with the simplest design which could be implemented in the most cost-efficient way by using the building materials in the countryside and local workforce wherever possible (Egli 1969) (Fig. 3).

The All-Boys High School Dormitory — one of the first buildings he designed in Ankara under the influence of these experiences and observations — did not satisfy him, despite the praise he was given by Turkish friends: he criticized himself for not fully achieving the conception of modern and monumental architecture expected of him, and believed he would disappoint the public (Egli 1969).

Egli's interest in Turkish home architecture began during the early stages of his time in Turkey. He was fascinated by the natural relationship between the land, settlement, and houses:

> There were villages consisting of cubes piled up on one another and which were constructed on slopes. The houses were built of mud brick or crushed rock. In some of the villages, there were wooden houses with mud brick filling and colored ornaments … In these houses, handcraft weaving was carried out, quilts were embroidered with patterns, and ornate scripts or carpets were woven (Egli 1969).

Under the influence of these experiences, in 1931 Egli initiated the National Architecture Seminar at the Academy of Fine Arts. The seminar, conducted by his assistant Sedat Hakkı Eldem, focused on the subject of the Turkish house rather than on monumental Ottoman structures, and its aim was to make inventory and document quality examples. The functional features and stylistic characteristics of Turkish housing, which were also capabled of being adapted to the new era, influenced Egli considerably. Later, likely as a result of these activities, Sedat Hakkı Eldem pioneered the 2nd National Architecture Movement, which aimed to establish a bond with Turkish housing.

Egli argued that new villas to be built in Ankara must be synthesized with Anatolian housing typology, not with that of Europe. He advised that these new houses had to meet the requirements of modern life while also establishing a bond with traditional housing (Fig. 4). Even though he was praised for this attempt at synthesis, the reality of the Ankara All-Boys High School Dormitory was that he did not believe it met expectations sufficiently, and he was not happy with it (Egli 1969).

The arched portico arrangement of the Marmara Chalet (*Marmara Köşkü*), whose design he began in 1928, appears contrarian to the stylistic definition of the modern, bearing witness to a situation lying outside the scope of ordinary Egli architecture (Fig. 5). In addition to bringing to mind the dilemma of the late 1920s transition period, which was evolving from the national to the international, the structure clearly evidences the pursuit of synthesis and suggests either overt or covert reference to Kemalettin Bey's Gazi First Teaching School, which had recently been completed. On the one hand, Egli — who, when he first met Atatürk, was asked whether or not the Gazi First Teaching School building was modern, and who understood Atatürk's intentions as an employer determined on change — may well have wanted to create a synthesis in the design of the chalet: the fact, for example, that he included in the chalet's plans such elements of Turkish rooms as the hearthstone design shows that he was trying to establish links with details specific to the culture that he was just beginning to learn. On the other hand, the chalet also brings to mind the Turkish room built on Atatürk's request for the Turkish Hearth (*Türk Ocağı*) building under construction in Ankara at the same time. Egli — who likely saw

this important and monumental construction, which has unfortunately recently been demolished — must thereby have formed some opinion regarding Atatürk's tastes and dispositions. The structure has unfortunately been demolished recently.

Egli's notion of synthesis is clearly evident in his structures, images of which are included in his article entitled "*Mimari Muhit*" (Architectural Neighborhood). Among these structures, the Music Teaching School is presented as a prime example of modern architecture in Turkey in Celal Esad Arseven's book *Yeni Mimarlık* (The New Architecture) (Fig. 6, 7). The school consists of blocks arranged around an inner courtyard with a fountain, in a vein similar to the Ottoman madrasah typology. Such a tendency to combine the local and historical with the modern, which is what Egli aimed to capture in his architecture, resembles contemporary efforts to modernize polyphonic Turkish music via inspiration drawn from Anatolian melodies. This connection between the approach to music teaching that was to be adopted in the school and the school building's very architectural identity is particularly striking. While the school's cubical block features draw it close to the principles of modern architecture, the flat roof and plain and simple surfaces free of ornament simultaneously abide by the Ottoman madrasah layout. The structure's concept of symmetry was kept as a continuation of the neoclassical arrangement maintained for public structures, despite being contrary to certain principles of modern architecture. Likewise, the usage of a steep hipped roof in the Trade Vocational School and the Gymnastics School, and the Etimesgut Boarding School with its inner courtyard — structures that were built by Egli around the same time — indicates that he was unable in these early designs to decide on which path to follow.

As is evident from his travels in Anatolia, Egli felt close to Turkey's historical past, adopting the country as his homeland and internalizing it so far as to call it "my Turkey." The emphasis on "nationality" in his architecture must be a product of this sincere interest. Egli carried out scientific studies on Ottoman architecture and the structures of Mimar Sinan, as well as playing a significant role in the analysis of Turkish housing. On the necessity of analyzing historical structures, Egli states the following:

> What is historical opens a door for us. This door leads to the never-changing character of a person, a race, a nation. It shows what determines the most private housing necessity. In fact, the unchanging reaction a person has toward his environment lies in this knowledge … In other words, studying what is historical makes us understand the heritage of our ancestors and binds us to tradition by adding us as individuals to a chain of lineage. However, it is clear that the ever-developing revolution of the human mind will force us to face new duties of which our ancestors never knew (Egli 1942: 297).

According to Egli, the new must be produced through a country's indigenous experiences, and in this process the old must be added to continuously. Beginning in 1935, he would go on to interpret the topic of modernity and tradition by incorporating his own experiences via the National Architecture Seminar. He well understood the habitation character of Turkey, which consisted of wooden construction and identical units of monumental structures covered with domes, and was aware of everything from the oldest houses and nomad tents to Ottoman residences and palaces, and indeed he tried to apply this synthesis and interpretation with another approach in the structures of the Fuat Bulca Villa, the Embassy of Switzerland, and the Embassy of Iraq, which he designed in 1937 (Fig. 8-9). In the case of the villa, he established a connection with traditional housing architecture via the relationship between hall and room, while in the case of the Swiss embassy he did so through gradation and the sitting areas in the Turkish room and the wide canopy and certain characteristics of the facade. In the case of the Iraqi embassy, although the structure's seraglio-*selamlık* separation was not part of a modern housing program, it was nevertheless another characteristic of traditional housing.

The planning of the Atatürk Forest Farm and some of its buildings, which are among the last products of Egli's first period in Turkey, can be considered the result of his determined pursuit of an architecture of a synthesis indigenous to Anatolia (Alpagut 2010) (Fig. 10). The Atatürk Forest Farm compound in Ankara — planned as an agricultural and recreational site in the midst of a plateau — also shows Egli's desire to implement Atatürk's ideal of creating something out of nothing." While the design of the compound's Brewery Hammam emulates Ottoman hammams in its fundamental principles and elements such as changing (cold), warm, and hot rooms, domes for the changing and hot rooms, and the navel stone, at the same time the structure did not break away from modern architectural facilities, with its plain plaster facades featuring only superficial movement, its ferroconcrete skeleton, and its modern heating system (Fig. 11). Such an idea of understanding the old while producing the new and synthesizing the two creatively makes this structure a symbol of Egli's concept of architecture in Turkey.

His steep, unidirectional roofs, along with the stylistic features of cubical architecture implemented in the houses nearby, add a visual quality of vernacular architecture to the farmhouses as seen from the rear facade (Fig. 12). In addition to their architectural features, these houses with small arable gardens at the back and front do not sever users' ties with their rural habits, thereby constituting an important example of Egli's suggestion of country houses specific to Anatolia. The hammam on one end of this arrangement is not only functional in terms of traditional bath usage, but also makes symbolic references; thus, overall, the compound presents a small model of the modernity project visualizing what is "Turkish," and therefore reveals itself as a product of the architect's efforts at a synthesis of the modern and the national.

It is worth noting that, during the 1934 planning of these structures on the Atatürk Forest Farm, Egli had focused largely on expressing the magnitude of the change Turkish society was going through and on the pride engendered by the successes achieved, an expression that aimed to use Anatolia's background, dating all the way back to prehistoric times, a heroic saga to which Eregli himself wished to contribute. He also tried to make visible the Turks' traditional approach to nature and landscaping by establishing a link with Turkish culture and history. Thus Egli — who did his planning in accord with the natural "gathering place" (axis) present on the land — found his own variety of solution to the problem of vernacular-modern coherence.

Egli was an influential architect of the early years of the republic, one who absorbed the polyphonic cultural structure and multilayered architectural tradition of Anatolia and utilized these in his own designs, which are products of his quest to synthesize the traditional and the modern, as well as in what he wrote, such as his studies of Mimar Sinan and Ottoman architecture, his translations of the quatrains of Jalaladdin Rumi, his interpretations of Turkish housing and traditional architecture. In the end, he was a man who truly attempted to develop an architectural style that would be specific to Turkey.

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Turkish Abstract

Bu çalışmanın kapsamını 1927 yılında Türkiye'ye davet edilen İsviçreli Mimar Ernst Arnold Egli'nin Türkiyeanıları ve Mimar Sinan üzerine ilk bilimsel çalışmalardan olan kitabında yazdıkları üzerinden yabancı bir mimarın "doğu" ilgisi, geleneksel-modern sentezi arayışları, tasarımlarında ve düşüncelerinde Osmanlı beğenisini nasıl konumlandırdığı, kendisinden beklendiği gibi yeni ve modern Türk mimarlığının üretilmesinde bu algıyı nasıl biçimlendirdiği ve uyguladığı, başkent Ankara'da gerçekleştirdiği yapılarına bu deneyimlerini nasıl yansıttığı oluşturmaktadır.

Çalışmanın başlıca kaynaklarından birisi, Egli'nin 1969 yılında kaleme aldığı "Ülkem ve Yabancı Ülkelerde Geçmişteki Hizmetlerim-Hatırat" adlı yayımlanmamış iki ciltlik kitabıdır. Bu kitapta, Türkiye'de bulunduğu 1927-1940, 1953-1955 yılları arasındaki, çalışmalarını, seyahatlerini, inceleme gezilerini, tasarımlarını ve yapılarını anlatmıştır. Anadolu kentlerini, hassasiyetle gözlemlemiş, çoğunu fotoğraflarla, bazılarını da karakalem ve suluboya çalışmalar ile kaydetmiştir. Özellikle doğulu ögeler, yörelerin ve insanların doğulu karakteristikleri Egli'ninilgi odağı olmuştur.

1953-1955 yılları arasında hazırladığı Mimar Sinan Kitabı, Batı'da bilinen ancak yeterince tanınmayan Mimar Sinan'ı ve yapılarını çok sayıda rölöve ve fotoğraflar ile ayrıntılı olarak tanıtmayı amaçlamıştır. Kitap aynı zamanda Osmanlı yönetim, toplum, din yapısı, Türkler'in İslam sanatına katkıları vb konuları da içeren, kısa bir sürede Osmanlı toplumunu ve Mimar Sinan'ı akılcı bir anlayışla çözümleyen bir anlayışın ürünüdür. Bu yaklaşım, Egli mimarlığı'nın değerlendirilmesinde önemli veriler sunmaktadır. Türkiye'ye ilk kez geldiği 1927-1940 dönemi, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Baş Mimarı olarak çok sayıda yapıya imza attığı, Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Mimarlık Bölümü'nün yöneticisi ve hocası olduğu etkin ve üretken onüç yılı kapsar. Osmanlı Dönemi ve Mimar Sinan'a olan ilgisi ile pek çok yapının rölevelerini hazırlamış, araştırma ve incelemeler yapmıştır. Anılarında Türkiye'ye davetinin asıl sebebi olan Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı bünyesindeki çalışmalarından çok az sözederken, seyahatlerindeki deneyimleri, tarihsel yapılara olan ilgisi ve özellikle Osmanlı yapılarına olan hassasiyeti dikkat çekicidir. Bu ilgi tasarımlarının ve uygulamalarının çoğuna doğrudan yansımasa daörneğin 1934 yılında Atatürk Orman Çiftliği'ne ilişkin raporunda Osmanlı geçmişiyle bağ kurmaya çalışması dikkat çekicidir.Diğer yandan Ankara'nın başlıca modern mimarlık örneklerinden Musiki Muallim Mektebi Binası'nda (1927-1928), iki yanı revaklarla kuşatılmış, ortasında havuzu bulunan iç avlulu tasarımı açıkça Klasik dönem Osmanlı medrese şemasının modern bir yorumu gibidir.

Bu ilgisini Atatürk Orman Çiftliği'ndeki Bira Fabrikası Hamamı'nda da (1937) sürdürmüş, kubbe örtülü soğukluk, sıcaklık bölümlerinin bulunduğu tasarımı ile modern malzeme ve geleneksel biçimi birleştiren bir Türk hamamı gerçekleştirmiştir. Aynı yerleşkedeki Marmara Köşkü'nün (1928), dört yanını kuşatan kemerli revak düzenlemesi ve köşkün içindeki Türk odası tasarımı yine aynı eğilimin sonucu olmalıdır. Aynı tarihlerde inşaatı süren Milli Mimarlık Üslubundaki Türk Ocağı Merkez Binası (Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu)'na olan beğeninin, kendisinden beklenen moderni milli ile sentezleme çabasında yol gösterici olduğu düşünülebilir.

Türkiye'deki mimari ve kentsel tasarımlarının toplam sayısı yetmişbeşe ulaşanEgli'nin

modern Türk mimarlığının öncü projelerinden olan yapıları arasında Musiki Muallim Mektebi (1927-1928), İsmet Paşa Kız Enstitüsü(1930), Yüksek Ziraat Enstitüsü (1933), Atatürk Orman Çiftliği Planı ve Yapıları (1928-1937), Etimesgut Yatı Mektebi (1928), Kız Lisesi (1928), Türk Hava Kurumu İdare Binası (1936-1940) yer almaktadır. Çalışmada, Ernst Egli'nin çok yönlü kişiliği, geldiği bu "doğu" ülkesinin tarihine ve mimarlık mirasına duyduğu ilgi ile yaptığı çalışmalar, özellikle anılarında dile getirdiği "modern" ile "milli" olanı sentezleme çabaları, yazdıklarından ve yapılarından yola çıkarak değerlendirilmeye çalışılacaktır.

Biographical Note

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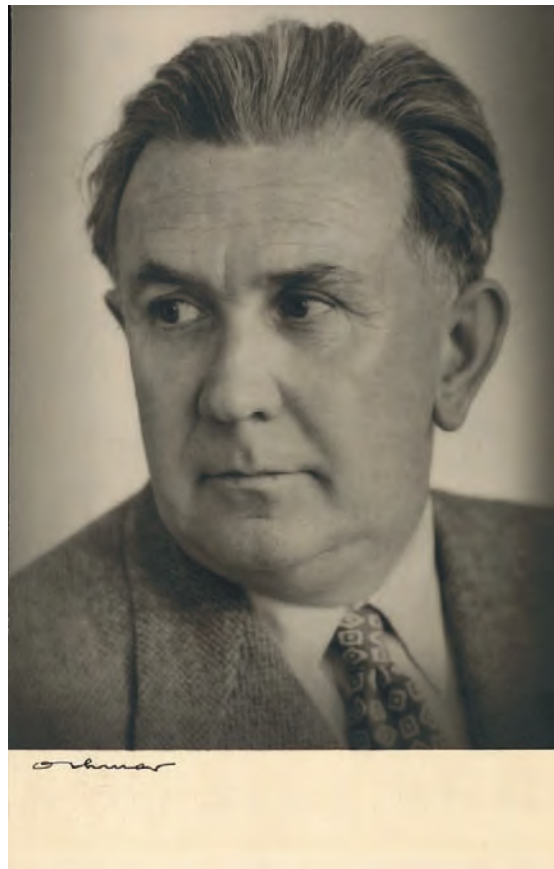
Fig. 1 – Ernst Arnold Egli (1893-1974)
(©Eidgenössiche Technische Hochschule, ETHZ)

Fig. 2 – Sketch of Anatolia, 1930 (©ETHZ)
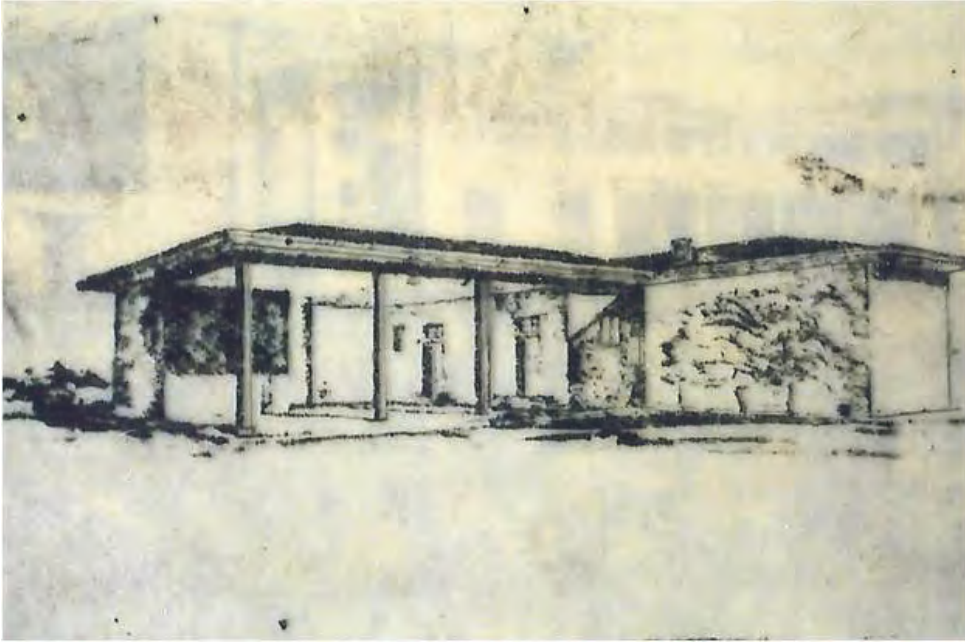
Fig. 3 – Primary School Design for Anatolian Villages, 1928-29 (©İnci Aslanoğlu)
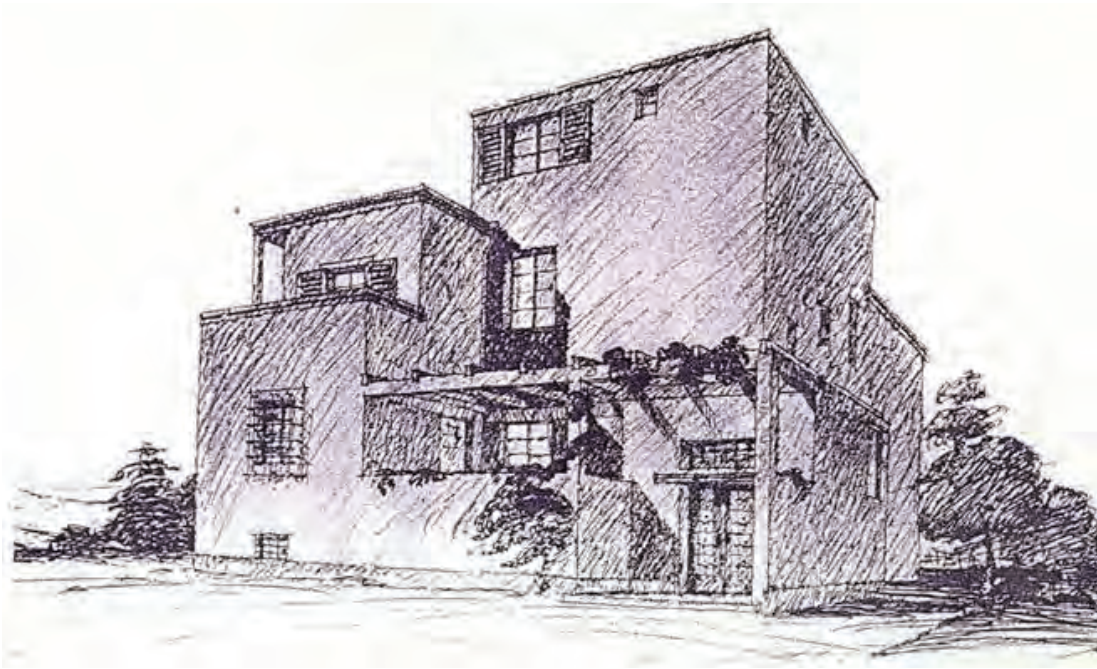
Fig. 4 – House design for Ankara, 1930s (©İnci Aslanoğlu)

Fig. 5 – Marmara Chalet, 1928 (©Uğurlu Tunalı)

Fig. 6 – Music Teaching School, Ankara, 1927-29 (©ETHZ)

Fig. 7 – Music Teaching School, Ankara, Ernst Egli, 1927-29 (©ETHZ)

Fig. 8 – Fuat Bulca Villa, Ankara, 1934-36 (©ETHZ)

Fig. 9 – Swiss Embassy, Ankara, 1936-38 (©ETHZ)
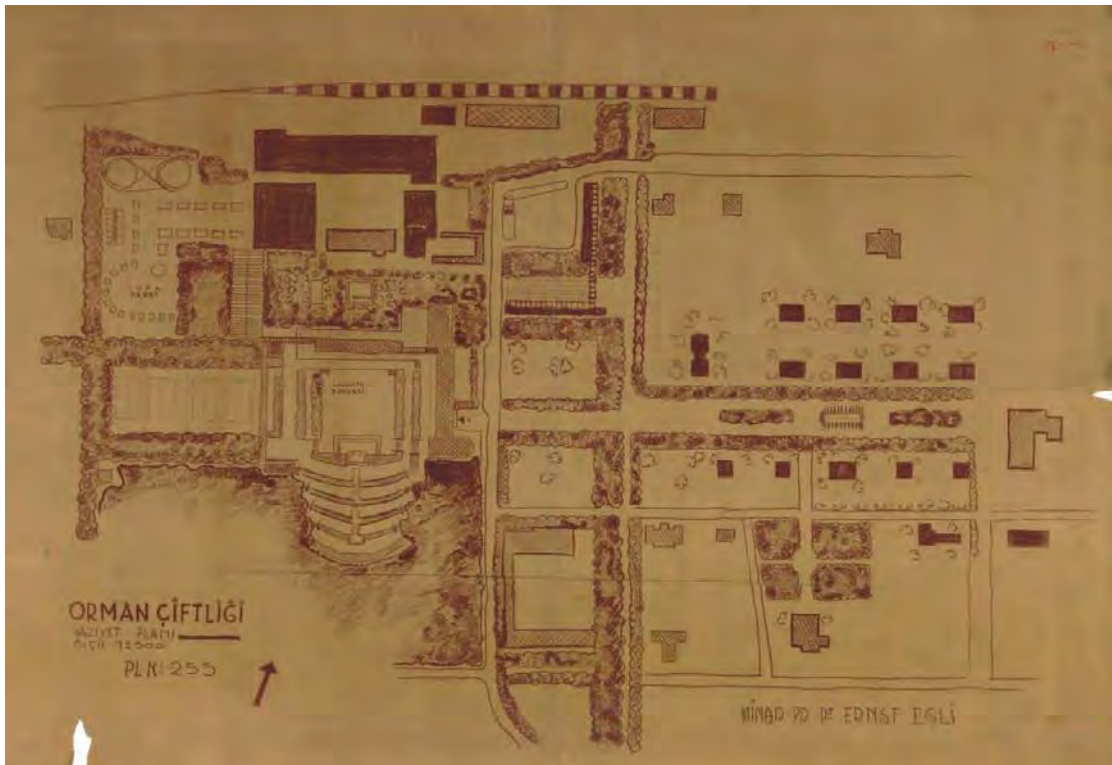
Fig. 10 – Atatürk Forest Farm, Location Plan, 1936 (©Tütün Tekel İşletmeleri A.Ş., TTA)

Fig. 11 – Atatürk Forest Farm, Hammam, 1937 (Atatürk Orman Çiftliği)

Fig. 12 – Atatürk Forest Farm Mass Housing, 1937 (Atatürk Orman Çiftliği)

OTTOMAN USE OF EXISTING PUBLIC BUILDINGS
IN FORMER BYZANTINE TOWNS: GREECE AS A CASE STUDY

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Ottoman and/or Ottoman-Byzantine town

During the early centuries of Islam, Muslims evidently preferred to build their own new cities after conquering regions within Persian or Byzantine lands, and their new urban centres were planned according to the concept of the Islamic city.[1] These cities were generally located outside the previous urban areas' walls or boundaries. In the case of the Ottomans, as compared with other parts of their empire the foundation of new towns in Greece, however, was rather limited. The main reason for this is partly the fact that the Greek territories in southeastern Europe were far more urbanized than other regions in the area: the degree of urbanization in a region like Bulgaria, for instance, was visibly lower than that seen in the Greek provinces, while Serbia, Bosnia-Hercegovina and the interior of Montenegro were studded with the castles of feudal lords and imposing monasteries, but had almost no towns until the early 15th century. Towns were either founded by the Ottomans as part of their urbanization policy, or else sprang up by themselves, helped by a certain amount of building activity on the part of the lower echelons. The Ottoman cadastral registers (*tahrir defterleri)* from the 15th and 16th centuries held in the archives in Istanbul and Ankara show that only small numbers of Turkish colonists settled in the urban centres of Greece.

As stated above, only in a few cases were new towns actually built by the Ottomans. One example of this was the city of Larissa in Thessaly, which the Ottomans found in ruins, as it had been abandoned long before the Ottomans came (Fig. 1).[2] Here, from the 1390s onward, the Ottomans developed a new town located below the small ruined town, on the low plateau on the Pineios River, the site of the ancient acropolis. Larissa's population was built by successive waves of Ottoman colonization. The new settlement was given the Turkish name Yenişehir ("New City")[3] by the new founder, who is believed to have been Barak Bey, a son of the Ottoman warlord Gazi Evrenos.[4] The pre-Greek name Larissa (meaning "castle" or "fortification") remained in use by the small group of Greeks still living among the ruins. The oldest preserved *tahrir defteri* — MAD 10 (fol. 58r.) from 1455, held in the Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive in Istanbul — shows 66 Greek Christian households against 355 Muslim Turkish households, meaning that 83% of households were Muslim. The same registers also provide insight into the structure of the town's economy of the town. 75% of the taxes paid by the town came from market dues. Moreover, the bulk of the Muslim population were craftsmen: no less than 217 of the Muslim household heads have their profession listed below their name and patronym. Such details are thought to have been a tool helpful in identifying people rapidly, and do not mention the town's better-known inhabitants. Thus, there is not a single mention of a *muezzin*, although the town had a number of mosques and *mescid*s. The register mentions 27 weavers, 18 tailors, 14 tanners, 13 shoemakers, 12 shop owners, 10 butchers, eight saddlers, seven farriers, five silk weavers, three goldsmiths, two perfume

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[1] This is one of the earliest concepts in the study of Islamic history and culture. The Islamic city has been discussed in many studies and in terms of all its aspects (religion, way of life, planning, etc.); see The Islamic City 1970, which includes a collection of essays concerning the Islamic city.

[2] Σφυρόερας 1996: 341-343.

[3] Lowry 2008: 91; here it is incorrectly identified as Tırhala (Gr. Trikala).

[4] Mélikoff 1991: 720. A detailed overview of the history, population and new buildings of Larissa/Yenişehir is given by Kiel 1996.

sellers, and so on. In contrast to the Muslim inhabitants, the Christian population of Yenişehir/Larissa was wholly agrarian. This was a holdover from the Byzantine period, when peasants formed the majority of the town's population, as opposed to the Islamic/oriental city transplanted to the Balkans by the Ottomans, which was much more orientated toward artisans and craftsmen.

Another example of a new Ottoman town is Giannitsa (Fig. 1), which was originally founded by Gazi Evrenos. The Greek name Giannitsa is a Hellenized pronunciation of the Turkish Yenice-i Vardar:[5] *Yenice* means "rather new", as opposed to "entirely new", which was the case with Larissa (*Yeni Şehir* = "New City"). Gazi Evrenos resided in Yenice Vardar and was buried there, as did his sons and their descendants; all of them left imposing architectural monuments behind.[6]

Among the other examples of new Ottoman urban centres in Greece were Yenice-i Karasu in Thrace (now Genisea) and Margariti (Fig. 1) in northwestern Epirus. Yenice-i Karasu was a settlement in what is now the Vistonida municipality in Greece's Xanthi prefecture.[7] Initially a wholly Turkish settlement, it was first mentioned in 1432 by the Burgundian knight Bertrandon de la Broquière, who was on his way from Edirne to Serres to meet Murad II. He called the place "Jangibatzar" (*Yeni Bazar*) and said that it was a town in the countryside (*ville champestre*) that had been built by the Turks. The *icmal tahrir defteri* of 1454/1455 mentions it as Yeni Pazar and records that it had 154 Muslim households and about seven mosques. The accounting register (*muhasebe defteri*) of 1530 mentions Yenice-i Karasu as having 204 Muslim households, but still no Christians. In 1847, the French researcher Auguste Viquesnel noted that "Iénidjé i Kara Sou" was the centre of a *kaza* in the *liva* of Drama and contained 700 to 800 houses, largely inhabited by Turks who cultivated tobacco. The town featured several mosques, spacious *han*s and beautiful fountains. From the second half of the 15th to the 17th century, several high Ottoman officials had a number of monumental buildings constructed in Yenice, including mosques, schools, baths and an immense caravanserai. Most of these buildings were destroyed during the Bulgarian occupation of Greek Thrace in World War II.

As for Margariti (*Margaliç*), in 1530 it was a hamlet of eight houses attached to the sanjak capital of Ioannina (*muhasebe defteri* T.D. 367, p. 272).[8] Today it is part of the Greek municipality of Igoumenitsa. In 1551, a small but strong castle was built in Margariti, and around this there developed an urban settlement whose population of Albanians mostly converted to Islam in the 17th century. In AH 1082 (1670/1671 CE), Evliya Çelebi described Margariti as a small Muslim town with two Friday mosques, seven *mescid*s, two primary schools (*mekteb*), two dervish convents, a hammam and two caravanserais. Ten years later, Piri Pasha, the governor of the sanjak of Yanya (Ioannina), added a madrasah. In 1809, the English traveller William Martin Leake mentioned Margariti as a town divided into two neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) and having 800 houses (meaning about 3,500–4,000 inhabitants). From the second half of the 19th century we have two contrasting estimates of Margariti's population. In 1880 report by the spy Colonel Kokidis mentions 1,100 Muslim inhabitants and 240 Christians, while in 1898 Sami Bey Frashëri's *Dictionnaire Universel d'Histoire et de Géographie* / *Kâmûsu'l-A'lâm* (Volume VI, Istanbul 1316/1898: 4095), notes 3,000 Muslim inhabitants and 260 Christians. In 1913, during the Second Balkan War, the little town and its district of Çamouria were captured by the Greek army and subsequently remained within the enlarged Greek state. In 1945, during the stormy months immediately

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[5] Concerning the origin of the name *Vardar*, see Kiel 1971b: 303–304, esp. 304 n. 1. *EMπ*, XVII: 244.

[6] Lowry 2008: 90. Lowry 2010.

[7] Yenice Karasu, see Lowry 2008: 19; *EMπ*, XVI: 287.

[8] Evliyâ #1: 351; Evliyâ #2: 294; Ayverdi 1982: 315; Bıçakçı 2003: 241; concerning demographics and production activities in 1551 and 1613, see Balta, Oğuz, Yaşar 2011: pp. 381, 383.

after World War II, the Albanian Muslim population of Margariti and its district was driven away by Greek irregulars, with the small town being almost entirely destroyed. In 2015, hundreds of ruins of well-built stone houses could still be seen, along with the lonely minaret of a vanished mosque. In 1977, elderly inhabitants could still remember the site where the second mosque and the hammam had been, with the former having been in the bazaar area, which had also disappeared.

Yenice-i Vardar, Margariti and Yenice-i Karasu — as well as Almyros and Velestino in eastern Thessaly — were exceptional for Greece. The usual pattern was that the Ottomans built their own new settlement near existing Byzantine cities that they had conquered. In any case, both categories of cities — those of the kind of the two Yenices or Margariti, as well as those next to older Christian settlements — expanded in size owing to natural population growth, which led to the emergence of new districts.

Ottoman construction activities after the conquest of the Byzantine region

Traditionally, the construction of a mosque in a new Islamic city is the first religious interest of the Muslims. The same applies in the case of an already existing city that has been conquered, as in the case of the Balkans: in such cases, the conquerors either built a new mosque or converted an extant building into a mosque, most frequently a church.[9]

In Greece, and in all the Balkans, the Ottomans followed a system of rapid colonization.[10] In Rumelia, or Ottoman Europe, after the conquest of a town or city, the mission of the Turkish colony that was to live in the town would begin with construction activities. The first task, as already mentioned, was to build a mosque, after which the community would continue with the erection of a sequence of welfare and public establishments, among them a hammam, a *zaviye* (dervish lodge), a madrasah, an *imaret* (public kitchen), *sebil*s (fountains), roads, bridges, and caravanserais.

In the early period of the Ottoman Empire (the 14th and beginning of the 15th century), in certain cities such as İznik and Feres (Ferecik), the Ottomans would utilize existing buildings, which represented a pragmatic approach towards the reformation of the city; in this way, they could organize settlements according to their own social needs while also only having to construct some new buildings.

At the same time, in this early epoch the idea of the architectural complex (*külliye*, a group of different buildings with various functions erected by the same founder on one site) had not yet crystallized. This can be seen in the case of Komotini (Gümülcine), whose conqueror Gazi Evrenos erected a mosque, an *imaret* and a hammam — the first two of which are extant — just outside the walls of the old Byzantine town. While these buildings were near one another, they were not on the same site, and so cannot be considered a *külliye*.

The developed style of the *külliye* architectural complex only became clear from the second half of the 15th century onwards, especially in the conquered Byzantine cities of

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[9] There are many examples of both newly constructed mosques and of churches that had been converted to Mosques: the Old Mosque or Gazi Evrenos Bey Mosque in Komotini (1375–1385), the Old Mosque (1385) built by Hayreddin Pasha (Çandarlı Kara Halil) in Serres (demolished in 1938), and the Great Mosque of Didymoteichon (1420–1421) represent the first group, while the second group is well exemplified by the Byzantine Church of Panaghia Kosmosoteira (1152) in Feres, which was transformed into the Gazi Süleyman Pasha Mosque (the first certain conversion located in today's Greece), see Lowry 2008: 23, 143–145. More information on this topic is found below, in the section concerning the reuse of existing buildings with or without limited alterations or additions.

[10] Kuran 1968: 16.

Thrace. The *külliye* formed the centre of new Ottoman neighbourhoods,[11] and was generally located either outside the city walls or near the borders of the existing city, where it took on the role of the centre of the new Islamic city. In Greek Macedonia, there are many examples that show this pattern: the pattern is very pronouced in Serres;[12] in the complexes described by Evliyâ Çelebi, such as the complexes of Mehmed Bey[13] and of Mustafa Bey,[14] which included an *imaret*, a madrasah, a primary school (*mekteb*) and a dervish lodge (*tekke*), all of which were surmounted by domes covered with lead sheets; and in the complex of Selçuk Hatun, which included a mosque, a dervish lodge, a guesthouse (*tabhane*), and a building for the control of water supplies (*sebilhâne*).[15] In all these cases, it is only the mosques that have survived in whole or in part, though in the case of Selçuk Hatun not even the mosque has survived, as that was demolished before World War II.

The construction activities of the Ottomans can be divided into two categories: the first consisted of religious, educational and social or public buildings, while the second consisted of buildings with a commercial function. The latter's revenues were devoted to the operation and maintenance of buildings of the first category. In most cases, after the construction of these buildings, the founder would lay out the function; staff qualifications, duties and salaries; and running expenses and maintenance costs in a foundational *waqfiye* document.[16]

From the 16th century through the beginning of the 20th century, the Turkish population grew in the cities of Greece, and as such there was a need for new districts (*mahalle*). The *mahalle*s grew, in line with the concept of the Islamic city, around a central mosque or complex, and usually bore the complex's name; this explains the spread through Greece of the name *Yeni Camii* (New Mosque), which generally characterized more recently constructed mosques and the neighbourhoods that developed around them. Eleven mosques in Greece with the name New Mosque have been identified in Greece,[17] of which five have been preserved (Figs. 2–6): New Mosque in Komotini (16th–17th century),[18] New Mosque in Lesbos (1825–1826), New Mosque in Larissa (19th century), New Mosque in Edessa (19th century), and New Mosque in Thessaloniki (1900–1902).

Ottoman site selection

When the Ottomans conquered a Byzantine town, they selected the sites of their buildings firstly according to strategic significance. In Greece, the city's castle (or acropolis) was the typically the most important site in this regard. Thus, after the conquest, one or more mosques were built (or converted) according to need, as in the cities of Didymoteichon, Serres, Kavala, Thessaloniki, Athens, and Ioannina, as well as in the Peloponnese. The first concern was to reinforce the fortifications, including walls, towers, stores, and cisterns, after which a mosque

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[11] Also known as "Khatta" (from *khatt*, "line") in descriptions by the Arab historians, see: Akbar 1989: 22. Petersen 2002: 147. The Arabic term *maḫal* means "place" and characterizes the Turkish documents, which describe the cities' quarters and is pronounced *mahalle*, from which derives the Greek μαχαλάς.

[12] Evliyâ #1: 219-220; Evliyâ #2: 57–58; Τσελεμπί: 78-79.

[13] Of which only the mosque has been preserved, see Ameen 2010a: cat. no. 7.

[14] Of which only the mosque has been preserved from this complex, see Ameen 2010a: cat. no. 10.

[15] Evliyâ #1, pp. 219-220; Evliyâ #2, pp. 57-58; Τσελεμπί: 78–79.

[16] This is conceptually similar to the idea and practice of the common law trust. There are many examples of Ottoman *waqfiye*s are preserved, among which the *waqfiye* of Faik Pasha at Arta (*Narda*) in Greece may serve as a distinctive example. This very rich document is dated 4 March 1493, written in the Arabic language, and will soon be published for the first time in a new study by myself. *Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Arşivi, TD*, no. 623; Eyice 1986: 102-103; Kunter 1939.

[17] Ayverdi 1982: 196, 201, 227, 230, 237, 248, 263, 280, 297, 307 and 327 (Monuments no. 19, 97, 808, 897, 1081, 1432, 1792, 2101, 2503, 2844 and 3453).

[18] Ameen 2010a: cat. no. 12.

for, at least, the garrison would be constructed, with other mosques and public buildings being built according to the number of inhabitants, their needs, the extent of the space of the fort, and the distance between the citadel and the city centre. In Didymoteichon, Serres and Thessaloniki, the fortress was relatively far from the centre of the old city, and therefore it could not serve as the centre of intensive activities. In contrast, the citadels of Kavala and Ioannina were located in or beside the core of the old city, and this called for intense construction activity of both religious and welfare buildings: in Kavala's citadel there were three Friday mosques[19] and two small mosques, whereas in the castle of Ioannina (the northeastern citadel) there was a large architectural complex whose mosque, madrasah, kitchen and founder's mausoleum (*türbe*) have been preserved. The old city's core in or around the main market or agora was the second significant site after the citadel, featuring the city's core, with the junction of its main streets in central squares and often sites that dominated the city's view. In Didymoteichon, the Mosque of Çelebi Sultan Mehmed[20] (the Great Mosque, 1420–1421) is located in the city's central square (Fig. 7), and opposite it is the largest hammam, which was built in 1571–1572 by Feridun Ahmed Bey; the other main monuments of the city are similarly distributed around the Great Mosque.

In Serres, the first Ottoman construction activities occurred outside the walled town,[21] around the agora, where in 1385 the Old Mosque (*Cami'-i 'Atik*) was founded by the grand vizier Hayreddin Çandarlı Kara Halil.[22] Adjacent to the Old Mosque, one of Çandarlı Halil's descendants, Ibrahim Pasha, added a spacious *bedesten* (covered market) in the last decades of the 15th century; the *bedesten* is in a good state of preservation today, and serves as the city's archaeological museum.[23] Both the mosque and the *bedesten* used to form the core of the city. Far from this early core of Ottoman construction activity there are also three other extant mosques, each of which formed the centre of a new district. This reflects the expansion of Serres between the 15th and the 19th century, when the town was the third largest in Macedonia.

In the seaport of Kavala in eastern Macedonia, the largest concentration of Ottoman buildings was in the old city, called the Panagia district. The town developed from the hilltop castle down towards the harbour. Dating to the 1520s, the great mosque complex of the vizier Ibrahim Pasha (now the church of Hagios Nikolaos) formed the town's focal point, around which virtually all commercial and social activities were concentrated.

In Thessaloniki, both Hamza Bey Mosque (Alcazar; Figs. 8–9),[24] which was the oldest mosque built in the city and is still extant today, and the city's *bedesten* are located at the junction of Egnatia and Venizelou streets, the city's two main streets. Also on Egnatia street is the Bey Hammam (*Çifte Hammam*), built by order of Sultan Murad II; this was the first Ottoman hammam in Thessaloniki and is the largest one surviving in Greece. The Bey Hamam still dominates the downtown view. Near and around these important central monuments are other Ottoman buildings dating from the first two centuries of Ottoman

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[19] Çam 2000: 175. Evliyâ Çelebi mentions many mosques in the city of Kavala, including the mosques of the fort, see: Τσελεμπί: 66–67.

[20] Ameen 2010a: cat. no. 4.

[21] Evliyâ #1: 219–220. Τσελεμπί: 78–79.

[22] Unfortunately, this mosque no longer exists, but Evliyâ Çelebi described it in detail and mentions its dedicatory Arabic inscription, see: Evliyâ #1: 219. Τσελεμπί: 79–80.

[23] Ορλάνδος 1939–1940: 202–213. Πέννας 1966: 515–517. Στεφανίδου 1997: 294–295. The *bedesten* of Serres was actually built in the last decade of the 15th century by Çandarlızâde Ibrahim Pasha (d. 1499), see Gökbilgin 1952: 425, with the original text of the *waqfiye* describing the building. The *muhâsebe defteri* 167 from 1530, page 78, also mentions the *bedesten* as the property of the waqf of Ibrahim Pasha. Balta 1995: 94-95 also has details on Ibrahim Pasha and his foundations.

[24] Ameen 2010a: cat. no. 5.

control of the city: at the junction of Kassandrou and Hagiou Nikolaou streets, north of St. Demetrios Church, stands the New Hammam, and in the agora stands the Louloudadika ("Flowers") Hammam of Halil Pasha (d. 1499).

In Athens, during the first years after the conquest in 1456, the Ottoman presence was limited to the area around the acropolis.[25] Most of the Ottoman monuments which have been partly preserved to the present — such as the Fethiye[26] and Küçük[27] mosques, the madrasah of Ruznamçe-i Evvel Osman Efendi, the hammam of Abid Efendi and the dervish lodge of Ibrahim Efendi,[28] which occupied the octagonal Hellenistic building of the Horologion of Andronikos, known as the Tower of the Winds — were concentrated around the Lower Bazaar. There were also other monuments around the Lower Bazaar that have not survived, including the New Mosque, the *voyvodalık* or residence of the Turkish voivodes, the dervish lodge of Hussein Efendi, the Hacı Ali and Bey hammams, and hundreds of houses.

In the town of Chalkis (Euboea), the Emir Zade Mosque (17th century), an impressive monument that dominates the city, was constructed at a prominent point in the city, on a high position in a central square.[29] And as a final example, in Nafpaktos (Lepanto), the first mosque built inside the town walls was the Fethiye Mosque.[30] It was placed on a prominent site immediately east of the city's port, dominating the view of the harbour. This conscious selection of the most prominent sites for construction was the custom in almost all cities controlled by the Ottomans, a practice that has been described as the "Ottomanization of the city".[31]

Ottoman use of existing Byzantine buildings

During the Ottoman conquest and repopulation of Byzantine urban centres, the Ottomans took over and utilized Byzantine, or even earlier, constructions. While this practice of reuse is by no means unique to the Ottomans, they had their own particular application of this practice. The architectural history of the core or central sites of Greek towns, such as Athens, presents an especially interesting example of the historical continuity of site usage. Athens' Parthenon is a particularly good example of this. It replaced an older temple of Athena, known by historians as the Pre-Parthenon or Older Parthenon. This was destroyed during the Persian invasion of 480 BCE. In the 6th century CE, the Parthenon was converted to a Christian Church dedicated to the Virgin Mary. In 1205, the Franks (Roman Catholics) conquered Athens and ruled the city from the Propylaia, which they converted to a palace, at which time they also converted the Parthenon into a Roman Catholic cathedral. After the Ottomans annexed Athens in 1456, they improvised a mosque inside the cella of the Parthenon and added a minaret on the outside. Another good example of this process is the Vizier's Mosque in Irakleio: the site had been occupied by a sequence of temples, and later served as the Cathedral of Saint Titus during the Latin Bishopric of the Venetian Kingdom of Candia in 1211. Then it became the Vizier's Mosque after the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1669. Finally, it was converted to a parish church in 1924, which function it still serves today.[32]

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[25] *EMME* I: 18–20. *EMME* II: 116–122. *EMME* III: pp. 227–230. Arafat 1987–1988: 21–25, esp. 24. Ayverdi 1982: 200–201.

[26] Ameen 2010a: cat. no. 15.

[27] Ameen 2016: pp. 73–86.

[28] Eyice 1954: 163; Ayverdi 1982: 201; Μιχελή 1984: pls. 29–30.

[29] OAG 2008: 85

[30] Ameen 2010b: 26–32.

[31] Bierman 1991: 58–70. Koumarianou 1999: 113–127.

[32] OAG 2008: p. 398

In the same manner, the Ottomans continued to use older sacred sites in Greece for their own religious needs. Their activities in this domain can be divided into two main categories: 1) the reuse of an existing building with or without limited alterations or additions, and 2) the reuse of the site of an older, ruined building.

The reuse of an existing building with or without limited alterations or additions

The reuse of Christian churches by Muslims was possible only in cities taken from the Christians by force, because in cities that had surrendered by treaty or voluntarily capitulated with a covenant,[33] the Christians retained both their property and their churches.

In general, the Ottomans followed these rules in the towns of Greece,[34] as in the cases of Ioannina, Athens and Mistra, which were conquered either without force or via treaty. The so-called Decree of Sinan Pasha records the peaceful conquest of Ioannina through a treaty made between Sinan Pasha, the senior governor of Ottoman territories in Europe, and the military, political, and religious (metropolitan) authorities of Ioannina in order for the city to surrender and, in so doing, both secure decent terms and avoid violent seizure, as had happened with Thessaloniki. According to the terms of this 1430s decree, no church could be converted to a mosque, nor could Muslims erect any mosque or live inside the walled city. This decree remained valid for almost two centuries, until the bloody uprising led by Dionysios Skylosophos in 1611.

On the other hand, in any town captured by force or assault, all churches were at the disposal of the conqueror.[35] The medieval theologian Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (1292-1350) commented on the attitude that the *imam* (the conqueror or governor) should adopt:

> [He] has to do what is best for the Muslims: if taking churches from the Christians or demolishing them is best, then he has to do that; this may occur if there are many Muslims concerned and the Christians are few in number. But if there are many Christians in need of their churches, it is better for the Muslims to leave the churches for them.[36]

When the Ottomans conquered a town by force in Greece as well as the Balkans, the largest church was immediately[37] converted to a mosque as a symbol of victory, but the second largest church was left to the Christian population. If the town had only one church, the Christians were given permission to erect a new church for themselves. After the conquest of Karaja Hisar, the first action of the Ottoman sultan Osman was the transformation of its church into a mosque.[38] In Constantinople, Mehmed II immediately converted Hagia Sophia[39] to a mosque, and later also built a new mosque of his own, with the latter serving officially as the city's Friday mosque. Still later, it is recorded that Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent converted churches into mosques in every town and fortress he conquered.[40] Thessaloniki was conquered by force in

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[33] The most famous covenant of the conquered cities is Umar's Assurance (*al-'Uhda al-'Umariyya*), signed between Caliph 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab and Sophronius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in 638. see: Covenant of Umar I; Della Vida, Bonner 2000: 818-821 (with bibliography at p. 821); Abu Jaber 2001: 591.

[34] As well as in the Balkans; e.g., Berat in Albania and Prilep in Macedonia.

[35] For more cases see: Hasluck 1929: I, 7, n. 2.

[36] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya 1997: 1190-1209.

[37] Hasluck 1929: I, 58f. In a recent study, Heath Lowry discussed the conversion of Friday and other mosques into churches and chapels after the withdrawal of the Ottomans from Greek territories, utilizing case studies from northern Greece. While this is a very important work, it pays insufficient attention to the differences of context in both cases. For more see Lowry 2009: 61-93.

[38] Hasluck 1929: I, 6.

[39] Ibid.: 6-7, 9-13.

[40] Ibid: 7, n. 1.

1431 by Sultan Murad II, as recorded in the Arabic dedicatory inscription above the gate of the Yedi Kule Citadel in the city: "This citadel was conquered and taken by force".[41]

This 1431 inscription also refers to the restoration and reconstruction work undertaken by Murad II. Concerning the conversion of Thessaloniki's churches into mosques, there are several contradictory statements.[42] It is certain that, immediately after the conquest of Thessaloniki, the church of Hagia Paraskevi — also known as the Virgin (Panagia/Theotokos) Acheiropoietos — was converted into a Friday mosque. Besides the fact that this church was very suitable for a mosque owing to its large size and location in the midst of the city, according to some scholars[43] the name Hagia Paraskevi, meaning "Holy Friday", must also have played a role in this choice. The other large churches in Thessaloniki — Hagios Demetrius, Hagios Georgios (Rotunda) and Hagia Sophia — all remained in the hands of the Christians long after the conquest. This indicates that, as explained above, in cities conquered by force the churches were left to the Christians, but could be taken at any time, as happened in Thessaloniki in several instances, as for example at the end of the 15th century and the end of the 16th century. In addition to the clear need for more mosques for the rapidly growing Muslim population — which, as we have seen, began in the last quarter of the 15th century — there were also diverse other factors[44] that accelerated this practice of conversion.

In conclusion,[45] it is clear that the conversion of churches to mosques in Greece was limited to only those towns that had been conquered by force. But it must also be stressed that even in this case, it was typically only one church in each town — with the exception of a few cases, like Thessaloniki — that was converted to a mosque, largely as a symbol of victory.

The reuse of the site of a ruined building, whether Byzantine or earlier

As mentioned above, most early Ottoman structures were examples of the architecture of replacement; that is, the Ottoman buildings were not the first on the site in question. In fact, though, it is difficult to imagine that the strategic and important sites of most early Ottoman edifices, which dominate the view of the Greek cities, were unoccupied prior to Ottoman activity.

It is noteworthy that the Ottomans, in general, retained the old usage of sites[46]. Bakirtzis noticed this phenomenon in Thrace: "In this respect, it is illuminating that many of the places of worship of the Bektashi (dervishes) and Sunni Muslims were established on the sites of

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[41] For more about the Yedi Kule fortress (or Heptapyrgion), see Κονιόρδος-Ωραιόπουλος 1997: 192-195; Ameen 2012: 8-9.

[42] Ameen 2012: 8-9. Kiel, in his article on the Turkish monuments of Thessaloniki, mentions the statements of Tafrali, Kramers, Werner, Babinger and Vakalopoulos concerning the number of churches in the 14th century, as well as the number of converted churches; for more see Kiel 1990: 127-128, 148a. Hasluck 1929: I, 16-17.

[43] The name "Holy Friday" was interpreted as a sign that the church was destined to become a mosque; for more about this phenomenon and other similar ones, see Hasluck 1929: I, 1. The view is supported by another paradigm, that found in Chalkida, where the Mosque of Mehmed the Conqueror should probably be identified with the converted church of Hagia Paraskevi, see OAG 2008: 85.

[44] Δημητριάδης 1983: 287–300; OAG 2008: 224; Kiel 1970: 142.

[45] Most scholars deal with this item without accurately explaining why this happened, see OAG 2008, p. 86.

[46] The Ottomans did not convert sacred buildings into institutions for civil use. However, according to Belabre, the Church of Saint Mark in Rhodes was converted into a hammam, see Belabre 1908: 153, cf. 156. Hasluck 1929: 38. In Rhodes, there were three Ottoman hammams, of which only the New Hammam has suvived, see OAG 2008: 380. In fact, there is no other information regarding the transformation of a church into a bath, and, moreover, the architectural form of a church is hardly suited to the requirements of a hammam. As such, Belabre's statement should be considered to be based on sheer ignorance.

Christian churches and monasteries".[47] There are many examples of Ottoman monuments erected on the ruins or foundations of earlier Christian buildings, including, for example, the Khalil Bey Mosque in Kavala, erected on the ruins of an early Christian church,[48] as well as the Mosque of Ibrahim[49] Pasha (now the Church of Hagios Nikolaos). In Athens, the Fethiye Mosque on the archaeological site of the Roman agora was built on the foundations of an older mosque that had, in turn, been built on the remains of an early Christian basilica. According to the local tradition of Ioannina,[50] the Arslan Pasha Mosque was constructed on the site of the Byzantine Church of Hagios Ioannis,[51] while the Fethiye Mosque, it is believed, was built on the site of the Church of the Archangel Michael, the patron saint and guardian of the Byzantine city of Ioannina.[52] In Rhodes, the Ottomans constructed seven new mosques, some of which were built on the site of pre-existing Orthodox or Catholic churches, such as the Hamza Bey Mosque, built on the site of the Church of the Savior.[53] The Imaret of Sultan Süleyman was erected on the site of a three-aisled Catholic church,[54] which had in turn been built on the Greek Orthodox Church of the Holy Apostles, dating to the 14th–15th century. The Murat Reis Mosque was built on the site of the Knights' Church of Hagios Antonios.[55] In Kos, the Gazi Hasan Pasha Mosque was built on the site of an earlier church of Agios Georgios,[56] while the Defterdar Mosque was built on the site of a Christian church dedicated to Hagia Paraskevi.[57] In Kastellorizo, the Mosque of Kavos was erected on the site of a pre-existing church dedicated to Hagia Paraskevi.[58]

In addition to such religious examples, other civil structures were also built in the core of the old Byzantine towns as part of an architecture of replacement. Such are, for instance, the Bey Hammam in Thessaloniki, built by the city's conqueror Sultan Murad II on the site of Thessaloniki's Roman and Byzantine agora.[59] The Staropazaro Hammam in Athens was erected on the Roman agora, and later demolished when archaeological excavations began in the area in 1875 and 1890.[60]

[47] Bakirtzis-Triantaphyllos 1988: 12. Sunni Islam is the largest branch of Islam, comprising at least 85% of the world's Muslims. Ruthven-Nanji 2004: 34.

[48] Στεφανίδου 2007: 232, 252

[49] Στεφανίδου 2007: 234.

[50] In Ioannina, all Christian churches remained, for two centuries after the Ottoman conquest, in the hands of the Christians, according to the Decree of Sinan Pasha, with the residential quarters of the Christians remaining inside the citadel. After the uprising of Dionysios Skylosophos in 1611, many of the privileges conceded in the decree were discontinued, see OAG 2008: 157–158.

[51] OAG 2008: 160.

[52] Ibid.: 162.

[53] Ibid.: 370.

[54] This church was probably destroyed in 1480, on the ruins of which a small, single-naved church was built. On the site of the latter, the Ottomans built an *imaret* after 1522, see Ibid: 376.

[55] Ibid.: 378.

[56] Ibid.: 387.

[57] Ibid.: 389.

[58] Ibid.: 392.

[59] Δημητριάδης 1983: 415–422; Ζόμπου 1997: 320–321; Ayverdi 1982: 275–276; Σαμουηλίδου-Στεφανίδου 1983: 58.

[60] Arafat 1987–1988: 24; OAG 2008: 79.

The impact of reusing older sites

The reuse of sites was clearly more related to the sanctity of the location than to its foundations. In many instances, the existence of older foundations would also affect the design of new constructions, or at least their dimensions, as in the case of the Fethiye Mosque in Athens (Fig. 10), built on the remains of an early Christian basilica. The *riwaq* (portico) of the mosque terminates where the north wall of the basilica stopped; moreover, the uncommon position of the minaret, as well as its orientation, were the direct result of the older foundations. In some instances, the architectural design was dictated by the given conditions of the city plan, especially when enlargement was required, as in the case of the mosque of Hamza Bey (Alcazar) in Thessaloniki, with the unusual irregular shape of its courtyard (Fig. 9). On the other hand, in many instances the reuse of an older site allowed for the use of spolia. This can be seen in the Imaret of Gazi Evrenos Bey in Komotini,[61] in Thessaloniki, and the Bey Hammam, Hamza Bey Mosque (Fig. 11) and Ishak Pasha Mosque in Thessaloniki (Fig. 12),[62] and in the Fethiye Mosque at Nafpaktos.

It must also be mentioned that, in Greece and other nations in the Balkans, the topic of converting churches to mosques attracted a great deal of interest, but without much consideration of what had happened in the rest of the world.[63] A few years ago, the Old Mosque of Stara Zagora in Bulgaria, built in 1408, was finally restored after 70 years of decay. To the great satisfaction of many Bulgarians, the foundations of a medieval Christian church were discovered under the floor of the mosque, proving that the mosque had indeed been built atop a demolished church. Digging deeper, archaeologists found under the remains of the church the foundations of a pagan sanctuary. This discovery, in turn, created great astonishment, as it made it crystal clear that the destruction of sanctuaries of defeated people and the construction of one's own religious structure atop the demolished forerunner was not some Turkish speciality, but indeed far predated the arrival of the Turks and was very widespread. The old mosque was turned into a museum, with the remains of the church and the pagan structure kept very visible. Many more examples of this practice of building on the ruins of sanctuaries of defeated forerunners could be given. Those given here are thus only a small indication of a practice that was spread over a large part of the world.

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[61] Ameen 2010a: cat. no. 1.

[62] Ameen 2010a: cat. no. 6.

[63] After the end of World War II, the badly damaged Gothic church of the village of Elst, halfway between Nijmegen and Arnhem in the Netherlands, needed restoration and partial reconstruction. When working to consolidate the foundations of the building, the ruins of two Roman temples, one right atop the other, were found. The lower temple was dated to the first century CE, and had been destroyed during the great revolt of the local Batavian tribes (70 CE) against the Roman occupation. The second temple was much larger and more elaborate, meant to impress the local Germanic population and commemorate the victory of the Roman Empire. When, at the beginning of the 8th century, the land between the rivers Waal and Rhein was Christianised by St. Willebrord and his disciples, the temple was demolished and a small Christian church built atop it. Two centuries later, this small church was replaced by a larger one built in an early Romanesque style. In the 14th century, this Romanesque church was then replaced by one done in the Gothic style of the time, which is roughly the structure that survives today. After the completion of the restoration, the Roman and medieval remains were made visible. During excavation under the Romanesque St. Bavo Church in Aardenburg, in the province of Zeeland in the Netherlands, the foundations of a Roman temple were found under the floor of the church, possibly after heavy damages suffered by the building in World War II. Digging deeper, archaeologists found the remains of the "Holy Oak", the sanctuary of the pagan Germanic tribes that lived in the district where the city of Aardenburg would later emerge.

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Turkish abstract

Osmanlılar Yunanistan'da büyük, yerleşik şehirler dışındaki küçük, terkedilmiş merkezlere yaygın biçimde yerleşmişlerdir. Kalıntı halinde buldukları ve yeniden inşa ederek yerleştikleri şehirlere (Bizans kentlerinin yakınında) Yenişehir (Larissa), Yenice-i Karasu, Yenice-i Vardar ve Margaliç örnektir. Bu merkezlerin demografik yapısı, Yenişehir tahrir defterlerinden anladığımız gibi yoğun Müslüman ahali barındırır. 1390'lardan itibaren yerleşmeye devam edilen Yenişehir'de 1455'te yaşayan nüfusun %83'ünün Müslüman olduğu bilinmektedir. Tahrir defterlerinden Müslümanların çoğunun esnaf ve zenaatkar olduğu, Rumların ise tarımla uğraştığı da anlaşılmaktadır. Fethedilen yörelerdeki bu küçük yerleşkelerde kurulan Osmanlı kentlerinde Bizans yapılarının dönüştürülerek kullanılması yerine yeni bir şehrin inşa edildiğini görüyoruz. Osmanlı şehrinin merkezini oluşturan külliyelerin Balkanlardaki varlığı 15. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren başlar ve şehirler 16. yüzyıldan itibaren 20. yüzyıla kadar mahallelerle genişler.

Atina, Yanya, Selanik, Kavala gibi büyük merkezlerde ise Osmanlı şehri yeni inşa edilen veya dönüştürülen yapılar çevresinde gelişir. Eski yerleşkenin kullanılmasındaki tarihsel devamlılığı Osmanlılar da sürdürmüştür. Örnekse, Atina'daki Parthenon'un yüzyıllar boyunca yeni fatihlerin dini inancına göre dönüştürülmesi, Osmanlıların cami ve minare ekleriyle devam etmiştir. Osmanlılar fethettikleri kentlerdeki dönüşümü iki yöntemle yaparlar. Birincisinde var olan binalara ekler yaparak veya işlevini değiştirerek kullanırlar, ikincisinde ise yıkıntı halindeki binaları yeniden kullanırlar. Yapıların dönüştürülerek kullanılması büyük şehirlerde ana kilisenin camiye çevrilmesi şeklinde olmuştur. Selanik gibi birkaç örnek dışında, fethedilen kentlerde sadece tek bir kilisenin camiye çevrilmesi bu etkinliğin zaferin göstergesi olduğuna işaret eder.

Biographical note

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Fig. 1 – Map of Greece showing main sites and monuments included in the paper
(Ameen, after: http://www.d-maps.com/carte.php?num_car=2276&lang=en)
Key: 1-4: new Ottoman settlements (red = preserved; green = not preserved)
Y1-Y5: preserved mosques named Yeni Mosque

Fig. 2 – Yeni Mosque at Komotini (©Ameen, 2008)

Fig. 3 – Yeni Mosque at Lesvos (©Ameen, 2016)

Fig. 4 – Yeni Mosque at Larissa (©Ameen, 2016)

Fig. 5 – Yeni Mosque at Thessaloniki (©Ameen, 2007)

Fig. 6 – Yeni Mosque at Edessa (©Ameen, 2008)

Fig. 7 – Sultan Bayezid I Mosque at Didymoteichon (©Ameen, 2008)

Fig. 8 – The Oldest ottoman monuments of Thessaloniki beside the two main streets (Egnatia and Venizelou) of the city centre (©Ameen, after google earth maps)
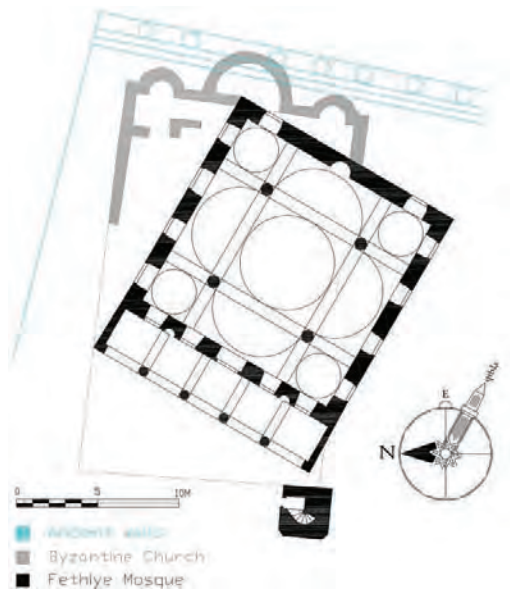
Fig. 10 – Plan of the Fethiye Mosque at
Athens with the indication of the pre-existing
Byzantine basilica (©Ameen, based on the site
plan of the Roman Agora at Athens)

Fig. 11 – Byzantine Spolia reused in the structures
of the Hamza Bey Mosque at Thessaloniki
(©Ameen, 2008)

Fig. 9 – Hamza Bey Mosque at Thessaloniki (©Ameen, 2009)

Fig. 11 – Byzantine Spolia reused in the structures of the Hamza Bey Mosque at Thessaloniki
(©Ameen, 2008)

THE TRANSFER OF TURKISH BEKTASHI *TEKKE*S TO ALEVI *CEMEVI*S

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The intra-Islamic transfer of architecture constructed for Muslim religious and educational assembly is a little-studied subject. Scholars have analysed the appropriation of buildings and spolia in inter-religious contexts, exploring diverse scenarios from the conversion of Christian churches to the dismantling and repurposing of Jain and Hindu temples. But how does the narrative shift when it is a similarly oriented, Islamic faith-community that is taking over stewardship of a previously occupied Muslim site? Analysis of shared use and transfer must take into consideration that many of the settings for prayer and study within the Rum Seljuk (c. 1078-1308) and Ottoman (1299-1923) realms were suitable for the needs and practices of a number of schools of Islamic law, as well as initiates from specific groups and orders. The *medrese* is but one example of a building type often intended to accommodate multiple schools of jurisprudence within a single architectural setting. Furthermore, doctrine and texts do not tend to distinguish one site of Muslim assembly from another when outlining their purpose, and, in the few examples where this is discussed, prescribing their structure. The actual transfer and use of space demonstrates a decidedly more differentiated approach to architecture that suggests a complicated, historically rooted movement of buildings between Islamic use-groups. In addition, we generally lack obvious signs of structural adjustments that might serve as evidence of this process, because the adoption of previously occupied religious architecture is often a matter of shifts in comportment rather than of a re-designed architectural footprint. We must therefore rely on other types of sources and lines of questioning.

Precisely how a work of Muslim religious architecture moves from the stewardship and use of one Islamic group to that of another is linked to historical and socio-religious issues, including shifts in official support for branches and movements within Islam, the political engagement of religious leadership, economic factors, interactions between sects, schools and lineages, and the nature of the structures themselves. In the Turkish context, the reasons behind this type of architectural transfer are a vivid illustration of the ascendancy of particular schools and movements, and the fall from status of others, in the intricate play of governmental, sectarian, Sufi, and clerical forces during the Ottoman and Republican (1923-) periods. During these eras, certain prayer, ritual and educational spaces have been appointed to, or adopted and adapted by new stewards, at times at the behest of the imperial court as well as due to the shifting needs of the faith communities themselves. As part of the process, the control of resources and the lasting obligation of liabilities are carried over, decisions are made about what to accept and even accentuate of the original structure, and new occupants may be charged with eliminating or at times replacing what was not suited to their needs. When the temporal distance between original occupants and new stewards is great, the additional question of how best to preserve or honour the historic value of the site also enters the scenario.

This paper examines the late twentieth and early twenty-first-century adoption of closed Bektashi *tekke*s (Sufi lodges) and *dergah*s (Sufi lodges established around the tombs and burials of exemplars) in Istanbul, Turkey, by communities formed from the Alevi Muslim minority. Under challenging conditions, Alevis have organized official *koruma dernekleri* (preservation / protection associations), in order to lease the sites, restore and stabilize their historic cores, and add new facilities for modern use. These former *tekke*s may then be reinstated as social service and heritage centres, with the central purpose of facilitating Alevi belief and practice. I will identify the communities involved, and examine some of the conditions that have made it possible for this specific, established group of Islamic religious architectural sites, with

inherent historical symbolism, to be reopened by another group with their own long-standing traditions, practices, and architectural needs. This will be followed by brief notes on three of these structures, and a preliminary analysis of their transfer to the Alevi context.

The Historical Backdrop for the Intra-Islamic Architectural Transfer of the Tekke*s of the Bektashi Sufi Order*

The Bektashi order of Sufis emerged from an Anatolian environment of thirteenth-century religious fraternities such as the Akhis, and the practices of Sufi dervishes (Birge 1937: 50-58; Arnakis 1953: 235-46). The earliest architecture associated with Bektashi followers is the tomb of thirteenth-century eponym, poet-saint Hacı Bektaş Veli (d. c. 1271), who spread his teachings in Anatolia via verse and sayings in the vernacular Turkish language (See, Birge 1937; Melikof 1998). The Bektashis likely codified their practices and teachings in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, under a figure known as Balım Sultan (d. 1517).

The Hacı Bektaş Veli complex, located in the town named for the saint in the Nevşehir province of central Anatolia, is the largest Bektashi lodge and the former motherhouse of the order. The *tekke* was once comprised of buildings within three successive, walled courtyards, but only the inner two survive. Hacı Bektaş Veli and Balım Sultan, along with numerous other saints, *Baba*s (Bektashi sheikhs), initiates and followers are honoured by individual tombs, markers within the cemetery, and a structure known as the Hall of the Forty in the third court (Fig. 1). The middle court supported the bakery, kitchen and dining areas, the guest quarters and offices, and the *meydan evi*, an open hall purpose-built for ceremonial assembly as the primary site of the Bektashi ritual known as the *ayin-i cem*. Much of the complex, constructed between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries, was devoted to the practical needs of initiates and pilgrims, including the tombs, dining facilities, offices, storerooms, and a pool and fountain, as well as stables, which are no longer extant. Bektashi *tekke*s developed in western Asia and eastern Europe as both large pilgrimage centres with expansive service quarters in masonry structures, and small, rural buildings in the regional idiom. Often, gardens and land for farming, beekeeping, and livestock formed part of these complexes and their surrounds.

Bektashi initiates honour the Twelve Imams recognized by Ithna Ashariya ("Twelver") Shi'ism. These twelve figures include the Prophet Muhammad and *seyyid*s (his direct descendants through his son-in-law Ali ibn Abi Talib (d. 661) and his daughter Fatima). Bektashis also legitimate the therianthropic transformation of exemplars, and advocate progression along a *yol* (path) of learning, in the process rejecting many tenets of mainstream Sunnism such as regular daily prayers facing the direction of the *kıble*. Under the Ottomans, the order grew in popularity and power, establishing a number of lodges across the empire from Egypt to Albania (the current location of the order's headquarters). They also acted as the chaplaincy of the Janissary corps, the sultan's infantry guard, for several centuries. Even so, they faced political and clerical opposition to their practices (Imber 1979: 263-73). Accusations of heresy rose to a critical point during the sixteenth century wars with the Shi'i Safavids in neighbouring Persia, and again during the nineteenth century.

The Janissaries' Bektashi doctrine, Shi'i leanings, and tendency to rebel against authority created tensions with critical architectural results. When the Janissaries staged a palace revolt against the military reforms of Sultan Mahmud II on June 15, 1826, the sultan's artillery shot the protesting soldiers and burned their barracks, thereby destroying the corps. This became known as the *Vaka-i Hayriye* (Auspicious Incident). A few weeks later an assembly of *ulema* and representative sheikhs from other Sufi orders were called to a panel, formed with the express interest of condemning the Bektashis as heretics so that the palace could enacted the dissolution of the Bektashi order without laying the responsibility for the decision upon the Sultan.

The decree to begin the confiscation and razing of Bektashi *tekke*s in Istanbul was delivered in July of 1826; the orders for the provinces followed shortly thereafter (Ayvansaray 2000: 320). Soldiers were sent to prepare buildings constructed prior to 1766, and therefore considered to have historic value, for use as schools, mosques, and as the lodges of other Sufi orders. *Tekke*s and infrastructure erected after this date were razed; the decree stated that the stones were to be collected to repair mosques and other buildings, leaving little impetus for reconstruction. Only tombs and mausolea were to be left standing (Barnes 1986: 88-91). The Bektashis, surviving underground, returned to some of their former sites for a brief period in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries under Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909). But by that time, their libraries, their lands, and their endowment incomes had been lost.

What happened to these *tekke*s and their residents is the direct result of dramatic changes to the fiscal, governmental and religious organization of the Ottoman Empire in its final century, and the subsequent move towards eliminating the Bektashis and other Sufi orders as powerful political, economic and social forces. Specific examples of the intra-Islamic transfer and reuse of purpose-built Muslim architecture were generated as a result.

The Naqshbandi order, in favour with the court during the nineteenth century, was instated in some of the most monumental and well-placed of the surviving *tekke*s across the empire. These new occupants frequently inserted mosque architecture into the fabric of the complexes, in keeping with their own prayer practices and those of the Ottoman Sunni *ulema*, but contrary to the Bektashi emphasis upon the *meydan evi*. The arrival of the Naqshbandis is the first phase of intra-Islamic architectural transfer at these sites, subsequent to the displacement of the Bektashis.

In 1847, following upon the Tanzimat reforms of the 1830s, the Ottomans established the Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti (Ministry of Imperial Foundations) to oversee *vakf* foundations. Although the Bektashi properties had already been dispersed by this time, the new ministry took control of all holdings of other Sufi orders so that they could administer their religious endowments and tax remittances, thereby shifting the organization and architectural status of the Ottoman Sufi orders. A *vakf* establishment had once meant that a recognized *tekke* would have an accompanying roster of rural and possibly urban properties upon which the livelihood of the sheikh and his initiates depended. Under the new structure, sheikhs were offered a kind of salary with which to run their *tekke*s rather than a *vakf* income, diminishing what could potentially be their far-reaching, political power by taking away their ability to support new initiates and influential community services such as soup kitchens. This change eliminated the resources needed to structurally maintain the architecture and properties associated with their lodges (Kreiser 1992: 53).

In November of 1925, the nascent Turkish Republic enacted Turkish Constitutional Act No. 677, on the "Closure of Dervish Convents and Tombs, the Abolition of the Office of Keeper of Tombs and the Abolition and Prohibition of Certain Titles". All surviving Sufi lodges and their tombs, including those of the re-opened Bektashi sites and countless others, were shuttered, but discrete visitation to the tombs of *gazi*s (warriors), exemplars, and *seyyid*s continued for Bektashis and other pilgrims. As Alevis migrated into Turkey's urban centres in the latter half of the twentieth century, they increased the pattern of pilgrimages to such sites in Istanbul. The Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü (General Directorate of Foundations), formed in 1920 and so-named in 1924, acquired the title to scores of historic *tekke*s, as well as to schools and other buildings formerly used by religious establishments. Working on behalf of the Turkish Republican government, the Directorate continues to collect payments from occupants in the twenty-first century, and manages the leases of groups who pursue religious assemblies and activities at these sites. Alevi associations have thus become the stewards, but not the legal owners of a number of Bektashi lodges in Istanbul. These historical circumstances, pilgrimage needs, and the Alevi move towards public visibility and urban

services for their communities has created both the impetus and challenges for the Alevi adoption of the closed Bektashi sites.

The Alevis of Turkey and the Architecture of the Cemevi

The Alevis of Turkey comprise a distinct social structure of hereditary, spiritual lineages called *ocaklar* (lit. hearths). These are guided by *Dede*s (lit. grandfathers), who are men versed in Alevi teachings and certified as descendants of *seyyid* bloodlines. *Dede*s lead the various Alevi *cem* ceremonies, and act as arbitrators in community disputes, carriers of knowledge, and as a connection to Alevis of the past. Alevis are not culturally or linguistically uniform, nor do all those under the Alevi label follow the same teachings and practices. Depending upon region and *ocak*, Alevis speak Turkish, as well as the Kurdish languages of Zaza and Kirmanci. They are all devoted to Ali as a spiritual guide and carrier of esoteric, divine knowledge. Alevi teachings were traditionally orally transmitted in the form of poetry, songs and hymns, attributed to great poet-saints such as Hacı Bektaş Veli, and Hatai (The Fallible), the pen name of the founder of the Safavid Empire and the hereditary sheikh of the Safavi (Safi al-Din) Sufi order, Shah Ismail (d. 1524). These verses continue to be sung during the Alevi *cem*s, which are held within purpose-built, temporarily designated, and adapted *cemevi*s (houses of the *cem* ceremony).

The political and sectarian connections of the Alevis and their ancestors, going back at least to the sixteenth century, created ongoing tensions with the Sunnism of the Ottomans. It is a situation that remains unresolved in the twenty-first century. Combined with the nature of rural life and Alevi prioritization of community over architectural display, this meant that many Alevis held their ceremonies in their homes and other village buildings. These structures were not permanently designated for ceremonial use and blended inconspicuously into the agricultural fabric, thereby acting as a limited protection from opposition. Many Alevis from rural backgrounds note that the communal *cem* ceremony was usually held in the winter months, after the work of the harvest was complete and the *Dede*s could visit their followers (Özdamar: 2010). The communal *cem*s, such as the *Görgü Cemi* (*Cem* of Confession, where community issues are resolved before the Dede and sibling-like spiritual bonds are formed between community members), were once a seasonal event rather than the regularized, weekly assembly that they have become in the urban *cemevi*s of the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The main architectural requirement for Alevi ceremony is a safe location, with enough space to accommodate male and female participants, the *Dede*, and others in ceremonial roles known as the *Hizmetler* (lit. services), who facilitate the safety, comfort and liturgical propriety of the assembly. These positions mirror those of the Bektashis within their own ceremonial context. Like the Bektashis, most Alevis do not pray in mosques. But unlike the Bektashis, the Alevis, prevented by historical circumstances, did not tend to engage in the construction of large-scale, purpose-built, religious and social service complexes prior to the late twentieth century.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, a number of independent, Alevi-run *dernekler* (associations) were formed with the specific intent to garner support, assemble funding, and obtain permission to coordinate the restoration and operation of former Betashi *tekke*s. This was done on an individual, site by site basis. While the impetus for their stewardship was rooted in their religious traditions, legal struggles in Turkey over the designation of Aleviism as a religious practice and the *cemevi* as an *ibadethane* (place of worship) have prevented Alevi communities from obtaining recognized status as religious organizations, with the accompanying taxation and protection benefits that brings. As a result, although the groups and individuals responsible for the preservation and operating associations have come from

Alevi religious backgrounds, they carefully presented themselves in the early stages as community-minded, civic entities.

Visitation to local *ziyaretler* (pilgrimage sites) is a crucial aspect of Alevi practice. Families and even entire communities travel to the tombs of exemplars and other sites of significance to spend time in proximity to these figures. My interviews reveal that the primary Alevi motivation in occupying Bektashi *tekke*s is their connection to the *ehl-i beyt* (the household of the Prophet Muhammad) via the burials of *seyyid*s, *gazi*s, and saints in the *tekke*s' tombs and adjacent cemeteries. This supersedes the desire to occupy historic sites and architecture, and interest in fostering Bektashi-specific connections. These graves survived the closures of the 1920s, and had previously outlasted the razings and confiscations of the 1820s due to orders protecting the cemeteries.

Large components of *tekke* infrastructure were often no longer extant or recoverable at the time that the revitalization applications were coordinated. In spite of this, Alevi communities have striven for a combination of physical proximity to *seyyid*s and appropriate facilities to serve their members. The Garip Dede site on the shores of Lake Küçükçekmece, west of Istanbul, was burned in 1826, leaving behind only a single grave, which believers assert to be that of the fifteenth or sixteenth century dervish Garip Dede himself (Garip Dede Yönetim Kurulu n.d.: 18-21). In the mid 1990s, the Garip Dede Kültür ve Cemevi Derneği (Culture and Cemevi Association) constructed a tomb structure (Fig. 2), a *cemevi*, and the necessary kitchen, animal sacrifice area, morgue, and other services from the ground up, in order to place their active community next to the dervish's burial (Fırat 2014).

Decrees and closures have interrupted but not severed the visitation to *ziyaret*s by pilgrims. The Naqshbandi order took over the Hacı Bektaş Veli site after 1826 and built a mosque in the 1830s (Yürekli 2012: 120-25). It was closed in the 1920s. In 1958, The National Ministry of Education Museum General Authority began repairs that were then taken over by the General Directorate of Foundations, which opened the site as a museum in 1964. It is officially operated as a museum today. Since the 1990s, Alevis from certain *ocak*s have participated in a summer festival. While presented as a celebration of Turkish cultural traditions and Hacı Bektaş's vernacular poetry, it is also a de facto religious gathering for many practicing Alevis, during which they perform hymns and the ceremonial dances of the *semah*, share ritual meals, and consult their spiritual leaders. The architectural link to the Bektashis is significant.

The Bektashis and the Alevis share their common allegiance to Ali and the family of the Prophet Muhammad. Their teachings are similarly derived from the poetry of Hacı Bektaş, along with a lineage of poet-saints from Central Asia and Anatolia. Alevi *Dede*s sought certification of their *seyyid* status from Bektashis in Iraq from the mid sixteenth century onwards (Karakaya-Stump 2010: 9-20). This resulted in strong alliances and shared teachings and sites between Alevi and Bektashi practitioners. Beginning in the late twentieth century, the identifier "Alevi-Bektashi" selectively indicated mutual support. The main difference in the leadership of these communities is that a Bektashi *Baba* may come to the position through learning and study, but a *Dede*, who should also devote himself to learning, must be born to his station as a *seyyid* from an *ocak* (Eroğlu 2014). The Alevi renewal of Bektashi *tekke*s elucidates shifts in Islamic spaces, but it also highlights the compatibility of Alevi practice with Bektashi settings. The Bektashi sites provide an historic architectural presence, present a pre-existing model of centralization for the distribution of social services and education, contain significant burials and pilgrimage sites on their grounds, and uphold the Bektashi *meydan evi* as the primary center of congregation, which the Alevis have subsequently been able to utilize for the same purpose under the *cemevi* designation.

Alevi Stewardship of the Bektashi Tekke*s of Istanbul: A Preliminary Examination*

The outskirts of Istanbul's historic core once supported a number of Bektashi *tekke*s. Further sites with Bektashi affiliations were located in villages and districts that have since been integrated into the greater Istanbul metropolitan region. These Istanbul sites were the first to be demolished or appropriated under the orders of 1826. While the *tekke*s included on lists of Istanbul's Bektashi establishments change slightly depending upon the criteria for Bektashi ownership and the boundaries used to establish the confines of the city, a frequently cited encyclopaedia entry records ten known complexes (Koçu 1962: 2443). The listed lodges highlight the extensive loss of these sites, both during the concerted destruction exacted in the nineteenth century and due to neglect and bureaucratic decisions of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. According to my fieldwork, two (Şehitler/Nafi Baba, and Karyağdı on the European side of the city) survive only as partial ruins, with some archaeological remnants alongside cemetery sites, and current evidence of pilgrimage in the form of lit candles, cloths, and other ephemera left at the tombs. Four (Sütlüce/Bademli/ Münir Baba on the Golden Horn, and Paşa Limanı/Yarımca Dede, Başıbüyük Köyü/ Daver Baba, and Çamlıca/Nur Baba/Tahir Baba on the Bosphorus) are no longer extant. One (Takkeciler/Emin Baba near the Byzantine city walls), was restored by the municipal government of the district of Eyüp, and sits empty. However, three have undergone restoration and are under the stewardship of Alevi associations, who continue to maintain and utilize them (Şahkulu Sultan in Merdivenköy, in the Asian district of Kadıköy; Karaağaç on the Golden Horn; and Erikli Baba/Perişan Baba in Kazlıçeşme, outside the city walls in the district of Zeytinburnu).

The hilltop location of the Şahkulu Sultan *dergah* became a strategically important lookout and observation point following the pre-conquest Ottoman occupation of what had been a Greek Orthodox monastery, and a hunting retreat for the Byzantine Emperor. Şahkulu was constructed on a large scale, in permanent materials including stone and brick (Fig. 3). The *tekke*'s *meydan evi* is believed to date to the sixteenth century and features a unique marble central support column beneath a dome comprised of twelve segments, representing the Twelve Imams (Akın 1989; Tanman 1994c). Much of the architecture at Şahkulu survived the 1826 decrees and was returned to the Bektashis with a new *vakf* in 1907, following a period of Naqshbandi use. The *tekke*'s lands were sold off following its closure in 1925. There was an attempt to reopen it as an Imam Hatip religious school in 1980, but this was protested, and in 1985, an association formed to begin the process of restoring the dilapidated buildings. The association constructed new kitchen and office facilities and a *semahane* (hall for the dance of the *semah*). In 1994, the project was granted the Şahkulu Sultan Külliyesi Vakfı. A steady stream of pilgrims now enters the walled *tekke* to visit the tomb of Şahkulu, and many of the large-scale social services of the Bektashis have been reinstated. A research library and classrooms form part of the renewed complex. During the major holiday of Muharram, during which Alevis fast during the daylight hours, Şahkulu serves between forty and fifty thousand evening meals over thirteen days (Taştekin 2014).

The Erikli Baba Tekkesi sits just beyond Istanbul's land walls, facing the Sea of Marmara and the infamous Ottoman prison of Yedikule (Fig. 4). The *tekke* was established in 1329 as a religious site of the Akhi guilds. It was partially destroyed in 1826, and nothing remains of the original guesthouse, barns, library, and kitchen. The Erikli Baba Kültür Derneği was formed in 1993 to take over the Erikli Baba tomb, a small cemetery, and the surviving portion of the ruined, wood-frame hall. The result of their revitalization plan is a largely rebuilt structure, utilizing brackets and cantilevers in an historic style commonly seen in both domestic and *tekke* architecture, with administrative space, offices, and classrooms below and a *cemevi* above.

It was the association's efforts to emphasize the historical value of the site rather than its specific meaning for the Alevi and Bektashi communities that ushered through the restorations. Rıza Eroğlu, co-president at Erikli Baba in 2014, explains:

As soon as we formed the association, a preliminary protocol was done with the Istanbul Governor's Foundation. "Either allocate this place to our association or grant us a passing allocation. This is an historical place," I said. [The surviving *tekke* building] should be as the original, so we worked with the Istanbul Governor's Foundation and the Historical Monuments Authority to finish it and make it suitable. They sent a consultation architect and the restoration was passed (Eroğlu 2014).

Under Bektashi use, the upper floor's ceremonial space was divided into three rooms, but the walls were removed to accommodate the Alevis' need for larger communal assembly in the *cemevi* (Fig. 5). The Erikli Baba site provides the Alevis with visual symbolism within the historic fabric of the city, although the surviving architecture restricts large numbers of participants. As a result, the new kitchens and dining hall, integral to the community and its practices, were designed as a subterranean addition beneath the small plot in order to replace the long ago demolished Bektashi kitchens.

The Karaağaç Tekke sits on a small hill above the Golden Horn (Fig. 6). The lodge was damaged, closed, repaired, handed over to the Naqshbandis and closed again during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period which brought fires to the wooden architecture as well as political and religious upheaval. In spite of official reports documenting the historical significance at Karaağaç, construction in the early twenty-first century encroached upon the site. This included a Hilton Hotel on the hillside above, and a political party headquarters building on the banks of the Golden Horn below. The *tekke* itself had fallen into such decay that archaeological recovery work was required to extract Janissary and Bektashi headstones and burials, partially revealed during a subsequently abandoned urban development scheme. The new building is modelled on knowledge of the floor plan of the old *tekke* and incorporates some of the recovered burials in a tomb room.

Several other Bektashi sites provide different scenarios regarding transfer. The Karyağdı Tekke (Fig. 7), overlooking the large cemetery of the Eyüp district, lies in ruins, awaiting permits for archaeological excavation that have been halted repeatedly by the municipality and the popular tea gardens with hilltop views nearby. Burials from the *dergah* of Ivaz Fakih remain from a razed site in Çamlıca. Purpose-built *cemevi*s have been established in the Kartal, Karacaahmet, and Hisarüstü neighbourhoods, near former Bektashi sites. There is much further work to be done on the questions surrounding changing stewardship of Ottoman religious architecture, and the layered use of Muslim precincts in Istanbul and beyond.

Conclusion

As a specific phenomenon of intra-Islamic architectural transfer, the Alevi stewardship of shuttered Bektashi *tekke*s demonstrates how similarities in ideology and praxis have been utilized as the foundation for architectural repurposing. It also showcases the shifting use of space as a function of a variety of factors, inclusive of internal forces within the religious communities in question, as well as external demands for changes and concessions regarding the architectural fabric, its historic role, and the visual symbolism of the sites within greater Istanbul.

The Bektashi *tekke*s adapted for Alevi use provide an architectural presence within a significant and visible historical precinct. The ceremonial and pilgrimage requirements of the Alevis are served by the Bektashi architectural footprint, by the presence of the *meydan evi* as the primary congregational site, which can be subsequently designated as a *cemevi*, and by *ziyaret*s that connect visitors to lineages of *seyyid*s and exemplars. While both urban and rural Alevis have long relied upon their communities to provide food for pilgrims and ceremonial meals, and have established sites for funerary preparations, animal sacrifice and other essentials, this has primarily occupied homes and locations distributed throughout their neighbourhoods or villages. The *tekke*s therefore provide an historical model for the

centralized distribution of social services and education, with an accompanying monumental architectural language.

According to Hüseyin Taştekin of Şahkulu, the *tekke*, "is historic, the architecture is beautiful. There is symbolism; it is complete in its presentation. Our community can make a *cemevi* and say, "this is our building", but we don't have the riches for [constructing] this kind of site today" (Taştekin 2014). The established architectural presence of closed Bektashi lodges is significant to the Alevi interest, which has grown since the 1980s, in building a public identity and creating support services and an architecture for Alevis in urban areas; Alevi *cemevi*s have a rich historical narrative, but few purpose-built examples in the historic fabric. Bektashi sites reclaimed for use by Alevis have been returned to the religious and socio-economic landscape, an aesthetic heritage of architectural sites, and a tradition of religious thought, ceremonial assembly, and pilgrimage.

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Turkish Abstract

Bu yazıda eski Bektaşi tekkelerinin Alevi koruma dernekleri tarafından dönüştürülerek veya yeniden yapılarak kendi dinî ve sosyal pratiklerine uyarlanması süreci irdelenmektedir. Aleviler cem ayinlerini kırsal bölgelerde geleneksel olarak evlerinde ya da köyün başka binalarında yaparlar. Ancak özellikle 20. yüzyılın sonlarından ve 21. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren ibadetlerini düzenli olarak kentlerde kurulan cemevlerinde gerçekleştirmektedirler. Bektaşiler gibi Aleviler de camide ibadet etmezler ancak Bektaşilerin aksine Aleviler, sosyal nedenlerle, 20. yüzyıl sonlarına dek büyük ölçekli, dinî ve sosyal amaçlı yapılar-külliyeler inşa etmemişlerdir. 1964'te bir müze olarak hizmete giren Hacı Bektaş Veli dergâhında 1990'lardan itibaren Türk kültürel geleneklerinin ve Hacı Bektaş Veli'nin şiirlerinin kutlanmasına adanan yaz festivallerini Aleviler dinî amaçlı bir toplanma vesilesi haline getirmişlerdir. Bu festivallerde ilahiler okunur, semah yapılır, dini yemekler yenir ve çeşitli sorunlar dini liderlere danışılır. Alevi ve Bektaşi inançlarında bazı farklılıklar olmakla birlikte Bektaşi külliyeleri-merkezleri Aleviler için uygun birer mimari varlık oluşturur. Nitekim, bazı eski Bektaşi tekkelerinin onarım ve eklerle Alevi mekânlarına dönüştürüldüğü gözlenmektedir. Makalede, İstanbul'da Alevi dernekleri tarafından restore edilerek kullanılan 3 eski tekkenin (Merdivenköy'de Şahkulu Sultan, Haliç'te Karaağaç ve Kazlıçeşme'de Erikli Baba/Perişan Baba) mimari açıdan Alevi inancının gerek ve pratiklerine hangi araç ve yöntemlerle uyarlandığı çözümlenmektedir.

Biographical Note

Angela Andersen (PhD, The Ohio State University) examines the inter- and intra-religious interactions that take place via the built environment, with a research focus on the architecture of minority Muslim communities. She utilizes oral histories and hymnal verse as well as site studies to examine the meaning of religious precincts. Her work with Alevi ceremonial sites known as *cemevi*s in Turkey and the European diaspora was awarded a postdoctoral fellowship with the Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 2016-17, and the 2016 Margaret B. Ševčenko Prize in Islamic Art and Culture by the Historians of Islamic Art Association. She is currently a fellow at the Centre for Studies in Religion and Society at the University of Victoria.

Fig. 1 – Entrance to the tomb of Hacı Bektaş Veli and the Hall of the Forty
(©Andersen)

Fig. 2 – Tomb (foreground) and Cemevi, Garip Dede, Küçükçekmece, Istanbul
(©Andersen)

Fig. 3 – Library and offices (upper left), Meydan Evi/Cemevi (upper right) and fountain
(foreground), Şahkulu Sultan Külliyesi, Merdivenköy, Istanbul
(©Andersen)

Fig. 4 – Erikli Baba tomb and restored tekke building, Erikli Baba, Kazlıçeşme, Istanbul
(©Andersen)

Fig. 5 – Meydan Evi/Cemevi, Erikli Baba, Kazlıçeşme, Istanbul
(©Andersen)

Fig. 6 – Karaağaç Tekke, Sütlüce, Istanbul
(©Andersen)

Fig. 7 – Remains of the Karyağdı Tekke, Eyüp, İstanbul
(©Andersen)

A NOTE ON THE "ORIENTALIST" TASTE IN THE LATE-OTTOMAN COURT: JAPANESE AND JAPONISME OBJECTS IN THE COLLECTION OF MILLÎ SARAYLAR*

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Mostly represented by the "Japon Odası (Japanese room, room no. 113)" in the Dolmabahçe Palace, the presence of Japanese objects in Millî Saraylar collection has been known for years in its present appearance, which nevertheless does not date to the Ottoman period: it is rather the result of re-organization after 1952 and 1984, years corresponding to the institutional change of the Palace from Official Presidential residence and governmental guesthouse to Millî Saraylar. These objects have been conventionally believed to be the gifts from official delegation, from members of Imperial family that visited Istanbul from Japan, or purchased by the court from Yamada Tarajiro (1866-1954), who came to Istanbul bringing relief money for the Ertuğlul shipwreck victims in 1892, and ran a trade company, Nakamura Shōten (later Japon Oyuncak Mağazası) in Beyoğlu until 1914.

In this regards this paper will contribute to shed light on unknown aspects of the Japanese collection in the Ottoman court in terms of purchasing route, origins and use of the Japanese objects in the overall interior decoration program of the Ottoman court. This research is based on recent collaboration with Millî Saraylar, Sato Foundation for Arts and Crafts and Suntory Cultural Foundation, in which I am involved since 2012.

According to these researches, most of the Japanese objects in Millî Saraylar collection turned out to be export art-craft objects of Meiji period (1868-1915), prepared especially for foreign customers and tastes. A wide variety of types is displayed: such as Arita porcelains, Satsuma ceramics from Kyoto (Fig. 1), Shippo or Japanese enamel works from Owari (Aichi region), furniture of Shibayama works (Fig. 2), Hakone Yosegi works, frames of needle works, etc. Despite previous assumption, the number of items appeared to be considerable, around 400.

1. *The origins: Documents of purchase from Yamada Torajiro*

The first important achievement was the discovery of the documents of purchase by the court from Yamada Torajiro (BOA. Y. MTV. 161/199, 29 Muharrem 1315/ 30 Haziran 1897). According to these documents, the assumption of Yamada Torajiro having sold Japanese items to the Ottoman court was proofed. The document preserved in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri dated 26-27-28 May 1897, including a list of 50 items with prices, gives us some ideas about what was preferred by the Ottoman court.

In the list items purchased by Mâbeyn-i Hümayun-u cenab-ı mülukane showing a wide variety of Japanese objects from vases, trays, fans made with silk, desks and baskets to chairs, cupboards, tables, curtains; from chairs with textile upholstery, and an amount of cloth from Kyoto, to a model of Japanese house made of straw. The biggest expense was for what doesn't remain today: the cloth, especially silks from Kyoto. 31,888 kuruş for the cloth items (Kyoto silks and curtains) makes nearly half of the total purchase of 73,644 kuruş. A Japanese traveler, Nakamura Naokichi (1865-1932)'s notes on Yamada Torajiro's business in 1902, as the Nishijin (Kyoto) silk with gold is the most important item of the sales, confirms this (Dündar and Misawa 2009, 181-200). Silk, after tea as the first, was one of Japanese main item of export at the time leaving behind porcelains as the third.

Documents preserved in the Japanese Imperial Household Agency Official Archives tell that even Osman Paşa, Reşat Bey and tarihçi Ruhi Bey, members of the mission sent by Abdülhamid II to the Japanese Emperor Meiji in 1890, ordered a suit made with Japanese silk in a department store during his stay in Tokyo (Japanese Imperial Household Agency Official Archives 宮内庁文書館 7628-1). Unfortunately, no trace of Japanese silk is left in the Millî Saraylar collection, except a piece of cloth applied to the fireplace screen in which traditional Japanese motifs such as cranes, peony, chrysanthemum can be observed.

On the other hand, very few objects in the collection can be identified by the document mentioned above: no. 36 in the list "üzeri kamıştan mozayik işlenmiş 6 köşe masa aded 4" (hexagonal table with mosaic works made with 'kamış') can be identified as a table with inventory no. 92/615 which today is exhibited in the room no. 174 in the Harem, Dolmabahçe Palace. The word "kamış" appeared in the list is generally understood as reed in Turkish, but in this case, the word kamış is used to mean bamboo. Bamboo furniture seems to be the favorite purchase of wooden crafts at that time; another bamboo item appears as no. 37 in the list "derununa ayna vazına mahsus ve kamıştan mamul ve etraflı etajerli 1 aded büyük çerçeve', can be identified as mirror frame no. 54/965 which is now exhibited in the room no. 186 in the Harem, Dolmabahçe Palace (Aoki Girardelli 2013: 17-29).

2. *Why they are here? The Beginning of Japonisme Taste in the Ottoman Court*

Not only the Ottoman Empire but also many of the European Great Powers as well as Russia and the United States were interested in Japan after more than 200 years of very limited diplomatic relations with foreign countries. In the World Fairs held in the major cities in Europe in the second half of the 19th century, Japanese items encountered an enthusiastic response. The fashion later called "Japonisme" in the late 19th to the early 20th centuries is also known to have influenced Impressionist and Post-Impressionist painters such as Monet, Manet and Van Gogh. Japonisme is said to have begun with 1873 Vienna Exhibition, Japan's first official participation to the World Fair, and had its peak at the 1900 Paris Exhibition (Laboune 2005).

Coincidently, Ottoman-Japanese relations began exactly in the same period. The first Japanese official mission to the Ottoman Empire was in 1873, by Fukuchi Gen'ichiro (1851-1906) a bureaucrat, later a founder of a newspaper, scenario writer and politician, accompanied by Shimaji Mokurai (1838-1911), a Buddhist monk of Nishi-Honganji Sect. They were dispatched by Iwakura Tomomi (1825-1883), who was the Ambassador of Iwakura Mission to Europe, which was sent in order to adjust the unequal treaty that Japan was forced to sign with the Great Powers in 1858. The main purpose of Fukuchi's visit was to research the juridical situation of the Ottoman Empire under unequal treaties, as Japan shared the same problem at that time. Successively Prince Komatsunomiya Akihito (1846-1903), a nephew of the Japanese Emperor, visited Istanbul during his stay in Europe. The visit of Abdülhamd II's delegation to Japan mentioned above was officially a response to this.

As we have seen, the Japanese objects in the Millî Saraylar Collection were believed to have been purchased initially after Yamada Torajiro's first arrival to Istanbul in 1892, except few pieces donated as gifts, that remained unidentified until now. But in the process of our researches, some objects that contradict this view were found in Dolmabahce Palace: A cabinet in so-called Sino-Japanese style with a wonderful panel of Shibayama work –a mixed technique with traditional Japanese lacquer works, inlay works with generally precious materials such as mother-of-pearl, ivory, sometimes jade, coral that were preferred mostly by foreign customers. This cabinet with Shibayama panel (Env. no. 13/568), which is, undoubtedly Japanese made, turned out to have an engraved signature on the right-side surface as "G. Viardot 1887". A note in Ottoman, written in pencil was also found in behind: read as "Hicri 25 Rebiülevvel sene 305" (11 December 1887), that might be the date of

entrance to the Palace (Aykut Saçaklı and Gözeller 2013, 85-93). (Fig. 3, 4) The same note in Ottoman with same dates were found behind the two other cabinet in the collection (Inventory no. 52/1081 and 51/183), also in Japanese taste but different in style and without signature of the cabinet maker. But at least these three possibly were purchased at the same time, very possibly from Paris.

The first cabinet's author, Gabriel Viardot (1830-1906) is a Parisian furniture maker famous with his Japonisme style designs especially during the period 1870's to 1900, getting the gold medals at 1885 Antwerpen, 1889 and 1900 Paris Exhibitions. His atelier in Marais district had almost 100 workers in that period. The signed cabinet at Dolmabahçe Palace shows at least two significant facts: first, Viardot used to apply decorative panels and parts imported directly from Japan for his furniture in Japonisme style, which was a totally new discovery in both Japanese and French contexts. Second, and more importantly for the Ottoman context, the tendency of Japanese taste in the Ottoman court already existed prior to the arrival of Yamada Torajiro in 1892, and it was not coming directly from Japan, but via Europe, especially Paris. Japonisme trend in Europe at that time, especially visible and efficient at World Fairs, might be influential for this.

Other Japanese objects with French details in the collection could be re-considered in this regard: Four vases signed 蔵春亭三保造 Zoshun-Tei San-po zo, a porcelain maker in Arita, Japan, now preserved in Beylerbey Palace (Inventory no. 3/452.1), have French gilded gold mount. (Fig. 5, 6) According to recent researches in Japan, it is agreed that the signature 蔵春亭三保造 is used only to the pieces before 1871. Another cabinet with Japanese needle works has French details although without any signature (Inventory no. 51/120). It is quite possible to consider that these Japanese objects, once exported from Japan to France, were processed in Parisian ateliers, and re-exported to the Ottoman Empire or other directions as French-made fashionable items in Japonisme taste.

Documents preserved in the Ottoman Archives suggest other routes of purchasing Japanese and Japonisme objects to the Ottoman court: Viennese cabinetmaker August Knobloch Nachfolger wrote in 16 July 1891 that they have sent some furniture in Japanese style for the decoration of newly added building of Yıldız Şale Köşkü in 1889, and that this time again they send other cabinets in Japanese style as they knew Abdülhamid II's taste and interest for newly invented things (Fazıloğlu and Gözeller 2012, BOA. Y. PRK. TKM. 21/41, 9 *Zilhicce* 1308 / 16 *Temmuz* 1891). Considering that Abdülhamid II sent the warship Ertugrul to Japan leaving Istanbul on 14 July 1889, his preference of Japanese style in interior decoration could be explained as simultaneous development with his political interest in Japan.

Apart from the personal interest of Abdülhamid II in Japan, a very recent finding suggests the interests of the Ottoman court on Japanese objects started even in the period of Abdülaziz. A pair of blue and white Arita porcelain vases with deer motifs 160 cm in height, that are currently exhibited in the Hall of Crystal Staircase at the Dolmabahçe Palace, turned out to be exactly the same works exhibited at 1873 Vienna Exhibition by analyzing the photography preserved in Tokyo National Museum. (Fujiwara 2015) (Figs. 7, 8) Although no trace is found until now to define if they come directly from Vienna or via some commissioners or merchants, at least it means for sure that these vases are not gifted by Japanese official delegation but purchased by Ottoman initiatives, which means, the taste of Abdülasiz, who accepted the first official visitors from Japan in the same year 1873.
From now on, the history of Japanese Taste in the Ottoman court should be considered in this regard.

3. *Japanese Objects in the Context of Orientalist Taste: Abdülhamid II's Album*

Some photographs from the Abdülhamid II Album give us ideas on how Japanese objects in present Millî Saraylar Collection were used differently at that period. Abdülhamid II's Album

was prepared in the occasion of the Chicago World Fair, and most of the photos were taken Pascal Sébah between 1880-1890. One of the photographs in the album taken in sunroom of the Küçükmabeyin Köşk at Yıldız Saray, show bamboo furniture and Japanese decorative furniture in an elegant light atmosphere of the Palace. Some of the furniture, such as a cabinet in *Yosegi* works (Env. no. 54/961) and a coffee table specially made with *Owari Shippo* plate (Env. no. 52/1770) brought by Yamada Torajiro seen in the photography can be identified in the collection now preserved in the Harem at the Dolmabahçe Palace.

A set of four huge blue and white Arita porcelain vases with hawks and pine trees Env. no. 3/165.1.2, 3/166.1.2, 167/1.2, 168/1.2), now exhibited in Beylerbey Palace, were originally in the corridor in front of the famous splendid Sedefli Salon of the Yıldız Şale Köşk. (Fig. 9, 10) According to the photo in the Abdülhamid II's Album, blue and White vases show a beautiful contrast with British made crystal gas lamp stand presently in different salons at Dolmabahçe Palace.

It seems that Abdülhamid II regarded that Japanese objects as suitable with the Orientalist style. Starting from the 1860's, the source of inspiration of the Ottoman Orientalist taste has been focused on so-called "Moorish" style, North African and Spanish Muslim elements as seen in the Pertevnyial Valize Sultan Camii (1872), Çırağan Palace (1872) and Beylerbey Palace (1865) reflecting clearly the personal taste of Sultan Abdülaziz and the European fashion of the time. Abdülhamid II is known to have transferred the whole interior decoration of famous Sedefli Salon or the Salon with Moder of Pearl, originally made for the Çırağan Palace, built his brother Abdülaziz around 1871. The picture in the albums donated to Chicago Exhibition shows that before 1893 this "Moorish" room had already been transferred to the Yıldız Şale Köşk, which used to be call also Merasim Sarayı of Yıldız Palace. Today the whole decoration of the Salon, with very sophisticated inlay marquetry of precious materials, not only mother of pearl but also turtle shell, various wooden pieces and semi-precious stone, is preserved as a main dining room of the Yıldız Şale Köşkü. Some photographs from Abülhamid II's Album witnessed that a pair of iron glazed dark brown Arita porcelain with Chinese lion motifs, is placed on a furniture in mother-of-pearl works in Orientalist style, especially designed for the vase. Japanese porcelain vases, added probably according to the taste of Abdülhamid II, seem to fit very beautifully to the Orientalist decoration (Fig. 11, 12).

But, considering that Abdülhamid II's policy for the 1893 Chicago Exhibition, was carefully avoiding exoticism in the all exhibit program, to convey the image of a modern empire, the meaning of Japanese porcelains in this context appears under a different light. The combination of Islamic design and Japanese objects in the main dining room may be also a way of challenging dominant stereotypes about cultural borders, hierachies and belongings.

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Biographical Note

Miyuki Aoki-Girardelli is an independent art historian based in Istanbul. Her field of interest is East-West encounters in visual arts especially in Japan, the Ottoman Empire and France. Recently she has organized exhibitions on Ottoman-Japanese interactions: "The Crecent and the Sun: Three Japanese in Istanbul: Yamada Torajiro, Ito Chuta, Otani Kozui" (Istanbul Research Institute, Istanbul 2010), and "Japanese Wind in the Ottoman Palaces" (Dolmabahçe Art Gallery, Istanbul, 2013) presenting and identifying hitherto unknown Japanese objects in Turkish National Palaces collection. Her recent book on Ito Chuta "Meiji Architect Ito Chuta's Travels Throughout the Ottoman Empire （明治の建築家　伊東忠太　オスマン帝国をゆく）" ranked 6th at *Kunokuniya Humanities Books of the Year* Award in 2017.

Fig. 1 – A pair of huge Satsuma vases preserved in Dolmabahçe Palace
(©Millî Saraylar, 13/483.1.2; photo by M. Aoki Girardelli)

Fig. 2 – Shibayama furniture preserved
in Dolmabahce Palace (©Millî Saraylar Env. no.
51/231; photo by M. Aoki Girardelli)

Fig. 3 – A cabinet with Shibayama panel
made by Gabriel Viardot (©Millî Saraylar, Env. no.
13/568; photo by M. Aoki Girardelli)

Fig. 4 – Detail of the cabinet 13/568 (©photo by M. Aoki Girardelli)

Fig. 5 – One of the four vases signed "蔵春亭三保造" with French mount (©Millî Saraylar, Env. no. 3/452.1; photo by M. Aoki Girardelli)
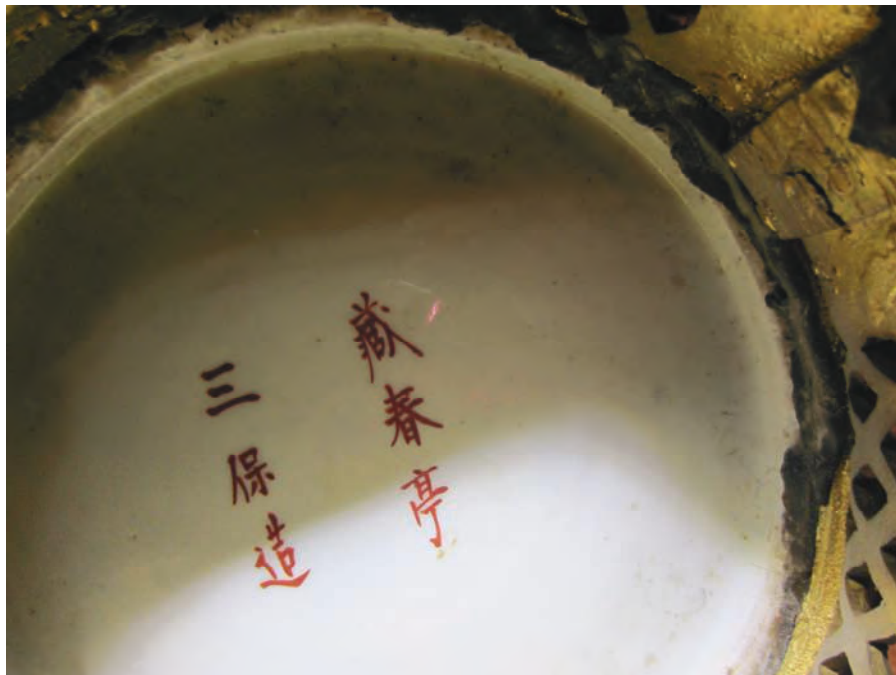
Fig. 6 – Detail of the vase 3/452.1 (©photo by M. Aoki Girardelli)

Fig. 7 – A pair of huge Arita vases preserved in Dolmabahce Palace
(©photo by M. Aoki Girardelli)
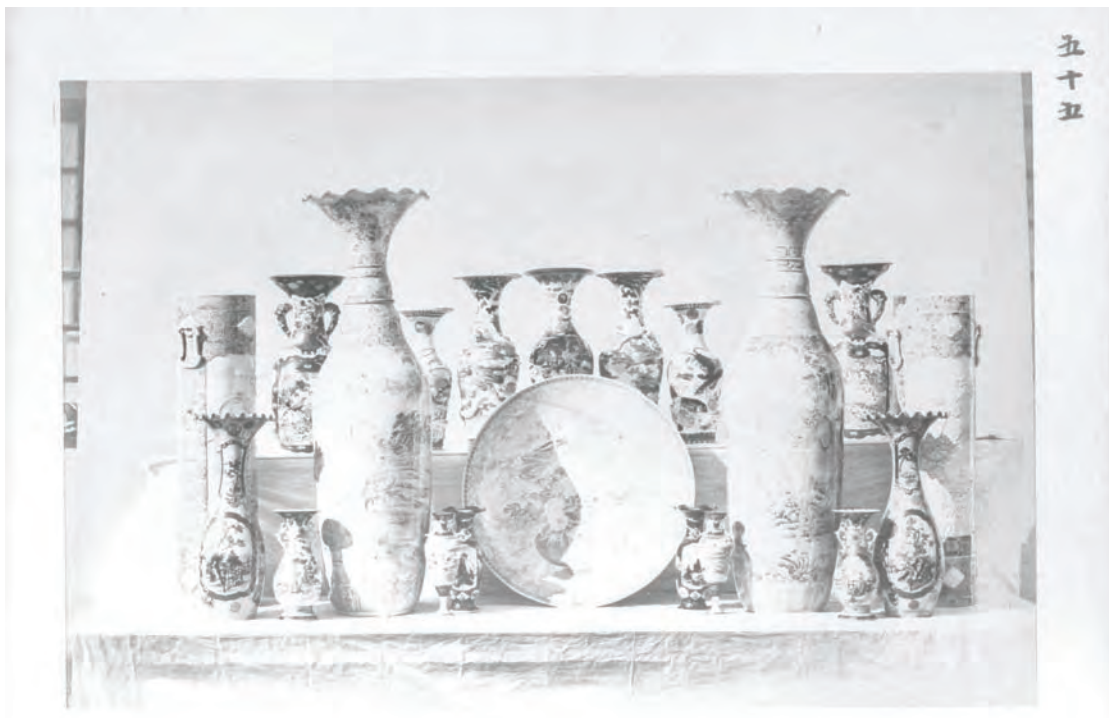
Fig. 8 – 『墺国維府博覧会出品撮影』
[Photographic Album of Exhibited Works at the Wien Universal Exhibition],
(Tokyo National Museum ©TNM Image Archives)

Fig. 9 – Huge bule and white Arita porcelain vases preserved in Beylerbeyi Palace
(©Millî Saraylar, 3/165.1.2, 3/166.1.2, 167/1.2, 168/1.2; photo by M. Aoki Girardelli)

Fig. 10 – Same vases displayed in the corridor in front of the Sedefli Salon, Yıldız Şale Köşkü,
(II. Abdülhamit Yıldız Albümü)

Fig. 11 – Present state of Sedefli Salon at Yıldız Şale Köşkü
(©photo by M. Aoki Girardelli)

Fig. 12 – Dining room at the 'Merasim Palace'
(II. Abdülhamit Yıldız Albüm)

KÜTAHYA POTTERY FOUND AT THE PRINCELY COURT OF SUCEAVA

Paraschiva-Victoria Batariuc
Bukovina Museum, Suceava

Niculina Dinu
Braila Museum "Carol I"

Many years of archaeological excavations in Suceava (the fortress, the princely court, and town) have unearthed a great deal of Miletus and Iznik pottery, but none — or nearly none — of Kütahya. The research at Suceava has focused mainly on early medieval architecture (the palace, local houses, commercial buildings, and workshops), pottery (local productions and stove tiles), and metal finds including coins, and all of these feature a sizable bibliography. There has been some interest in the spectacular pottery and tiles of Iznik, but only for those pieces discovered almost intact during the excavations of 1950–1960 (Nicolescu 1966: 94-102; Nicolescu 1967a: 245-51; Nicolescu 1967b: 287-308). Other studies focus on Miletus ware (Batariuc, Dinu 2008: 755-67), Chinese porcelain (Batariuc, Dinu 2013: 291-6), or other pieces found in the collections of the Bucovina Museum (Batariuc, Dinu 2009: 421-4).

The princely court of Suceava was erected at the end of the 14th century in the east of the city, and underwent numerous changes and additions through the 18th century. In the first phase, at the end of the 14th century, the court seems to have been a wooden building and timber-framed construction with one level and a cellar. In the 15th century, a complex of stone buildings began to be constructed, and this was subsequently reworked and modified over the course of the 16th and 17th centuries.

Extensive repair work was done in the middle of the 17th century during the reign of Vasile Lupu (1634-53). Craftsmen from Bistriţa worked on the doors, windows, and arches, and the complex was fitted with new stoves, some of whose walls were covered with polychrome tiles. This work was carried out simultaneously with the restoration of the princely court complex at Jassy, which had become the capital of Moldavia in 1564 after Suceava. The Suceava court and complex came to an end in the last years of the 17th century (Batariuc 2011: 58-60). In 1675, the fortress was destroyed by Prince Dumitraşcu Cantacuzino on the orders of the Ottomans, and the court was gradually abandoned. Around 1700, a member of the Polish mission to Istanbul, Rafael Leszezynski, was passing through Suceava and described how "near the church of council is a princely stone palace, desolate, as before, in ancient times, dwelt here rulers of Moldavia". At the end of the 18th century, following the occupation of the northern part of Moldova by the Habsburgs, some Jewish merchants began to construct booths and houses atop the ruins, some of which remained standing through the fall of 1974, when they were demolished so that archaeological research could resume. During the 1974 excavations into the rubble filling the basement on the east-southeast side, fragments of Ottoman pottery and decorative tiles were discovered together with other ceramics, stove tiles, etc.

Among the hundreds of finds from the court at Suceava, certain fragments capture the attention due to their form and colors: fragments of small bowls with a white background and polychrome floral designs in blue, black, turquoise, dark violet, red-brown, and olive, which could indicate the presence of Kütahya pottery owing to their quality clay, fine drawing, and colors. The importance of these discoveries begins with the initial location: cellar no. 5 of the princely court, where many fragments of Iznik jugs, lids, and mugs from the 16th century and tiles from the 17th century were found among the rubble.

A small bowl shard (Fig. 2.1a-b) is drawn with black outline on both sides and colored in olive, with a schematic tulip outside and inside, as well as part of another flower. The next two fragments (Fig. 2.2-3) seem belong to the same cup or bowl. These shards are more akin to the Kütahya style: a black line set around the edge of the cup/bowl, an interior drawing of

small flowers with three blue petals as well as blue with turquoise, and on the exterior some black spots. The colors used to fill pass over the outline. Thus the style is more reminiscent of that from Kütahya workshops, and even the clay itself is hard and of good quality.

The fragment of bowl no. 4 (Fig. 2.4a-b) has, on the inside, a floral design with a medallion in dark blue in the middle, and from here to the edge drawings of oblique flowers with thin black-olive leaves and purple points (or small flowers). The exterior design is more complex, with a possible cintamani pattern or similar model in purple and blue. The entire design is drawn in thin black-olive on a white background. No. 5 is also a bowl, but with an unusual interior drawing (Fig. 2.5a): in the middle is a circle with a triangle inside, painted with thick black lines on a white background and on each side a more or less stylized flower; the middle of the triangle has a flower with black and olive in the middle, while the flowers on the borders are purple-brown. From this circle radiate two groups of three circles in three dimensions, one above the other — two purple and one olive — and between these is a stylized dark blue flower. Outside this drawing is simpler, with two olive leaves and a black line circling above the foot on a white background (Fig. 2.5b). Analogies for these bowls can be found in Brăila, with the difference that here the fragments clearly originate from Kütahya workshops of the 18th century.

Fragment no. 6 (Fig. 2.6) belong to a jug and features two shades of blue on a white background. The fragment preserves part of the neck and belly, separated by a band with sinuous lines. The design is exquisite and schematically has analogies to pottery found at the princely court at Jassy (Andronic, Neamțu, Dinu 1967: 227-32). The last fragment, no. 7 (Fig. 2.7), probably belongs to a mug, and features a white background with two flowers. The first flower is a light-purple tulip with a blue-black stem and four leaves of the same color, while the second seems to be a stylized hyacinth with three small light blue flowers and blue-black stems.

All these shards are covered with a lead glaze laid on rather thickly, especially in the case of no. 5. The bodies are of white-beige kaolin and hard clay covered in white slip, indicating that they were good products and perhaps even expensive, unlike the usual Kütahya coffee cups made of soft paste with mixed colors and lines, such as were common in Romania in the 18th century. All the finds could be dated to from the end of the 17th century to the middle of the 18th century, barring stratigraphical work at the place of discovery and lacking clear analogies elsewhere in Romania.

Excavations from the surrounding town of Suceava do not indicate the presence of Kütahya pottery, such as the variety of quality work found in Jassy, the Moldavian capital, or Bucharest and other Wallachian towns, or even in towns of Dobrudja such as Tulcea, Isaccea, Babadag, Târgușor-Ester (Dinu 2010: 303-20), and Vadu-Ghiaurchioi (Dinu 2009: 323-43).

On the other side, Karl A. Romstorfer — the Austrian architect who made the first excavations at the Suceava fortress at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century — noted a Kütahya egg, among other finds, and under these he wrote "Suczawa", without any mention of the place of discovery (Batariuc, Dinu 2013: 411-7). Information about life in the town in the 18th century is virtually nonexistent. In *Descriptio Moldaviae* (1714-6), Dimitrie Cantemir notes that "Suceava … is entirely empty; everything was shattered after moving the court to Jassy". A document dating to between 1764 and 1767 mentions the existence of some townspeople's houses on the area of the court, and around 1800 the walls of the palace began to be used as supports for a house (perhaps the same that was demolished in 1974).

Questions about the presence of Kütahya pottery in the town of Suceava remain open, as it is unusual to find such ware in a former capital, one not as fashionable in that century as Jassy or even other Romanian towns. Some Kütahya products may, however, be related to the existence of an Armenian community, especially in the Moldavian capital.

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Turkish Abstract

Suceava'da kale, saray ve şehirde yapılan kazılarda birçok Milet işi ve İznik seramikleri bulunmuş olmasına rağmen Kütahya yapımı örneklere hiç rastlanmamıştır. Suceava sarayı 14. yüzyıl ortalarında yapılmış ve 18. yüzyıla kadar değişiklik ve eklerle yaşamıştır. 1564'den itibaren başkent değildir, 1675'de tahrip edildikten sonra yavaş yavaş terkedilmiştir. 18. yüzyıl başında tamamen yıkıntı olduğu kaynaklarda belirtilir. 18. yüzyılın sonunda Moldova'nın Habsburg işgalinden sonra bazı Yahudi tüccarların burada kurdukları dükkanlar 1979'daki arkeolojik araştırmaya dek varlığını sürdürmüştür. 1979'da yapılan kazılarda moloz içinde diğer seramik malzeme arasında beyaz zemin üzerine polikrom boyalı, kaliteli hamurları, ince çizim tekniği ve kullanılan renkleriyle Kütahya üretimi olduğu anlaşılan küçük kase parçaları bulunmuştur. Kurşun sırla kaplı, beyaz-bej kaolin ve sert hamurlu bu parçalar Romanya'da 18. yüzyılda kullanılan Kütahya fincanlarından farklıdır. Diğer Moldova ve Romanya şehirlerinin aksine Suceava'da başka örneği bulunmayan Kütahya seramiklerinin bu eski başkentte bulunmasının nedeni bilinmemekle beraber, Ermeni topluluklarla bağlantılı olması mümkündür.

Biographical Note

Paraschiva – Victoria Batariuc (1948 – 2016) former archaeologist of the Bukovina Museum, Suceava. She was PhD in History at the Al. I. Cuza University Iaşi. Her main field of research was medieval archaeology and especially tile stoves and monumental ceramics from Moldavia. She published works on medieval archeology, tile stoves, ecclesiastical architecture and art history in over 100 articles and books.

Niculina Dinu works at the Brăila Museum Carol I. She is PhD in History at the Al. I. Cuza University Iaşi. Her main field of research is Ottoman archaeology, especially Ottoman ceramic from Romania.

Fig. 1. Suceava street map – Princely court and Fortress
(geo-spatial.org)

Fig. 2. Suceava, 1974, Princely Court, cellar no. 5.
Ottoman pottery, Kütahya workshop (end of 17th–18th century)
(©Nicolina Dinu)

UŞAK CARPETS BELONGING TO OLD MOSQUE (*ESKİ CAMİİ*) IN EDIRNE AND THE SULTANIC DECREE FOR THEIR PURCHASE

Suzan Bayraktaroğlu
Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü

The Old Mosque (*Eski Camii*), the first monumental mosque in Edirne, began construction in 1403 under Suleyman Çelebi and was completed in 1414 under Mehmed I (Fig. 1). According to the inscription over the mosque's side entrance, the architect was Hacı Alaaddin of Konya and his apprentice was Ömer İbn-i İbrahim (Gökbilgin 1952: 196). The mosque has two minarets, located on the north and the northwest sides. The foundation for its maintenance was established by Murad II (Gökbilgin 1952: 197). During my research, numerous Uşak carpets were found in the depot of the mufti of Edirne, nearly all of which were brought from Old Mosque and are large in size, neatly woven, and highly valuable in respect to their artistic quality. The fact that these carpets, which I believe to date to the 18th century, are found in such quantity and quality that they can be divided into categories suggests that they may have been endowed to the mosque all at once at some point.

People who established foundations in order to help others and perform the religious duty of charity would donate the objects necessary for the mosques, *masjid*s, *madrasah*s, hospitals (*şifahane*), and dervish lodges (*hanigah, zawiya*) that they had endowed. Additionally, the furnishing of such structures in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods would be provided by purchases made with the income from the associated foundation as well as by donations (Ateş 1982: 56). Among the objects thus purchased or donated would be carpets, *kilim*s, candlesticks, censers, Qur'ans, works of calligraphy, lecterns, and stands. Such items are called "movables" (*teberrükat*), referring to endowed objects. As these objects have, in accordance with the rules and regulations pertaining to foundations, been held in their respective structures for centuries, over time most have obtained "artifact" status, thus effectively making foundation collections among the largest artifact collections in the world.

It is thought that the Uşak carpets of Old Mosque in Edirne may have been endowed by someone influential, and as such my research focused on this idea. Archival research led to the discovery of a related sultanic decree (*hüküm*)[1]: in the archives of the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Directorate General of Foundations, registered on page 90 of book 338, there is a decree dated 15 *Rabi'u'l-awwal* 1197 (February 18, 1783) regarding the purchase of carpets in and around Uşak for use at Old Mosque in Edirne. The original of the decree can be seen below (Fig. 2). The transcription of this decree, and its English translation, are as follows:

> Uşak kadısına ve voyvodasına hitaben hüküm ki;
>
> İftihâru'l-havas ve'l-mukarrebin mu'temedi'l-müluk ve's-selatin muhtaru'l-izzu ve't-temkin bi'l-fi'il Daru's-saadeti'ş-şerife Ağası olub hâlâ haremeyni şerifeyn evkâfı nâzırı olan el-Hac Cevher Ağa dâme uluvvuhu divân-ı hümâyuna arz gönderib tahtı nezaretlerinde olan evkâfdan İstanbulda vâki' Ayasofya-i kebir ve Mahmiye-i Edirne'de vâki' Merhum Sultan Bayezıd Han-ı Veli vakfına tabi' Câmi-i Atik demekle şehir ma'bed-i münirin kaliceleri murur-ı vakıtla köhnelenüb olub tecdide muhtaç ve bunlardan ma'ada bundan akdem der aliyyede bi kazaillahi Teâlâ harikde olan evkâf-ı haremeyni muhteremeynden bazı cevâmi'i latife ve mekteb ve mesâcid-i münife ve meberrat-ı saire için dahi fenni vafir kalice istihzar ve tedâriki muktazı olub el-haletü'l-hezihi Der Saadetde mikdar-ı kifâye kalice bulunmayıb yine mukata'at-ı evkâf-ı

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[1] An official paper indicating the permission of a task. See Türk Dil Kurumu İnternet Sözlüğü (Turkish Language Society İnternet Dictionary) at http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_karistirilan &arama=kelime&guid=TDK.GTS.574c195c2bb6e0.17157368 (accessed 22 August 2017).

haremeynden Uşak canibinden iştira ve tedarike muhtac olduğu ihbar olmağla bu def'a
cânib-i haremeynden bu husus için tayin olunan saray-ı atik ma'mura teberdarlarından el-
Hac Halil zîde kadruhu mubaşereti ve ma'firet-i şer'i ve hâlâ Uşak Voyvodası
ma'rifetleriyle mübaşir-i muma ileyh yedine verilen defter mucibince iktiza eden
kalicelerin ashabı rızalarıyla kat'olunan baharları ber vechi peşin mübaşir-i muma ileyh
yediyle an nakdin tamamen eda olunarak muktazi olduğu mikdar-ı sağ kaliceler tedariki
iştira ve ceste ceste Der saadete irsalı dikkat ve cânibi evkâf-ı şerifeyi ziyade masarıfdan
siyanet ve himayet birle bir gün evvel husus-ı merkumun hüsnü tanzimiyle ibraz hüsnü
hizmeti olunmak babında hükmü hümayun verilmek ricasına ilam etmeğin mucibince
hüküm deyu ferman-ı âli sadır olmağla vechi meşruh üzere emri şerif-i âlişan yazılmak
için işbu tezkere verildi. Fi 15 Rebi'u'l- evvel sene 1197.

* Decree to the judge and the governor of Uşak:

This missive is written in order to reply to a petition by Hacı Cevher Ağa, influential and
distinguished, respected and trusted by people close to the sultan, active as head of
darussade, minister of Mecca and Medina foundations, to the Ottoman court to request
the renewal of carpets in the grand Hagia Sophia in İstanbul and carpets in the holy
temple known as the Old Mosque in Edirne where they are preserved from the natural
disasters, for they have worn out. In addition to this, a request of preparation and
procurement of highly artistic carpets for some fine mosques, *masjid*s, schools and other
charities which have burned (with the will and grace of Allah) and belonged to Mecca
and Medina foundations as there are not enough carpets in İstanbul currently. Therefore,
the purchase or procurement of the carpets from Uşak area, obtaining the reports
regarding the purchase, careful transportation of the determined number of carpets to
İstanbul, with the consent of the owners of the carpets as well as the immediate payment
to be made by the appointed person who is Hacı Halil (May god bless his fortune) a
former *baltacı*[2] of the palace, within the recognition of *kadi* and governor of Uşak,
keeping the Mecca and Medina foundations from overspending and a verdict to be made
in regard to the subject is requested. February 18, 1783.

In summary: the carpets of Old Mosque, which belonged to the foundation of Sultan Bayezid
Khan, became worn over time and called for renewal; highly artistic carpets should be prepared
and procured from the Uşak area, as there were not enough carpets in Istanbul; this procurement
was made known, with immediate payment to come from the income of the foundations of
Mecca and Medina (called *Haramayn*); the foundations should be kept from overspending; the
carpets procured should be dispatched to Istanbul. It has been found that the numerous Uşak
carpets in Edirne match with the carpets described in this document in terms of both date and
quality. Thus, the carpets discovered in the depot in Edirne had once lain in the Old Mosque and
had been bought from Uşak with the income of the *Haramayn* foundations, as seen in this
sultanic decree. Many of the carpets discovered are examples of lesser-known and rare Uşak
carpets, and a small portion of them bear the medallion of Uşak. The carpets amount to 54
pieces in total, and can be divided into four groups.

Uşak carpets with medallions

These are nine bearing circular medallions (Fig. 3). Highly valuable carpets began to be woven
in and around Uşak after the Turks first settled in this area of Anatolia, with early Ottoman
carpets tracing as far back as the 14th century known to have been produced in the region of
Uşak (Yetkin 1991: 50). In addition to carpets with geometrical patterns, a new pattern
emerged in the 16th century in Uşak, featuring rich pattern groups and bearings medallions
and stars. Uşak carpets with medallions maintained their prominence from the 16th century
until the late 18th century (Fig. 4). First used on Turkish carpets in the 16th century, the
medallion pattern was influenced by the art of decorating books and had originally been used

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[2] A person responsible for the procurement and distribution of logs for heating the palace.

in Persian carpets (Yetkin 1991: 87). The center of Uşak carpets of this type feature large circular medallions, the sides have half medallions with sharp sections, and the corners feature quarter medallions. The central medallion was woven in a circular manner in the 16th century, both circular and oval in the 17th century, and oval and cornered in the 18th century. Just as with book covers, *salbek*s were formed by stretching the two ends of the central medallion. The interior of the medallions was decorated with yellow symmetrical *rumi* and palmettes as well as natural patterns, while the ground of the carpet was decorated with natural patterns. The colors used were dark blue, red, yellow, and blue. Three distinct border patterns were used in Uşak carpets with medallions: first, patterns made of hyacinth vines and rosette flowers; second, patterns featuring flowers emerging in four directions from a central flower; and third, patterns made of *hatayi*, rosettes, and tulips.

Among the Uşak carpets with medallions that belonged to Old Mosque in Edirne were carpets dating back to the 17th and 18th centuries. The medallions of some of these carpets are circular, while others have cornered medallions. As these carpets were procured or purchased through a sultanic decree, these 17th- and 18th-century carpets were all found together.

Uşak carpets with medallions were produced with the support of the Ottoman palace and were laid flat on the ground of large mosques. A decree dated to 1553, in the time of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, was sent to the judge (*kadı*) of Tire, requesting that carpets be woven in accordance with a book of samples and laid flat on the ground of the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul. The Uşak carpets with medallions displayed in the Foundation Carpet Museum in Istanbul today and previously located in Süleymaniye Mosque are indicated in the sources as having been woven around Uşak in accordance with this decree (Yetkin 1991: 93).

Uşak carpets with hexagonal medallions

These are 10 pieces (Fig. 5). In some publications, these are described as Uşak carpets with geometrical medallions (Özçelik 2011: 57). Uşak carpets with hexagonal medallions were first introduced by Suzan Bayraktaroğlu at the 9th International Congress of Turkish Arts (Bayraktaroğlu 1991: 327). These carpets have a pattern with a surface covered in hexagonal medallions. A vertical single row of medallions is seen in some patterns on narrow carpets, whereas in larger carpets the medallions are placed diagonally and side by side and occur in two and three pieces. These hexagonal medallions emerged in the 17th and 18th centuries within the Uşak carpet tradition as a new pattern variant of the 16th-century circular medallions, when the medallions began to take on an oval and cornered shape. In my opinion, these carpets represent the clearest evidence of the continuation of Uşak carpet weaving in the 18th century, as the details are well within the bounds of the Uşak carpet tradition.

In these carpets, patterned stripes of various lengths make up the hexagonal shapes. There are flowers like floral curves, vines, *hatayi*s, carnations, and hyacinths inside the medallions, as also seen in classic Uşak carpets (Fig. 6). In the center of the hexagon is a large, stylized, crosscut flower with smaller flowers, leaves, and *rumi*s in the shape of *hatayi*s and carnations extending out in four directions, and hyacinth vines fill the gaps. All the motifs are symmetric, and the general composition suggests the principle of infinity. The colors used are navy blue, red, light and dark blue, white, and more rarely yellow and green. On some of the carpets the interior of the hexagonal medallion has a pattern of yellow *rumi* and palmettes, which is also seen in the central medallion of classic Uşak carpets (Fig. 7). The carpets were made with the Turkish knot system.

In the Uşak carpets with hexagonal medallions, the bordures are of several varieties: hyacinth vines and rosette flowers; floral decorations in hexagonal panels; bordures with flowers extending in four directions from a central flower; bordures of *hatayi*s, rosettes, and tulips; bordures of large *hatayi*s and *penç*; and bordures of hyacinth, leaves, and *penç*.

On the basis of my research, carpets with hexagonal medallions are only scarcely found and not as a whole, with those of the highest quantity and size being found in Old Mosque in

Edirne. These carpets are six to seven meters long. Other examples have been found in Harput Sare Hatun Mosque (Bayraktaroğlu 1991: 327) and in the largest mosques in Diyarbakır and Malatya. The carpets discovered in these locations are held in the Ankara Vakıf Eserleri Müzesi and Gaziantep Mevlevihanesi Vakıf Müzesi.

No books mention Uşak carpets with hexagonal medallions, which are described only in the articles mentioned here. Nonetheless, these are high-quality and original carpets, and are perhaps not widely known because they are few in number overall.

Carpets with four-leaf-clover-patterned large medallions

These are three pieces (Fig. 8). In the center of these carpets is a large medallion in four sections made of light blue cloud-like curves and filled with floral decorations. On both ends of the large medallion are smaller medallions of a single section (Fig. 9). In the gaps of the light blue curves are *hatayi*s, small flowers, and curves. The medallions and flowers on the carpets are cut with side bordures. Had the patterns not been cut, they would give the illusion of continuing infinity. The colors used are red, blue, white, and dark blue, and the carpets were woven with the Turkish knot system. In this group of carpets, bordures of hyacinth vines and rosette flowers as well as bordures of leaves and *penç* were used.

These carpets are examples of Uşak carpets that derivate new patterns from their earlier ones. They date back to the 17th and 18th centuries. The colors of the carpets, the patterns in the details, and the bordures are characteristics common to all Uşak carpets. My research has revealed that carpets of this type are found only infrequently. Besides Old Mosque, some have been found in Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul and Selimiye Mosque in Nicosia (Bayraktaroğlu 2015: 752). The carpets in Süleymaniye are held in the Istanbul Foundation Carpet Museum, while the carpet in Selimiye is held in the Cyprus Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum. These carpets are mentioned nowhere else. They are of high quality, quite original, and rare.

Uşak carpets known as Smyrna carpets

These are Uşak carpets with floral decorations composed of large abstract flowers and vines. There are 32 of them in all (Fig. 10). In comparison with the other carpets, they have a higher density of knots and are higher in quality. The surface of these carpets features large, single and double dark blue symmetrical *hatayi*s among light blue cloud patterns. The gaps feature smaller medallions of four sections.

In this group of carpets, the bordures are of several varieties: hyacinth vines and rosette flowers; floral decorations in hexagonal panels; bordures with flowers extending in four directions from a central flower; bordures *hatayi*s, rosettes, and tulips; bordures of large *hatayi*s and *penç*; and bordures of hyacinths, leaves, and *penç*. In some examples, the *hatayi*s are in a single vertical row (Fig. 11), while in others they are side by side in columns of three (Fig. 12). The colors used are navy blue, red, and white, and more rarely green and yellow. These carpets were woven using the Turkish knot system. Most carpets of this type are found in large mosques.

The carpets in Old Mosque in Edirne have six bordure patterns. The bordures with floral decorations were designed in the *nakkaşhane* of the Ottoman palace and applied to Uşak carpets as follows: hyacinth vines and rosette flowers; floral decorations in hexagonal panels; flowers extending in four directions from a central flower; *hatayi*s, rosettes, and tulips; large *hatayi*s and *penç*; and hyacinths, leaves, and *penç*.

In conclusion, the carpets belonging to Old Mosque in Edirne, as indicated by the sultanic decree, were laid in the mosque after being procured from Uşak. The carpets' dimensions are 6 to 7 meters in length on average and 2.5 to 3.5 meters in width on average. They were woven with the Turkish knot system or the double knot system, with the number of knots in 1 dm2 being 26x26 on average. The proper weaving shows that they were woven in workshops.

The patterns observed on the carpets are of the type designed in the *nakkaşhane* of the Ottoman palace. The bordure patterns are of a type observed in many branches of art, especially in tiles. These carpets were not of a type that would be found in any mosque, but rather were to be found primarily in sultanic mosques or great mosques. In the light of this information, it can be understood that these carpets were woven in workshops with patterns designed in the Ottoman palace and then ordered for purchase.

Ever since Turks began to settle in Uşak and environs, this area had formed a center of carpet weaving. From at least the 15th century, classic patterns were woven in the Uşak area, such as Uşak carpets with circular and star medallions and Uşak carpets with bird motifs and a white surface. However, it was only after the 18th century that carpets with the other patterns mentioned earlier began woven. Carpets with four-leaf-clover medallions and carpets with hexagonal medallions, which are not mentioned in the literature, should now enter the carpet literature as a continuation of Uşak carpets.

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Turkish Abstract

Halı araştırmalarım esnasında Edirne Eski Camiine ait çok sayıda Uşak Halısına rastladım. 18. yüzyıla ait olduğunu düşündüğüm bu halıların çok kaliteli ve sanatsal olmaları, kendi aralarında grup oluşturacak kadar çok sayıda bulunmaları; bunların belirli bir dönemde topluca camiye serilmiş olabileceklerini akla getirmiştir.

Arşiv araştırmalarında bu konuda bir tezkere tespit ettim. Başbakanlık Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Vakıf Kayıtları Arşivinde 338 numaralı defterin 90. Sayfasında kayıtlı 15 rebi'ul evvel 1197 (18 şubat 1783) tarihli tezkerede, Edirne'de bulunan Eski Camii'ne Uşak civarından halıların alınması ile ilgili padişah hükmü yer almaktadır.

Uşak kadısı ve Voyvodasına hitaben yazılan hükümde, özetle, Edirne'de bulunan merhum Sultan Bayezid Han-ı Veli vakfına tabi, Cami-i Atik'in halılarının zamanla eskidiği ve yenilenmesi gerektiği, çok sanatsal halılara ihtiyacı olduğu, İstanbul'da yeterli miktarda halı bulunmadığından Uşak civarından temin edilmesi, parasının peşin olarak, Mekke ve Medine Vakıflarının gelirinden ödenmesi, temin edilen halıların kısım kısım gönderilmesi bildirilmektedir.

Edirne'de bulduğum çok sayıdaki kaliteli Uşak halılarının, hem tarih olarak hem de nitelikleri açısından, bu tezkerede belirtilen halılar olduğu anlaşılmıştır.

Bu halıların çoğunluğu Uşak halılarının bilinmeyen ve az rastlanan örneklerindendir. Küçük bir kısmı da klasik Uşak halılarındandır. Toplamda 54 adet olan halıları 4 grup altında inceleyebiliriz:

1. Grupta Klasik Madalyonlu Uşak halıları yer alır. 9 adettir. Bunlar dairesel formda madalyonlu Uşak Halılarıdır.

2. Grup altıgen madalyonlu halılardır. Bunlar 10 adettir. Altıgen madalyonların tüm zemini kaplamasından oluşan bir desen görülür. Aslında bu altıgen madalyonlar, 16. yüzyıldaki merkezi dairesel madalyonun 17. yüzyılda köşeli bir hal alması sonucu, 18. yüzyılda da tam altıgene dönüşmesi şeklinde oluşmuştur. İçerisinde bitkisel desenler, kıvrımlar, dallar, hatayiler, karanfil, sümbül gibi çeşitli çiçekler yer almaktadır.

3. Grup dört yapraklı yonca şeklinde iri madalyonlu halılardır. 3 adettir. Halının merkezinde açık mavi renkli bulut şeklinde kıvrımlarla oluşturulmuş içi çiçek desenleri ile doldurulmuş dört dilimli iri bir madalyon, aralarda da birer madalyon yer almaktadır. Boşluklarda yine mavi renkli kıvrımlar arasında simetrik bir düzende yerleştirilmiş çeşitli şekillerde hatayiler bulunmaktadır.

4. Grup İzmir halıları denilen, çok iri soyut çiçek ve dallardan oluşan bitkisel desenli Uşak Halılarıdır. 32 adettir. Halının zemininde açık mavi renkli bulutlar arasında simetrik olarak lacivert renkli iri tek ve çift hatayiler bulunur.

Bu halılarda görülen desenler, saray nakkaşhanesinde üretilen desenlerdir. Çini, hat gibi sanatın birçok dalında bu desenleri görmek mümkündür.

Bu halılar büyük selâtin camileri veya ulu camilerde bulunmuştur. Özel sipariş ile saray nakkaşhanesinde üretilen desenler kullanılarak, büyük atölyelerde dokundukları anlaşılmaktadır.

Biographical Note

Susan Bayraktaroğlu was graduated at the University of Ankara where she discussed a graduate thesis on the field of Carpet and Rug Art. She worked at the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü as an art historian. She was manager of the museum of the Vakıflar Müdürlüğü for over twenty years. She took part in many national and international symposiums about the art and production of carpets and rugs.

She is either a member of the Association of Anatolian Art Historians or of the Association of Museology Profession Establishment. She is a founding member of the Association of Turkish Historical House Museums.

Fig. 1 – Edirne, Old Mosque
(©Archive of Regional Directorate of Foundations, Edirne)

Fig. 2 – Ankara, General Directorate of Foundations Archive
Book no. 338, p. 90

Fig. 3 – Uşak carpet with medallion, cm 280×450, 17th century
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.384)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 4 – Uşak carpet with medallion, cm 360×330, 17th century
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.373)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 5 – Uşak carpet with hexagonal medallion
cm 225×320, 18th century
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.369)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 6 – Uşak carpet with hexagonal medallion
cm 290×450, 18th century
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.390)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 7 – Uşak carpet with hexagonal medallion
cm 388×278, 18th century
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.1)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 8 – Uşak carpet with four-leaf clover
medallion, cm 260×485, 18th century
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.21)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 9 – Uşak carpet with four-leaf clover
medallion, cm 290×460, 18th c.
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.374)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 10 – Uşak carpet known as Smyrna carpet
cm 350×610, 17th c.
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.352)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 11 – Uşak carpet known as Smyrna carpet
cm 310×440, 17th c.
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.372)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

Fig. 12 – Uşak carpet known as Smyrna carpet,
cm 350×530, 18th c.
(Istanbul, Carpet Museum, inv. No. E.370)
(©Archive of Carpet Museum, Istanbul)

THE ARTISTIC REFLECTIONS OF OTTOMAN-GERMAN RELATIONS: FAUSTO ZONARO'S DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS OF KAISER WILHELM II

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Around the beginning of the 19th century, certain European countries like Great Britain and France were experiencing the first phases of industrialization as they accumulated colonies throughout the world. Within this historical context, they targeted the territory of the Ottoman Empire, a state in the process of disintegration. Germany was a latecomer, adopting an imperialist policy only after 1871, when the German Empire was established and its territories unified in a politically and administratively integrated nation-state. Following the Berlin Congress of 1878, the German Empire became the key ally of the Ottoman state owing to certain sociopolitical developments within the Ottoman Empire, to the collapse of the Ottoman economy, and to the overall international political situation (Ortaylı 1981). The relations between the two countries reached their apex during the reigns of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) and Kaiser Wilhelm II (r. 1888-1918). The kaiser paid three formal visits to the Ottoman Empire (1889, 1898, 1917), the second of which received great attention across the world and was depicted by several European artists.

The Italian painter Fausto Zonaro (1854-1929), who spent almost twenty years in Istanbul, was one of those artists. He documented Ottoman-German relations in three drawings that he prepared for the German paper *Illustrirte Zeitung* (Leipzig, Berlin), as well as in two paintings he created for the Ottoman palace. The purpose of this paper is to locate these works by Zonaro within the context of the imperialist strategies that the German state was then pursuing in the Middle East and to interpret their connotations. In order to provide an adequate interpretation of these works, Germany's interest in the Ottoman Empire, which occupied an important place in its wider Middle East policy, will first of all be elaborated upon.

Germany's Interest in the Ottoman Empire and Its Imperialist Strategies

On coming to power in 1888, Kaiser Wilhelm II promoted the intensification of Germany's economic and political ties with the Ottoman state and began to implement a model of imperialism that is referred to in the literature as *pénétration pacifique* (peaceful expansionism) (Grunwald 1975). The distinctive feature of this imperialist strategy was that the Germans deliberately refrained from directly colonizing the territory of the Ottoman Empire. Instead, they supplied loans to the empire and, in return for acquiring certain privileges, undertook a number of aid projects, such as the construction of railways and the restructuring of the army and educational system. While these activities helped to consolidate the rule of Abdülhamid II, they also placed the Ottomans in an unequal and exploitative relationship with the German state. For example, Germans were granted the privilege to engage in mining activities at locations along the railway route, as well as the right to carry out excavation work, which enabled them to discover and remove historical artefacts (Özyüksel 2013: 479–488). By increasing Germany's influence over the Ottoman Empire, Wilhelm II aimed to build his reputation on the world stage. He searched for opportunities to create "historic moments" that would enable Germany to be perceived as a "world power". His second visit to the Middle East in 1898 turned out to be just one such moment (Trommler 2014: 68-71).

Accompanied by his wife, Wilhelm departed from Venice on October 14 and travelled to Istanbul on the imperial yacht *Hohenzollern*. After staying in the Ottoman capital between

October 18 and 22, he continued on to his ultimate destination, Jerusalem, as well as to Damascus (Soy 2007/2008: 117-141). On Reformation Day (October 31), he attended the inauguration of the (German Protestant) Church of the Redeemer (*Erlöserkirche*) in Jerusalem, which stood at the northeastern corner of the site called the Muristan. In fact, the land on which the church was situated had been gifted by Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861–1876) to Wilhelm II's father Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia (later Kaiser Friedrich III, r. 1888) in 1869 in order to honor the latter's visit to Jerusalem that year. The *Erlöserkirche* was built between 1893 and 1898 in a neo-Romanesque style and according to the ground plan of the Crusader-era Church of St. Maria Latina. It is interesting to note that the church's bell tower was designed by Wilhelm II himself. By building this church, the kaiser managed to free the German Protestants in the region from domination by the British state and the Church of England. The *Erlöserkirche* can thus be seen as part of Wilhelm's quest to gain international standing for the German Empire, a goal he achieved by implementing a peaceful expansionist policy in the Orient.

The kaiser also donated to the German Catholics a plot of land on Mount Zion in Jerusalem known as *La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge*, which had been granted to him by Abdülhamid II. As a result of the sultan's significant gift and the kaiser's subsequent donation of the land to German Catholics for the purpose of building a church, France lost her reputation as the protector of the Ottoman Empire's Catholic subjects. German newspapers devoted extensive coverage to these incidents. The popular press, which was very much in favour of the kaiser's policy of peaceful expansion, noted that in Istanbul the sultan had left no doubt as to his respect for Wilhelm. By referring to the various agreements that had been reached on a number of projects, such as the Baghdad Railway, the press tried to convince the public that the prestige the kaiser had acquired reflected his power (Trommler 2014: 70).

In the other major European countries, however, Wilhelm II's attempt to transform his visit into a spectacle that would grab the attention of the world public was met with suspicion and ironic commentary. For example, the French illustrator Henri Meyer satirized the *Kaiserfahrt* (Emperor's Journey) in a cartoon that appeared on the cover of the November 6 issue of the *Le Petit Journal, Supplément illustré* (Fig. 1). Here, Kaiser Wilhelm is presented in front of a scene of Jerusalem, being observed by a large group of photographers and a painter. Nevertheless, despite the satirical intention, the pose does seem to suggest that he has succeeded in his "mission of spreading German culture and Christianity". And indeed, the emperor was actually accompanied by a selection of German painters — among them Max Rabes, Ismael Gentz, and Hermann Knackfuß — as well as by the photographer Ottoman Anschütz, with all of these artists being expected to depict his activities. Max Rabes' *Truppenrevue in Damascus* (Troop Review in Damascus) is a good example of such work. Rabes was an Orientalist painter who had been invited by the German government to participate in the trip (Rapsilber 1918: 40). In the painting, Rabes made use of his own observations as well as a number of photographs taken by Anschütz to depict Wilhelm inspecting Ottoman soldiers while they marched before him (Fig. 2) (Baytar 2009: 236-237). This painting was later exhibited in the 1899 Grand Berlin Art Exhibition (*Grosse Berliner Kunstausstellung*) (Katalog 1899: 53).

Other visual sources reflecting the kaiser's visit to Istanbul are the drawings that appeared in illustrated newspapers and periodicals printed in Germany, such as *Gartenlaube*, *Illustrirte Welt*, and *Über Land und Meer*. Of particular significance among these are the three drawings that Fausto Zonaro prepared for the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, published in Leipzig and Berlin. This paper had previously printed Zonaro's paintings *Festa Popolare Veneziana* (August 8, 1891) and *Il Banditore* (January 23, 1892). What was new about the drawings from Istanbul was their historical and political subject matter. In order to evaluate these works properly, it will be beneficial to first provide some brief information about Fausto Zonaro and his work in Istanbul.

The Drawings for the Illustrirte Zeitung

Zonaro initially studied at the Accademia Cignaroli in Verona and spent time in Rome and Naples before settling in Venice. Until the end of the 1880s he was a painter of portraits, landscapes, and coastal scenes. In 1891, Zonaro and his future wife Elisa Ponte came to Istanbul, where the artist set up a studio and gained the patronage of both the Russian and Italian ambassadors to the Ottoman government. The ambassadors introduced him to Sultan Abdülhamid II, the upshot being that between 1896 and 1909 Zonaro came to be employed as the Ottoman court painter (Öndeş, Makzume 2002). During his stay in Istanbul, Zonaro painted many pictures of the city in a style combining Romanticism and Impressionism. Besides being the court painter, he also worked as the personal adviser to the sultan on matters of art. His memoirs, entitled *Twenty Years under the Reign of Abdülhamid: The Memoirs and Works of Fausto Zonaro*, provide details about his years in Turkey. In the book, Zonaro recounts how Abdülhamid asked for his help in choosing European paintings to decorate the walls of the palace rooms in which the kaiser would stay during his second visit to Istanbul in the fall of 1898 (Zonaro 2008: 182–5).

During this same period, Zonaro was also commissioned by the *Illustrirte Zeitung* to prepare drawings of Wilhelm II. He notes in his memoirs that he obtained permission to complete this task from the Minister of Protocol, Münir Pasha, and that he attended the welcoming ceremony for the kaiser (Zonaro 2008, 186). It follows that his drawings were based to a large extent on his own observations, though it is likely that he also made use of photographs. The whereabouts and the technique and material of his original drawings are unknown. Presumably, he prepared them with pen and ink on paper (Trevigne 2015). In the two issues of *Illustrirte Zeitung*, the three engraved illustrations based on Zonaro's drawings were printed by Druck und Verlag Johann Jacob Weber.

The artist created his works as a supplement to news articles about the kaiser's trip. These articles promoted the idea that German culture had not been sufficiently represented in the Holy Land, a situation that the kaiser was claimed to be rectifying (Jeremias 1898: 348–350). The first two drawings featured in the October 27 issue of the paper and were linked to an article with the headline, "The Kaiser's Days in Istanbul" (*Die Kaisertage in Konstantinopel*) (Anonymous 1898a: 540–6). The drawings depict the events that occurred when the kaiser and his wife first arrived in Istanbul on October 18 (Figs. 3, 4). The first drawing represents their landing at Dolmabahçe Palace. In the foreground, Zonaro placed the caique carrying the imperial couple and their retinue, while in the background he painted the Istanbul shoreline, small boats, and ships firing salutes. The action-packed background signals the importance of the event. The largest image in the entire composition is the naval flag of the German imperial fleet. It is also significant that all the figures in the drawing are depicted as unclear silhouettes, excepting only the flag bearer, the imperial couple, and a German soldier. Zonaro did not portray a single representative of the Ottoman state, while he assigned Wilhelm II a prominent position within this Istanbul seascape. Therefore, it can be argued that the drawing, whether intentionally or not, captures the unequal relationship that had been established between the two countries.

In the second drawing, printed on the following page, the kaiser and his wife are shown inside a horse-drawn carriage in front of the Ceremonial Mansion (*Merasim Dairesi*) at Yıldız Palace, which was used by Abdülhamid as both a residence and the center of the Ottoman administration. The Ceremonial Mansion had recently been constructed as an annex to the Chalet Pavilion (*Şale Köşkü*) specifically for the benefit of the German emperor on the occasion of his second visit. The fact that a special building was added to the palace, the centre of the Ottoman government, purely for the benefit of the German emperor is a clear indication of the importance and political significance that the sultan assigned to the German ruler. Thus, it would be fair to say that the setting for this drawing was deliberately chosen in order to highlight the influence that the German state had on its Ottoman counterpart.

Zonaro's third work appeared in the November 3 issue of the *Illustrirte Zeitung* and depicts an incident that occurred on the final day of the kaiser's visit to Istanbul (Fig. 5). The drawing is followed by articles related to the imperial visit, one of which is entitled "The Imperial Couple's Journey to the Orient, from Constantinople to Jerusalem" (*Die Orientreise des Deutschen Kaiserpaars, Von Konstantinopel nach Jerusalem*) (Anonymous, 1898b). This article details how, at around 9am on Saturday morning, Wilhelm and his wife left Dolmabahçe Palace and set out for the summer residence of the German embassy in Tarabya. In capturing the imperial couple's departure, Zonaro depicted the scene in such a way that the viewer's attention is directed first to the emperor and his wife as they emerge from the palace's seaside gate, and then to the embassy of the German Empire, which looms up on a hill in the distance. Zonaro incorporated the embassy into another painting as well (Fig. 6). It is also worth noting that a similar version of this drawing was printed in color on German postcards in 1898 (Gorka-Reimus 2005: 62-63).

Several features of this work give the impression that Kaiser Wilhelm II is actually the ruler of the area and that the palace from which he is departing is his own. Among these features are the positioning of the German embassy at the highest point in the composition, the fact that the crescent is the only symbol of the Ottoman government present in the entire picture, the humble presence of Ottoman representatives in the form of people rowing boats, and the soldiers standing at attention facing the imperial couple. It can be argued that all of these details point to German imperial dominance over the Ottoman Empire. In short, although Zonaro's drawings contained no explicit messages in support of the German government's expansionist policy in the Middle East, they nevertheless highlight the great esteem in which the Ottoman court held the German imperial leadership. Just like the articles found in the paper, these images served to normalize the German state's imperialist activities in the region, promoting the idea that these activities were in the German national interest and encouraging readers to endorse the policies of the German state.

Given this context, it is hardly surprising that Zonaro's drawings share certain common features with other images created by German artists and printed in the same paper. For example, there are notable similarities in terms of composition and message between Zonaro's third drawing and a work of Otto Gerlach that drew upon a sketch by Max Rabes (Fig. 7). Gerlach's work accompanied an article entitled "The Imperial Couple in Jerusalem" (*Das Kaiserpaar in Jerusalem*) (Anonymous 1898c), and depicts the emperor's arrival in Haifa before his entry into Jerusalem. Just as in Zonaro's work, here the Ottomans are personified by soldiers standing at attention or showing the way. It could certainly be argued that, similar to Zonaro's works, this print served as a way of highlighting and promoting Germany's growing influence in the Middle East in accordance with the policies that had been implemented by the kaiser.

The message underpinning Zonaro's works shines through all the more when we compare them to another group of prints with related content but dissimilar implications. Among these are a print by the Polish painter Stanislaw Chlebowski published in *L'Illustration* (November 13, 1869) and a print by the German artist F. Schlegel that appeared in the *Illustrirte Zeitung* (November 23, 1889). In Chlebowski's drawing, Sultan Abdülaziz and the French empress Eugénie (the wife of Napoleon III) are depicted side by side in a reception in the Great Hall of Beylerbeyi Palace. In Schlegel's print, Sultan Abdülhamid II is portrayed in front of Dolmabahçe's seaside gate offering his arm to the Empress Augusta Victoria as Kaiser Wilhelm II and his retinue follow (Fig. 8). Both works present two rulers in an official welcoming ceremony, and while they are shown as equals, there is no doubt as to who is the host. In contrast, in Zonaro's three drawings we do not see the sultan. Even though the sultan's absence may be explained by his dislike of being portrayed, it is nonetheless significant that there is no comparable high-level Ottoman official accompanying the German emperor in the drawing. Rather than depicting the meeting of the equivalent representatives of the two countries, Zonaro instead focused on the activities in Istanbul of the kaiser and his wife in such a way as to reveal the growing influence of Germany on the Ottoman

Empire as a result of the German ruler's imperial policies, which had been devised between his first visit in 1889 and his second in 1898.

Zonaro's Works for the Palace and the Impact of "Ottoman Orientalism" on Art

Apart from the drawings for the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, Zonaro also made two paintings of Kaiser Wilhelm II, one in watercolor and one in oils. Presumably commissioned by Sultan Abdülhamid II, these works were entitled *Kaiser Wilhelm II at the Dolmabahçe Landing Stage* (1898) (*Dolmabahçe Sarayı Rıhtımında Kaiser II. Wilhelm*) and *Kaiser Wilhelm II at the Yıldız Lodge* (1899) (*Kaiser II. Wilhelm'in Yıldız-Şale'ye Gelişi*) (Figs. 9, 10). In these paintings, Zonaro remained loyal to the basic design of his second and third drawings prepared for the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, making only minor changes. For example, in the former painting, which was modeled on his third drawing, Zonaro omitted a woman with an umbrella next to Augusta Victoria and seagulls flying above the water. These works give the sense that the Ottoman court endorsed the hierarchical relationship that had developed between the Ottoman Empire and Germany. After all, in their basic arrangement, the paintings set in Istanbul — just like the drawings on which they were based—present the German state's imperialist presence in the region as something quite natural and acceptable. What is more, by incorporating them into the palace painting collection, the sultan implied that he saw nothing problematic about them, an attitude that might be explained in terms of a way of thinking known in the literature as "Ottoman Orientalism".

The notion of "Ottoman Orientalism" was first proposed by Ussama S. Makdisi in the wake of the development of postcolonial studies and against a backdrop of Ottoman "imperialism" and "colonialism". (Makdisi 2002; Deringil 2003) According to Makdisi and scholars such as Edhem Eldem, Ottoman Orientalism was a fundamental component of Ottoman modernization (Eldem 2007). The term has been used to characterize the standpoint that considered the Ottoman Empire to be lagging behind European countries in military and technological terms. Those bureaucrats and intellectuals who adopted this way of thinking endorsed the orientalist perspective prevalent in European countries and called for uncritical imitation of the political, economic, and cultural configurations of these countries. At the same time, they also tried to find ways to defend themselves against the prejudices that were being disseminated in the West. Motivated by the twin aims of demonstrating that the Ottoman Empire was part of the "civilized world" and marking the empire off from the rest of the Middle East, the Ottoman state created its own "East". In the memoirs attributed to Abdülhamid II and published during his lifetime under the title *Avant la débâcle de la Turquie*, the sultan's endorsement of the description of the Turks as the "Germans of the Orient" presents a good example of this discursive strategy (Ali Vahbi Bey 1914/2014: 127). Such an expression indicates that the sultan saw the Germans as a role model to be emulated. At the same time, this narrative "otherized" the Arabs and others living in the eastern provinces of the empire, who were placed in the category of "the Orient" and seen as less developed than the Turks. In this regard, it is not surprising that the Ottoman court was not averse to Zonaro's paintings attributing such a prominent position to Kaiser Wilhelm II. The Ottomans would appear to have turned a blind eye to the fact that Zonaro's images were originally addressed to a German audience, intending to inform them about the kaiser's imperial activities and gather support for his policies.

Zonaro was not the only artist in the Ottoman Empire who used his/her works to visualize the hegemonic relation established between the two countries. Naciye Neyyal was another painter whose work from this period bore the imprint of this political context and reflected the unequal relations between the Ottoman and German states (Fig. 11). It can be argued that her painting *The Visit of the German Emperor Wilhelm II to the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem* (1898) (*Alman İmparatoru II. Wilhelm'in Kudüs'teki Ömer Camii'ni Ziyareti*) reinforces the superior position of the German state *vis-à-vis* the Ottoman Empire and provides insight into the Ottoman Orientalism

that was prevalent among the bureaucratic circles to which she herself belonged. The fact that Naciye Neyyal was the wife of the governor of the Ottoman *sanjak* of Jerusalem, Tevfik Bey, makes the painting all the more significant in this regard.

The background for Naciye Neyyal's work was provided by an incident involving Tevfik Bey and Kaiser Wilhelm II that occurred during the latter's visit to Jerusalem in 1898. The painter recounts in her memoirs that the kaiser's arrival in Jerusalem made things very difficult for her husband (Hürmen 2004: 55). Since Wilhelm wanted to acquire the title for the aforementioned land called *La Dormition de la Sainte Vierge* from Tevfik Bey, the latter asked for approval from the sultan. However, he was unable to receive an explicit answer to this request. Obviously, since this location was also important for Muslims, Abdülhamid was reluctant to transfer the land directly to the Germans, who intended to build a Catholic church on it. In the end, Tevfik Bey took the initiative and presented the land title to the kaiser at the point when he sensed that the sultan was not in fact opposed to the donation (Hürmen 2006: 157-169).

Even though these events caused substantial distress for Tevfik Bey, it seems that Naciye Neyyal did not really problematize the political pressure exerted by the German state over the Ottoman government. On the contrary, she reports in her memoirs that, in the course of these negotiations regarding the land, she produced a large painting of the kaiser and his wife with the aid of a photograph (Fig. 12) (Hürmen 2004: 55). The painting depicts the imperial couple in front of an arched entrance to the Dome of the Rock, known to Muslims as the Mosque of Omar. They are positioned beneath a structure that resembles a triumphal arch, and all the figures in the painting are looking towards them. Most of the officials standing behind the chief protagonists belong to the German imperial entourage rather than the Ottoman contingent. In Naciye Neyyal's work, just as in Max Rabes', Kaiser Wilhelm wears a khaki tropical uniform (*Tropenuniform*) and a helmet. The helmet has a white cover and a loose white cloak hangs from it. This image lends the kaiser the appearance of a commander in a modern-day Crusade, and makes one think that the political interest that the Germans had had in the Arab Middle East ever since the Middle Ages was still alive and well, both in reality and in the narrative world of the painting. Since Naciye Neyyal made no alterations to the photograph's composition but simply reproduced it on a large scale, it might be said that she did not question the Germans' political interests in the region but responded positively to them. When the political context of the time and the intellectual orientation of the Ottoman bureaucrats during the period are taken into consideration, her attitude becomes all the more understandable, a comment which also holds true for Zonaro.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that the existing publications on Zonaro's depictions of Kaiser Wilhelm II in Istanbul have not taken into account the politico-historical context and, especially, the imperial power relations involved. Instead, they have considered Zonaro's works as mere documentation of historical events reflecting facts (Şerifoğlu 2004: 14). By contrast, in this study Zonaro's drawings printed in the *Illustrirte Zeitung* have for the first time been read in juxtaposition with the articles to which they were attached, and both have been examined in a manner mindful of the contemporary imperial relations that had been established between the Ottoman Empire and Germany. Four conclusions can be drawn from this examination. First of all, taken together with the content of the articles, which celebrated the imperial activities of the kaiser in the Middle East, Zonaro's works were composed in such a way as to demonstrate the hegemony established by the German state over its Ottoman counterpart, as well as the effects of the peaceful expansionist policy implemented by Germany within Ottoman territory.

Secondly, it can also be stated that the drawings served as a visual channel for transmitting imperial ideas to the German readership. As interpreted in this article, Zonaro's works clearly differ

from illustrations that represent the sultan or other Ottoman officials accompanying European rulers. In contrast to the creators of such images, Zonaro chose to focus on those activities of the kaiser and his wife in Istanbul that manifested the growing influence of Germany on the Ottoman Empire.

Thirdly, the notion of Ottoman Orientalism, a significant aspect of Ottoman modernity, helps us to understand how Zonaro's paintings, which were made after the drawings, came to be included in the Ottoman palace collection. Sultan Abdülhamid II's opinions on Germany and the Germans clearly demonstrate that this was the stance adopted by the Ottoman state. In the memoirs ascribed to him, the sultan attributes to the Germans many positive qualities, such as braveness, honesty, and hospitability, and argues that the Turks are called the "Germans of the Orient" precisely because they share these same characteristics (Ali Vahbi Bey 1914/2014: 127). The reason why the sultan saw nothing wrong with Zonaro's paintings and, indeed, incorporated them into the palace collection must have been, at least in part, the great admiration he felt for Germany, along with his reliance on German support as a means of coping with contemporary European power struggles.

Fourthly and finally, it can be claimed that the hegemonic relationship between the German and Ottoman states was visualized not only in the paintings of Zonaro, but also in the composition of an Ottoman painter, Naciye Neyyal, as well. Given that Naciye Neyyal was involved in Ottoman bureaucratic circles because of her husband's position, it can be argued that her work is also an indication of the Ottoman Orientalism adopted by the Ottoman bureaucracy. The prominent image of the kaiser in her painting bears a remarkable likeness to the images of the emperor we encounter in Zonaro's works.

Overall, we can say that imperialist projects do not manifest themselves purely in the sphere of politics. On the contrary, such projects may well become visible in the art of painting. When Fausto Zonaro's works are reevaluated in the light of the political context of the day, they can be considered important reminders of the imperialist policies that were being pursued by the German state within the Ottoman Empire.

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Turkish Abstract

Bu bildirinin amacı, Fausto Zonaro'nun Kaiser II. Wilhelm'in İstanbul ziyaretini (1898) konu alan çizimlerini ve resimlerini, Alman devletinin uyguladığı emperyalist stratejiler çerçevesinde incelemektir. Burada öne sürülen argümana göre söz konusu eserlerde, iki ülke arasındaki hiyerarşik ilişkiyi açık eden bir anlatıma yer verilmiştir. Bunlar, Alman hükümetinin Osmanlı Imparatorluğu'nu tahakküm altına alan yayılmacı politikalarını açık eden belirgin ve spesifik mesajlar içermeseler de Alman devletinin, burada yürüttüğü siyasi ilişkileri ve faaliyetleri yansıtan; bunların üst düzeyde son derece itibarlı karşılandığı mesajını veren; devletin Osmanlı topraklarında (konsolosluk bağlamında) kurumsal varlığını resme dahil ederek görselleştiren bir kurguya sahiptir. Zonaro'nun Kaiser'i hegemonik bir pozisyonda gösteren ve *Illustrirte Zeitung*'da basılan üç çizimden ikisini, farklı teknikte ve çok az değişiklikle Osmanlı sarayı için yeniden üretmekten beis duymaması, Alman nüfuzunun, Osmanlı devletinin siyasi rasyonalitesi çerçevesinde ne denli normalleştirilmiş ve içselleştirilmiş olduğunu gösterir. Bildiride öne sürülen argümanı temellendirmek için ilk olarak, Almanya'nın Osmanlı'da uyguladığı yayılma politikası ele alınmış; daha sonra sırasıyla Zonaro'nun Kaiser'i yansıtan çalışmalarına değinilmiştir. Bunlarda var olduğu iddia edilen ve emperyalist stratejileri tahkim ettiği düşünülen oryantalist söylemler üzerinde durulmuştur. Konu, süreli yayınlar, sergi katalogları, makale, günlük gibi yazılı ve görsel malzemeler dikkate alınarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Biographical Note

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Fig. 1 – Henri Meyer, Cover of *Le Petit Journal,
Supplement illustré*: No. 416 (November 6, 1898)
"L'empereur d'Allemagne en voyage".
(©Bildarchiv Preußisch. Kulturbesitz Nr.00022848)

Fig. 2 – Max Rabes, *Troop Review in Damascus* (Truppenrevue
in Damascus), 1898, oil on canvas, whereabouts unknown.
(©*Katalog, Der Grosse Berliner Kunst-Ausstellung*, 1899: 53)

Fig. 3 – F. Zonaro, "Visit of the German Imperial Couple to Constantinople: Landing of Kaiser Wilhelm and His
Wife at Dolmabahçe Palace. Original drawing of our special draughtsman F. Zonaro." ("*Der Besuch des
Deutschen Kaiserpaars in Konstantinopel: Landung des Deutschen Kaiserpaars in Dolma Bagdsche.
Originalzeichnung unsers Specialzeichners Fausto Zonaro.*") After *Illustrirte Zeitung,* 111/2887 (October 27,
1898): 540

Fig. 4 – F. Zonaro, "Kaiser Wilhelm and His Wife Leaving the Merasim Kiosk in Order to Visit Abdülhamid II on October 18. Original drawing of our special draughtsman F. Zonaro." ("*Der Besuch des Deutschen Kaiserpaars in Konstantinopel: Abfahrt des Kaiserpaars vom Merassim-Kiosk, um den Sultan einen Gegenbesuch zu machen, am 18. Oktober. Originalzeichnung unsers Specialzeichners Fausto Zonaro.*") After *Illustrirte Zeitung,* 2887/111 (October 27, 1898): 541

Fig. 5 – F. Zonaro, "Visit of the German Imperial Couple to Constantinople: The Embarkation of Kaiser Wilhelm II and His Wife on the Quay at Dolmabahçe Palace for a Trip to the Summer Residence of the German Embassy in Tarabya, Istanbul on October 22. After a drawing of our special draughtsman F. Zonaro." ("*Der Besuch des –deutschen Kaiserpaars in Konstantinopel: Die Einschiffungdes Kaiserpaars am Kai von Dolma Bagdsche zur Fahrt nach Therapia am 22. Oktober 1898. Nach einer Zeichnung unsers Specialzeichners Fausto Zonaro.*") From *Illustrirte Zeitung*, 111/2888 (November 3, 1898): 574

Fig. 6 – F. Zonaro, *Ayaspaşa* (*Quartiere di Ayaspaşa*), 1894, oil on canvas, 30 × 45 cm, Private Collection

Fig. 7 – O. Gerlach, "Visit of the German Imperial Couple to the Orient: The Reception of Kaiser Wilhelm in Haifa on October 25. O. Gerlach, After a sketch by our special draughtsman Max Rabes" ("*Die Orientreise des Deutschen Kaiserpaars: Empfang der Majestäten in Haifa nach der Landung am 25. October. Nach einer Skizze unsers Spezialzeichners Max Rabes gezeichnet von O. Gerlach.*") After *Illustrirte Zeitung,* 111/2889 (November 10, 1898): 615

Fig. 8 – After F. Schlegel, "Visit of the Kaiser to Costantinople: The Reception of the Imperial Couple by the Sultan at Dolmabahçe Palace on November 2. After a sketch by our special draughtsman F. Schlegel." ("*Die Kaiserreise nach Konstantinopel: Empfang des Kaiserpaars durch den Sultan am Palast Dolma-Bagdsche am 2. November. Nach einer Zeichnung unsers Spezialzeichners F. Schlegel.*") After *Illustrirte Zeitung,* 93/2420 (November 16, 1889): 510. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4155788 / 2 Per. 26-93

Fig. 9 – Fausto Zonaro, *Kaiser Wilhelm II at Dolmabahçe Landing Stage,* Istanbul 1898,
oil on canvas, 79 × 112 cm, TGNA ©Department of National Palaces Collection, Inv. No. 11/1460

Fig. 10 – Fausto Zonaro, *Kaiser Wilhelm II at the Yıldız Lodge,*1899,
watercolor, 43 × 76 cm, TGNA ©Department of National Palaces Collection, Inv. No. 11/1200

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Fig. 11 – Naciye Neyyal (Tevfik), *The Visit of the German Emperor Wilhelm II to the Mosque of Omar in Jerusalem*, oil on canvas, 140 × 220 cm, ©Istanbul Naval Museum

Fig. 12 – Photo of Kaiser Wilhelm II's Visit to the Harem-i Şerif-Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem in 1898, ©Istanbul University Library of Rare Books, 90621-0018

ITALIAN-TURKISH INTERACTIONS IN MINOR OTTOMAN ART: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL COLLECTIONS OF EASTERN EUROPE

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Archaeological investigation of the medieval and post-medieval monuments found in the southern part of Eastern Europe has established that there were several varieties of contact within the Aegean and Mediterranean regions. Such interactions date all the way back to at least the Byzantine period. But new forms of contact, especially in terms of trade, can be seen from the time of the founding of Italian colonies in the 14th and 15th centuries. These colonies were located along the coast of the Black Sea, including Crimea, and the Sea of Azov, as well as at the mouths of the rivers of Southeastern Europe. The colonies were represented by factories, ports, and berths for ships. The factories at the mouths of the Danube (Licostomo or Kiliya) and the Dniester (Moncastro-Akkerman-Bilgorod-Dnistrowsky) also served as significant ports. There was also a colony on the coast of the bay at Odessa, Ginestra, that served as a port, but it was not as well-known as the aforementioned factories. At the mouth of the Dnieper (primarily in the region of the Bog-Dnieper estuary), a settlement with a berth was established near Dneprovka-2 (Lerici), not far from Ochakiv in the region of Mykolayiv, while the port of Illice was located near Oleshshye, in the region of Kherson (Fig.1). Thanks to archaeological work on the coast of the Black Sea, the other berths that were mentioned in medieval records and maps have also been found. All of this was a result of the period from the second part of the 13th till the middle of the 15th century when Italian merchants from Genoa and Venice largely controlled trade on the Black Sea.

However, their position began to change in the last quarter of the 15th century, owing to the increasing regionalization of trade as well as to Ottoman invasion (Emanov, Popov 1988: 76-87). Around the turn of the 16th century, these lands became the possession of the Ottoman Empire, effectively turning the Black Sea into a "Turkish lake". The participation in trade of merchants from foreign lands was under the control of the Ottomans. Italian ships on the Black Sea belonged to either Venetian or Crimean owners, who became Ottoman subjects (İnalcık 1998: 141]. Even so, till 1569 Italian states, especially Venice, continued to control Ottoman trade with the Christian West, and Venice remained the most significant naval force in the Mediterranean (İnalcık 1998: 145-146). The struggle for domination between England, France, and Venice in the Levant trade was finished by the fall of Venetian trade in the region. Moreover, gradually the Ottoman economy came under European control (İnalcık 1998: 151). Nevertheless, in the 16th century, some Europeans came to view the Ottoman Empire as an almost ideal state, owing to the brilliant successes under Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (Krimsky 1996: 217-236).

The intersection of the Eastern and European cultural worlds in the northern Black Sea region led to that region becoming a site of cultural transmission into the vast spaces of Eastern Europe, and first of all into Ukraine. Excavation of numerous sites, especially in the last decades of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, shows that during this period this part of the Ottoman state obtained real cultural status, as evidenced by several different kinds of interaction reflected in numerous collections and various sorts of artifacts. Thus, research into these artifacts makes it possible to discover the cultural influences to be found in this northernmost part of the empire, which has been relatively unknown till recently.

The most representative centre of the transcontinental trade from the time of the Golden Horde through the period of the Italian colonies, the Moldavian principality, and Ottoman

suzerainty was the city and sea port of Moncastro/Akkerman, mentioned as a fortress in the *Codex Latinus Parisinus* of 1396. From the second half of the 13th century on, Genoa promoted the Renaissance, leading to a flowering of some of its ports' cities, such as Moncastro/Akkerman, as well as by growth in its chain of colonies, such as Licostomo and Kiliya on the Danube, among others (Shlapak 2001: 53). The presence of Genoese representatives in Akkerman was revealed by the discovery of an office sign and ring bearing the state emblem of Genoa. A good deal of evidence has been uncovered over the course of the more than 100 years of excavation in Moncastro/Akkerman, which has produced a very large collection of material culture from all periods. This has made it possible to establish the specifics of the contacts between several regions of the East and West in this area. The most important place in the collection is held by ceramics, a mass group of findings that reflect the various cultural influences to be seen in the development of this kind of material culture throughout the Black, Aegean, and Mediterranean regions. There is no mention of ceramics in the records of the Italian trade on the Black Sea (Karpov 1990). Nonetheless, excavation of the cities and ports on the Black Sea coast – especially in Azak (Azov) and Akkerman – has uncovered a variety of different wares of Italian origin.

Besides this, Italian merchants also transferred the production of certain ceramic centers of southwestern Europe into the northern Black Sea region. For instance, the Spanish Luster ceramics that were found were from such centers, which were connected with the Italian trade (Kravchenko 1986: 99-102). These ceramics had a rather wide distribution in Crimea, though less in the northern Black Sea area as a whole, and less in Azov as well (Maslovsky 2006: 441). In any case, such ware was not so numerous as other kinds of ceramic, such as sgraffito ware. The Spanish Luster ceramics in Akkerman come in three main forms: bowls, plates, and vases on the ring bottom (Kravchenko 1986: 99-102; Boguslavsky 2010: 174-7). The main period during which this ware came into the northern Black Sea region was between the 14th and the first half of the 15th century. In the course of our excavations in Akkerman, we found a fragment of a dip plate (bowl?), the edge of which is decorated by thin blue interlocking convex lines. The lower part of the fragment is filled in with light brown depictions of vegetation, while the center of the plate features a blue ribbon on a circle. The surface is covered by white engobe (Fig. 2). The decoration of the edge of the plate resembles that on an item found in Akkerman by A.A. Kravchenko (Kravchenko 1986: 102-3, Fig.39, 4). Such ceramics resemble Genoese findings of Spanish origin (Mannoni 1975; Pringle 1977: 100-1).

The largest number of findings are of the famed type of medieval production known as sgraffito ware, which was known in the area from the 13th-14th centuries and is also found among the materials from the 15th-16th centuries. These ceramics can be divided into two groups according to their place of origin; that is, whether they were imports or local. The centre of production for these ceramics was active in the time of the Golden Horde, and may have continued during the time of the Moldavian Principality as well. From the period of Italian influence and colonization in the northern Black Sea region, we find sgraffito ware items resembling ceramics of Italian origin, probably the region of Veneto, which was distributed in Italy as well as the Aegean region (e.g., Central Greece), the Near East, and Egypt in the late 15th and early 16th centuries (Vroom 2005: p. 141). For the lands of the North Black Sea area it was the early Ottoman period, when the Genoa colony Licostomo or Kiliya put under the power of the Ottoman Empire. The Monchastro-Akkerman also was escaped by the troops of Bayazid II in 1484.

The first type of ceramic – i.e., those that resemble items of Veneto origin – can be called monochrome sgraffito ware. These are fragments of vessels made from orange clay and covered with white slip (or engobe). The surface of the first group of vessels of this type was covered with an olive or green glaze, while that of the second group was covered with a yellow glaze. The glaze is sometimes on the inside and sometimes on the outside of the surface of the vessel. The decoration consists of horizontal lines and vegetation and geometric

motifs covering the internal surface of the vessels. The ware is represented by hemispherical bowls and basins. Some of the items from Akkerman, Ochakiv, and other sites within the region of the Italian colonies may be of Italian origin, imitations of Italian production, or imported from Anatolia and the Mediterranean region. However, exact identification must await chemical analysis of all the components of the ware.

The second type of ceramic is polychrome sgraffito ware from Italy, especially from northern Italy and the region of Veneto (Vroom 2005: 142-143). Among the latter are fragments of large and broad-mouthed vessels, bowls, or dishes on the ring foot, with a diameter of between 7.7 and 9 cm. All these examples were made from red or orange clay. Their outer surface was covered with white slip (engobe). These were interpreted by A.A. Kravchenko as being of Italian production (Kravchenko 2005: 411-4). The most interesting pieces from among this group feature images of people, in which they resemble some of the ceramics of Venetian masters of the 16th century. There are also fragments of red clay, open, large vessels, bowls, or dishes, the ring foot, with a diameter of between 7.7 and 9 cm. The white engobe on the internal surface was covered by an uncolored or lightly colored glaze. The bottom of the vessels bore images of human busts made with traditional sgraffito methods and with underglazed backlit oxides of copper and iron. The outside of the vessel surface was either covered in engobe or not.

The first fragment with such an image was found during the course of the excavation of L.D. Dmitrov in 1945, on the site of the medieval city near the former old port. It is a fragment of a red clay, open, large vessel. There may be a bowl or plate on the ring foot. The image features the head and shoulders of a young woman in left-facing profile in the circular medallion (limited to four cut lines forming three bands, one of which is painted in blue and hatched by oblique lines, with the rest being white) (Fig. 3). The hair is hidden under a hat or bonnet that covers the ear. There are front broad band caps painted in brown and an occipital allocated engraved rhombic grid on a white background. The chest is covered by striped light clothing. The composition is done with thin lines, and the walls of the vessel are painted in green.

The next fragment with a human image was discovered by I.B. Kleyman and A.A. Kravchenko in 1983. This image is also in a circular medallion (14.5 cm). There is an engraved double loop depicting a young man's head in nearly full but slightly left profile. He has curly hair engraved with thick lines. The hair was painted brown, and the background around the head was covered with a bright green glaze and hatched dotted lines, possibly through use of a special laminating tool. The background has some eight-petaled flowers, allocated saturated brown. On the white front side of the face are small traces of the tripod (Fig. 4). Both of the above fragments were found in the mixed layer, which featured antique, medieval, and modern items.

The third fragment is from the collection of the Belgorod-Dniestrovsky Museum. It represents a youth in profile, with the head partly covered by a hat or beret (Fig. 5).The surface of the fragment was covered in white slip (engobe) as well as by a transparent glaze. On the surface of the medallion some green spots lie under the glaze. The manner of composition makes this image resemble a bust of youth (Fig. 6) found on an Italian polychrome sgraffito dish (Munarini, Banzato 1993: 75).

Overall, the images found at Akkerman closely resemble those found in the applied art of northern Italy, especially the region of Venice, in the 15th–16th centuries, examples of which can be found in the museums of Italy, Great Britain (especially the Victoria and Albert Museum), and other countries.

Apart from fragments bearing images of people, our excavations in the barbican of the lower yard of the fortress of Akkerman also produced fragments of sgraffito vessels, one of which closely resembles an item of Venetian production (Vroom 2005: 142.2.1).

The influence of Italian traditions can also be seen in the Turkish miniatures found on the ceramic art of Iznik, whose ware saw distribution in the Ottoman areas of the northern Black

Sea. In this context, one very interesting piece is a fragment of an Iznik dish bearing an image of a youth in profile, which was discovered during the course of the excavation of the Ottoman fortress in Ochakiv (Biliaieva, Yakubov 2000: 7-8). The item dates to no earlier than the middle of the 16th century, based on the color range found in the image (i.e., a red cap and blue clothing) (Fig.7). The position of the image in the centre of the dish, the profile pose, and some details of the clothing resemble the aforementioned Iznik dish with the image of a youth, which is housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum and dated to the first half of the 16th century (Fig.8) (Miller 1972: 84). In spite of the different color range in the two images, the overall design resembles certain features of 16th-century Italian majolica.

The numerous groups of ceramics from Ottoman monuments in Ukraine are polychrome glazed, so-called "marble ware", which was of Italian origin and emerged at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. Subsequently, between the 17th and the 19th centuries, different imitations of Italian patterns began to appear. This kind of ceramic was imitated by many centers of production, including some in the Ottoman Empire, as is known from archaeological excavations. For example, such items were found among the Eyüp Sultan ceramics in Istanbul (Barışta 1999: 322-3) and in the Aegean region (Vroom 2005: 164-5), and were widely distributed from the 17th century on in the central, southern, and eastern Europe (Bikic 2003: 132-3). Several modifications of these ceramics were found in the collection from Akkerman and Ochakiv, with the main varieties being wide bowls and plates. The preferred color was green, though there are also brown pieces featuring free decoration in different colors (Fig. 9).

The surface, resembling marble, was of a type known in the design of pipes found in the Ottoman area of the northern Black Sea region (Fig. 10). What is more, this marble design also spread to Ukraine in the second half of the 17th century, quickly coming to be produced in various forms, such as bowls, plates, and smoking pipes (Chmil 2010: 11).

A truly special place in Italian-Turkish interactions is held by the influence of the baroque style, which began to be used in Turkey during the so-called "Tulip Period" of 1718-1730 (Kahyaoğlu, Torre 2007: 254). Baroque saw use in both civil and religious architecture in Ottoman cities, primarily Istanbul, where numerous palaces and mosques were built either explicitly in the baroque style or under its influence. Among the masterpieces of Ottoman baroque architecture are Dolmabahçe Palace and Nuruosmaniye Mosque. The baroque influence was also reflected in several fields of the applied arts, including in work from the famed ceramic center of Kütahya, as well as in the production of pipes from a variety of different centers. Such items were widely distributed in the Ottoman lands of the northern Black Sea and in Ukraine, as testified to by voluminous archaeological evidence.

In terms of Kütahya production, the most numerous findings were of items related to tea and coffee. The forms of the coffee cups derived from porcelain coffee cups made in Vienna and Meissen, and took some of their elements from the baroque style, such as medallions, the waffle structure of the surface, certain details of the floral design and stamps, imitations of Meissen china [Carswell 1991: p.72-73], and other details. Numerous such ceramics can be found in the archaeological collection from Akkerman and Ochakiv (Biliaieva 2012).

Additionally, some features of the baroque style were also used in the decoration of clay and meerschaum pipes, which were produced in Anatolia and brought to fortresses in the northern part of the empire. In terms of clay pipes, some of these were decorated with floral bouquets, golden strips, acanthus, and incrustations of colored glass. Pipes with baroque decoration were found in several formerly Ottoman areas, such as from Khotyn (in the western part of the Ottoman territory in Bucovina) as far as Akkerman, Ochakiv, Kherson, and other locales in the southern part of the Ottoman northern Black Sea region. For example, in Akkerman and Ochakiv, pipes in typical baroque style with various floral compositions were found (11, 1-2).

The introduction and distribution of the baroque style into the various parts of Ukraine occurred in a number of different ways and in many different directions in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, which was later than in Western Europe. There were two varieties of this style: classical baroque, and Ukrainian or Cossacks' baroque. The architecture of the latter first appeared in the second half of the 17th century.

In the western and southwestern areas of Ukraine, which bordered Europe proper, the influence of the baroque in architecture and the applied arts (ceramics, pipes, etc.) emerged from Central and Western Europe, including from parts of Hungary and the Balkans that were under Ottoman control. In Kyiv and the central region, numerous churches were built in the style of the Ukrainian baroque.

On the left bank of Ukraine and in Kyiv, which were under Russian control, the first buildings appeared in the Italian baroque style due to the architect B. Rastrelli, who lived in Russia in the middle of the 18th century.

Elements of the baroque were also used in the applied arts of Ukraine, such as in the decoration of ware and smoking pipes, in the form especially of floral elements and incrustations of colored glass. Such pieces are known in collections from the central Dnieper region, including Kyiv.

As for the northern Black Sea region, the transmission of the influence of the baroque style in the applied arts occurred by way of Ottoman garrisons and administrators, who brought such items in from various of the empire's centers. Some of the exclusive items may have been gifted to the Cossack elite, but most of the items of everyday use were distributed by Cossacks and merchants, imitated by local craft shops, and ultimately became part of the local Ukrainian population's own culture.

Overall, the Eastern European archaeological collections from the main centers of the area of survey establish the following main directions of Italian-Turkish interaction: the presence of items of applied art imported from Italy; the presence of items of Ottoman applied art produced under Italian influence; the acceptance and use of novel decorative elements of Italian applied art by Ottoman ceramic centers; the adoption and penetration of Italian influences throughout those parts of Europe under Ottoman control, including the Ottoman provinces of Eastern Europe; the interaction of these styles in Ukrainian lands that were not under Ottoman control; and the distribution of the novel baroque style in classical and Ukrainian variants in the southern part of Eastern Europe.

Italian-Turkish interaction in the Ottoman territories of the northern Black Sea region led to the appearance of certain Westernization impulses in Ukrainian lands. This represented a real step towards the globalization of cultural life in the Eurasian region.

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Turkish Abstract

Orta Çağ ve Orta Çağ'ın Doğu Avrupa'sının güney kısmındaki anıtların arkeolojik incelemesi, Ege ve Akdeniz bölgesi ile çeşitli temaslar kurmuştur. Bizans devrinin etkisiyle daha önceki dönemlerde yoğun faz ilişkilerine ulaşılmıştır. Ancak, özellikle ticarette yeni temas biçimleri, XIV-XV yüzyıllarında İtalyan kolonilerinin mevcudiyetinde fark edildi. Onlar, Karadeniz'in ve Kırım'ın dahil olduğu Azak Denizi'nin sahil şeridi boyunca ve aynı zamanda Güney Doğu Avrupa'nın en büyük nehirlerinin ağzında bulunuyorlardı. Fabrikalar, limanlar ve iskeleler tarafından temsil edildi.Oryantal ve Avrupalı kültür dünyasının karşılıklı gelişimi, karşılıklı ilişkilerin, entegrasyonun ve Kuzey Karadeniz bölgesinin gerçek kaynaklarını yarattı ve Ukrayna'nın her şeyden önce Doğu Avrupa'nın geniş alanına kültürel geçiş bölgesi oldu. Bu yol, bu dönemin eserler koleksiyonlarının incelenmesi, bu kültürün etkilerini, son zamana kadar bilinmeyene kadar devam eden, Kuzey İmparatorluk eyaletinde keşfetme olanağı verdi.zellikle XX. Yüzyılın sonlarında ve XXI. Yüzyılın başlarında, çeşitli alanların kazılması nedeniyle, Osmanlı devletinin Kuzey-Doğu kısmının gelişimine özgü gerçek kültürel statü elde edilmiş, çeşitli etkileşim türleri yansıtılmıştır. Farklı sanat eserleri ile temsil edilen sayısız koleksiyonda. Koleksiyonlardaki önemli yer seramik almakta; ana gruplar, Karadeniz, Ege ve Akdeniz'in geniş bölgelerinde bu tür maddi kültürün gelişiminin yönlerini yansıtmaktadır.Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun bir yanından batılılaşması ve diğer bir taraftan Ukrayna topraklarının batılılaşması, Avrasya bölgesinin kültürel yaşamının karşılıklı ilişkileri ve küreselleşmesi yolundaki adımlardı.

Biographical Note

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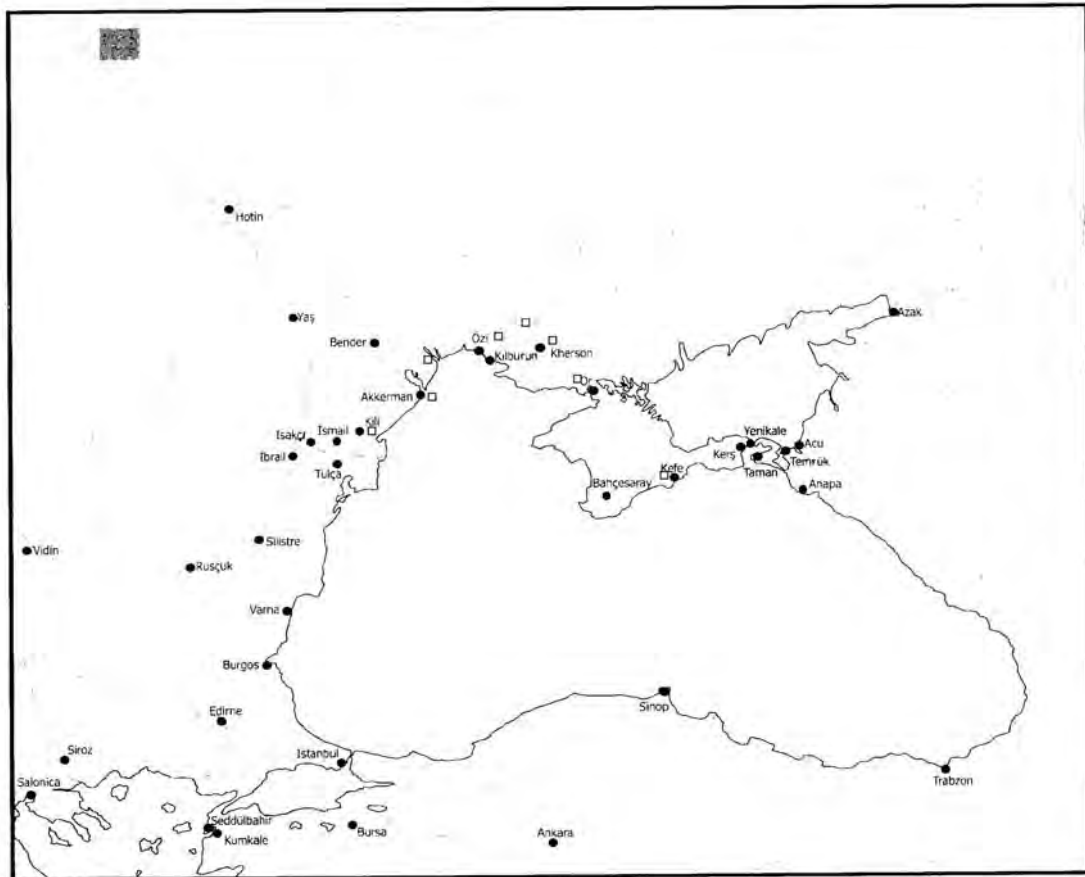

Fig. 1 – Italian colonies, ports and births on the territory of the North Black Sea area in the region of the biggest rivers of Ukraine (map based upon V. Ostapchuk and S. Biliaieva 2009: p. 138)

Fig. 2 – Spanish Luster ceramic from Akkerman (©S. Biliaieva)

Fig. 3 – Image of women on an Italian polychrome sgraffito ware from Akkerman (after Kravchenko, 2005: 412)

Fig. 4 – The image of a young man on an Italian polychrome sgraffito from Akkerman (after Kravchenko 2005: 412)

Fig. 5 – Image of young man on Italian polychrome dish from Akkerman (after Kravchenko, 2005: 413)

Fig. 6 – The image of young man on the polychrome dish from Italy, J. Vroom (2005): 142 (after Munarini and Banzato 1993: 75)

Fig. 7 – The image of a youth on the Iznik dish from Ochakiv (©drawing by S. Biliaieva)

Fig. 8 – The image of a youth on the Iznik dish
Victoria and Albert Museum (after Miller 1972: 84)

Fig. 9 – Polychrome marbled ware from Akkerman (©S. Biliaieva)

Fig. 10 – Pipes with marbled surface from Ochakiv (©S. Biliaieva)

Fig. 11 – The pipes with baroque floral composition from Ochakiv (1) and Akkerman (2)
(©S. Biliaieva)

CARAVAGGIO: AN ADMIRER OF OTTOMAN ARMS AND ARMOUR?

Filiz Çakır Phillip
Aga Khan Museum, Toronto

Caravaggio – a life for art in trouble

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, well known as Caravaggio, was one of the earliest Baroque artists of Italy. He was born near Milan on September 29, 1571, and died on July 18, 1610 in Porto d'Ercole, Monte Argentario, while on his return to Rome. Caravaggio was educated by the Milanese master Simone Peterzano before going to Rome in 1590 to work with Cavaliere d'Arpino, where he was assumedly employed as a specialist painter of still life and genre themes. After leaving D'Arpino's workshop in 1595, Caravaggio resided in the house of Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte, in the Palazzo Madama, until 1600. Del Monte became crucial for Caravaggio's career and artistic development during his Rome period (Christiansen 1990: 9-10). Through his patronage and protection Caravaggio became acquainted with many influential collectors in Rome (Larry 1998: 37). Cardinal del Monte was an intellectual and collector of fine arts and musical instruments. He was also the art supplier of the Medicis, the extraordinary banking family and dynasty rulers of Florence (15th to18th centuries), whose most important accomplishment was their support of art and architecture. Caravaggio's artistic development was greatly inspired by Leonardo da Vinci, Titian, the realists of the Lombardy School, and Michelangelo (Zuffi 2012: 6). The artistic competition into which Caravaggio entered with Michelangelo is visible throughout his oeuvre. The artistic progress that evolved through Caravaggio's innovative contribution to European art is indisputable and shall not be addressed further in this essay. The chosen perspective shall be on Caravaggio's relation to oriental arms, with a focus on the relationship between Italy and the Ottoman Empire during his lifetime.

Caravaggio likely came across Ottoman art during his stay in the house of Cardinal del Monte. This is conjecturable when viewing his painting *The Lute Player* from the end of the 16th century, which includes the depiction of a Turkish carpet, a so-called "Lotto carpet".[1] Giovanni Baglione's 1627 inventory of Cardinal del Monte's household items listed two *tappeti da tavola* (Christiansen 1990: 31-32. Varriano 1992: 505) carpets used as tablecloths. Baglione counts among the artworks that were carried out for Del Monte a painting of "a youth playing a lute …" (Christiansen 1990: 32) Therefore, Caravaggio may very well have referenced an original (Ottoman) carpet belonging to the household of Cardinal del Monte for *The Lute Player*.[2] In all circumstances is it safe to conclude that Caravaggio came into contact with Ottoman art during his time in Rome.

[1] *The Lute Player*, about 1596-1597, oil on canvas, 100 × 126.5 cm, private collection, New York. This painting was long confused with a painting of same subject and related composition in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg belonging to Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, another patron of Caravaggio. See Christiansen 1990: 11.

[2] Caravaggio used Turkish carpets several times in his paintings; possibly the same Lotto carpet appears in *Cardsharps* or *Cardplayers*, 1595/96, oil on canvas, 91.5 × 128.2 cm, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, Texas; *The Supper at Emmaus* (1st Version), 1601, oil on canvas, 141 × 196.2 cm, National Gallery, London; *The Supper at Emmaus* (2nd Version), 1606, oil on canvas, 141 × 175 cm, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan. Graham-Dixon describes the carpet depicted in both versions as Turkish (see Graham-

Caravaggio had a special interest in weapons, and was increasingly involved in criminal activities. He knew how to use a weapon and was trained as a fighter. According to Walter Friedlaender, he was allowed to carry his sword at his side from time to time, giving the impression that he was attending to everything but painting (Friedlaender 1955: 250). Desmond Macrae agrees with Friedlaender that the weapons in his paintings are not the creation of his imagination or his artistic skills, but the result of his knowledge as a swordsman (Macrae 1964: 412), an interpretation that has inspired the topic of this essay. In this context it should not be forgotten that Caravaggio was first trained as a painter in Milan, a city known not only for its artists, but also for its skilled armourers. Milanese armour, swords and daggers were renowned as the finest in Italy.[3] The men of Milan were equally famous for their swordsmanship (Graham-Dixon 2010: 16), a skill that Caravaggio truly had in his blood. Consequently it is not surprising to learn that he designed hilts for rapiers, combining his skills as an artist and as a swordsman, giving him an excellent aesthetic understanding of weapons (Hoffmeyer 1979-80: 63, 64). He had no hesitation concerning the use of arms, and his name frequently appeared in police reports between 1600 and 1605 (Macrae 1964: 412). He left Rome in 1606 because of a manslaughter charge associated with an illegal duel, and lived in exile in Naples, Malta and Sicily in a relatively permanent state of anxiety of being caught by his enemies or the law.

Search for Evidence

Paintings with the subject of Judith and Holofernes, the legendary story from the Old Testament, became a political symbol in Florence following the appearance of Donatello's sculpture of the subject around 1460, a work commissioned by Cosimo de'Medici.[4] Although Cosimo was much more interested in securing his political position, the time had also come to identify the enemy of the Christian world following the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 by the Ottomans. In this light, the beheading of the Assyrian general Holofernes by the Israelite Judith became a favourite and topical subject for Italian artists and their patrons (Uppenkamp 2004: 137). The demand for religious topics, probably raised through pressure from the cardinals of Rome,[5] encouraged Caravaggio to create his own gruesome version of this brutal subject with a specific emphasis on the violence of the scene and assumedly on the depiction of the oriental sword.[6] To be consistent with the original story, the sword held by Judith to behead Holofernes had to resemble one of oriental origin and not a rapier.[7] Macrae

Dixon 2010: 330). Both Beba Marsano and Tiziana Marchesi describe the carpets as Anatolian Ushak carpets (see Marsano 2016: 30, 162; Marchesi 2016: 162).

[3] The best survey on Milanese armourers was carried out by Stuart W. Pyhrr and Jose-A. Godoy (1998).

[4] *Judith and Holofernes* by Donatello, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 1457-1464, bronze, h. 236 cm (without base).

[5] Lambert (2015): 57. Lambert gives the model of Judith as Fillide Melandroni, as does Graham-Dixon (2010): 182.

[6] *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, oil on canvas, 145 × 195 cm, c.1599, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome. According to Givanni Baglione, *Judith Beheading Holofernes* was painted for the banker Ottavio Costa, and was created soon after the artist's move to the household of his patron, Cardinal Francesca Maria del Monte (see Zuffi 2012: 64). The setting of the painting is described by Graham-Dixon as *mises-en-scène* (see Graham-Dixon 2010: 40; Duncan Bull 2010: 59-61). Graham-Dixon compares the differences between the versions by Donatello and Caravaggio, adding a sexual connotation to Caravaggio's (see Graham-Dixon 2010: 182). X-ray examination has shown that Caravaggio's Judith was originally bare-breasted; a garment was subsequently added to the painting (see Lambert 2015: 57).

[7] *Book of Judith* (13:7-8) "…Judith gets Holofernes drunk, then seizes his sword and slays him: Approaching to his bed, she took hold of the hair of his head." A rapier originally has the exclusive

identifies the sword depicted by Caravaggio as a falchion. A mid-16th-century example of a falchion formerly of the Medicis is in the Wallace Collection, London.[8] This type of sword resembles the Turkish scimitar known as *qılıç*,[9] opening the question as to whether Caravaggio intended to picture a European or oriental type of weapon. Artists were likely to have followed the biblical reference, which was already in use as conventional vocabulary in the 15th and 16th centuries: the Biblical Apocrypha in Latin described the sword of Holofernes as *pugio* (English dagger); the Italian version uses the term *scimitarra*; whereas in the English version it is referred to as *falchion*, a derivation of the French term *fauchon*. Macrae believes that Mantegna, Donatello, Correggio, Tinteretto and Caravaggio all painted a falchion in the hand of Judith (Macrae 1964: 416).

Caravaggio — a fugitive on the run

When forced to flee Rome, Caravaggio exchanged all his possessions for a sum of money, with the hope that he would soon return to the city (Sandrart 1675: 189ff, quoted by Friedlaender 1955: 261–263). After a burdensome odyssey he reached Naples in a wounded state.[10] During his healing process he continued to be productive. Through his contacts and powerful patrons, one of whom was likely M.A. Giustiniani,[11] Caravaggio was able to buy himself a passage on a carrack leaving Naples for Valetta,[12] the capital of the Knights of Malta, who defended the Christian Mediterranean against the Muslims and the Barbary pirates. He arrived in Valetta in 1607.[13]

There is no certainty as to whether Caravaggio went to Malta and fought against the Ottoman fleet or not, but he allegedly generously fitted out a carrack against the Turks. Most sources give this anecdote as the reason for his sudden inclusion into the Order of Cavaliere d'Obbedienza, the Knights of Justice on July 14, 1608.[14] It has been suggested that the

[ ] function of stabbing, comprehensible through the length of the weapon, when compared to the sword, which has a blade designed to slash and stab (Macrae 1964: 415).

[8] Wallace Collection, London, inv. no. A710, dated mid-16th century.

[9] The *qılıç* has a Central Asian origin and in most Turkic languages *qılıç* means sword or sabre. Its shape was already established by the end of medieval times, was in use across a wide geographical area in the Near East, but found its perfection with the Ottomans. Its typical shape, with a slight curve and enlargement at the point of the blade, the so-called *yalmān*, clearly distinguishes it from other sabres. The *yalmān* accounts for the last quarter of the blade and is double-edged at the point (see Çakır Phillip 2017: 346; Çakır Phillip 2016: 86).

[10] Ashford (1935):168, 173-174. Naples was under Spanish rule. The city was the capital of the so-called Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Graham-Dixon 2010: 335).

[11] Two members of the noble Guistiniani family were avid collectors of Caravaggio's paintings. Moreover, they were on the way to Malta to offer the Grand Master a family property in Venosa, near Naples, as a naval base for the knights on the mainland (see Graham-Dixon 2010: 339).

[12] The carrack was under the command of the Admiral of the Maltese navy, Fabrizio Sforza Colonna, a son of the Marchese of Caravaggio and a member of the far-flung and influential Colonna clan (Zuffi 2012: 145).

[13] Sandrart (1675): 189ff., quoted by Friedlaender (1955): 261-263. Lambert gives the date of his arrival on Malta as July 1607. See Lambert (2015): 78. Zuffi mentions a document that records the boat's arrival on July 12, 1607. Zuffi (2012): 145.

[14] "The knights were of two classes, as Baglione has indicated. The first noble (di giustitia) with arms of sixteen quarterings, that is of gentle lineage for five generations. But there was a second class of knights (di gratia) who were commoners and awarded the distinction for some meritorious achievement. Caravaggio was one of these. The knighthood was coveted. The grand Master was able to confer the ennobling title. A generous gift, an altarpiece and portraits were thus rewarded; Caravaggio became Cavaliere Michel Angelo Merisi da Caravaggio, with a collar of gold and slaves to attend him." (see Ashford 1935: 174; Gregori 1974: 600; Graham-Dixon 2010): 386.

records of the order might throw light upon the introduction of Caravaggio to the Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt, who associated with kings and had the sons of princes in his charge; and might explain the artist's speedy election as a knight, when in Rome the same honour had been denied to him (Ashford 1935: 168). What did it mean for Alof de Wignacourt to keep such a famous and talented artist on Malta? According to Giovanni Pietro Bellori, Caravaggio received two Turkish slaves,[15] a gold chain and other tokens from the Grand Master, as signs of esteem for the two paintings he finished on the island; one showing the beheading of St. John the Baptist for the Conventual Church at Valletta[16] – since it was hung in the church, the painting almost immediately became famous and many artists and travellers from all over Europe came to see it in Valetta (Lambert 2015: 85) – and one of a sleeping cupid.[17] Both paintings are of great importance to the topic of this essay.

Recent research has revealed that the admission charge for Caravaggio's membership in the order was his accomplished painting, *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* for the Conventual Church. His membership was, however, short-lived. On the first day of December in the same year it was withdrawn because of his indecent behaviour. The Order of the Knights of Justice had also learned of the crime he had committed in Rome (Zuffi 2012: 26) which provided further justification for expelling him from the Order. The document designated him as *putridum et foetidum* ("corrupt and stinking") (Lambert 2015: 83).

Not only is *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* Caravaggio's only signed painting, it also clearly shows his interest in Ottoman elements. The presentation of the painting was to take place on the same day as the announcement of Caravaggio's entry into the brotherhood of chevaliers. Therefore, Caravaggio had to plan the composition very carefully (Keith 1998: 47). He intended to please the chevaliers by his thematic choice relating to the Church of St. John and John the Baptist himself, who had baptized Jesus and was also the patron saint of the Maltese Order of Knights. The painting symbolizes the sacrifice of the fallen knights in the many battles against the Turks and the sacrament of baptism (Witting & Patrizi 2012: 71). Caravaggio emphasized the scene's brutality by depicting the jailer in a Turkish costume with heavy black keys dangling at his belt.[18] The prisoner lies stretched out on the ground with blood running from his neck, the executioner bending over him to cut off his head with a knife,[19] which he is drawing from his belt (Zuffi 2012: 10, 25). The executioner's physiognomy and clothing suggest he is a soldier of the Yeniçeri troops of the Ottoman Army.[20] It is therefore plausible that the dagger also could be of Ottoman origin.[21] The

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[15] Graham-Dixon (2010): 385. Here just mentioned as two slaves.

[16] *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, Signed: f MichelAn…, oil on canvas, 520 × 360 cm, Oratory of San Giovanni Decollato, St. John's co-cathedral, Valletta, Malta (Schütze 2015: 194, 278).

[17] Friedlaender (1955): XXVII, 132. Cynthia de Giorgio and Keith Sciberras give a different list of artworks executed by Caravaggio during his Malta sojourn: *A portrait of Grand Master Wignacourt with a page* (Louvre), *St. Jerome Writing* (St. John's co-cathedral Valetta), *Sleeping Cupid* (Palazzo Pitti), *Portrait of a Knight or Fra Antonio Martelli* (Palazzo Pitti) and *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* (St. John's co-cathedral Valetta). De Giorgio & Keith Sciberras 2007; 18-19. Some critics also include the *Annunciation* (Musée des Beaux Arts, Nancy) (see De Giorgio & Sciberras 2007: 19; Graham-Dixon 2010: 372-373).

[18] Graham- Dixon describes the jailor as Turkish jailor (Graham-Dixon 2010: 378).

[19] The knife has been designated as a "butcher's knife" by Graham-Dixon, which is not comprehensible, as well as a "dagger" by Witting and Patrizi (2012) (see Graham-Dixon 2010: 377; Witting & Patrizi, 2012: 71, 159).

[20] Compare with *The Monuments of the Four Moors* in Livorno, commissioned in 1616 and completed in 1626 to commemorate the victory of Ferdinand I over the Ottoman Empire.

[21] The Turkish Chamber in Dresden has exceptional examples of Ottoman daggers from the 16th and 17th centuries. Inv.-Nr. Y 128, Inv.-Nr. Y 129 (see Schuckelt 2010: 71, 212). Further examples are in

theatricality and heavy drama of the painting finds its peak in its signature, which has been made with the painted blood of John the Baptist. The jailer points to a golden bowl, described by Andrew Graham-Dixon as a gilded plate (Graham-Dixon 2010: 377), which is meant to take the head of John to Salome, who had demanded it as the price of her dance before King Herod (Zuffi 2012: 25, 124). Further work must be carried out to establish if the bowl bears any similarity with contemporaneous Ottoman tombak tableware,[22] which would underline the oriental (Ottoman) inspiration.

A second painting executed by Caravaggio on Malta, that of a sleeping cupid, may be linked to Ottoman arts and archery, specifically the bow and its style. Caravaggio's *Sleeping Cupid*, today in Florence in the collection of Galleria Palatina of Palazzo Pitti, is one of the artist's later works and should be understood as Caravaggio's reinterpretation of antiquity (Schütze 2015: 279), which attracted his patrons. It is the only mythological painting by Caravaggio in his later period (Ibid.). An inscription on the back of the painting notes that it was painted in 1608 during the artist's sojourn on Malta.[23] The classical god of love, identified by his conventional attributes – a bow and arrows and a pair of wings – is distinguished by a *tenebroso* illumination so dramatic that past scholarly discussions have described the cupid as appearing "as much dead as asleep" (Poséq 1908: I, 353-354, 442-445).

This *tenebroso* effect suggests that the painting was meant to evoke a funerary image and that the cupid may represent Hypnos, said to have kissed the handsome Endymion into eternal sleep (Poséq 1908: 29). Previous research was not able to reveal who commissioned the romantic allegory, but assumed it was a member of the celibate Maltese order with whom Caravaggio stayed during his sojourn on the island, or perhaps Grand Master Alof de Wignacourt himself (Poséq 1908: 30). Recent research has revealed that the Florentine *Commendatore* Fra Francesco dell'Antella commissioned the painting, one of Wignacourt's closest advisors and his secretary for Italian letters. Dell'Antella was a well-educated man, who later became an official member of Academia del Disegno in Florence, the first Italian art academy (Graham-Dixon 2010: 381), founded on January 13, 1563 by Cosimo de' Medici, under impact of Giorgio Vasari. Dell'Antella's name appears in many documents of Malta. He participated in many of the most important decisions regarding art and architecture during Wignacourt's reign, and took an active role in supervising the building of fortifications on Malta and Gozo. Furthermore, Dell'Antella was involved in the negotiations to secure Caravaggio's honorary knighthood. According to Graham-Dixon, Caravaggio painted a cabinet painting for Dell'Antella, titled *Sleeping Cupid* (ibid.). It is plausible that this painting was given to the Florentine patron in gratitude for his help (De Giorgio & Sciberras 2007: 69-70). According to Sebastian Schütze, Dell'Antella was in possession of two paintings by Caravaggio: an oval portrait of Alof de Wignacourt and *Sleeping Cupid* (Schütze 2015: 279). The latter represents another example of Caravaggio's artistic competition with Michelangelo, who executed a sculpture of a sleeping cupid. Furthermore, Schütze notes that this painting was commissioned by Dell'Antella as an homage to the lost *Sleeping Cupid* executed by Michelangelo for Isabella d'Este (ibid.). This kind of strong evidence clearly confirms the ownership of the commissioned work. The evidence further strengthened by documentation of the painting's shipment from Malta to Florence. According to Cynthia de Giorgio and Keith Sciberras, Dell'Antella shipped an important painting to his family palace in Piazza

Museo Nationale del Bargello, Florence, Inv.-Nr. Bg. M 1369, see exh. cat. *Medicilerden Savoylara Floransa* (2003: 115); and in Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe, Inv.-Nr. D 42 (see Ernst Petrasch et al. 1991: 204-206).

[22] For an extensive description of the term and technique see Çakır Phillip 2016: 140.

[23] *Sleeping Cupid*, 1608, oil on canvas, 72 × 105 cm, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

Santa Croce in 1609. A letter by Fra Francesco Buonarroti addressed to his brother Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger notes the following:

> For your information, you should know that on two or three occasions I have been in conversation Signor Antella, who tells me that he has sent there a picture of a sleeping Cupid by the hand of Michelangelo da Caravaggio, to the house of Signor Niccolò dell'Antella his brother; the Commendatore regards it as a jewel and is very happy for it to be seen, so that others can express an opinion on it. And because it moved to someone who saw it to compose some sonnets about it, which he has shown me, thus I imagine he would greatly value your going to see it." (De Giorgio and Sciberras 2007: 69-70).

Sending the painting to Florence and organizing for the direct relatives of Michelangelo to immediately see and inspect it, suggests that Dell'Antella had joined Caravaggio's game. Michelangelo the Younger did see the rivalrous homage to Michelangelo's cupid, as documented in a letter from Dell'Antella to the artist, dated April 24, 1610: "I value now more than before my Cupid, after hearing the praise of your lordship for which I kiss your hand."[24]

According to Graham-Dixon, the bow in Caravaggio's painting is of Indo-Persian design (Graham-Dixon 2010: 381). This designation is disputable as the bow to a greater degree appears to be Ottoman,[25] raising a question about the reason behind Caravaggio's choice. Considering that Caravaggio was painting directly from real objects and models, we have to assume that he had come across a number of Ottoman weapons. Finding such weapons on Malta would not be particularly surprising considering the honourable aim of the Maltese knights to protect the entire Christian World from the Ottomans. It is also possible that the two slaves Caravaggio received as a gift from Alof de Wignacourt were captured Ottoman soldiers, and Caravaggio may have used their physiognomies and their weapons as models for *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* and *Sleeping Cupid.*

A significant characteristic of Ottoman bows is their composite construction of wood, horn and sinew pasted with fish glue. Archery was key to the traditional Ottoman art of fighting, and was an important part of their battles.

The decoration of Ottoman bows includes fine and delicate design, often in combination with multiple colours and gold leaf ornamentation. The artists who crafted such exclusively magnificent bows were called *kemangar.* The Turkish Chamber in Dresden possesses three of these Ottoman bows from the late 16th century. One of them contains an inscription revealing the artist's name as "Piyale" and the date of completion as 1586-87. The bow first came into the inventory of the Turkish Chamber in 1642 through John Georg I, Elector of Saxony.[26] The design of the dated bow in Dresden is similar to contemporaneous book bindings of Ottoman art, both of which contain cloud-band motifs and fine gold illuminated medallions.

Conclusion

Caravaggio is the most mysterious and perhaps the most revolutionary artist in the history of art. He created an incredible visual language of theatrical realism, while using everyday people and objects as models. He was a genius painter with a highly distinctive combination

[24] (Graham-Dixon 2010: 384) Quoted from (Stone 1997: 165-77).

[25] Good examples are in Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, Inv.-Nr. Bg. M 353 with cloud-band motif, and Inv.-Nr. Bg. M 356, Inv-Nr Bg. M 359, see exh. cat. *Medicilerden Savoylara Floransa* (2003: 127). Another bow is in Museo Antropologico in Florence, Inv. Nr. 197 (see also Damiani & Scalini 2002: 25, 63).

[26] Turkish Chamber, Dresden, Inv.-Nr. Y 235. For the two others see also: Inv.-Nr. Y 223, Inv.-Nr. Y 231 (see Schuckelt 2010: 60-61).

of realism and artifice (Keith 1998: 50). He worked with immense speed, painting directly onto the canvas without sketching (Lambert 2015: 7), which explains the lack of drawings firmly attributable to Caravaggio surviving today (Keith 1998: 42-44). He was an improvisational artist, working against the flow and existing taste and approach to life of his time (Witting & Patrizi 2012: 114). It is therefore quite likely that he used his Turkish slaves as models for *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*. He had a demonstrated familiarity with and interest in Ottoman arms, and *Sleeping Cupid* shows that he most certainly was painting from actual and real objects. Through Caravaggio's example, it is clear that the Ottoman arts held status and influence during the early Baroque period.

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Turkish Abstract

Caravaggio adıyla tanınan Michelangelo Mersi da Caravaggio, İtalya'nın en erken dönem Barok sanatçılarından biri olarak bilinir. Sanatçı Milano yakınlarında 29 Eylül 1571 yılında dünyaya gelmiş, 18 Haziran 1610 yılında Roma'ya dönmeyi planlarken Porto d'Ercole, Monte Argentario da vefat etmiştir.

Caravaggio ressamlık eğitimine Milanolu bir sanatçı olan Simone Peterzano'nun atölyesinde başlar, daha sonra Cavaliere d'Arpino'nun yanında devam eder. Sanatçı 1590 yılında Roma'ya taşınır, orada Cardinal del Monte'nin himayesinde eserlerini yaratır.

Bir silah tasarımcısı olarak da bilinen Caravaggio'nun mükemmel bir estetik anlayışa sahip olduğu, ayrıca savaşçı olarak eğitildiği de bilinir. Özellikle kılıç kullanımı gibi silah kullanımı konusunda usta olan, ayrıca Benvenuto Cellini gibi isyankâr karaktere sahip Caravaggio'nun başı bu nedenle dertten kurtulamamış ve cinayetle suçlanmasından dolayı 1606 yılında Roma'yı terk etmek zorunda kalmıştır. Yaşam serüveni onu Napoli, Malta ve Sicilya'da sürgünde yaşamaya zorlamıştır. Caravaggio 1608 yılında ölümünden iki yıl önce Malta'ya gider ve Osmanlı filosuna karşı savaşır. Malta'da hospitalye şövalyeliğine kabul edilir ancak, kısa bir süre sonra başı yine derde girer, aynı yıl aralık ayında şövalyelikten atılır. Giovanni Pietro Bellori' nin verdiği bilgilere göre Caravaggio Malta'nın önder şövalyesi Alof de Wignacourt tarafından bir altın zincir, iki Türk kölesi ve diğer hediyelerle ödüllendirilir. Malta'da kaldığı sürede Caravaggio iki tablo eser yaratır. Bunlar Valetta'daki kilise için "Kutsal Vaftizci Yahya'nın başının kesilmesi" ve "uyuyan bir Kupid"dir. Burada sunulan değerlendirmeye konu çalışmamızda Caravaggio'nun Avrupa Sanatına kazandırdığı tartışılmaz yeniliklere değinmek yerine "uyuyan bir Kupid" tablosunun tanımlanması tercih edilmiştir. Caravaggio' nun silahlara olan tutkusu ve Osmanlı-İtalyan diplomatik ve ekonomik ilişkilerinin de göz önüne alınmış olup, bunun sanatsal bağdaşmalarına, özellikle savaş ganimeti olarak hediyeleşme protokolüne işaret edilmiş, Osmanlı ok ve yaylarının Türkiye'de, İtalya'da ve Almanya'daki örnekleri ise sunumumuzun analoji temasını oluşturmuştur.

Biographical Note

Filiz Çakır Phillip (PhD, Freie Universität Berlin) is Curator at the Aga Khan Museum in Toronto. She previously worked as a curator at the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin and was Senior Fellow at Excellence Cluster TOPOI and Research Fellow at both the Kunsthistorisches Institut – Max-Planck-Institut in Florence and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Çakır Phillip is the author of Enchanted Lines: Drawings from the Aga Khan Museum Collection (2014), Iranian Arms and Armour from the 15th-19th Centuries (2016) and editor and co-author of Arts of the East: Highlights of Islamic Art from the Bruschettini Collection. She has curated numerous exhibitions since the opening of the Aga Khan Museum in 2014. These include In Search of the Artist: Signed Drawings and Paintings from the Aga Khan Museum Collection (2014); Inspired by India: Paintings by Howard Hodgkin (2015) and Visions of Mughal India: The Collection of Howard Hodgkin (2015);

and A Thirst for Riches: Carpets from the East in Paintings from the West (2015), in collaboration with the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Her most recent exhibitions are Syria: A Living History (2016), A City Transformed: Images of Istanbul Then and Now (2016) and Arts of the East: Highlights of Islamic Art from the Bruschettini Collection (2017).

Fig. 1 − *Portrait of Caravaggio*, Ottavio Leoni, c. 1621–25, red and white chalk on blue paper, 23.4× 16.3 cm (©Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence)

Fig. 2 − *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, signed: f MichelAn…, oil on canvas, 520 × 360 cm,
Oratory of San Giovanni Decollato, St. John's co-cathedral, Valletta, Malta

Fig. 3 − Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, *Sleeping Cupid* (Amorino dormiente), 1608,
oil on canvas, 72 × 105 cm, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence

Fig. 4 − Ottoman Bow, Inv.-Nr. Y 235, Turkish Chamber, Dresden

Fig. 5 − Ottoman Bow, detail, Inv.-Nr. Y 235,
Turkish Chamber Dresden

SURVIVING OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES
IN SERBIA'S NIŠ FORTRESS

Gülçin Erol Canca
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Niš is a city located in the southeastern region of Serbia near the Nišava, a branch of the Morava, which is itself a tributary of the Danube. Niš had long been an important center due to its geopolitical significance, lying as it does close to military and commercial routes in Europe and the Balkans in addition to being surrounded by the fertile Niš Valley. Until the 19th century, the city was used by the Ottoman Empire as an important channel of communications for military and commercial activities. Ever since the Ottoman invasion in 1386, it had also been a central border crossing point, a military base, and a powerful site of Ottoman defense owing to its sturdy fortress. Although its military significance decreased after the invasion of Belgrade in 1521, it continued to be used as a base for the Ottoman sieges in Vienna and Hungary.

Even after numerous wars and other destructive activities, Niš still preserves its Ottoman texture, featuring a fortress, gates, the Kaleiçi Mosque, a hammam, a *baruthane* or gunpowder mill, an arsenal, and food storage buildings. The Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives also contains records of many other structures that have not survived, among them a large bridge that stood in front of the Istanbul Gate, a guardhouse, an artillery arsenal, barracks, a hospital, a telegraph office (one of the first such offices in the Balkans, having been established in 1859), and a government mansion.

The history of Niš can be traced back to the Roman city of Naissus, the first known settlement in the region of southern Nišava. During the 8th and 9th centuries Naissus was part of the Bulgarian Empire, until it was seized during the subsequent Byzantine invasion. After the invasion, the city was rebuilt on the northeastern part of the river along with a fortress—which would become a major component of the Ottoman city in the next century—and city walls and towers.

Niš is not mentioned in Ottoman records until 1498, when cadastral records name it as the second largest division of the sanjak of Semendire (Smederova) (BA.*TD,* no. 27). In 1516, cadastral records emphasize how the city's population had increased due to Turkish migration from Anatolia and the Balkans, with the city's Muslim districts (in the areas of the mosque, the masjid, and the upper bridge) being noted as proof for the Muslim majority living in the city. From the early 1500s, Niš hosted a myriad of Western pilgrims and globetrotters recording detailed observations on the city in their travel diaries, among the more notable of these being Hans Dernschwam in 1553, the Venetian Paolo Contarini in 1580, Reinhold Lubenau in 1587, and Adam Wenner in 1616. In 1545, Matrakçı Nasuh depicted Niš under the title "Kasaba-i Niş'te Badeluca çayır üstüne 1543/2 mil" in the second chapter of his *Tarih-i Feth-i Sikloş ve Estergon ve İstolni Belgrad*, a work on the military bases between Istanbul and Budapest during Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent's campaign in Hungary. Using his unique style, Nasuh showed a non-figurative, schematic, realistic Niš fortress along with the Nišava River, the stone bridge, the mosque, and other structures inside the walls. A century later, Evliya Çelebi, who visited the city in 1660, described Niš in his *Seyahatname* under the heading "Evsaf-ı Kal'a-i Cennet-Misal Şehr-i Niş":

> Kalesi şehir içinde han gibi bir taş yapı bir kaledir ve bir kapısı vardır... Hisar içinde yapı cinsinden bir şey yoktur. Ancak biraz kereste parçası vardır. Bir kapısı güney tarafa bakar ağaç kapıdır. Şehri bir düz vadide... adet mahalledir. 2060 adet bağlı bahçeli baştanbaşa kiremit örtülü, tek ve iki katlı saraylar ve fukara haneleridir. Bunlardan başka... Nişli Ali Ağa Sarayı, Kayınbabası Sarayı ve nice yüz adet bakımlı haneler

vardır. Bunlardan çarşı içinde Gazi Hüdavendigar Sultan Cami, o kadar süslü değil, eski usul camidir. Musli Efendi Cami ferah ve gönül açıcıdır ve Haydar Kethüda Camii, kalabalık cemaate sahip aydınlık namazgahtır. Medreseleri, darülhadisleri, dar-ülkurraları yoktur. Hepsi 22 adet sıbyan mektebidir. Köprübaşı tekkesi, zahidebaşı tekkesi ve haydar kethüda tekkesi (…) adedi belirtilmemiş akar çeşmeleri evvela Haydar Kethüda Çeşmesi, Yusuf Bey Çeşmesi (1607), kervansarayı, tüccar hanları çarşı içinde Ve ibretnüma-yı abadan; şehir içinden akan ..nehri.. dağlarından gelip Sofya Ovalarından akan Iskıra (Nisava) Nehri, Plevne şehri yanında Tuna nehrine karışır. Bu nehir üzerinde yapılmış şehir içinde Mehemmet Paşa Köprüsü'nün tarihidir (1028/1619). Hatta bu köprünün ortasında bir mesire, dinlenme ve gezinti yeri "kasr-ı şirin-i" var. Bu anılan köprünün iki başlarında ufak birer hamam vardır. Tamamı 200 adet dükkandır. Her kıymetli şeyler bulunur ama kargir yapı bedesteni yoktur ve çarşı pazarı o kadar süslü değildir. Niş şehrinin ziyaret yerlerini bildirir; Şeyh Musli Efendi ziyareti, ona yakın hayrat sahibi Haydar Kethüda ziyareti, ona yakın Mihalzade Hızır Dede ziyareti, sonra köprübaşında Sefer Baba, yakınında Koyun Baba ve yol aşırısında Zahide Bacı ziyareti ile sona erer.

Serbia is among the Balkan countries concerning which there are few academic papers in the field of Ottoman architectural structures. Leaving aside the lack of resources on Serbia in the Ottoman period in general and on Ottoman architectural structures in Niš in particular, the first publication on the subject was produced by E. Hakkı Ayverdi, who observed the Niš fortress and many other standing structures inside the walls and provided brief yet valuable descriptions of each of them. Moreover, the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives, especially its cadastral records, has served as a rich and essential source for academic inquiry on Niš and its fortress.

The Fortress of Niš

The polygonal plan of the fortress of Niš represents a common architectural pattern for structures of the same period. The building stands on a wide and flat triangular area, with one of its walls parallel to the Nišava River. The fortress was one of the strongest and most secure spots in the Balkans with its high, solid pillars; its large, arched gates; and its bridge, all of which made the city one of the central points of defense for the Ottomans' Austrian and Russian fronts.

Like most Ottoman fortress gates, the gates of Niš fortress are named for the important settlements and cities toward which they are oriented. In the south, where the bridge is located, the gate with the wide opening and long, large entrance hall is called the Istanbul Gate. This gate's twenty-four-line inscription was restored and reconstructed in the time of Ahmed III.

> [...] içün her birinin sağ-ı binasın […]
> İki tarih ile resm oldu ana bu müfred
> Serhad de etti Vidin Kapısını sedd-i sedid
> Niş-i bir hısn-ı haşin eyledi Sultan Ahmed.
> 1135-1136 (1722-1723)

The Istanbul Gate is said to have a monumental style. For the entire structure, cut stone serves as the architectural and aesthetic raw material owing to its functionality, convenience, and security. In the north, the Belgrade Gate has a wide, arc-shaped opening also bearing an essential historical mark in the wreathed columns surrounding it. Lacking an inscription, the gate has two guard rooms on both sides of the inner part of its pendentive passageway. The small gate located at the northeastern end of the fortress is the Vidin Gate, which is also a cut stone gate with a circular belt structure but which, as compared with the Istanbul and Belgrade gates, is smaller in terms of width and features a simpler style without conventional architectural ornaments. From the three gates mentioned, in the 20th century, and specifically

since 1958, Istanbul Gate has come to serve as a central location for public events and festivals.

Edirneli Bali Bey / Reis Mosque

Edirneli Bali Bey (or Reis) Mosque is a unique monumental mosque located in the center of Niš fortress on the road from the Istanbul Gate to the Vidin Gate. Records of the mosque's foundation charter indicate its date of construction as 1521-1523.

The mosque seen in Matrakçı Nasuh's *Tarih-i Feth-i Sikloş ve Estergon ve İstolni Belgrad* – with a brickwork wall, a crescent and star atop a minaret, and only one dome – may be the Edirneli Bali Bey / Reis Mosque. According to Andrey Andrejevis, who analyzed 16th-century Islam structures in the former Yugoslavia, the mosque in the fortress at Niş fits well with other 16th-century mosques – among them those at Novi Pazar (1549), Foça (1550), Rogovo (1580), and Banya Luca (1590) – in terms of its plan and general design. The mosque is named after Edirneli Bali Bey (or Reis) because it is thought that Bali Bey had the mosque repaired at the beginning of the 18th century.

Although it is only a single-dome mosque, its higher location within the overall settlement plan of the inner fortress made it quite noticeable among the other structures. The dome's polygonal plan is also rather distinctive.

In photographs dating back to before the most recent period of repair, it can be seen that the mosque's narthex has been completely demolished. The mosque only took on its current appearance with the three restorations carried out in 1972, 1976, and 1978. The structure has a square plan and the binding material between the walls and dome is pendentive, with the chancel being closed and the brick walls well crafted.

The Kaleiçi *Hammam*

The Kaleiçi (Citadel) Hammam, located on the left side of the Istanbul Gate's passageway, is a distinctive Ottoman structure with lead-coated domes. The hammam dates back to the 15th century, and recent excavations have discovered that it was linked to the Nišava River, with a canal serving as its waterflow system prior to repair. The hammam was designed with a single bath, and the binding material used between its walls and domes are stalactite squinches (*muqarnas*).

*The Gunpowder Mill (*Baruthane*)*

The brick rubble stone gunpowder mill (*baruthane*) is located on the right side of the Istanbul Gate's passageway, with its main walls lying below the level of the road. The inscription on on its wide, arched gate dates to 1856/57 and states that the mill was constructed as a replacement for the demolished arsenal. Another document dated 1271 (1854) states that the guard office right next to the mill near the Istanbul Gate was moved to a location between the Istanbul Gate and the Belgrade Gate; this document might thus indicate that the mill was constructed right on its spot to the right of the passageway. The mill's wide, drop arch gate has three belt openings on both sides. The structure's interior covers an area of 300 m^2 and its roof is supported by eight columns.

One of five gunpowder mills along the fortress' northern walls, dating back to 1720-1723, the mill has a hipped roof covered with tile. With its rubble stone walls and porthole windows, it is considered a well-designed defense structure of the Ottoman period.

Structures Awaiting Study

One of the few standing Ottoman structures outside the fortress walls is the dilapidated İslam Ağa Mosque, whose inscription dates it to 1870-71. This mosque might serve as a future subject of research.

Conclusion

Today, Niš is one of the cities in Serbia that has managed to preserve its historical vividness and vitality. The fortress, gates, mosques, hammam, gunpowder mill, arsenal, and other structures mentioned in this paper derive their common architectural patterns from the Ottoman roots that they all share. However, despite these structures' historical significance and despite the fact that Niš was one of the major Ottoman defense points in the Balkans, researchers in the field of art history have not done sufficient work on the Niš fortress and surrounding structures. This paper has aimed to open a path for future research on the surviving Ottoman structures in Niš and on their historical and aesthetic importance. The paper has also made a contribution to a cultural legacy that is shared by different regions that were once parts of the same empire, and has revealed the functional, aesthetic, and sociocultural patterns shared within these regions' heterogeneous perspectives.

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Turkish Abstract

Belgrad yolu üzerinde önemli bir durak noktası olan Niš, 18. ve. 19. Yüzyıl Balkan coğrafyası için önemli bir askeri ve ticari merkezdir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, bu bölgedeki politik ve ekonomik tutarlılığı sağlamak adına Niš kentine ciddi bir mimari yatırım yapmış ve arkasında pek çok eser bırakmıştır. Jeopolitik değerinden ötürü kent Osmanlı'nın Avusturya ve Macaristan seferlerindeki askeri merkezlerden biri hâline gelir. Osmanlı döneminden kalan ve bugün hâlâ kentin ve Niš Kalesi'nin içerisinde ayakta olan dini, ticari ve askeri yapılar; Osmanlı mimarisini özellikle geniş bir coğrafya içerisinde bir bütün olarak anlamak isteyen tarihçiler için önemli bir araştırma alanını simgeler. Akademik olarak geniş bir araştırma olanağı sağlasa da tarihi belgeler kent ve mimarisi hakkında tutarlı bilgiler sağlamaktan uzaktır. Bu araştırma, tarihi belgelerin kısıtlılığı sebebiyle Evliya Çelebi ve Batılı seyyahların izlenimlerini özellikle mimari betimlemeleri çerçevesinde göz önünde tutar ve mimari yapıların bugünkü hâllerine odaklanarak güncel yapılar üzerinden bir sanat tarihi okuması yapar. İncelemenin kapsamında bulunan yapılar Niš Kalesi ve surları, kalenin içerisinde yer alan Kaleiçi Camii, Edirneli Bali Bey Camii, Baruthane'dir. Bu araştırma, bahsigeçen yapılar Osmanlı mimari tarihi içerisinde kronolojik olarak inceler, yapıların benzerlikleri ve farklılıklarını ortaya koyar ve Sırbistan'ın Niš kenti üzerinden bir Osmanlı Mimarisi çıkarımı yapmaya çalışır.

Biographical Note

Dr. Gülçin Erol Canca was born in Istanbul. In 1987 she graduated from the Istanbul University, Department of Archeology and History of Art. She continued her studies as a teaching assistant at the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, where she got her master's degree in 1991 with a thesis about Ottoman classical architecture. As late as 2000, she achieved her doctoral studies by discussing a thesis on 18th-century Ottoman architectural structures in Istanbul. Her scientific interests are mainly devoted to the evolution and influences from early Seljuk art, Renaissance and 19th century Western art movements. She is still working as a lecturer at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, Department of History of Art.
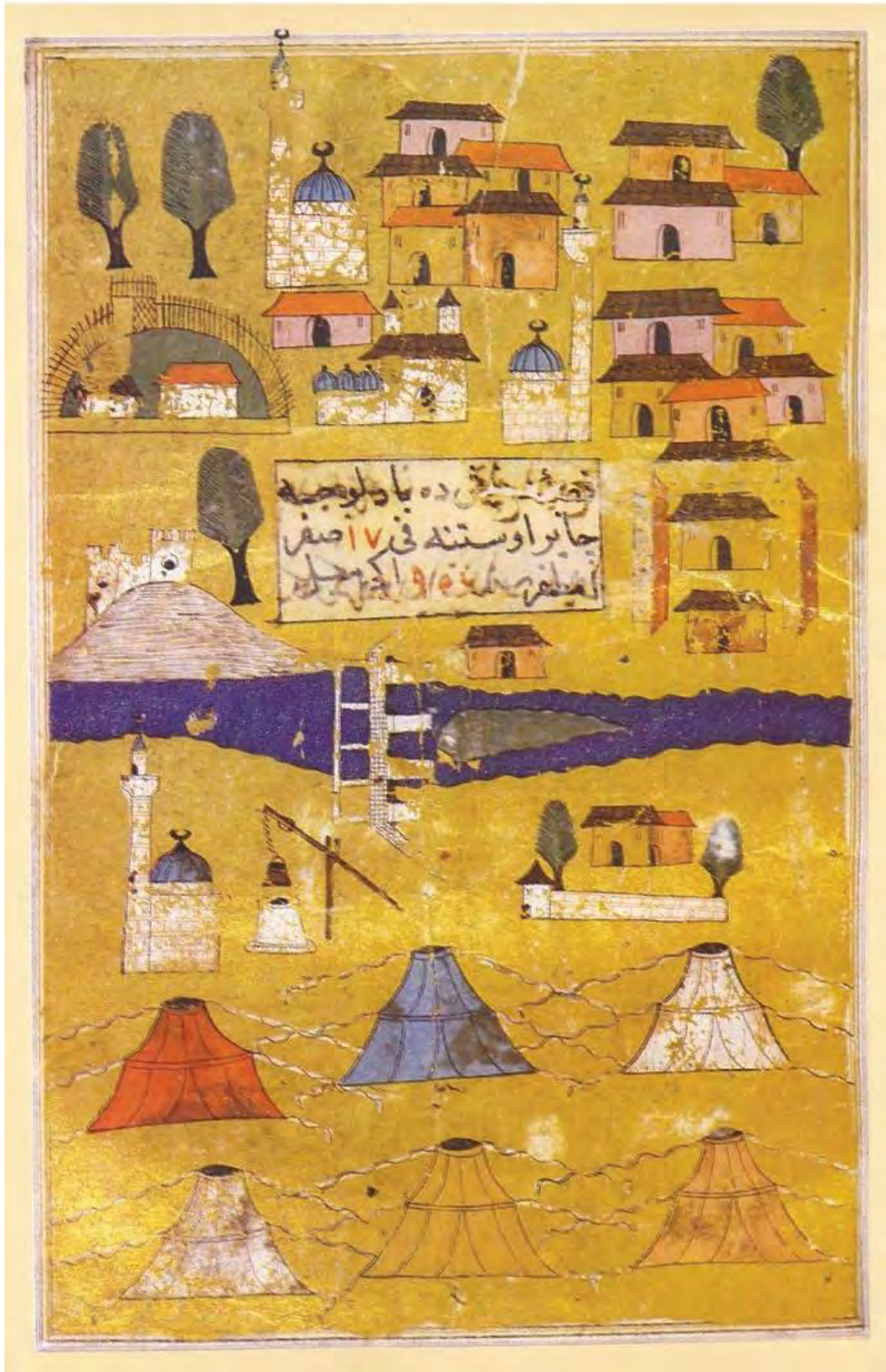
Fig. 1 – Miniature representing Niš, dated 950 (1543).
Tarih-i Feth-i Sikloş ve Estergon ve İstonilbelgrad / TSMK Hazine (no.1608, f. 53a)
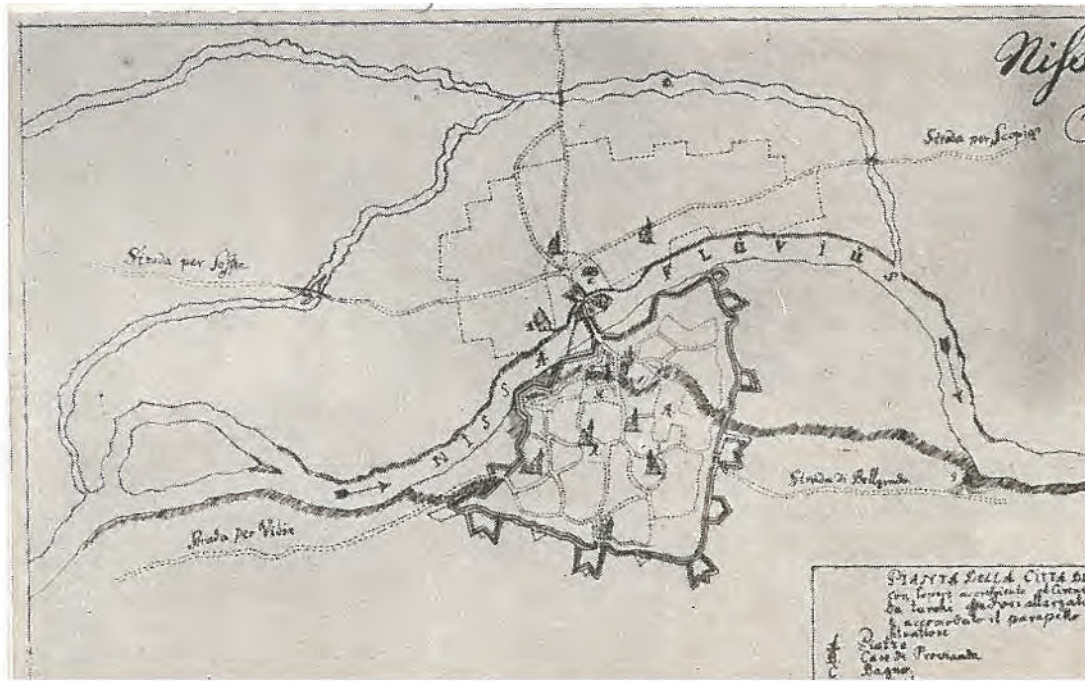(©Topkapı Palace Museum Library)

Fig. 2 – Italian plan of Niš dated 1719 (© National Museum of Niš)

Fig. 3 – BOA, HRT. No. 2158
Map of Niš including Niş Kala-yı Hakaniyesi Yapodiga mahalle,
through Belgrad street and Secavca river, no date
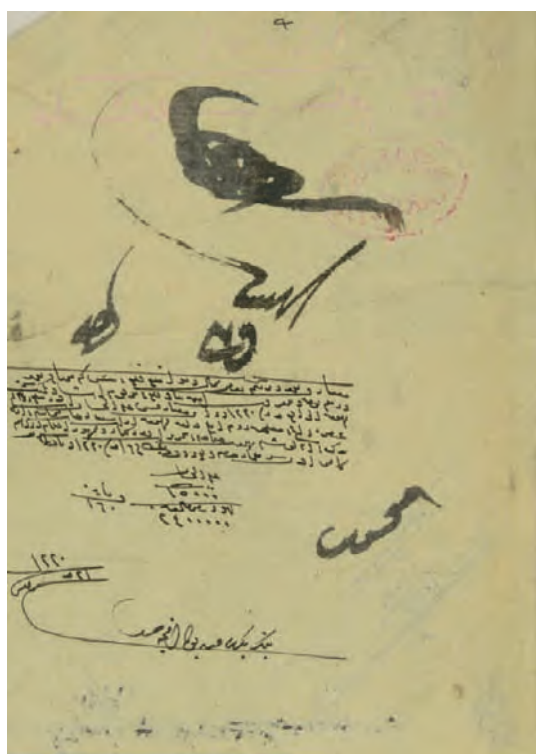(©Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi)

Fig. 4 – Engraving with the surrender of Niš to the Austrians
(© National Museum of Niš)

Fig. 5 – Niš Fortress, Istanbul Gate (© Gülçin Erol Canca)

Fig. 6 – Niš Fortress, Istanbul Gate, inscription of Ahmet III (© Gülçin Erol Canca)

Figs. 7-8 – BOA/AE.SSLM.III 242/14051
Expenditure for the repairement of Niš fortress by Sermimar İbrahim Kami Efendi,
document number 1220/1805
(©Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi)

Fig. 9 – Niš. Edirneli Bali Bey Mosque.
Interior view
(© Gülçin Erol Canca)
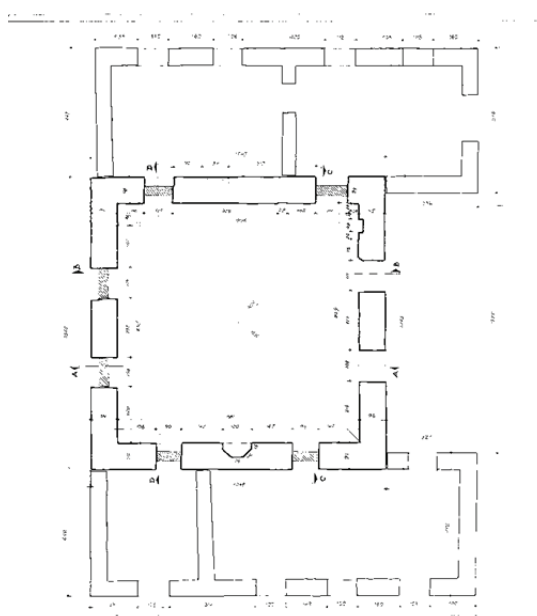
Fig. 10 – Plan of the Edirneli Bali Bey
Mosque at Niš
(© National Museum of Niš)
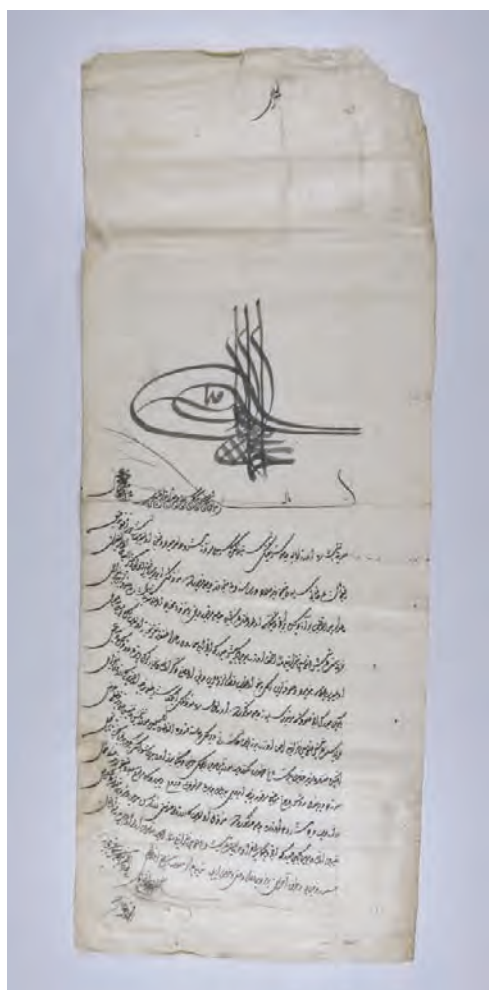
Figs. 11-12 – Document 10 § 11, BOA/C.EV
1131/1703-1704
Payment document for a muezzin from Niš
fortress Edirneli Bali Mosque
(©Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi)

Fig. 13 – Appointment of Mehmet Tahir Halefi as
the new muezzin for the edirneli Bali Bey mosque
inside the Niš fortress
(©Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi)
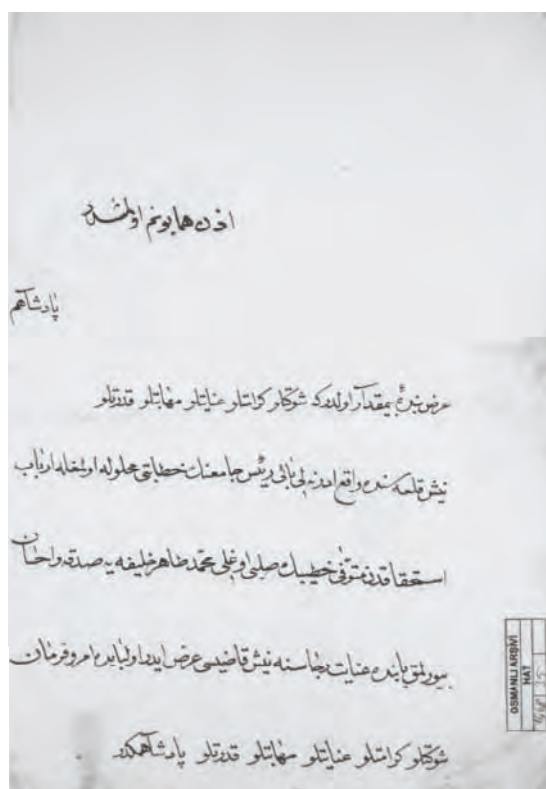
A BINDING FOR PHILIP II OF SPAIN AND ITS OTTOMAN INSPIRATION

Nuria de Castilla
EPHE, PSL, Paris[1]

The monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial was built by Philip II of Spain in memory of the Saint Quentin battle fought in 1557 and from the start a library was meant to be part of the building. The impressive room where the royal library was housed was located above the entrance of the courtyard leading to the church, in a central position on the palace-monastery plan. The contemporary visitor going to the modern reading room has still to cross this extensively decorated room where the king's collection was kept and may have a look at some of its books which are on display. When passing by, my eyes were caught by a binding which looked familiar but seemed to have been misplaced in the section of the shelves devoted to Western craftsmanship.

The book (RBME MESA 2-I-17) is a folio copy (332 × 220 mm) of 365 pages of text followed by a 'Registrum' and containing the complete works of Stanislas Hosius, published in Venice by Domenico Nicolino in 1573. The Latin title occupies various lines as can be expected at that time.

> *Stanislai Hosii S<anctæ>.R<omanæ>.E<cclesiæ>. cardinalis, Episcopi Varmiensis, in Concilio tridentino legati opera Omnia hactenus edita, in unum corpus collecta, ac nuperrime ab ipso Auctore recognita & supra omnes alias editions aucta, cura & opera Alemanii Fini Crementis excusa. Adjiunctæ sunt præterea Recantationes Fabiani Quadrantini, Braunsbergæ in Collegio societatis JESU recitatæ.* Saluo in omnibus sanctæ sedis Apostolicæ iudicio. Venetiis, apud Dominicum Nicolinum, MDLXXIII.[2]

The author, Stanislas Hozjusz, born in 1504, was a foremost figure of the sizteenth century Catholic church in Poland (Hirsch 1881: 180-184; Jedin 1972: p. 650-651; Jähnig and H. J. Karp (eds.) 2007). He also played an important role in the diplomatic relations of Poland with its powerful neighbours and later in Rome from 1558 to his death in 1579, spending most of his time there. He was made a cardinal in 1561 by pope Pius IV, supporting the latter's efforts to bring back England to Catholicism, a goal shared by Philippe II, which may explain why the book was presented to the king of Spain (Parker 2014: 93-95 and *passim*).[3] Hosius' name has been written in black ink on the gilt fore edge of the book as is customary with the volumes of Philip II collection which were stored with the fore edge facing outside in order to be identified easily by the users –and this in spite of the use of a physical shelf mark identification. As it became part of the library, the bookbinding was stamped with the hallmark of the collection, Saint Lawrence's gridiron. However, it was clearly not bound in Spain.

The distinctly Christian contents of the book are in sharp contrast with the appearance of the boards (Fig. 1). It is technically speaking a Western binding in red goatskin, with a typical spine where six cords are bulging at equal distance, creating seven compartments (Fig. 3).

[2] A first edition of his works had been published two years before in Anvers (1571) ; a few years after Hozjusz' death, his works were published again in Cologne, this time in two volumes (1584).

[3] However, in the context of the mid '70s, the gift may have been meaningful (Parker 2014: 230-234).

There is a small difference between the edges of the binding and the block of quires as is usual in the Western tradition. The gilt edges also belong there (Fig. 4). The coat of arms of Philip II surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece order has been painted in the centre of the two boards (Fig. 1): this decoration is not uncommon in the Venetian production of that period. Actually, bindings with painted coats of arms are often associated with the commissions issued by the dogal authorities and bound with the arms of the recipient as central ornament. One of the first examples is dated 1540[4] and many other bindings of this kind were produced in the 70's: Tammaro de Marinis has published two of them, dated 1571 and 1578,[5] showing that they were quite fashionable among the Venetian nobility at that moment. Those who presented Philip II with this book had its binding prepared locally in Venice according to local tastes.

However, the components of the binding that can be related to Venetian fashions or techniques of the second half of the century cannot hide the fact that its overall appearance is deeply influenced by the Ottoman art of the book. If we set aside the painted decoration of the central ornaments, the outer aspect of the volume brings us into the realm of Ottoman bindings. As noted above, the general composition of the ornament is deeply reminiscent of them. The shape of the large scalloped mandorlas (they are almost 90 mm high) with coat of arms of Philip II belongs to the classical repertory of the Ottoman binders (De Marinis II 1960: 300-10 and figs. 100-12; Déroche 1985: 15-26). The cornerpieces (Fig. 2) have the familiar cloud collar outline which had been taken over by Venetian binders for some time already.[6] The binder has also integrated into his Western construction an element which is typical of the Ottoman technique. The boards have been prepared in order to create sunk compartments corresponding to the main ornaments, namely the central mandorla, the pendants, the corner pieces and the elements which constitute the outer frame. Such boards are found on earlier Venetian bindings as noted by De Marinis about an example dated 1544,[7] but the origin is clearly Ottoman (Déroche 2006: 278-80; Sakisian 1927: 278, n. 5).

It is not only a matter of overall composition and techniques. If we look more closely at the decoration, we can notice many details inspired by Ottoman examples. In the cornerpieces, the floral composition is close to classical ornamentation, found for instance on an earlier Ottoman lacquer binding of a copy of *Mihr va-Mushtarī* in a private collection dated 929/1522-23 (Fig. 5). The technique varies, but the inspiration remains the same. The Hosius' volume may be the witness of a recent development as other examples found on Venetian bindings are later, as is the case of a commission dated 1587.[8] The decoration combines the stamping of a plate in order to produce the general shape and the level differences, the outlining of the shapes in black, involving perhaps also some tooling of the background that eliminated in this manner the imperfections of the stamping. Colours were then added in a sometimes approximate way.

The pendants on both sides of the mandorla are closer to models found on leather bindings of Ottoman provenance, although the technique employed here is similar to that of the cornerpieces, that is to say a combination of stamping, outlining and painting. A simple

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[4] De Marinis II 1960: 96, no. 1841. The bindings of these dogal commissions are particularly helpful for the history of these developments as we can be sure that they were produced almost simultaneously, which is not as obvious for the bindings made for printed books that could have been added slightly later.

[5] De Marinis II 1960 : 100, no. 1916 ter and quater. Other later bindings of this kind are also known.

[6] T. De Marinis published an example dated 1501 (De Marinis II 1960: 82, no. 1660 and pl. CCCV).

[7] De Marinis II 1960: 82-3 and pl. CCCIX (no 1669).

[8] De Marinis II 1960: 100, no. 1917 G, pl. CCCLIV bis.

Chinese cloud pattern in black interlaces with a floral composition, a formula also seen on the *Mihr va-Mushtarī* binding (Fig. 5).[9]

The stamped decoration of the boards is completed with a frame surrounding the central area. Two elements were used, the technique being similar to that of the stamps I described previously. The first element, on the long and short sides, is a cartouche repeated six times. It contains a symmetrical *rumī* composition organized around a central flower, with the main component painted in blue. In the corners, a specific L shaped stamp has been used (Fig. 2). The *rumī* composition is somewhat different from that found in the cartouches, with a rather dense symmetrical composition occupying the corner itself, the two segments on each side of the stamp being less crowded.

In addition to this ornamentation, the leather surface that was not stamped has been painted with compositions using a typical Ottoman repertoire. On the spine of the volume, the spaces between the cords have been treated like compartments and have been decorated with a gilt *rumī* pattern very close to the OSd 1 type found on binding plates (Fig. 5).[10] On the boards, the space left between the sunk compartments has been covered by a symmetrical composition mixing *rumī* components with flowers and leaves. The decoration has been painted on the red leather, a technique that is not unknown in the contemporary Ottoman production. A small volume of the *Mathnawī* of the *Rawshanā'i Nāme* attributed to Nāṣir Khusrow and with an *ex libris* of Soliman the Magnificent library, now in a private collection, associates stamped and painted decoration on its binding (Fig. 6).[11] The *rumī* elements are lacking and the flowers are more elaborate than those on the Hosius' binding, but the distribution of the flowers is based on the same pattern, also found on the *Mihr va-Mushtarī* binding. The flowers themselves recall Ottoman models. The same can be said of some leaves, very close to *saz* leaves found on Iznik ware, for instance on a dish in the British Museum (inv. no. G. 1983.37).[12] In the upper and lower part are heart-shaped knots recalling shapes found on Iznik ceramics – for instance a basin on foot in the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation Musem in Lisbon (inv. no. 211)[13] or a mosque lamp in Çinili Köşk in Istanbul (inv. no. 41/3).[14] However, the thickness of the twigs on the Hosius' binding discards the hypothesis of an Ottoman work.

As we have already seen, the edges are gilt according to Western tastes (Fig. 4), with the name of the author written in black ink on the fore edge – this being probably an addition made in the El Escorial itself in order to adapt the volume to the requirements of the library. But in Venice, lines of small dots were drilled in order to draw the outlines of a scroll with flowers and leaves, later painted in blue, red and green. They seem directly related to Ottoman ornamentation, perhaps to textiles.

The binding in the El Escorial collection is by no means a completely new element in the history of binding. To be sure, it is surprising to find the coat of arms of a king who won the battle of Lepanto and was at war with the Ottoman Empire during most of his reign associated with a decoration so deeply imbued with Ottoman models. Those who decided to present Hosius' writings to Philip II for reasons which had to do with the political situation and the ideological options of the Catholic church during the 70's of the sixteenth century did not see any harm in this choice and wanted the book to have a royal binding. They may have considered that since the Cardinal de Granvelle who was the trusted minister of Philip II was a

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[9] For other examples, see Tanındı 2003 and Stanley 2003.

[10] De Marinis II 1960: 303, Fig. 104 ; also Déroche1985 : 21 and fig.

[11] Other published examples of painted bindings can be found in Çığ 1971: 39; Tanındı 1984: 245-250; and Tanındı 2003: 852, 854.

[12] Atasoy and Raby 1989: fig. 346.

[13] Atasoy and Raby 1989: fig. 292.

[14] Atasoy and Raby 1989: fig. 295.

keen collector of Venetian bindings,[15] his royal master could also be pleased with such a present.

Ironically, it came to be kept next to an important collection of bindings also related to Ottoman models –although they were accessed at a slightly later date. These bindings are found with the books seized by the Spanish from the Saadian sultan Mulay Zaydān. I had the opportunity to show how Saadian Morocco received and adopted the Ottoman fashion for its bindings during the second half of the sixteenth century (Castilla, forthcoming). At almost the same moment, Ottoman models, but also the techniques associated with them, reached the Western end of the Mediterranean, on its European and Maghribi sides.

The question of the ways in which the diffusion of the Ottoman models took place from the Eastern part of the Mediterranean to its Western shores still needs to be investigated. In the case of Italy, the specialists of European binding history have speculated that Muslim binders (usually designated as 'Persian') were working in Venice and helped transmitting models and techniques.[16] This idea is indeed found in various works on Italian bookbinding. In 1928, E. P. Goldschmidt wrote that "the whole question of Eastern bookbinders in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a very mysterious and difficult one, and still waits critical and scientific investigation" (Goldschmidt I 1928: 293). De Marinis did not hesitate to write about examples of a collaboration between Persian and Italian binders, although he was ready to admit that even if the commercial and political ties between Venice and the East were fairly well documented, there was no evidence of such relationship in the arts (De Marinis 1960: 53 and n. 2). More recently, P. Needham could write that "the earliest Venetian gold-tooled bindings of a century before [1560] were, as concerns their system of decoration, entirely within the Persian tradition, and possibly the work of Persian artists" (Needham 1979: 238).[17]

Alison Ohta (2013) has provided a general outline of a history beginning during the second half of the fifteenth century and related the Islamic models (Mamluk, Persian or Ottoman) to bindings produced in Italy and more specifically in Venice.[18] Were the Venetian binders relying on actual Ottoman bound manuscripts or on drawings when producing bindings which seem so close to the originals? Déroche has already drawn the attention on the case of an Ottoman plate being used in a Venetian workshop (Déroche 2011). For my part, I offered the hypothesis that the Moroccan binders first used imported Ottoman plates before having them produced by local coppersmiths (Castilla 2018). It seems therefore that there was a trade, even if of reduced size, of Ottoman binder's plates. Of course, mastering the techniques associated with their use required perhaps more than simply buying them or having a copy made locally. On the bindings in Ottoman style made in Morocco and on the Venetian example published by Déroche (2011), the paint applied on the floral stamped composition does not seem to be Ottoman, but only a physical analysis of the manuscripts could answer this question.

Anyhow, the situation was somewhat different in Morocco and in Venice. The intense trade in books between Istanbul and Morocco evidenced by the Saadian library implies that the Moroccan bibliophiles became aware of the new fashion through manuscripts imported with their binding and a local demand resulted in a local production of bindings at least

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[15] Many of his books are still in the library of Besançon, see Piquard 1960: 227-235 ; Richard and Mathieu 1992.

[16] See for instance De Marinis 1966: 547-553 ; for a comment by a specialist of Islamic art, see Ettinghausen 1959: 113-31.

[17] The same idea is found in H. M. Nixon's book on the Renaissance bindings in the Pierpont Morgan Library (Nixon 1971: 196).

[18] See also an earlier comment by A. Hobson and P. Culot: "a handful of Italian examples of the 1460s and 70's were imitated from Mamluk models, but [the Venetian filigree binding in the Wittock collection, dated ca. 1566] and other Venetian sixteenth-century specimens are faithful copies of contemporary Ottoman bindings" Hobson and Culot 1991: 52).

temporarily in Ottoman style. The binders were of course aware of the basic rules of the Islamic art of bookbinding and this helped them in respecting the proportions for instance. This of course was not so easy for Venetian binders and the example published by Déroche (2011: 107)shows that the craftsman was unaware of these rules and used the plate in his own way. This does not apply to the Hosius' binding, even if its decoration was not the result of the use of imported plates.

The binding of Hosius' complete works proves that various *savoir-faire* involved in the production of luxury bindings according to Ottoman tastes had been taken over by some workshops in Venice. The preparation of sunk compartments was obviously known by the binder of the Hosius' binding and the plates are good if not perfect imitations of Ottoman compositions. The twigs are obviously too thick to be the work of an Ottoman workshop as thinner components were preferred and the polychromy is perhaps due to the influence of other media –textiles or ceramics.

To find this late sixteenth-century binding in the El Escorial collection is actually symbolically significant. It is housed next to the Saadian collection where, as I could show, we can find various examples pointing to the fact that the Ottoman style was received with much interest and generated local imitations which were to enjoy a lasting success in later Moroccan craftsmanship as we can see from Sufyānī's treatise on binding. Hosius' complete works were certainly a well suited addition to Philip II collection as the prelate was following the same goals as the Spanish king in the defence of Catholicism. On the other hand, in contradistinction to the Moroccan case, the superb Venetian binding did not elicit locally any imitation and Spanish bookbindings developed in another way. By two different channels, Ottoman models reached Spain but failed to attract the interest of local patrons.

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Turkish Abstract

İspanya kralı II. Felipe'nin yaptırdığı Madrid yakınlarındaki San Lorenzo de El Escorial manastırının kütüphanesi kralın kitap koleksiyonun da barındırır. Kralın kitaplarından biri 16. yüzyıl Polonya Katolik kilisesinin önemli bireylerinden Stanislas Hozjusz'un (öl. 1579) tüm eserlerini derleyen, 1573'te Venedik'te basılmış bir eserdir. Kitap, Avrupa tekniğiyle yapılmış bir ciltle kaplıdır. Ancak tasarımı, baskı tekniğiyle yapılmış bölümlerin biçim ve içlerindeki bezeme motifleri çağdaş Osmanlı ciltleriyle çok yakın bir akrabalık sergiler. Baskı şemse ve köşebentlerin dışında kalan düz bölümler deri üstüne boyama tekniğiyle yine Osmanlı beğenisini izleyen rumi çeşitlemeleri, çiçekler ve yapraklarla bezenmiştir.

Teknik ve süsleme anlayışı bakımından Osmanlı ciltlerini model alan örneklerin Fas'ta ve İtalya'da (Venedik), özgün Osmanlı kalıpları ya da yerel kopyaları kullanılarak üretildiği bilinmektedir. Felipe'nin bu kitabının cildi de Venedikli ustalar tarafından yapılırken baskı bölümlerde doğrudan Osmanlı örnekleri izlenmiştir. Boyalı bitkisel bezemeler ise, özellikle nispeten kalın dalları ve renk skalasının çok geniş olmasıyla daha çok Osmanlı kumaş veya seramiklerinden ilham almış görünmektedir.

Biographical Note

Nuria de Castilla is a Professor of History and Codicology of the Manuscript Book in the Islamicate World at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, PSL, in Paris. Among other studies, she published *Una biblioteca morisca entre dos tapas* (2011), and coordinated *Qur'anic manuscripts in the Islamic West* (2017) or *Documentos y manuscritos árabes del Occidente musulmán medieval* (2010). Her main topics of research are Islamic Codicology; the production and transmission of the Qur'an in the Islamic West; Mudejar and Morisco written culture, and the Ottomans in relation to Spain and the Maghreb.

Fig. 1 – RBME MESA 2-I-17. Coat of arms of Phillip II on the boards

Fig. 2 – RBME MESA 2-I-17. Cornerpiece. Detail of the cover

Fig. 3 – RBME MESA 2-I-17. Detail of the spine

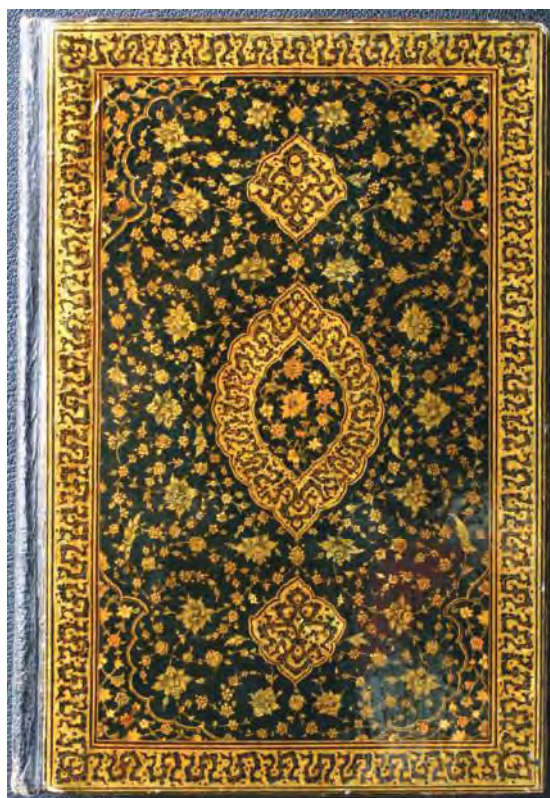Fig. 4 – RBME, MESA 2-I-1. Gilt fore edge

Fig. 5 – Muḥammad ‘Azār Tabrizī, *Mihr va-Mushtarī*, 929/1522-1523. Private collection

Fig. 6 – Nāṣir Khusrow (attribution), *Mathnawī* du *Rawshanā'ī Nāme*, Turkey, between 1520 and 1566. Private collection

THE MULTICULTURAL IDENTITY OF ARCHITECTURE IN THESSALONIKI UNDER THE TANZİMAT. RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS IN LIGHT OF THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE ARCHIVES

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Historians often consider that research on specific topics is completed and there is no need to revisit their own or colleagues' publications. Even in cases where this occurs, it involves small-scale clarifications or further elaboration of specific components of their initial research. With the evolution of research tools at the international level and easier access to archives, especially those of states, more recent evidence is emerging to complete existing fields and open up new subject areas.

In carrying out research in the Turkish Prime Minister's Archives, I did not suspect that beyond already-known maps and drawings concerning urban planning interventions in the city I would discover new evidence on buildings in Thessaloniki. But detailed investigation of folders which at first glance did not appear to contain drawings brought to light unknown material concerning already-identified and published buildings as well as buildings to date unknown, at least as regards their architectural identity, which for the most part were never built.

So far only a very small percentage of the Prime Minister's Archives has been classified, and in the published lists/catalogues the identified plans are for buildings erected at community initiative for which permits for (re)construction were requested from the central authority. Churches, schools, hospitals, and orphanages were the main building types recorded, though this does not include the total of documented buildings thus far known which were built at the initiative of non-Muslim communities and foreign missions in the Ottoman Empire (Colonas 1991a: 325-52).

For Thessaloniki, research has uncovered new evidence concerning numerous buildings – unfortunately, many important edifices are not included – but [within the framework of this conference], we have chosen here to present only religious buildings, given that they form the largest and most coherent group. They include the Greek Orthodox churches of Agia Triada and Analipsi in the "Campagnes" (Hamidiye) district, the Bulgarian church in the same area, the Bulgarian Catholic church outside the city's western walls, and a series of synagogues for which repair permits were requested in the wake of a fire.

The latter include the central synagogue of Talmud Torah, the synagogues in the quarters of Poulia, Baro, and Çedide, as well as a request for a building permit to erect a new synagogue, again in the "Campagnes" district. It is evident that the population of this new district was growing exponentially, together with its residents' religious needs

GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCHES

Church of Agia Triada

There is extensive correspondence dating from April 1887 to July 1888 concerning the building of this small single-aisle church, which was at the location of the current church. Briefly, the Sultan approved the Patriarch's request to erect a small new church in the Hamidiye, as the "Campagnes" district was officially called, on a lot purchased from Abdul Kerim, a member of the Thessaloniki City Council. The absence of a church is pointed out, despite the fact that the Greek community in the area numbered 70 families and 350 persons, and it is confirmed that the nearest Muslim residences were 200 *arşın*[1] from the church under construction and there was no mosque in the area.

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[1] An Ottoman unit of length equivalent to 0.68 metres.

The construction of churches was originally dictated by the concentration of co-religionists around them; it did not, however, contribute to an increase in relative population densities. In the parish of Agia Triada and Papafeio Orphanage area, which were the most densely-settled in the "Campagnes" district, Greeks comprised the third-largest community, representing 24.2% of the population versus 36.3% represented by Jews and 32.5% by Muslims (Dimitriadis 1983a: 93-6).

The new church was dedicated to Agia Triada (the Holy Trinity), and was to be 26 *zirai* in length, 20 *zirai* in width, and 20 *zirai* in height.[2] The building's cost was calculated at 800 *lira*, to be met by twenty individuals whose names are attached to the report. On the drawing of the church, the name of Andreas Genadis is mentioned as main donor.

The cornerstone was laid on 30.7.1888 (*Faros tis Makedonias*, 10.8.1888), and the church was ready in May 1889 (*Faros tis Makedonias*, 20.5.1889). However, the official inauguration did not take place until three years later, in May 1892 (*Faros tis Makedonias*, 13.5.1892). The church's main façade, whose form is preserved only on a card of the era published (by the author) in 1991, presents particular stylistic interest as representative of the transition from the Post-Byzantine tradition to Neoclassicism (Colonas 1991b: 190-1).

Church of Analipsi (Resurrection)

This was the Greek community's second church to be built in the "Campagnes", in an area that was quite sparsely-inhabited, but where Greeks comprised 65% of the population (Dimitriadis 1983b). According to the 1913 census, Greeks ranked first in population in the areas of Analipsi and *Büyükdere* (76%). It is clear that most Greeks resettled in the "Campagnes" after 1900, and it followed that they established themselves in less densely-inhabited areas such as those of Analipsi and Büyükdere, whose streets were not laid out until 1906 (Colonas 1991b: 31-5).

According to the relevant correspondence (October 1893-January 1896), the same typical procedure was followed. The new building was to be built on a lot ceded for this purpose by its owner; its dimensions were 22.5 meters (length), 15.25 meters (width), and 12 meters (height), and two bell towers (height: 14.50 m.) were envisaged. According to the report, construction costs totaled 800 *lira* and were to be paid by the Greek community, which in this area numbered 407 members (114 families). A full list of donors, the project's budget, and drawings of the church signed by the architect N. Moschonas were attached.

The church's cornerstone was laid in 1894, but its construction took many years due to financial difficulties. The bell towers were not built until 1911, and the church was officially inaugurated on 12.5.1919 (Mantopoulou 1989: 217).

CHURCHES OF THE BULGARIAN COMMUNITY

The Bulgarian community of Thessaloniki began to form in 1860. The first Bulgarian school initially operated from 1871 near the church of Agios Athanasios, and in 1876 the church of Kyrillos and Methodios (Cyril and Methodius) was built (Tsiomou-Metallinou 1957: 139-42). Thus was formed the city's first Exarchist parish; later, two new settlements, Kilkis Machale on the west and "Transvaal" on the east (Moskof 1979: 307) were created.

The Bulgarian Catholic church

In a series of documents between May 1889 and April 1890, the Bulgarian Catholic Archdiocese requested permission to build a church outside the Vardar Gate on its own piece of property purchased from Fred. Charnaud. The argument for the request was that the Bulgarian Catholics living outside the walls had to attend services in a Roman Catholic church, since they had no church of their own. Despite the fact that there were no more than

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[2] An Ottoman unit of length equivalent to 0.757 meters.

30 Bulgarian Catholic families in the area, there were many Bulgarian Catholics from surrounding settlements who came to Thessaloniki for various reasons and encountered difficulty in finding their own church. In February 1890, 87 Bulgarian Catholic families with 331 members who were Ottoman nationals and 8 families of other nationalities are mentioned. In the greater area, there were another 18 families numbering 52 members, while other communities in the same area totaled 186 families and 1628 members.

The property in question, with a total area of 2860 square meters, was in the Cayir area between Monastiriou and two new streets, and was registered in the name of the Bulgarian Catholic Bishop Lazar Mladenov.

The church, which would cost the Bulgarian Catholic community 3200 *lira*, was to be 28 meters in length, 18 meters in width, and 10 meters in height. After the requisite assurances that the church was not near any Muslim quarters and mosques, and that there were enough Bulgarian-speaking Catholic families to justify its erection, the Sultan granted the permit. According to the architectural study attached to the correspondence, which was signed by the French engineer Albert Vieillot, the church was a single-aisle basilica with Neo-Romanesque elements. The cornerstone was laid with all due formality, but the building was never completed (Manikas 2005-6: 215-23).

The Bulgarian church in the Hamidiye district

This was the Exarchist church of Agios Georgios, built in the Transvaal neighborhood in the Papafeio Orphanage area, the site of the largest concentration of Bulgarians in the the "Campagnes" district (7%) (Colonas 1991b: 103).

The relevant correspondence in the Turkish Prime Minister's Archives is extensive, dealing largely with the reasoning concerning the need to build a Bulgarian church in the new quarter. The Sublime Porte was particularly careful about issues relating to the peaceful coexistence of non-Muslim communities and made the erection of religious and educational buildings dependent on the number of members in the particular community in the area of the proposed project.

As early as 1901, the Bulgarian community had requested permission to build a church and bell tower on Ayazama Street[3] in the Hamidiye district. According to research carried out by local authorities, there were only 33 Bulgarians in the area, only 15 of whom owned private residences around the church under construction. Moreover, in the same region there were churches of other faiths, non-Bulgarian-owned homes, and various institutional buildings. Along all of Yalılar (the name of the quarter's main street, now Vasileos Georgiou and Vasilissis Olgas Avenues), there were 54 Bulgarian families, but most used the church on Kemeraltı Street (apparently, the main church of Cyril and Methodius) inside the walls for religious worship. Taking this into consideration, the Sublime Porte determined that there was no need to build a new church for 15 homes and 33 people, and did not grant the permit. The area's residents must have continued to use the church on Kemeralti Street.

Five years later, the Bulgarian community, maintaining that the current church (Kemeralti) was not large enough to accommodate all their believers, again requested permission to build a new church on Ayazama Street. The fact that in the entire city, 150 Bulgarian families were now permanently settled and another ~150 Bulgarians resided in the city for commercial purposes led to a reexamination of the case, and in the end a construction permit was granted for the new church "since the old one is insufficient for the worship needs of the Bulgarian community".

The new church was to be constructed on land donated by the merchant Theodoros Chatzimissef (honorary interpreter of the Russian consulate and a prominent member of the

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[3] Apparently this was part of Perdika or Serron Street (today A. Symeonidis Street), since the church which was subsequently built according to different plans lies at their intersection and functions today as the Holy Church of Agios Ioannis Chrysostomos (Dimitriadis 1983b: 224).

Bulgarian community). It was to be 24.60 meters in length, 14.50 meters in width, and was foreseen to cost 800 *lira*, to be paid by the fund of the Bulgarian community.

The drawing attached to the request depicted a three-aisle basilica with dome, in Neoclassical style. The onion-like dome of the bell tower, a direct reference to the revival of Slavic church traditions, was an exception. The plans of the Mitrofski Brothers, on the basis of which the Holy Church of Agios Georgios (today's church of Agios Ioannis Chrysostomos [Saint John Chrysostom]) began to be built in 1907 (Mantopoulou 1989: 556-7), were entirely different and presented a striking resemblance to the proposal for the erection of the Bulgarian Catholic church in the Cayir area.

<div style="text-align:center">

S<small>YNAGOGUES</small>

</div>

Except for the Beth Saul synagogue in the "Campagnes" district, all the other cases of permit requests concerned synagogues being rebuilt at the location of earlier ones which had been badly damaged or destroyed by fire. Due to the fact that most lay inside the walls, many were again destroyed in the great fire of 1917, while their small size and humble appearance (apart from a very few exceptions) did not form a popular subject for the photographer's lens. Thus, the synagogues identified in the Prime Minister's Archives and presented here are subject to reservations regarding their location and the implementation of the attached drawings.

In January 1892, the Jewish community requested the rebuilding of a ruined synagogue in the Çedide area. We do not know which synagogue was involved; V. Dimitriadis did not name the sole synagogue in the quarter (Dimitriadis 1983b: 175).[4] The permit granted in March of that year refers to a one-floor building with a length of 18 meters, width of 13.5 meters, and height of 7 meters. The plans for the synagogue were signed by the architect Damianos Pezopoulos.

In August 1895, permission was requested to rebuild the Katlan synagogue in the Baro quarter, which had been destroyed by fire. The new synagogue was to be built at the same location, with a length of 20 meters, width of 12.5 meters, and height of 7 meters. Construction costs amounting to 400 *lira* would be assumed by the Jewish community. The permit was immediately granted.

A permit was likewise granted immediately in September 1901 for the rebuilding of the Italia synagogue in the Poulia quarter, which had been destroyed in the "great fire" (apparently, that of 1890). According to the report by local authorities, "although there was no evidence from any earlier permit for this synagogue, it appears to have long existed at the same location". According to the attached study, the new building was to be 10 *zirai* in length, 17.3 *zirai* in width, and 7.5 *zirai* in height. The description mentions that it would have 13 windows, 2 doors, and a gate. Construction expenses of 350 *lira* would be collected from members of the Jewish community.

The Beth Saul synagogue

In a report by the local council dated 11 October 1895, it was noted that while most of the residents of the Sahilhaneler area (the older name of Hamidiye district) (Colonas 1991b: 24) were Jews, they did not have their own synagogue. Accordingly, the local rabbi requested a permit to build a synagogue on a 500-square-meter property the merchant Saul Modiano had made available for this purpose.

The new synagogue was foreseen to have a length of 19 *zirai*, a width of 15.5 *zirai*, and a height of 11.5 *zirai*. The construction cost of 1200 *lira* would be paid by Fakima, the wife of Samuel Saul Modiano. The permit was granted on 5 November 1895, but the synagogue's construction began in 1898 in accordance with the plans of Vitaliano Poselli (Colonas 1991b: 104-5) and not on the basis of those accompanying the request. The latter had been signed by

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[4] Most likely, however, it was the Kiana synagogue (assessment of Ev. Hekimoglou).

Xenophon Peonidis (Paionidis), who together with V. Poselli and P. Arrigoni was one of the city's most important architects.

This synagogue was called Beth Saul (in honor of the donor Samuel, son of Saul [Modiano]) and after the destruction of the synagogue of Talmud Torah in the 1917 fire it functioned as the community's main synagogue. It was blown up by the Germans in 1943.

The Talmud Torah synagogue

The request for rebuilding submitted on 27 July 1899 concerned the city's most important synagogue, which was completely destroyed by fire in 1898. According to the report by the local council, it was in Kargi (Ravineias) Square (Dimitriadis 1983b: 169) in the Kadi quarter, and had been built on the basis of an earlier permit issued in February 1856.

According to the permit granted on 28 May 1900, the new building would be 40 meters long, 24 meters wide, and 15 meters tall, with a total construction cost of 2000 *lira*. We also know that for its erection, the Baroness Hirsch made available the sum of 45,000 gold francs, the local committee of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* granted the sum of 15,000 gold francs in the form of a loan, and public fundraisers would be held to collect the necessary money (Nehama 1978: 651). In general we see that the budgets for synagogues were quite high in relation to those for Christian churches, which normally were built on a larger scale.

The main synagogue of the Talmud Torah complex was inaugurated in 1905 and destroyed in the great fire of 1917.

No photographs of the synagogue have survived apart from details of its entrance. These, however, are insufficient to identify the building with that depicted in the drawings accompanying the permit.

The sole drawings among all those found in the Turkish Prime Minister's Archives which are differentiated from the one-room type of synagogue without any particular stylistic features are those for the Beth Saul and Talmud Torah synagogues. Both followed models of contemporary European synagogues, with references to western (Romanesque, Gothic) as well as eastern (Byzantine, Islamic) art (Krinsky 1985: 78-81).

The documentation and discovery of new evidence about the religious architecture of Thessaloniki does not exhaust the significant gap in our knowledge about many of the city's buildings, whether or not they remain standing today. In lieu of a conclusion, I would here like to present my conviction that coordinated research in archives which are gradually opening up and becoming publicly accessible, accompanied by genuine cooperation and information-sharing among 'institutional bodies' and researchers will illuminate unknown facets of the history of a city still in search of the pieces in the puzzle of its image in the post Tanzimat era.

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Turkish Abstract

Başbakanlık Arşivlerinde korunmakta olan bazı belgeler Selanik'te Tanzimat sonrasında yapılan ya da yapılması planlanan kilise ve sinagog binaları ve inşa koşulları hakkında oldukça zengin veriler sağlamaktadır. Bu yazıda, 1887-1901 arasında değişen tarihlerde, 2 Rum Ortodoks kilisesi, 2 Bulgar kilisesi ve 2 sinagogla ilgili inşaat izni başvuruları ve verilen yanıtların irdelenmesi aracılığıyla Selanik'in farklı bölgelerindeki Gayrimüslim cemaatin ibadet mekânlarına dair veriler analiz edilmektedir. Bu belgeler, bazıları bugün bulunmayan binaların inşaatı için kimin tarafından başvurulduğu, arazinin ve/veya inşaatın bedeli ve kimin tarafından ödendiği, yapının maliyeti ve boyutları hakkında veriler sunduğu gibi, genellikle mimarın adıyla birlikte yapının çizimini de içerir. Belgelerin net bir şekilde ortaya koyduğu bir diğer veri de Gayrimüslim ibadet yapılarına saray tarafından izin verilmesinin koşullarına dairdir. Sultanın bu isteklere yanıtında binaların inşası için Müslüman ahalinin yaşadığı yere yakın olmaması, kilise veya havra için başvuran cemaatin bu yapıya ihtiyaç olduğunu gösterecek kadar kalabalık olması gibi temel şartlar öne çıkar.

Biographical Note

Vasssilis Colonas was born in Thessaloniki. He graduated from the School of Architecture of the Aristotle University. He continued his studies in Paris, in the fields of Conservation and Restoration of Historic Buildings and Monuments, Art History and Museology (University of Paris I). Since 2003, he became Professor of Architectural History of the 19th-20th centuries at the School of Architecture of the University of Thessaly in Volos. He published contributions in Greek as well as in foreign books and periodicals related to the architectural heritage in the Eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea countries of the 19th-20th centuries.

Among his books in English: *A hundred years of Hospitality, the hotels of Thessaloniki 1914-2014* (Thessaloniki 2015); *Greek architects in the Ottoman Empire* (Athens 2005); *Italian architecture in the Dodecanese islands (1912-1940)* (Athens 2002).
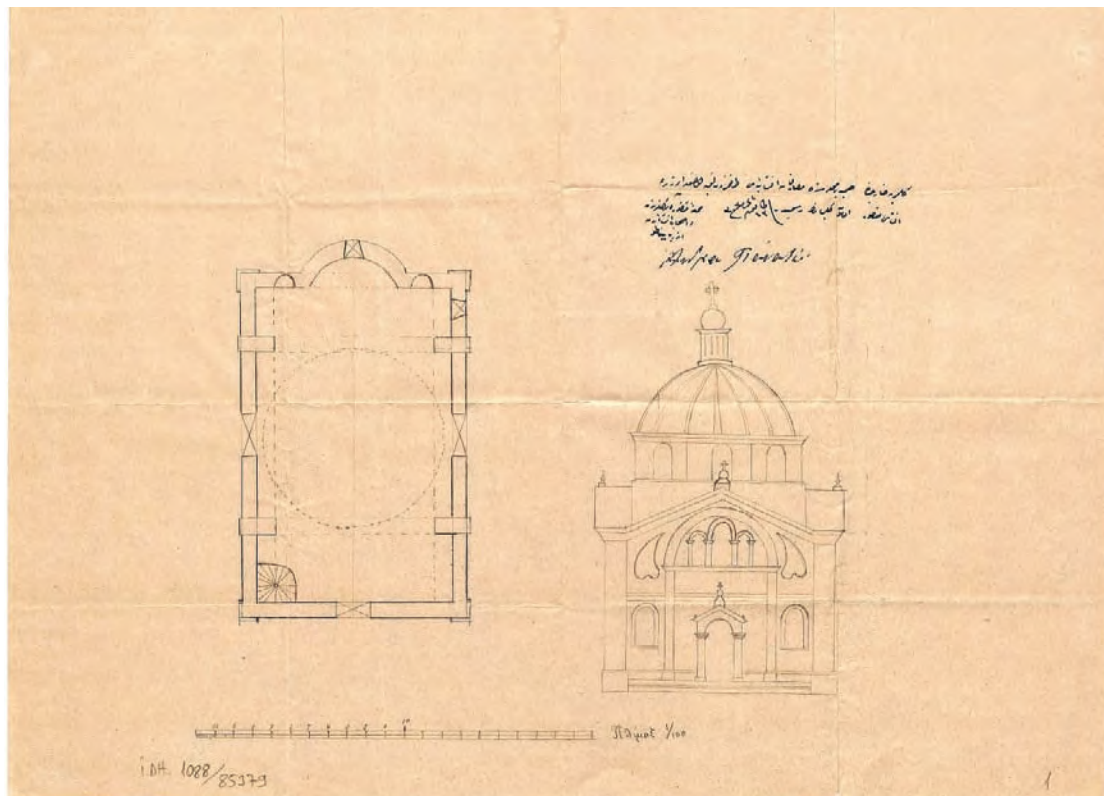
Fig. 1 – The Agia Triada church (©BOA)

Fig. 2 – The Agia Triada church as it was initially built (©ELIA MIET archives)

Fig. 3 – The Analipsi church, plans by N. Moschonas (©BOA)

Fig. 4 – The Analipsi church as it was built (©H. Yakoumis collection)
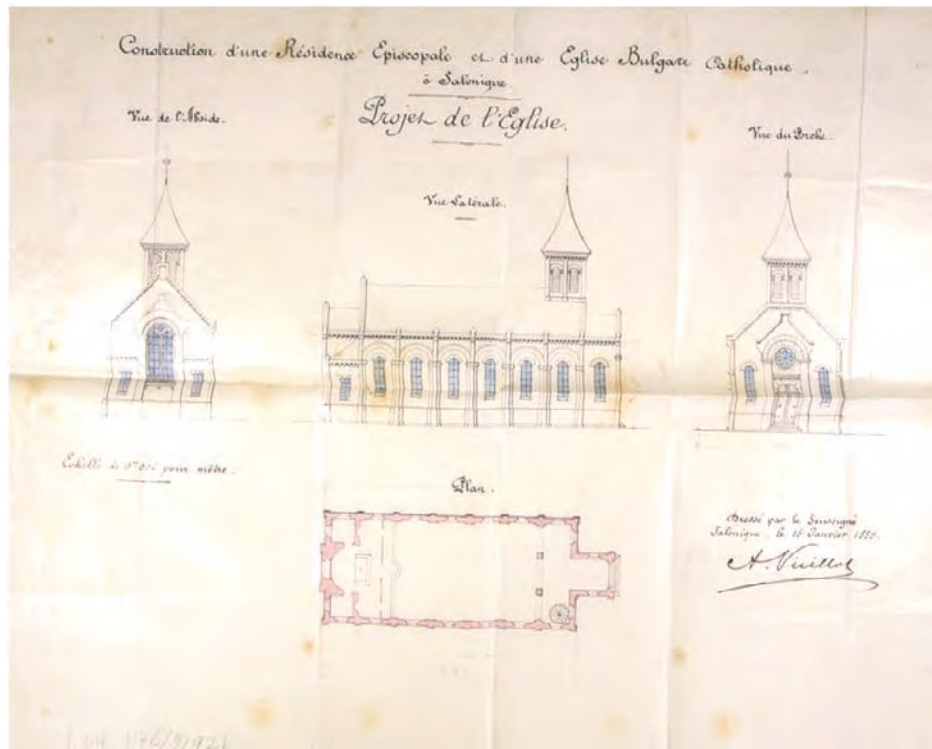
Fig. 5 – The Bulgarian catholic church, plans by A. Vieillot (©BOA)

Fig. 6 – The Bulgarian church in Hamidiye district, initial design of the façade (©BOA)
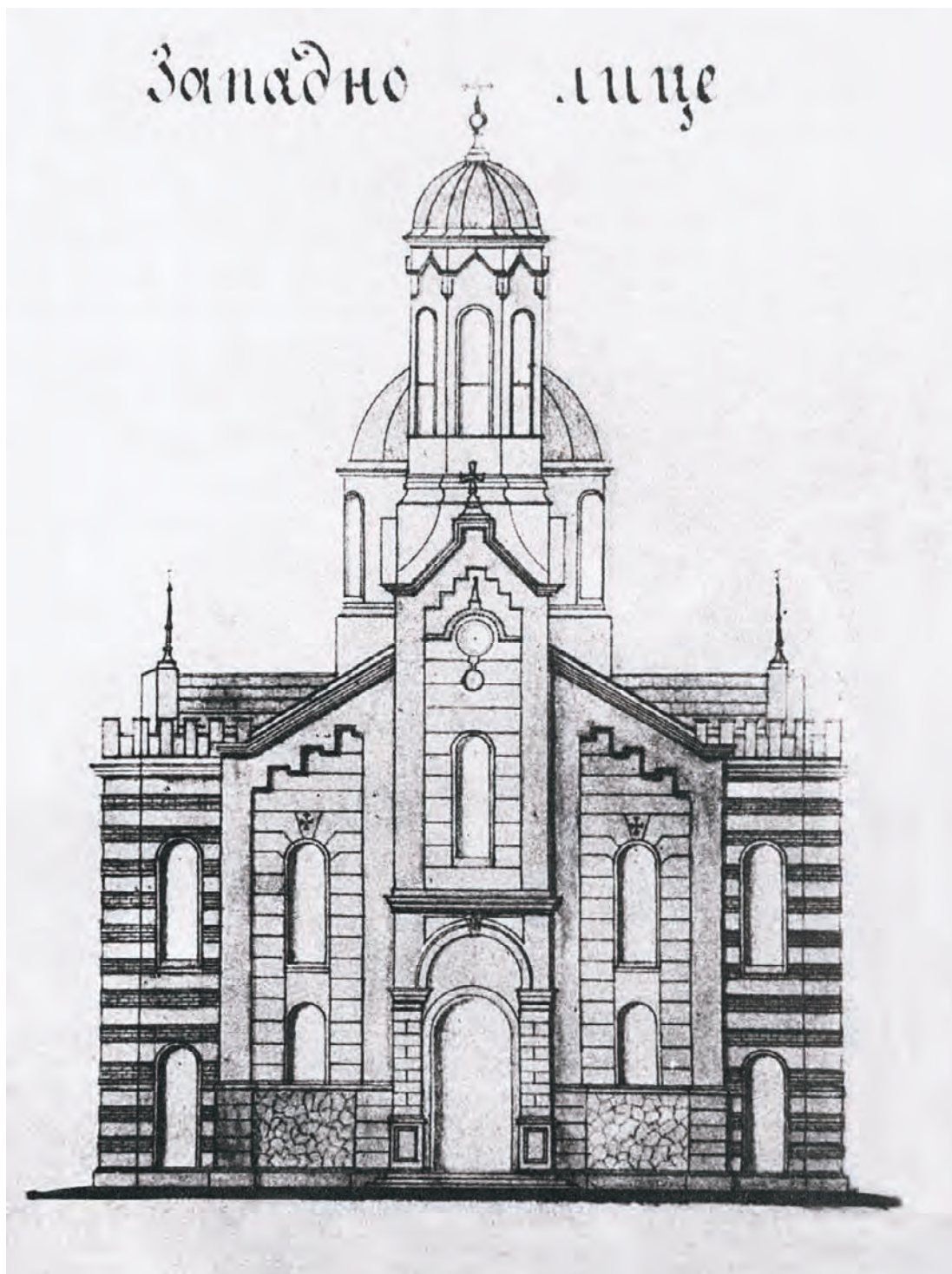
Fig. 7 – The Bulgarian church in Hamidiye district as it was designed by Mitrowski Bros
(©Church of Agios Ioannis Chrysostomos' Archive)

Fig. 8 – The Bulgarian church in Hamidiye as it was finally built in order to house the Greek Orthodox church of Agios Ioannis Chrysostomos (©Photo F. Michali)
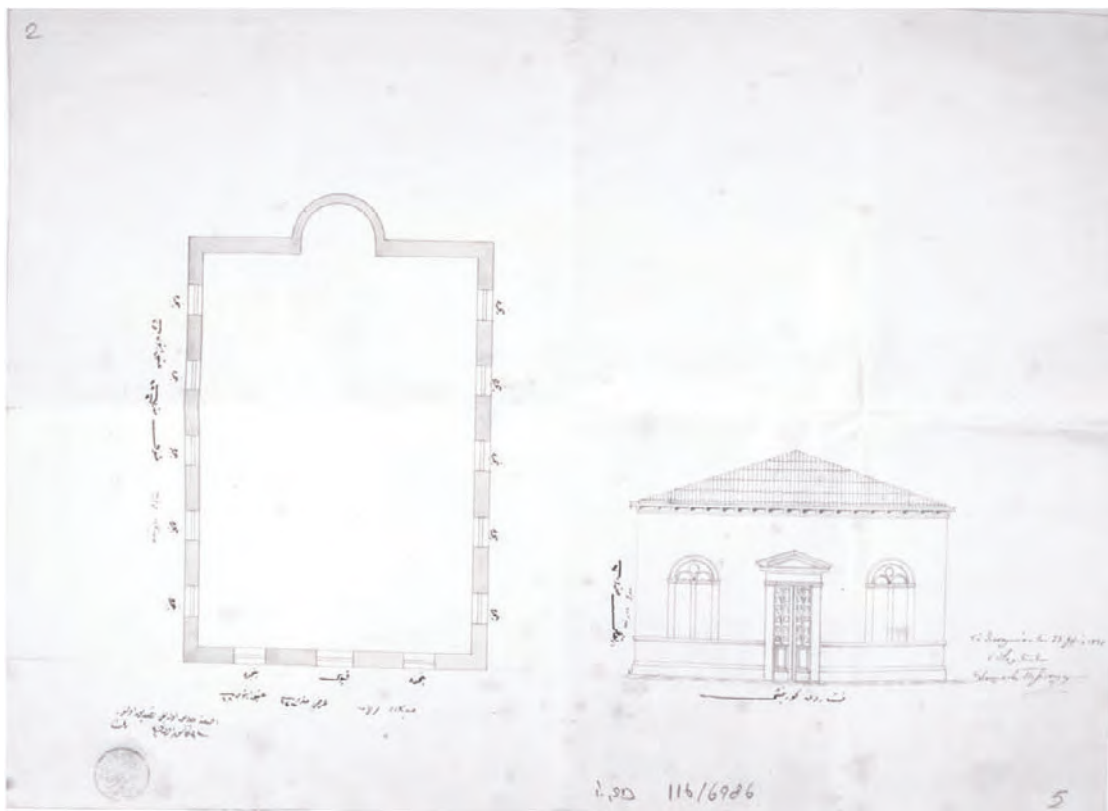
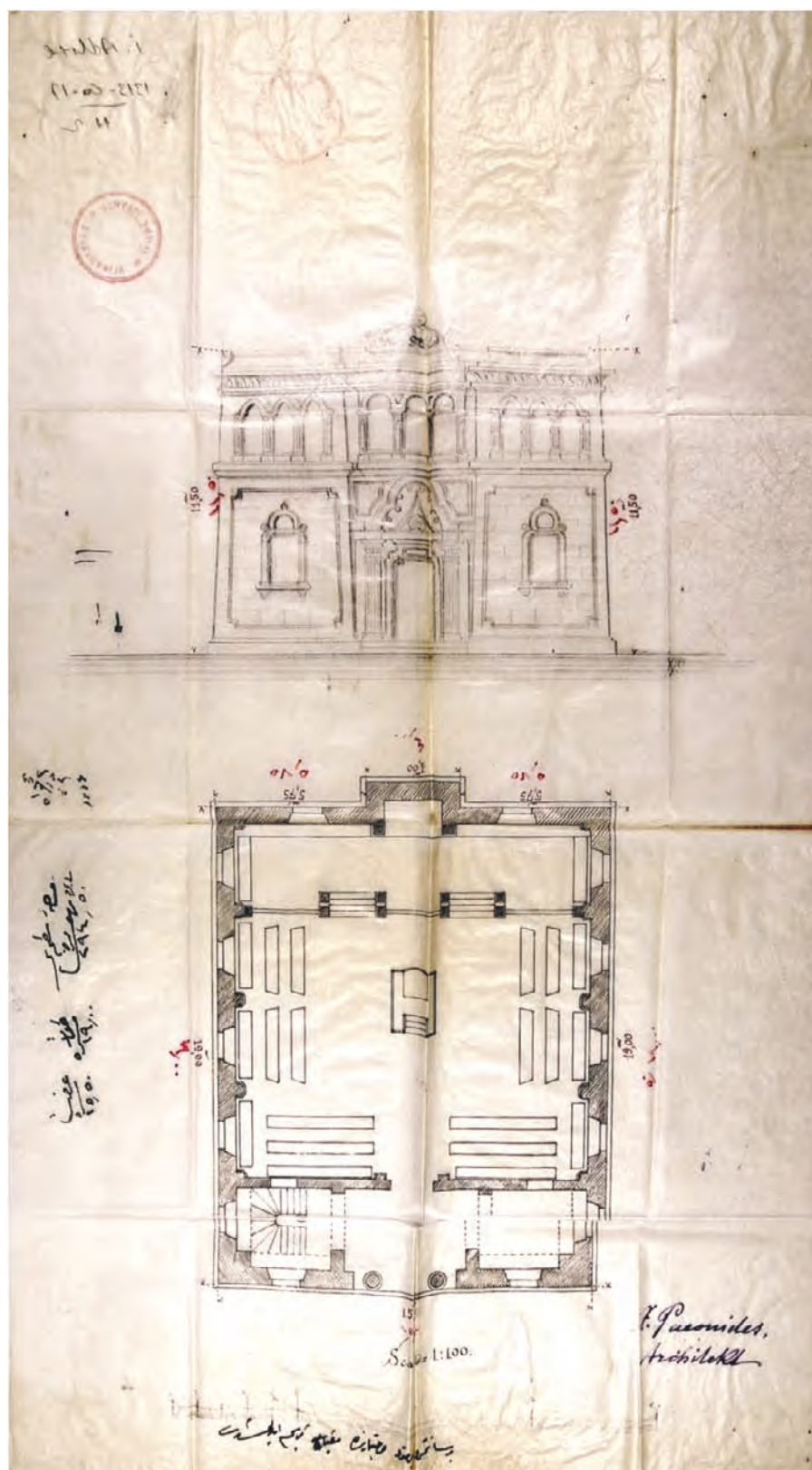Fig. 9 – The Kiana (?) Synagogue in the Çedide area (© BOA)

Fig. 10 – The Beth Saul Synagogue in Hamidiye district,
initial plan by X. Paionidis
(©BOA)

Fig. 11 – The Beth Saul synagogue in Hamidiye district,
as it was finally built according to plans of V.Poselli
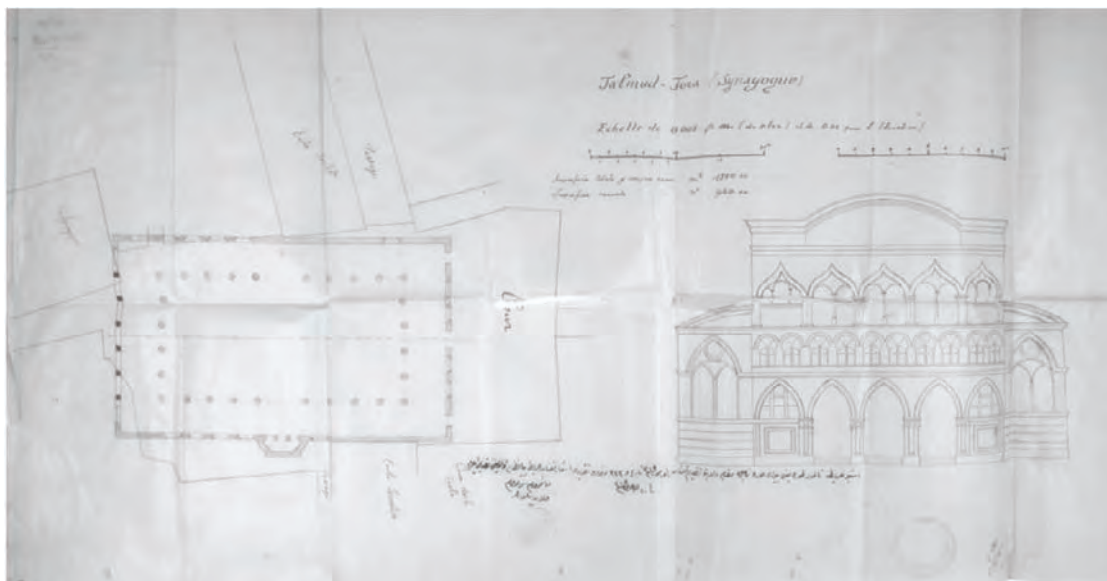(©A. & D. Recanati Collection)

Fig. 12 – The Talmud Torah synagogue,
plans for the reconstruction after the fire of 1898 (©BOA)

TRACKING DOWN JEWELRY CRAFTSMANSHIP IN ISTANBUL IN HISTORICAL SOURCES

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Research for Design

Almost every civilization that existed in the geographical area of Turkey left behind an important heritage of goldsmithing. All the civilizations that existed in mainland Anatolia since the early Bronze Age were known for their use of precious metals in the production of jewelry. The cultural heritage of metalsmithing (in gold, silver, and bronze) in the area can be dated back 5,000 years. A more recent heritage in the field of jewelry fabrication was the imperial goldsmithing of the Ottoman period, and indeed the current global success of jewelry fabrication in Turkey can be traced back through the historical transformations that occurred in Istanbul's Grand Bazaar, which inherited the heritage of the Ottoman guild system in which taste and style were driven by the imperial palace. Despite this multicultural geographical tradition, in parallel with the further development of industrialization, contemporary Turkish jewelry design has demonstrated no significance in terms of product identity driven by any particular tradition; copyright problems have arisen at both the national and the international level. In parallel with the further development of industrialization, copyright problems have arisen at both the national and the international level, and this inadequacy has in turn led to design sensitivity issues. Ever since the industry achieved breakthrough as a global supplier, the increasingly competitive market has created a demand for branding and product differentiation. Design has long been deemed a powerful tool for contributing to the resolution of some of the issues faced by the industry. Among more than a thousand jewelry companies, only a handful can be considered to have achieved recognition for good design.

Istanbul's Grand Bazaar and its surrounding area were a stable center of refined handmade jewelry prior to the Industrial Revolution, after which it adapted to the emerging changes through a model of clustered professionals under the patronage of the *Ehl-i Hiref* (Küçükerman and Mortan 2010: 90). According to information obtained from the Grand Bazaar Labor Association, currently there are around 1,800 jewelers and workshops in operation at the bazaar. These workshops have different production patterns owing to their different scales and production networks. Unique, customized products not slotted for serial production are produced by a limited number of jewelers using traditional techniques bolstered by new technologies. Although the *sadekâr* exists at the center of the production network, microproduction units also play a role in shaping the production of jewelry from precious metals. From the Ottoman period through the present, the collaboration among specialized microproduction units has displayed a clustering structure based on trust (Coşkun Orlandi 2009). While the dynamics among workshops shape and define human relationships, they also emerge as a source of innovation.

Methodology and Data

The Istanbul Grand Bazaar and the surrounding khans where jewelry production is carried out have been studied within the context of the fields of urban planning, architectural history, art history, and civil engineering, but no research via documentation or archival work has been done from the perspectives of authenticity and the innovation context, by either scholars or sectoral NGOs.

To fill this gap, we carried out qualitative field research in order to determine the extent to which the craft-based jewelry tradition demands innovation skills. The research project lasted for a period of two years, during which time data was collected on the following:

◦ Products
◦ Spaces
◦ Table equipment
◦ Human capacity

The research officially commenced in October 2013 and was completed in March 2015.[1] During this period, 88 workshops were visited, and data was collected from 57 master jewelers in 59 workshops, utilizing a variety of data collecting methods, such as interviews, photographs, and video recordings.

In total, 14,255 images (raw and compressed) were created in order to record the products, the production process, the space, and portraits of the masters. The total time of the interviews came to 35 hours and 43 minutes, in parallel with 12 hours and 7 minutes of video interviews and video of the production process.

The community of jewelers tends to be a closed one, which places great demands on the researcher during the course of ethnographic data mining. One microscale piece of jewelry will be sent from one workshop to another, and it may be a highly valuable masterpiece. As such, partnerships and collaboration are a sensitive issue. Family ties are one important ethnographic factor, which likely has to do with the matter of trust. To overcome this problem, a snowball sampling technique was used. The key contact persons led incrementally to other contacts, slowly unfolding what might be called a hidden treasure.

SOURCE OF DATA AT THE SITE	DATA COLLECTION METHOD	DATA VALORIZATION METHOD
PRODUCT (product- intermediary product- element – workmanship per workshop)	Observation Photo Video	1. Valorization of group A parameters of the product 2. Valorization of group B parameters of the product
SPACE (Characteristics and location of the production space)	Observation Photo Video Behavior maps	To determine the production behavior maps through GIS of the location of the workshop versus the order of production in a comparative way
TABLE-EQUIPMENT (Technical equipment employed per workshop)	Observation Photo Video	Valorization of level of specialization of the technical equipment used in the production through a polarized chart in continuum scale
HUMAN CAPACITY (Master and apprentice working the product)	Observation Semi-structured interview: audio recording	1. Valorization of group A parameters of the human factor in production 2. Valorization of group B parameters of the human factor in production

Table 1 – Sources of information and data collection; valorization methods utilized in the research project

Valorization of the product's Group A parameters included the material qualitative features of a product, such as surface finish and precision of shape, in order to measure excellence in terms of workmanship, whereas the product's Group B parameters included complexity of workmanship. For the assessment of human factors, a three-part semi-structured questionnaire was developed, along with field visits, and these contained a mixture of closed quantitative and open-ended qualitative questions. The questionnaire was designed to gather information about the history of the master's know-how, his craftsmanship, the importance of the locality (i.e., the Istanbul Grand Bazaar), design and fabrication techniques used, and research on novelty (both intentional and unintentional). As already mentioned, a snowball sampling technique was utilized. Data verification with reference to the aforementioned methodology was evaluated via a set of criteria set up specifically for the project. Within the scope of our field research on craftsmanship at the Grand Bazaar, we established a series of measurable criteria for innovation in contemporary jewelry fabrication, which allowed for better evaluation of the data collected:

1. Unique, one-of-a-kind piece
2. Product complexity (in terms of technical skill)
3. Quality of workmanship
4. Conveyance of highly symbolic and emotional value
5. Product identity: proposing new trends and styles via design approaches
6. Ability in research and development, utilizing traditional fabrication techniques in search of new and contemporary design languages
7. Self-expression in terms of creativity with reference to outside inputs, such as market and consumer research
8. Conveying contemporary design languages (research into and trial of new form-material-usage relations in which the traditional fabrication techniques *do not* identify the final product)

Interdisciplinary structure of the project

Cultural heritage does not end at monuments and collections of objects. It also includes traditions or living expressions inherited from ancestors and passed on to descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices dealing with nature and the universe, and the knowledge and skills used to produce traditional crafts.

While fragile, intangible cultural heritage is an important factor in maintaining cultural diversity in the face of growing globalization, UNESCO also encourages states to establish national systems of "Living Human Treasures". From this perspective, exemplary bearers of intangible cultural heritage are identified, and from among these some are granted official recognition and encouraged to continue to develop and transmit their knowledge and skills.

Living Human Treasures are persons who possess to a high degree the knowledge and skills required for performing or recreating specific elements of the intangible cultural heritage.

History and Transformation of Jewelry Craftsmanship in Istanbul

Jewelry craftsmanship has been a prominent activity in Istanbul since Roman times (Demirkent 2005). In the Byzantine period, the workshops, because they were politically active, were strategically placed within the city on the Mese, close to the Great Palace (Ergin 1995). Although they burned down in the Nika riots in 532, the workshops were soon reconstructed (Demirkent 2005 after Janin). The preference of this location continued in the Ottoman period, being favoured because it was in close proximity to the Ottoman court; the Old Palace for ex-residents of the harem; and the main commercial area, the Grand Bazaar.

According to Evliya Çelebi, jewelry craftsmanship in the Ottoman Empire gained significance during the reigns of Sultan Selim I (r. 1512-1520) and Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-1566) due to the fact that both sultans were trained in metalsmithing (Evliya Çelebi 2011).

In the Ottoman period, jewelers were called *esnaf-ı zergeran*, with *zerger* being a word of Persian origin meaning 'person who processes gold, someone who makes products of gold' (Şemseddin Sami 2004). Jewelers could be part of two different professional tracks. One of these was the *Ehl-i Hiref* organization of craftsmen operating for the palace, while the other was the 'independent' track of artisans working outside the palace, mostly in and around the Grand Bazaar. While the heart of jewelry fabrication in Istanbul was (and is) clustered in the bazaar, it is clear that the two professional tracks were in communication with one another.

Court jewelers were recorded in the 1557/58 *Ehl-i Hiref* register under the classifications *Cemaat-i Rum* (Rumelian Community) and *Cemaat-i Acem* (Iranian Community) (Süslü and Urfalıoğlu 2011 after Kırımtayıf). The *Cemaat-i Rum* were master jewelers from Moldovia, Bosnia, Albania, Hungary, and Georgia, while members of the *Cemaat-i Acem* were specifically from Iran. Court jewelers were also registered based on their specialized skills, such as *zernişan*, *sikkezan*, and *hakkak*. The numbers and composition of jewelers varied over time.

Date	*Zerger*	*Zernişan*	*Hakkak*	Other
1526	58	22	9	1 (*foyager*)
1558	37+7 (*Acem*)	14	6	5 (*sikkezan*)
1566	28+4 (*Acem*)	8	4	7 (*sikkezan*)
1649	8			
1655	24			

Table 2 – Numbers of court jewellers (Çağman 1984)

In the 16th century, the ethnic composition of jewelers was diverse, but by the 19th century Greeks and Armenians had come to dominate the craft. In the 17th century, Evliya Çelebi observed that there were 3,000 shops where 5,000 craftsmen worked in the area of goldsmithing in 29 different specialization (Evliya Çelebi 2011: 238). The continuity of the craft was guaranteed through a model in which there was a master, a foreman, and an apprentice. All ethnic groups were involved in metalsmithing, though the concentration of Jews was relatively small; Jews did, however, dominate certain professions (gem dealing, pearl dealing, *kalcılık*, *kezzabcılık*, *ramatçılık* etc.). As a group of craftsmen, jewelers had a great deal of importance. Every year they hosted a 10-day festival in Kağıthane to celebrate new entrants to the craft (Evliya Çelebi: 2011).

In the Ottoman court, jewelry fell into two distinct classes: some jewelry was treated as relics of the dynasty, while others were considered private property. Items considered part of the former and presented as gifts on official occasions were transmitted back into the treasury upon the death of the wearer so that they could be reused on other occasions. In both cases, however, the use of sophisticated jewelry projected power via possession.

One particular example of this is Pertevniyal Sultan, the mother of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876) and hence *valide sultan* or queen mother during his reign. Following Abdülaziz's dethronement in 1876, Pertevniyal's jewelry, as well as the jewelry of others in the harem, was collected and registered (Terzi 2011). These items were later used in exchange for large loans taken from Hristaki Efendi. This transaction was carefully recorded with a list of items paired with photographs, written descriptions, worth as judged by the court and Hristaki Efendi, and agreed-upon figures (Terzi 2011). The documents pertaining to Pertevniyal Valide Sultan in the Atatürk Library reveal that she took an active part in the design of her own jewelry, working mostly with Armenian masters and European jewelers in Pera, especially for diamond pieces, and from her notes we understand that older items of jewelry served as a source of precious stones used by Pertevniyal in her own pieces. The most frequently cited types of jewelry were

brooches, rings, earrings, bracelets, and necklaces. Objects for everyday use were treated as jewelry as well.

*The Grand Bazaar (*Kapalıçarşı*) of Istanbul*

The oldest parts of the Istanbul Grand Bazaar – namely, the two masonry *bedestan*s – were initially endowed by Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481) in the 15th century in order to provide a source of income for the newly converted Hagia Sophia Mosque. In due time, the open markets surrounding these structures were roofed over, eventually forming the Grand Bazaar. It is believed that the market here replaced an open market of Byzantine origin. Following a devastating fire in the 17th century, the bazaar's wooden roofs were replaced with masonry vaults. The Grand Bazaar is surrounded by khans, some of which have entrances that are accessible only from within the bazaar, while others have independent entrances. The Grand Bazaar currently covers 30.7 hectares and has 61 alleys (Gülersoy, 1994: 424). The traditional allocation of alleys to different guilds was abandoned after an earthquake in 1894. The existing street names in the bazaar, though, highlight some of the varieties of specialization that could be seen within the jewelry sector there. The guild system, believed to have started in the 15th century, was abolished in 1914, evolving thereafter into labor associations that still operate under the Chamber of Commerce (Gülersoy 1994: 423). The jewelry district of the Grand Bazaar was not merely a place for display and sales, but also the very heart of production. Recent observations, though, reveal that the production of jewelry has moved out of the Grand Bazaar, which now has a primary role in retail sales. This shift has changed the spatial use and ownership status of the shops within the bazaar. The shops originally belonged to a waqf, but over time they became private property. The organizational structure, which has its roots in the guild system, led to the present-day network, which is based on a model of clustering that has endured since the fifteenth century.

Period I	1461–1876	Ottoman Period
Period II	1876–1980	Modernization period
Period III	1980–2000	Regression Period
Period IV	2000–present	Transformation Process

Table 3 – The Grand Bazaar of Istanbul: Kapalıçarşı by Amatlı Köröğlu 2010

According to a survey conducted in 1993, 31% of the streets in the Grand Bazaar at the time specialized in jewelry (Sönmez 1993).

The Khans

Khan is a word of Persian origin designating, on the one hand, a staging post and lodging place on primary routes of communication, trade, and travel (and later inns in major urban centers), and on the other hand a warehouse. The appropriate term for the building that provided lodging for caravan traffic on primary trade routes is caravanserai, while the khan, with which the caravanserai is often confused, applies to an establishment where commercial travelers could lodge for a period of time and where facilities were provided for the sale of their wares.

   In the case of Istanbul, urban khans were used for commercial purposes as well as for manufacturing, especially in the vicinity of the Grand Bazaar. These buildings typically had courtyards surrounded by rooms arranged on two storeys. Each room belonged to one merchant and was used both as a workshop and for storage.

   A municipal decree of 1877 urged shops in the Grand Bazaar that used fire in their production process, such as jewelry and *kalcılık*, to relocate outside the Bazaar into either the khans or other buildings.

Fig. 1 – The Grand Bazaar and surrounding khans

Production Pattern

Currently there are around 1,800 jewelers and workshops in operation in and around the Grand Bazaar. These workshops have different production patterns according to their different scales and production networks. Since the jewelry industry depends on raw material as a trade asset, its production process has a very particular character and milieu of production. While functioning within a network of entrepreneurship-mastership-design, on the whole the industry is based on the existence of one master, known as the *sadekâr* (metalsmith).
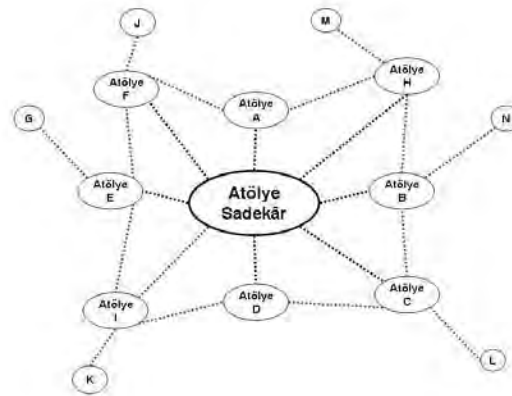

Fig. 2 – Production patterns

The *Annuaire Oriental* (*Şark Ticaret Yıllığı*) was an annual record of commercial activities in the Ottoman Empire produced between 1868 and 1945 in Turkish and French. The collection presents an invaluable opportunity to trace jewelers and their spatial presence in the city. However, it should be emphasized that these account books were prepared based on personal claims, and so do not provide a complete, reliable statistical account of commercial activity. Whatever its shortfalls, the *Annuaire Oriental* provides a list of the names and specializations of jewelers and their addresses, referring to the names of the khans where they were located.

The listings were arranged alphabetically by artisan, as well as being based on the names of khans (*Adresses des Hans de Stamboul*). In the years between 1891 and 1944, jewelry workshops were listed for Çuhacı Khan, Kalcılar Khan, Varakçı Khan, and Zincirli Khan. Over the years, being listed in these annuals became increasingly popular, and so more people registered for inclusion.

Khans visited	Number of interviewed masters
Han Dışı (HD)	42
Çuhacı Han (CHC)	3
Varakçı Han (VRKC)	3
Yaldızlı Han (YLDZL)	3
Karadeniz Han (KRDNZ)	2
Pastırmacı Han (PSTRMC)	2
Zincirli Han (ZNCRL)	2

Table 4 – Jeweler Masters documented in khans around the Grand Bazaar (2015)

Çuhacı Han was built by İbrahim Pasha of Nevşehir between 1718 and 1730 on the Mahmutpaşa slope. In the 18th century, it was largely used by makers of broadcloth (*çuhacı* means broadcloth maker), while in the 19th century there was an increase in the number of jewelers. The largest number of jewelers was recorded in 1909, a total of 83 shops. Looking at the dispersion of specialized professions in the khan, we see *mıhlayıcı*s (workers in studded jewels), *cilacı*s (polishers), *kalemkar*s (engravers), *mineci*s (enamellers), and *saatçi*s (clock

makers). Armenian jewelers made up the majority of the shopkeepers.

The 18th-century Kalcılar Khan is also located on the Mahmutpaşa slope, and has a courtyard. In the years between 1889 and 1912, jeweler's shops varied in number between just one and 24. Enamellers were regularly located in this khan, as were makers of medals and coins.

Zincirli Khan is situated on the northern side of the Grand Bazaa. Jewelers occupied it in large clusters, and between 1889 and 1912 the number of jewelers varied between three and 14. Varakçı Khan is another 18th-century building. Jewelers, *mıhlayıcı*s, and clock makers were clustered in this building. Between 1883 and 1929 the number of jewelers varied between one and 10. Our current research has been able to document this continuity to a certain extent.

Specialization field of the masters	Number of the masters
Sadekâr	28
Mihlayıcı	12
Mine	3
Kaburga Bilezik	3
Telkâri	2
Kalemkâr + Sadekâr	2
Sadekâ + Ajur	1
Mihlayıcı (Alaturka)	1
Kuyum Döküm	1
Kalemkâr + El Burma Bilezik	1
Kalemkâr	1
Burma Bilezik	1
Ajur	1

Table 5 – Specialities of recorded jeweler masters

A comparative analysis between the specialties referred to in historical accounts and the situation in the present day reveals that, although some of these professions have survived to the present, they are anticipated to soon be replaced by machinery, whether mechanical or digital in nature. Based on the interviews counducted with the remaining master jewelers, it is anticipated that traditional jewelry production will cease within a decade. Currently, there are not enough apprentices, and as a result the knowledge transfer is shrinking, threatening this 500-year-old tradition and giving way to serial manufacturing.

Professions mentioned in 17th-century account of Evliya Çelebi	Professions mentioned in the 19th-century *Annuaire Oriental*	Professions verified via field research at the Grand Bazaar and khans in 2013–2015	Professions anticipated to move from hand production to machinery
Zergerân	*Orfevre: Kuyumcu*	*Sadekâr*	✔
Gümüşhâneciyân	*Argenteries: Gümüş Eşyacı (Sofratakımı)*	*Gümüş Obje*	✔
Kalcıyân	*Polisseur: Cilacı*	*Cilacı*	
Kalemkârân	*Graveur: Kalemkâr*	*Kalemkâr*	
Cevher-fürûşân	*Sertisseur: Mıhlayıcı*	*Mıhlayıcı*	
—	*Emailleur: Mineci*	*Mineci*	
—	*Fondue: Dökümcü*	*Kum Döküm*	✔
Mühür-kenân	—	*(Mühür Kazıcı) Kalemkâr*	
Cevâhirciyân	-	*DeğerliTaşçı*	
Sâ'atciyân	*Horlogeire: Saatçi*	-	✔
Sikkezân	*Orfevre: Kuyumcu (Sikke, madalyon vs.)*	-	✔
Tamgacı	-	-	✔
Darbhâneciyân	-	*(Darphane)*	✔

Rumatcıyân	-	*Ramatçı*	
Hakkâk-i elmâs	-	*Elmas/PırlantaTraşçısı*	✔
Hakkâkân	-	*DeğerliTaşTraşçısı*	✔
(Lü'lüciyân) incüciyân	-	*İncici*	
	Fils d'or: Altıntelci	*Astarcı*	
	-	*Burma Bilezik*	
		Sıvamacı	
	-	*Ajurcu*	✔
	-	*Ocakçı*	
	-	*Telkâri*	

Table 6 – Comparative list of professions in historic sources and present day

As causes for this transformation, the outcomes of the present study point to the following:

- ◦ Technological changes
- ◦ Economic transformations
- ◦ Sociocultural transformations
- ◦ Transformations in public consumption behaviors

It was revealed that knowledge transfer from master to apprentice is occurring in only 16 of the workshops visited during the course of this project. There is a risk that computer technology will win out over traditional production techniques, especially in the areas of *sadekârlık*, the production of silver objects, casting, clock production, minting, and diamond cutting. Certain occupations, though, cannot be done effectively by machine, including engraving, *mıhlayıcılık*, enameling, pearl work, and *astarcılık* (rough coating). As such, jewelry production in the Grand Bazaar needs to find ways to pass this experience and know-how on to future generations.

In order to continue traditional jewelry production, the following is necessary:
- ◦ Traditional production techniques should be passed on to new generations, restoring the reputation of the profession.
- ◦ Modern apprenticeship must be clearly defined so as to allow the jewelry tradition to survive.
- ◦ Innovative education policies should introduce crafts into design education, especially at vocational schools.
- ◦ Apprenticeship should be linked with the social security system, which would encourage young people to join such professions.

This research shows that the last representatives (33 out of 57 master jewelers) in this long tradition might be identified by the UNESCO title of Living Human Treasures. This identification is made based on UNESCO criteria, which include the following:

- ◦ Skills and ability
- ◦ Dedication
- ◦ Teaching

Our research project shows that there is a continuity in the line of master jewelers and their expertise, as is verified by historical accounts. This result testifies to the fact that present-day master jewelers are representatives of a long tradition that evolved around the Grand Bazaar. This evidence can be documented in a continuum from at least the 16th century onwards through historical accounts, which at the same allows for a depiction of the transformations occurring in the jewelry fabrication tradition.

The Grand Bazaar and the khans around it reflect a traditional cluster in accordance with the locale. Moving the production to Kuyumcukent would be against the nature of this

tradition. Treating the area through the terms of the Law on the Usage of Timeworn Historical and Cultural Real Property with Restoration and Protection (No. 5366) is also problematic. The cultural value of the site comes not only from the architectural evidence in tangible form, but also from the craft tradition in terms of intangible heritage.

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EXPOUNDING ON THE "FIGURE" FEATURE IN OTTOMAN TILES AND CERAMICS THROUGH THE FIGURAL FINDINGS IN IZNIK TILE KILN EXCAVATIONS

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This study will introduce and analyze the figural findings of tile and ceramic samples found during excavations in Iznik. These samples will be compared with other samples from Iznik and Kütahya currently on display in museums and private collections in Turkey and other countries, and they will also be analyzed in comparison with other figured samples of Iznik origin found in various regions in Greece and used as decorative elements on church façades. Findings with figures designed using the sgraffito technique will not be discussed in this study, since it is still debatable whether they belong to the early Ottoman or the late Byzantine period.

Tile excavations in Iznik were initiated by Prof. Dr. Oktay Aslanapa in 1964 and continued regularly until the end of 1969. Through the analysis of distorted and burnt pieces, unglazed fragments, kiln materials, and remains from kilns that collapsed when full, it has been proven that Ottoman ceramics and tiles known as Miletus ware, Haliç ware, Damascus ware, and Rhodes ware were all in fact produced in Iznik. Excavations in Iznik restarted in 1981, following the discovery of kiln remains during the course of a road construction in 1980, and are still being pursued (Aslanapa, Yetkin & Altun 1989; Aslanapa, Altun & Demirsar Arlı from 1981 to 2015). The analysis and evaluation in this study will focus on the period from 1981 through the present, which is known as the second period. Unfortunately, there is no well-organized archive for the work done during the first period in the 1960s.

The best approach to analyze the findings in chronological order is to start with the group of red paste samples produced during the second half of the 14th century; that is, the so-called "Miletus ware". Some samples from the Miletus group of works are considered "semi-finished" and are unglazed. Examination of the samples shows that there are stylized bird figures on a white engobe. The figures are drawn with a paint that turns to a cobalt blue underglaze (Fig. 1a).

The use of figures has always been an interesting subject in the field of Ottoman tiles and ceramics. Among the samples produced with the decorative technique known as Miletus ware, birds are the most common figures, and among them are examples of bird figures surrounded by stylized cypress trees and flowers. These patterns indicate that the birds are meant to be depicted in their natural environment. The diversity in the artistic quality of the designs demonstrates the production by different levels of ateliers or progress in the works created over the course of time. In some cases, the design of a flamboyant bird like a peacock shows all the wing and tail details done with great precision, whereas drawings of baby ducks or storks were realized using only primitive lines (Figs. 1b, 1c, 1d).

Besides birds, the other type of figure most commonly found in this group is fish. Just as in the samples with birds, fish figures are also depicted on a lively background, usually placed inside a spiral or hidden among floral designs. The fish figures seen on ceramics are depicted with curvilinear bodies with scales, and are shown both as single images and in groups (Figs. 2a, 2b, 2c). Two bowls of Iznik origin bearing fish figures done in this technique are displayed at the Turkish Islamic Arts Museum in Bursa (Çorum 1983: 1-4).

Among the so-called "Miletus ware" fragments found in excavations, there is also a group of ceramics bearing at the center of the design the image of a tall, onion-domed pavilion. These pieces reflect scenes from nature and are decorated with trees and birds surrounding the pavilion (Fig. 3a). Samples produced using this technique are not frequently found in either museums or private collections; these were discovered during an excavation in Edirne (Yılmaz 2012: 106).

The fragment of one object found during the 1984 excavations is the only piece of Miletus ware yet known to feature a human figure. This unique fragment depicts a "moon-faced and almond-eyed" human figure – similar to other Seljuk figures – placed on a background with spiral fillings (Fig. 3b) (Aslanapa, Yetkin & Altun 1989: 141-301; Demirsar Arlı 2005: 351, 499; Demirsar Arlı 2012: 85-6).

The white paste period contains a fauna far richer than the examples found in red paste Miletus ware. Figures of animals such as birds, rabbits, deer, and many others are depicted on a white background, with the figures mostly in shades of blue; on the other hand, some are painted on a blue background using white. These figures are interspersed among stylized flower and leaf motifs linked to each other via slim curvilinear branches (Figs. 4a, 4b, 4c, 4d). The animal figures found in the excavations can be seen in a similar composition on the monoblock tile panel at the entrance of the Circumcision Pavilion at Topkapı Palace, on a flask from a private collection in London (Atasoy & Raby 1989: 214-5, 256, fig. 374), and also on a mug of Iznik origin at the Turkish Islamic Arts Museum in Bursa (Çorum 1976: 284, 291). A pitcher with a similar composition is located inside a small niche on the exonarthex façade of the Koutloumousiou Monastery on Mount Athos. In connection with the last example, it should be noted that tiles and ceramics originating from Iznik, Kütahya, and Çanakkale have been used for decorative purposes in many churches in Greece (Carswell 1966: 77-90; Korre-Zographou 2012).

During the second quarter of the 16th century, a new decorative vocabulary, called the "saz style", was launched at the *nakkaşhane* workshop of Topkapı Palace. This style started to be used in all Ottoman decorative arts, and was also reflected in tile and ceramic works. On one tile fragment found during the excavations in Iznik, as well as on several pieces from a bowl, we see bird and duck figures placed among *hatayi* and *hançeri* leaves beside mythical animals such as dragons and chi-lins (Figs. 5a, 5b). Similar designs can be seen on a plate at the Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst (Vienna Applied Arts Museum) (Atasoy &Raby 1989: 187, 256, fig. 339), on the hexagonal tiles at the Victoria and Albert and the British Museum (Atasoy &Raby 1989: 134-5, fig. 225; Porter 1995: 105), as well as on the monoblock tile at the entrance of Topkapı's Circumcision Pavilion.

A particularly interesting group found among the blue-white samples during the excavations are decorated with monkey figures. Drawn on mugs of various sizes, these monkeys are depicted in a humorous fashion with crowns on their heads and shown in their habitat together with other animals (Figs. 6a, 6b, 6c). A mug found in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg (Hamburg Art and Trade Museum) (Atasoy &Raby 1989: 256-8, fig. 543) and a plate from the Sadberk Hanım Museum collection (Bilgi 2009: 467, fig. 303) also exhibit similar features.

Compositions featuring animals fighting and date back to the Artuqid and Seljuk periods in Anatolian Turkish art continued to be used later in Ottoman decorative artworks as well. The composition with a bird pecking at a rabbit, which was found in Kubad Abad among the tiles made using the luster technique (Arık 2000: 91) is also seen on a cover discovered during the excavations in Iznik in 2014 (Fig. 7a). This is one of the rare examples of blue-white works where the inner face of the cover bore a similar composition, while animal figures chasing each other among plants are depicted on the outside (Fig. 7b). Another cover of similar dimensions is decorated with mythical animals on the outside (Fig. 7c).

The most common fighting animal scene, lion and bull fights (Yıldırım 2003:1-18), is found on two plates dating from the beginning of the 17th century. One plate is on display at the Museum für Islamische Kunst (Islamic Arts Museum) in Berlin (Atasoy &Raby 1989: 258, 364, fig. 778), while the other is in the Ömer Koç collection (Bilgi 2009: 462, fig. 299). Among the various fighting animal scenes depicted on diverse materials, the most distinguished examples include compositions from miniature albums found at the Topkapı Palace Museum and in the Chester Beatty Library (And 2002: 58, 405), as well as the reliefs on both sides of the eastern portal at Ulu Mosque in Diyarbakır (Öney 1970: 87).

Another group of Ottoman tiles and ceramics displays fish figures. Among the samples of the blue-white period from the excavations, there are fewer fish figures as compared to the so-called "Miletus ware". The samples found in this group display fish in clusters of three or four (Figs. 7d, 7e, 7f).

The so-called Rhodes ware polychrome ceramics, that date from the final stage of Iznik, demonstrate a richer array of figures as compared to the two earlier stages. On the surface of a large vase discovered during the summer of 2004, there are various bird figures hidden among cypress trees, carnations, and hyacinths, as well as two other bird figures perching on a branch at the bottom of the vase (Figs. 8a, 8b, 8c). Inside a cover found in 1996 is a figure of a spectacular bird drawn in green on a white background (Fig. 8d). The outside of the cover is embellished with black, white, and blue floral decorations on a red background.

Another group of ceramic fragments found during the excavations in Iznik depict real and mythical animals together and were inspired from metal artworks of Balkan origin (Atasoy & Raby 1989: 256-8). In these compositions, real animals (various birds, lions, dogs, rabbits, monkeys, snakes) and mythical animals (simurgh, harpies, griffins, dragons) are shown together in natural surroundings. There are no human figures in these "forest themed hunting scenes" (Turan Bakır 2004: 75). On two fragments found in 1984 and 1990, there are drawings of birds, rabbits, and other four-legged animals portrayed among nature scenes with cypress trees or plants (Figs. 9a, 9b). The same composition can be observed as a whole on a tondino at the British Museum (Atasoy & Raby 1989: 256-258, fig. 539).

In a group of drawings found among the samples with abundant animal-figured nature scenes, cypress trees are replaced with red rocks. These images are assumed to be examples from later periods than the ones with cypress trees (Fig. 9c).

Most of the groups of ceramics with mythical and real animals are generally seen on green background. A limited number of ceramics with animal design have either cobalt blue, turquoise, or coral red background (Fig. 9d). Examples of these backgrounds in unusual colors are in the Ömer Koç collection (Bilgi 2009: 458-459, 464, figs. 297, 298, 301) and at the Musée National de la Renaissance Château d'Écouen (Hitzel & Jacotin 2005: 287, fig. 426).

Among the polychrome ceramics with animal designs, there is a limited number of samples featuring fish figures, along with plates featuring sailing ship compositions (Bilgi 2009: 441, 445, 446, figs. 283, 285, 286; Öney 2009). Some samples with coral red and white backgrounds were found among the covers, mugs, and cups discovered during the Iznik excavations. The fish figures on some of the findings are very realistic and detailed, whereas some others are depicted in a more stylized manner (Figs 10a, 10b, 10c).

On the fragments of a plate found during the 1991 excavations in Iznik, the main element of the composition is the figure of a running horse. The bird and the plants under the horse figure are depictions of the natural environment. It is not clear whether or not there is a rider on the horse's back (Fig. 11).

Numerous Iznik plates in museums and private collections depict horse figures without riders. Among the plates that decorate the apse façade of the Hagia Paraskevi church in the village of Zagora on the skirts of Mount Pelion in Greece there are some examples that resemble 17th-century Iznik production (Korre-Zographou 2012: 22, fig. 3a). A similar plate with a figure on a horse is found in the Ömer Koç collection (Bilgi 2009: 476, fig. 312). The horse and rider composition was also used in 18th-century Kütahya plates (Kürkman 2005: 139, fig. 151; Bilgi 2006: 112, fig. 126). A tile panel dated 1719, a product of Kütahya, is found in the collections of Surp Hagop (Saint James) Church at the Jerusalem Armenian Patriarchate, and displays a composition similar to the portrait of Saint George with a dragon motif. (Carswell & Dowsett 1972: 51-2, plate 10, C1). The same theme is frequently found on 18th-century Kütahya ceramics (Kürkman 2005: 219, 257, figs. 281, 355-356).

Among the findings of 1996 and 2014, there are two polychrome fragments that feature human figures (Fig. 12). It is possible to find samples of ceramics with human figures in many collections in Turkey and abroad (Hitzel & Jacotin 2005; Atasoy & Raby 1989; Bilgi 2009). In general, after the 17th century, we can find examples of male and female figures in

traditional costumes, performing a dance with wooden spoons in their hands, playing the tambourine with jingles, or smoking tobacco. These figures are depicted on a group of plates designed for European customers under the influence of costume albums of the period (Renda 1998: 153-78; Adıgüzel Toprak 2012: 69-83). However, the colors and drawings in these samples were not successfully applied, and the quality is quite poor. According to Gönül Öney, these so-called Iznik plates with human figures were actually made in Kütahya, as their workmanship is of low quality (Öney 2014: 566-9). One of these fragments, found in 1996, is so small that it is difficult to make an evaluation, but the other, found in 2014, is of a higher quality in terms of workmanship and the use of color as compared to the fragments found in museums and various collections. The examples that most resemble this fragment can be found among the plates at the Château d'Écouen (Hitzel & Jacotin 2005: 295, fig. 436) and the Louvre Museum (Bernus-Taylor et al. 1989: 221, fig. 169). The ceramic fragment with a figure holding a bottle in his left hand features the same standing position as the figures on two plates found in the Ömer Koç collection (Bilgi 2009: 447, 448, fig. 287, 288). Two plates with human figures were also found in an excavation in Athens and are now part of the collection of Th. and E. Giannoukos; both of these plates bear the date 1666, and hence represent very important examples (Korre-Zographou 2012: 34, fig.11a-b). The Iznik ceramics with human figures in various collections are usually in the form of plates, though the fragment found in the excavation is part of the body of some closed form.

These designs, which were inspired by miniatures, gradually became more plain and simple after the 17th century, and in the Kütahya samples of the late 18th century they started to demonstrate vernacular features as well.

After this brief evaluation of the pieces discovered during the excavations in Iznik, we can conclude that in Ottoman ceramics – the so-called "Miletus ware" – the bird figures were successfully realized. The other figures depicted were fish and single human designs. However, in white paste tiles and ceramics the range of figures is much broader, for example four-legged animals, birds, fishes, etc. Rabbit is the most common figure seen in this group. It is also clear that most of the animals were chosen from the real world, while mythical animals were used only on a limited scale.

On two out of the three pieces with human figures, the face is partially visible, while the other can only be identified through the costume. These examples, however, are more successful than the pieces in private collections in terms of paste, design, and colors used.

As a general assessment, it can be said that the figural findings from the Iznik tile kiln excavations constitute a small but very special group beside the findings that feature floral decorations. The fact that only one figural piece is a tile and the others ceramic can be explained as production either upon private demand or for the foreign market. Within the historical context, it can be said that figural decorations, especially those seen in Anatolian Seljuk architecture, came to be replaced by ceramic samples during the Ottoman era, and these were later enriched by three-dimensional objects.

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Turkish Abstract

Osmanlı süsleme sanatları arasında, 14-17. yüzyıllarda İznik'te üretilen seramiklerde birtakım insan ve hayvan figürlerine rastlanmakta, ancak bunların sayısının önceki dönemlere göre daha sınırlı olduğu görülmektedir. Bu arada insan figürleri hayvan figürlerine göre daha az sayıda olup, Selçuklu sanatındaki stilizasyonun da devam ettiği izlenmektedir. Milet İşi olarak adlandırılan grupta bulunan örnekte bir insan yüzünün neredeyse yarısı, başındaki hale ile resmedilmiştir. 1984 kazı sezonunda ele geçirilen bu gövde parçası, şu ana kadar bilinen insan figürlü yegâne Milet işi örneğidir. Dünya müzelerinde benzeri olmayan bu parçada, Selçuklu

figür repertuarından aşina olunan, "ay yüzlü badem gözlü" bir insan figürünün spiral dolgular arasına yerleştirildiği görülmektedir.

Rodos İşi olarak adlandırılan ve 16.yüzyılın ortalarına tarihlenen grupta ise daha çok sayıda insan figürü görülmektedir. Kazıda ortaya çıkarılan örneklerden birinde, elinde mızrak ile at üzerinde bir erkek figürü bulunmaktadır. Aynı temaya, 18.yüzyıl Kütahya seramiklerinde de rastlanmaktadır. Bir diğer örnekte ise erkek figürünün sadece başı görülmekte, aşırı bir stilizasyon ile tasvir edilen figürün başı saçsız ancak bıyıklı olarak resmedildiği gözlemlenmektedir. 2014 kazı sezonunda ele geçirilen bir parçada ise yine bir erkek figürünün bu kez sadece belden aşağı kısmı görülmektedir.

İznik kazılarında bulunan hayvan figürü örneklerin Milet İşi, Mavi-Beyaz ve Rodos İşi olarak tanınan teknikler kullanılarak üretildiği saptanmıştır. Bu örneklerde rastlanan hayvanlar arasında çeşitli kuşlar, balık, tavşan, arslan ve maymun figürleri bulunmaktadır. Bu hayvanlar bazen tek başına, bazen kavga ederken ya da doğal ortamlarında koşarken tasvir edilmiştir. Hayvan figürlerinin insanlara göre daha gerçekçi bir üslupta resmedildiği görülmektedir.

Bu çalışmada İznik kazılarında ele geçirilen figürlü örnekler ayrıntılı olarak ele alınarak, çeşitli müze ve koleksiyonlarda bulunan İznik ve Kütahya çini ve seramikleriyle kıyaslanmaktadır. Ayrıca bu örnekler, Osmanlı döneminde Yunanistan'ın çeşitli bölgelerinde inşa edilen kilise cephelerinde süsleme ögesi olarak kullanılan figürlü İznik örnekleri ile karşılaştırılmaktadır.

Biographical Note

Belgin Demirsar Arlı is graduated from the Istanbul University, Department of History of Art in 1984. Her MA Thesis entitled "The Connection with Reality in the Paintings of Osman Hamdi Bey" was completed in 1987. She obtained her PhD in 1996 with her thesis "The Evaluation of Figurative Ceramics Found in Iznik Tile Kiln Excavations" and became Ass. Prof. in 1999. She is currently pursuing her academic studies at the same department at Istanbul University.

Since 2007, she is the head of the Iznik Tile Kiln Excavations that she has continuously participated from 1982 onwards. She has also presided the research project entitled "Ottoman Period Architecture and Tiles in Jerusalem" during 1999 and 2000, sponsored by the Research Fund of Istanbul University. Her main research field is the art of ceramic in Anatolia from the Byzantine period until the Republican era.

Fig. 1 − a) Unglazed body fragment of a so-called "Miletus ware" with bird figure; b) Bottom of a so-called "Miletus ware" with bird figure; c) Bottom fragment of a so-called "Miletus ware" with bird figure; d) Bottom of a so-called "Miletus ware" with bird figure (First period)
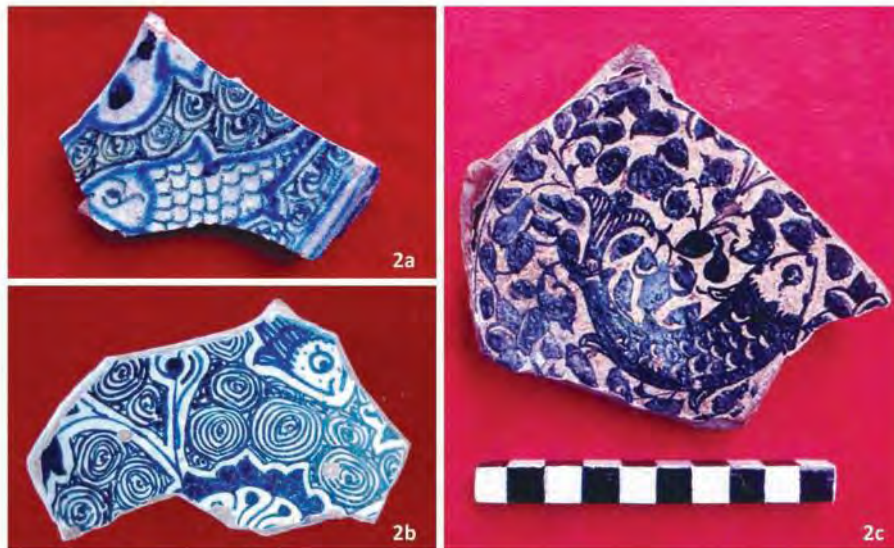

Fig. 2 – a) Body fragment of a so-called "Miletus ware" with fish figure; b) Bottom fragment of a so-called "Miletus ware" with fish figure; c) Bottom fragment of a so-called "Miletus ware" with fish figure (First period)

Fig. 3 – a) Plate, so-called "Miletus ware" with architectural decoration; b) Body fragment of a so-called "Miletus ware" with human figure
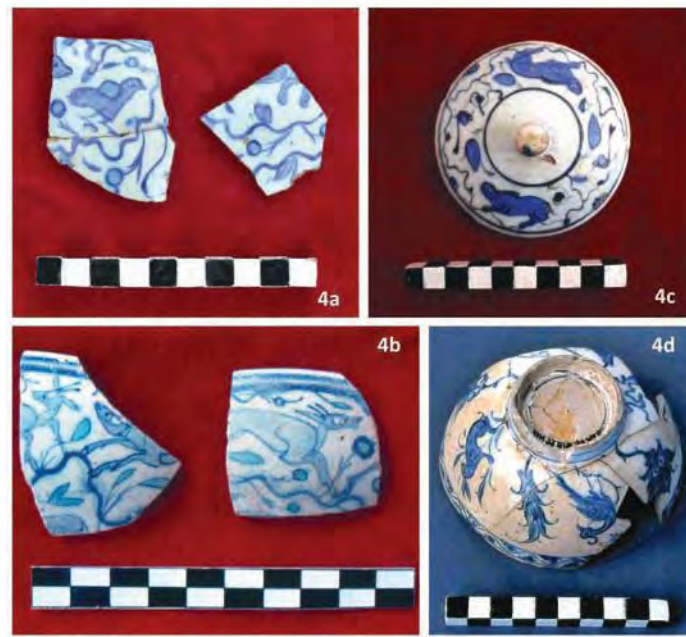
Fig. 4 – a) Body fragments of blue-white technique decorated with bird and four-legged animal figures; b) Body fragments of blue-white technique; decorated with four-legged animal figures; c) Cover, blue-white technique decorated with rabbit and bird figures; d) Bowl, blue-white technique decorated with bird and rabbit figures

Fig. 5 – a) Hexagonal tile fragment, blue-white technique with duck figure; b) Fragments, blue-white technique with bird and dragon figures

Fig. 6 – a) Body fragment, blue-white technique decorated with monkey figures; b-c) Mug, blue-white technique decorated with monkey and other animal figures
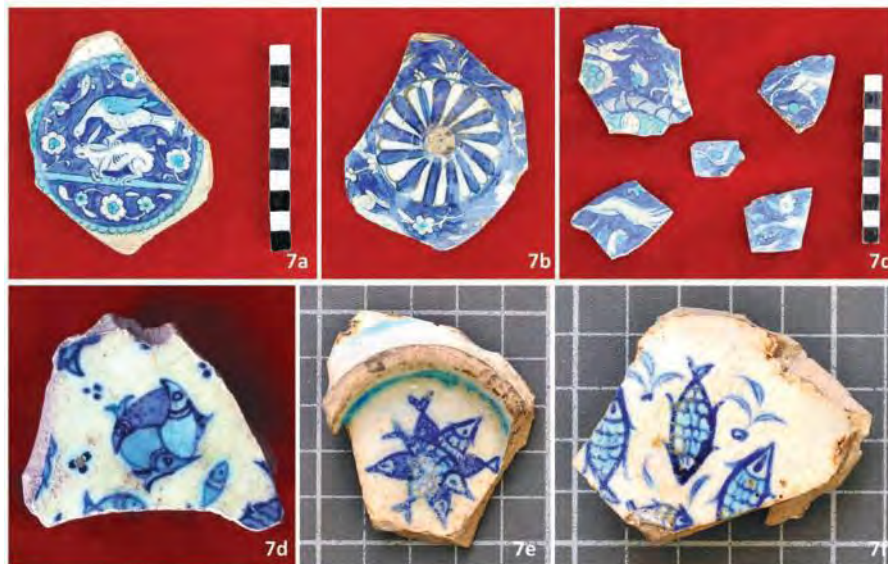

Fig. 7 – a-b) Fragment of a cover, blue-white technique decorated with bird pecking a rabbit composition (inside and outside); c) Fragments of a cover, blue-white technique decorated with several animal figures; d) Bottom fragment, blue-white technique decorated with fish figures; e-f) Bottom fragments, blue-white technique decorated with fish figures (inside and outside)

Fig. 8 – a-b-c) Vase and details of the so-called "Rhodes ware" decorated with bird figures; d) Fragment of a cover of the so-called "Rhodes ware" with bird figure
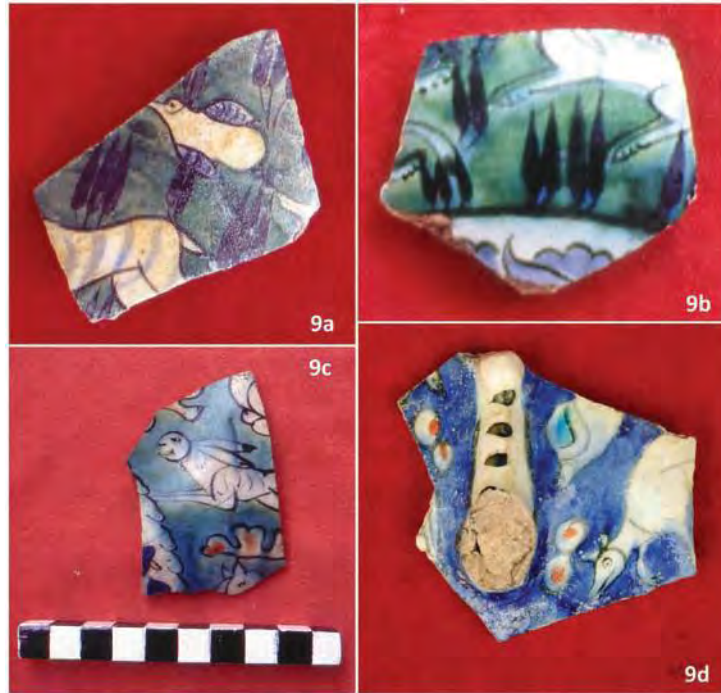
Fig. 9 – a-b) Body fragments of a so-called "Rhodes ware" decorated with various animal figures among plants; c) Body fragment of a so-called "Rhodes ware" decorated with various animal figures among rocks; d) Body fragment of a so-called "Rhodes ware"

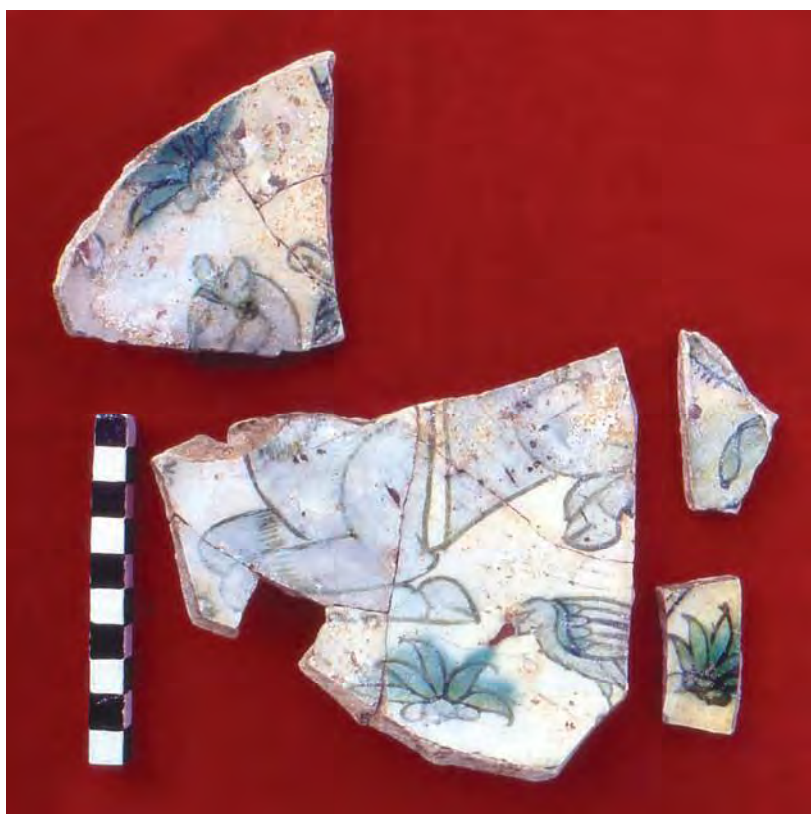Fig. 10.a-b-c) Fragments of so-called "Rhodes ware" decorated with fish figures

Fig. 11 – Fragments of a plate, so-called "Rhodes ware" decorated with horse figure

Fig. 12 – Body fragment, so-called "Rhodes ware" with human figure

ARCHITECTURAL REFLECTIONS OF HORSE CULTURE IN TURKEY: THE IMPERIAL STABLES (*İSTABL-I ÂMİRE*)

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Horses have always occupied a central position in the lives of Turks, whose culture dates back to the nomadic period in Central Asia. Turks used horses in war, ate their meat, drank their milk and wore their leather (Kafesoğlu 1991: 27). The presence of horses in almost every walk of life resulted in something of a "horse cult" culture in Turkish communities (Caferoğlu 1953: 204). Various depictions of horses (Esin 2002: 125-143), their burial with their masters (Rudenko 1970: 13-44), tombstones erected for them (Halaçoğlu 1991: 31), and their presence in religious rituals and legends (Caferoğlu 1953) are some of the reflections of this culture. Originally adopted from nomadic Central Asian Turks, this equine culture evolved and was eventually translated into settled life (Caferoğlu 1953: 207), and as a result special spaces came to be allocated for horses in palaces, pavilions, inns and houses. One of these was the Imperial Stables (*Istabl-ı Âmire*), an indoor space designated for the horses of the sultan and other imperial figures (Özcan 1999: 204).

The palace and imperial stable traditions emerged as a consequence of the Turks adopting a sedentary life, and this tradition lived on till the end of the Ottoman Empire. The pre-Anatolian presence of stables, none of which has survived to the present, is also well known (Özcan 1999: 203; Ertuğ 2009: 119). Although none of the Seljuk palaces have survived, it is known that they had stables (Uzunçarşılı 1988: 83). Because nothing remains from the first Ottoman palace in Bursa, we have no data regarding its stable. The stables at the Edirne Palace, known from old photographs and archival records, as well as those at Dolmabahçe Palace, which survived until recently, no longer stand today. However, the stables at Topkapı, Beylerbeyi, and Yıldız palaces have all survived to the present.

The Imperial Stable at Edirne Palace

Nothing remains from this imperial stable, which is thought to have been built together with the palace itself during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) (Ayverdi 1989: 267). Evliya Çelebi noted in his 17th-century book of travels that the stable was located in the field outside the palace garden (Kahraman & Dağlı (eds.) 2006: 592). According to Ahmed Bâdî Efendi, the stable, which was damaged in an earthquake in 1751, was renovated in 1758 (Adıgüzel & Gündoğdu [ed.] 2014, 79). This imperial stable disappeared at the end of the 19th century, like many other of the palace's structures. In a photograph in the Ermakov archive (Fig. 1) (Özer 2014: 9), it can be seen that the imperial stable was located in a flat area outside the imperial garden in the southwestern part of the palace. The stable consists of two structures of rectangular prisms perpendicular to each other. The structures, which protrude forward in the middle, had hipped roofs. On the upper façade there were windows peculiar to the stables. No data is available about the different sections and interior structure of the stable, about which little is known. Yet it is understood from records by the historian Fındıklı Silahdar Mehmed Agha that the stable had a rich collection of equine equipment, ranging from thousands of pairs of stirrups to golden and silver studded harnesses, which a French envoy saw during his visit to the palace in 1865 (Necipoğlu 2007: 105).

The Imperial Stable at Topkapı Palace

The Topkapı imperial stable is located in the northern section of the second courtyard. The stable, constructed together with the palace during the reign of Sultan Mehmed II, has undergone some restorations (Ayverdi 1989: 709; Necipoğlu 2007: 104). The inscription on

the middle gate of the imperial stable indicates that the stable, which was first restored during the reign of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-66) (Necipoğlu 2007: 105), underwent extensive renovations during the reign of Mahmud I (r. 1730-54) (Sakaoğlu 2002: 93). The structure, which had been used as a stable till the middle of the 18th century, was transformed into the halberdiers' ward, and the harness depository began to be used as a prayer room in 1774 (Ayverdi 1989: 709). The stable, which later saw use as a hospital for eunuchs and as the Gardeners' Ward, was burnt down in 1918 (Sakaoğlu 2002: 92). Only the walls of the stable survived the fire, and it was faithfully restored and transformed into a museum in the 1940s (Bikkul 1949: 122; Öz 1949: 19-26).

The imperial stable, composed of a stableman's chamber and harness depository, stretches from the wall separating the Ceremonial Square and the Divan Square to the Harem Chamber along the western wall. There is a small interior yard in front of the imperial stable, which is separated from the Divan Square by a wall. This interior yard, which is entered via a gate at the southern end of this wall lying parallel to the imperial stable, faces the two Meyyit Gates and the Regiment Square to the south. Access to the stable on horseback and cart was via these gates.

In this structure of approximately 110 m in length and 13 m in width, the stables and the stableman's chamber were combined, while the harness depository, built higher up, was covered with a dome (Fig. 2a). The saddle roof, which was completely renovated in the last restoration, had windows before the restoration (Fig. 2b). Cut stones and bricks were used for the construction of the gate and window frames of the stable, which was itself constructed of rubble and rough rocks (Fig. 2c). The structure is exited via three doors onto the yard. There are windows located one above the other between the gates. The lower windows were rectangular and had arched gablets. The smaller upper windows had pointed arches and plaster systems. Similar windows were evenly located on the western façade.

The interior sections, covered by a single roof outside, were separated from each other by walls. It has been suggested that these spaces, which were linked to each other by doors in the separating walls, were covered with a vaulted and lead-coated roof (Necipoğlu 2007: 104). The longest space, entered via the door in the middle, is the main stable. It is stated that 40–50 of the sultan's favourite horses were kept in this stable (Sakaoğlu 2002: 92; Necipoğlu 2007: 104), and there were about 30 resting areas located there, judging from the windows and the window niches. Bon, who visited the palace in 1608, recorded that there were 25 or 30 horses at the sultan's disposal in the stable (Necipoğlu 2007: 105). The sections located in the south and entered via a separate door are thought to have been allocated as guards' wards. The fireplace and wardrobe niches in the chamberlets on both sides of the space are thought to strongly support this theory. To the north of the stable is the stableman's chamber (Fig. 2d). The chamber, which possesses a characteristic crown gate, is connected to the stable via doors and windows (Öz 1949: 24). It is understood from the *rumi* plaster decorations on the gate panel and wardrobe niches of the space that it was a highly revered space and luxuriously embellished. The plain wooden ceiling in place today was brought from the Köçeoğlu Pavilion (Ayverdi 1989: 711).

The entrance to the domed harness depository in the northern section is via the stableman's chamber. The chamber opens via a door to the corridor in the north. There are suspended storeys supported by wooden posts on both sides of the cubic chamber. Access to the dome on which is mounted an octagonal rim is via a flat arch. There are painted decorations at the foot and centre of the dome (Ayverdi 1989: 711). This chamber, as the most important section of the imperial stable, teems with harnessing tools decorated with various gems (Sakaoğlu 2002: 91). Access to the chamber was through the stableman's chamber, and iron doors were in place to safeguard this treasure.

The Imperial Stable at Dolmabahçe Palace

The Dolmabahçe imperial stable, which is no longer extant, was located behind the high wall surrounding the palace and in the north of the external garden. The structure, whose exact construction date is unknown, is marked as the "Imperial Stable" in the map produced by the Mühendishâne-i Enderûn in 1853 (Öner 1996: 126), which suggests that it was built together with the palace during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–61). This imperial stable, which burnt down once and was restored several times, survived until 1940, when it was levelled in order to construct a stadium.

Robertson's photograph of 1854 depicts the post-construction condition of the stable (Fig. 3a). The imperial stable, built in a neoclassical style, had a rectangular plan surrounding an open central yard. The building lying in the north-south direction had a large gate in the middle of both the front and back façades. Two U-shaped planes connected to the gate axes surround the central yard. The Treasury Chamber was located in the centre of the yard. Small interior yards can be observed in the short offshoots of the north wing (under a single roof). On the other wing, each unit was covered by a designated roof. Plasters on the façades hint that the interior of the north wing was also sectioned in a similar way. Three windows were located on the back façades of the units, and there were a door and three windows on the interior façade, facing the yard. The gates and exterior façade windows have semicircular arches, while the windows over the gates have the typical rectangular shape. There are windows on the short side as well, and these may have been asymmetrically structured, depending on the function of the spaces. The entrances in the middle axes are quite wide so as to allow horses to pass through easily, and they are highlighted with a high triangular gable roof. The treasury chamber in the middle of the yard was rectangular. There were two and three windows, respectively, on each short and long side. The semicircular arched windows were separated with plasters, as in the main building.

The imperial stable burnt down in a devastating fire in 1881 (Öner 1996: 126), and was soon restored again. An undated document found and published by Ünsal (1963, 169; 1969, 58) at Topkapı Palace describes the post-fire condition of the structure and the planned arrangements (Öner 1996: 127). According to the document, the southern section, where the administrative offices and wards were located, was designed in two storeys, and the stable section – meant to be able to accommodate 312 horses – was divided into six units (52 horses for each unit), and the layout of the stalls was decided upon (Ünsal 1963: 169; 1969: 58). The same drawing depicts a *manège* section and horseshoe forge in the west wing of the palace and the stable in the back, as well as showing that the annexes in the west belonged to the depository and kitchen. How faithfully this plan was put into practice remains unknown. The comparison of Robertson's photograph and the photograph (Fig. 3b) depicting the stable's condition in the 1890s reveals that there was not much change in the façades, but the cover of the west wing was replaced and there were small open yards in the short offshoots of the wing. The units of the main stable were covered with roofs of their own, as depicted in the drawing.

It can be understood from the differences between the aforementioned documents and certain drawings and photographs depicting the structure's later period that the stable was restored once more. An archival plan from the 1920s (Fig. 3d) depicts the changes that were to be made to the damaged stable. In this drawing, the east wing is divided into two, and depositories are included on the south, and there are also service spaces opening onto the small central yard in the north. Two-storey sections in the south, where the main gate was located, are allocated to administrative spaces, as before. The door at the northern axis was sealed and a new passage opened up on the eastern wing. To provide access to the annexes, another gate was built in the middle of the western wing, where the stables are clustered. The 1926 Pervititch plan (Fig. 3c) and photographs from the 1930s (Fig. 3e) share similarities with this archival plan. The only difference is that the east wing was separated by an open corridor from the other wing, and the number of spaces was increased. Spaces surrounding the interior yard on the east wing were separated by a designated roof, and cupolas were placed on the roofs covering the stables. Despite all these changes, the imperial stable still maintained its neoclassical characteristics via

its triangular gablet entrance, impost-capital plasters, and semicircular windows with the key block accentuated.

The Imperial Stable at Beylerbeyi Palace

This stable is located in alignment with the third wall in the southeastern part of the palace. The building, also called the "Stable Pavilion" (Konyalı 1976: 193), is thought to have been built together with the palace in 1864–1865 by order of Sultan Abdülaziz (Batur 1994a: 210; Konyalı 1976: 194). The structure, once used as a depository, was faithfully restored in 1975 and placed under official protection. The service building to the east of the stable was renovated and turned into a military facility (Göncü 2006: 88).

The roughly rectangular imperial stable, lying on an east-west orientation, is composed of the entrance and central space in the middle and stables on the sides (Fig. 4a, 4b). The entrance was highlighted by a pentagonal forward protrusion, while the back central space was enlarged via a circular projection. The entrance projecting forward in the middle has an arched curvilinear cover (Fig. 4c) (Batur 1994a: 210). The ribbed wooden cover of the entrance, with five protruding sides and transformed into an octagon, together with the three sides inside, is mounted on the onion bulb-shaped gablets of the façades. Profiled mouldings surrounding the arched gablets go down to merge with each other. Horse harnessing tools, which characterize the building, were engraved on these gablets (Fig. 4d). Horseshoe arches surrounding the plain mouldings on the façades were placed in the openings. Of these openings, which are of the same height, the one on the axis of symmetry was designated as a door and the others as windows. The wooden ceiling on the octagonal base inside was divided into geometrical segments and decorated with elaborate drawings and depictions (Fig. 5c). Depictions of animals, presented in an exotic setting reminiscent of the wilds of Africa, in the medallions among the stylized plant motifs exhibit an orientalist approach that also contains a trace of romanticism (Dündar 2012: 381). This entrance space, marking the most accentuated part of the stable, makes it resemble a pavilion due to both its plan and mass design and its elaborate oriental decorations (Saner 1998: 55).

The central space and the stable behind the entrance are covered by a single roof. Windows were placed on the upper façades in this section, which was designed in a plain manner. These windows are surrounded by circular arched moulds. There is a door in the middle of each side façade, facing west and east. A circular window was placed on both sides of the horseshoe-arched doors. The door in the west, built in an oriental fashion, is for the horses. The door in the east is connected to the service building via a corridor. The rear façade windows, creating a circular projection in the middle, have semicircular arches. Profiled eaves running over these limit the façade.

The stable with hipped roof outside is covered with wooden vaults on poles inside (Fig. 5a). There is a marble pool in the middle of the central space for horses to drink water (Fig. 5b). The stables on both sides opened onto this central space with the pool. In the stable sections, there are twenty stalls placed on both sides and facing each other. Between the stalls lies a road paved with herringbone-patterned bricks. The stalls opening onto this road are separated from each other by wooden sills and rails. There is a forage sink and hay rack in each stall. Candles and lanterns as well as windows were used to light the stable where no ceiling light was available. Horse head reliefs were used on the lanterns, which were decorated with gold foil leaves and curved branches. Horse head busts were placed on the walls of the central space in order to highlight the structure's function (Fig. 5d).

The Imperial Stable at Yıldız Palace

This stable is located in the northeast of the palace, between the Şale Pavilion and the wall surrounding the exterior garden. The stables, *manège*s, cart lots, and other structures were scattered across the area. Based on archival records, the construction of the buildings was launched in the 1880s and finished in 1903 (Mısırlı 1996: 18; Batur 1994c: 525). The brick

inscription "استانبول سنه ۱۲۹۹ ب" on the upper storey wall at the northwestern end of the Ferhan building (Fig. 6c), one of the stables, suggests that construction must have begun in 1882. It is also known that some of the structures were restored by the Italian architect D'Aronco (Batur 1994a: 53-58). Those structures which could no longer serve their designated purpose after the abolishment of the sultanate were given to the military (Yücel 1996: 137). The buildings, the rights to which were transferred to the National Palaces Council in 1986, were transformed into museums, workshops, and exhibition and conference halls following a comprehensive restoration (Mısırlı 1996: 79).

The Ferhan building and *manège*, which were restored by D'Aronco, are the stable's most important buildings. The Ferhan building, named after Abdülhamid's favourite horse and known as the *Istabl-ı Âmire-i Ferhan,* is located at the eastern end of the area allocated for the imperial stables. Administrative offices were placed in the middle and at both ends of the building, which has a symmetrical plan and a mass design (Fig. 6a). Other than the main entrance in the middle section, each section at the end has a gate. Administrative and service office sections designed in two storeys were slightly projected, and octagonal towers were placed at the corners of the sections at two ends (Fig. 6d). These towers and projections on a longitudinal axis balance out the mass of the tall structure.

The structure with façades decorated in neogothic and art nouveau style was originally done solely in neogothic style (Fig. 6b). The pyramidal hooded corner towers, pointed arched upper storey windows, small brackets of cornices, authentic wooden stair setting of the middle section outside the structure, caged parapets, and protruding roof are all typical of plain neogothic practices (Batur 1994b: 53; 1994c: 525). The middle section, done in an art nouveau style, is thought to have been renovated by D'Aronco after a possible fire (Batur 1994a: 54). The previous wooden staircase was replaced by a mass protruding in the middle like a portal (Fig. 7a). The corner plasters of the mass projecting forward with the horseshoe-shaped arch go over the structure's mass like a weight tower at the top. A top-crowned triple window was placed in these plasters and highlighted by stone coating (Fig. 7b). Art nouveau stylistic aspects – such as tower-like high elements, geometric and flower decorations on plasters and windows, and the buttress in the middle ridge of the eave – are characteristics of D'Aronco's architectural style (Batur 1994c: 526).

The storeys in the two-storey section reminiscent of a pavilion from outside were arranged according to a long-room plan. The ceilings of halls and other rooms were elaborately decorated. Most of the baroque and rococo decorations, with some traditional traces, were faithfully renovated during the restorations (Yücel 1996: 138). The ceilings of the octagonal towers are decorated with gold foil, which differentiates it from the others (Fig. 7c).

The single-storey stables, done as rectangular prismatic masses, have a more plain texture. The stables are covered with saddle roofs. There are high roof lights to light and ventilate the spaces. There is a series of windows on the upper façades, ending with the broad eaves of the roofs. Access to the stables is from the ground floor of the middle section. The stables are connected to the administrative sections at the end via a door. Vestiges of the brick road in the middle and the wooden stalls facing each other on both sides of the road are still visible (Fig. 7d).

The *manège* and the stable, like the other important structures of the stable, lie adjacent to the wall just near the external wall gate. Of the structures placed side by side on a longitudinal axis, the *manège* is located in the northwest and the stable in the southeast (Fig. 8a, 8b, 8c). The *manège* and stable section are linked to each other via a two-storey intermediate section. The *manège*, which is larger and higher than the stable, has a hipped roof and a rectangular mass (Fig. 8d). There is a raised lantern for lighting in the middle of the hipped roof, with broad eaves. Only the frontal façade of the structure, built from bricks and rubble, has a window. The windows clustered in the middle of the façade have depressed arches. At the southern end of the façade is the staircase to the second storey of the intermediate section connecting the *manège* and the stable. The entrance to the *manège* is via the door under the landing of this staircase. The high and large interior space has a suspension roof truss (Fig. 9a). The opening, about 15 m wide, is crossed with suspension trusses supported by buttresses

at a 45-degree angle, which were tied with steel cables. According to a document found by Batur in the Udine City Museum Archive and subsequently published, these roof trusses with their characteristic structural aesthetics were designed by D'Aronco and used with only some minor changes (Batur 1994b: 56-58).

On the ground floor of the section combining the *manège* and the stable there is a door opening on both sides. On the wall on the *manège* side of the second storey, accessible via the stairs outside, there is a lodge-like opening which is thought to have been used to watch the training of the horses (Mısırlı 1996: 32).

The stable section, which connected to the *manège* via the intermediate space, is made up of an entrance space in the middle and the main stable symmetrically lying on both sides of it (Fig. 9b). The entrance and stable sections are covered with two separate roofs. The entrance space, as the axis of symmetry, is highlighted by being slightly projected and raised outwards (Fig. 9c). It has an arched, broad, high door on the front façade. The gate frame and corner plasters are accentuated with bricks. The stables, lying as a long and thin mass on both sides of the entrance space, are covered with a saddle roof. There are two lanterns for lighting on the roofs. Depressed arched windows were placed in the upper part of the walls on which the roof was mounted. These windows and roof lanterns illuminate the rectangular prismatic interior. No vestiges of the original structure were observed in the renovated interior space (Fig. 9d).

There are two more stables at Yıldız Palace, apart from the imperial stable. One of these is opposite the stable connected to the *manège*, and faces the same square. There is an entrance space in the middle of the structure, lying as a rectangular prismatic mass in an east-west orientation (Fig. 10a, 10b). The entrance section, which projects forward, has an elegant window in the shape of an eyebrow arch over the door (Fig. 10c). The stables symmetrically lying on both sides of the entrance have hipped roofs and three roof lanterns on each. There are ten windows on each of the façades, with the corners highlighted by stone surfacing. Depressed arched windows were placed on the upper façades, as in the others. The interior of the stables, accessible via doors opening onto the entrance space, is illuminated by roof lanterns and windows on the façades. No vestige of the stalls was observed in the entirely renovated interior space (Fig. 10d).

The other stables, to the west of the wall gate, reach as far as the wall and lie as a rectangular prismatic mass (Fig. 11). The building, used for a time for military purposes, later regained its original function after several restorations. It is seen in an old photograph (Mısırlı 1996: 52) that the structure was covered by a roof with lanterns placed along the roof; there was a spacious entrance in the façade grid, and it had windows along the façade on the sides. Depressed arched windows were located on the upper façade.

Among the other structures of the Yıldız Palace imperial stables is the cart building. This rectangular building near the road between the external wall gate and the yard gate of the Şale Pavilion lies in a north-south orientation (Fig. 12a). There is an entrance space in the middle of the longitudinal axis, cart lots on both sides, and a service and administrative section at the end. In the hipped roof structure, the covers of the entrance and service and administrative sections are higher, and were accentuated by forward projections (Fig. 12b). The corners of the projecting masses were highlighted by brickwork. The entrance space at the middle axis has a semicircular gate. The cart houses on both sides of the entrance open onto the square via four doors in each. Each gate, with a flat lintel, is broad enough for carts and coaches to pass through. The sections separated from each other by walls are connected to each other via doors along the same axis. The section in the north, thought to be allocated for the stablemen, opens out through a separate door (Fig. 12c). The ceiling of this space is decorated with elaborate drawings. The decorations exhibit a collage of styles, ranging from baroque to Empire style (Fig. 12d).

Conclusion

No pre-Ottoman examples have remained of imperial stables, whose architectural history can be traced as far back as Central Asia. Among the earliest Ottoman palaces, the imperial stable of the palace in Bursa has not survived. The imperial stables of the Edirne and Dolmabahçe palaces, known to have survived until recently, are available only through a couple of photographs and archival documents. Of the imperial stables considered to be the most noteworthy reflections of Turkish equine culture, only those of the Topkapı, Beylerbeyi, and Yıldız palaces have survived.

These imperial stables generally have a similar plan and mass design, and were designed to care for and protect the horses of sultans and imperial officers in the best way possible. They are characterized by lantern roofs, series of windows on the upper façade, high and broad entrances outside of the buildings, roads of brick and stonework, and stalls with wooden separators in the interior. The imperial stable of Beylerbeyi Palace and the Ferhan building in Yıldız Palace exhibit contemporary artistic trends and attract attention through their elaborate designs, and are among the best examples for showing how important horses were considered to be in the lives of the sultans.

Although the imperial stables, which exemplify the importance attached to horses by the sultans and disclose the place of this culture in the imperial setting, may no longer fulfil their original functions, it is nevertheless of utmost importance to protect these complexes, to exhibit them as an element of an ongoing Central Asian culture, to preserve them in museums and similar institutions so that they may serve new cultural purposes, and thus to pass them on to future generations.

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Turkish Abstract

Orta Asya'da göçebe bir hayat süren Türkler atları göçlerden savaşlara, tarımdan gıdaya kadar pek çok alanda kullanmışlardır. Atların güncel hayatın hemen her alanında yer alması Türklerde bir at kültürünün oluşmasına vesile olmuştur. Atların çeşitli tasvirlere konu edilmesi, sahibi ile birlikte mezara gömülmesi, adına mezar taşları dikilmesi, dini ritüellerde ve destanlarda yer alması bu kültürün yansımaları olarak görülür. Bu kültür yerleşik hayata geçişte de varlığını sürdürmüş; han, saray ve köşk gibi yapılarda atlar için özel mekânlara yer verilmiştir. Bunlardan, saraylarda yer alan ve sultan ve diğer saray mensuplarına hizmet veren atların barındırıldığı ahırlara "Has Ahır (Istabl-ı Âmire)" adı verilmiştir.

Çeşitli kaynaklardan Türklerin Orta Asya'dan beri, sultan ve ahalisine ait olan saray ve köşklerin yanına atla için bir ahır inşa ettikleri bilinmektedir. Anadolu öncesi hakkında pek fazla bilgi bulunmayan bu has ahır geleneğinin Anadolu'da da sürdürüldüğü görülmektedir. Ancak Osmanlı öncesine ait saraylar büyük oranda yok oldukları için buraların ahırları bilinmemektedir. Eski fotoğraf ve arşivlerden varlığı bilinen Edirne Sarayı ve Dolmabahçe Sarayı has ahırları da günümüzde mevcut değildir. Yalnızca Topkapı, Beylerbeyi ve Yıldız saraylarının has ahırları günümüze kadar gelebilmiştir. Topkapı Sarayı'nın II. Avlusunda yer alan has ahırının inşası Fatih Dönemi'ne kadar inmektedir. Uzun ince dikdörtgen bir kütle şeklinde uzanan ahırın kuzey ucunda yer alan Raht Dairesi'nin alçı bezemeleri ilk yapıldığı dönemin özelliklerini taşır. Yakın zamana kadar ayakta olan Dolmabahçe Sarayı has ahırının, açık orta avlulu bir plan düzenlemesine sahip olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Ortasında Hazine

Dairesi bulunan geniş avluyu kuşatan kütlesel dikdörtgen bloklardan oluşan ahır üçgen alınlıklı kapıları ve pencereleri ile neoklasik üslubu yansıtır. Yıldız Sarayı'nın dış bahçesinde yer alan has ahırı, manej ve arabalık gibi yapıları da içeren geniş bir kompleks niteliğindedir. Has ahırın en önemli yapısını teşkil eden ve at nalı şeklindeki anıtsal kapısıyla dikkati çeken "Ferhan" binası art nouveau ve neogotik gibi üslupları bir arda sergiler. Bir yazlık olan Beylerbeyi Sarayı'nın has ahırı diğerlerine göre daha mütevazı ölçülerde olmakla birlikte zarif tasarımı ve zengin süslemeleriyle dikkat çeker. Oryantalist üslubun en iyi örneklerinden birini teşkil eden yapının bir köşk niteliğindeki orta kısmı, atların konu edildiği renkli tavan resimleriyle süslüdür.

Her biri kendi döneminin özelliklerini yansıtan bu has ahırlar sultan ve saray mensuplarının atlarına gösterilen önemin sonuçları olarak ortaya çıkmışlardır. Bu özel nitelikli yapılar belli bir kültürü yansıtması bakımından ayrı bir öneme sahiptirler ve artık yok olmak üzere olan at kültürünün gelecek kuşaklara aktarılmasında önemli bir yerleri vardır.

Biographical Note

Mesut Dündar received his undergraduate education in the Art History Program at Ankara University, Faculty of Language and History-Geography, Department of Archeology and Art History. He got his Master's degree at the Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Art History of the same university. In the same years, he started to work as an assistant at Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Department of Art History. He obtained his specialist degree with a thesis entitled *Turkish Architecture in Bor/Niğde*. His PhD thesis (Ankara University) is entitled *Beylerbeyi Palace*. Currently he works at Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Department of Art History.

Fig. 1 – Edirne Palace, Imperial Stable (Istabl-ı Âmire)

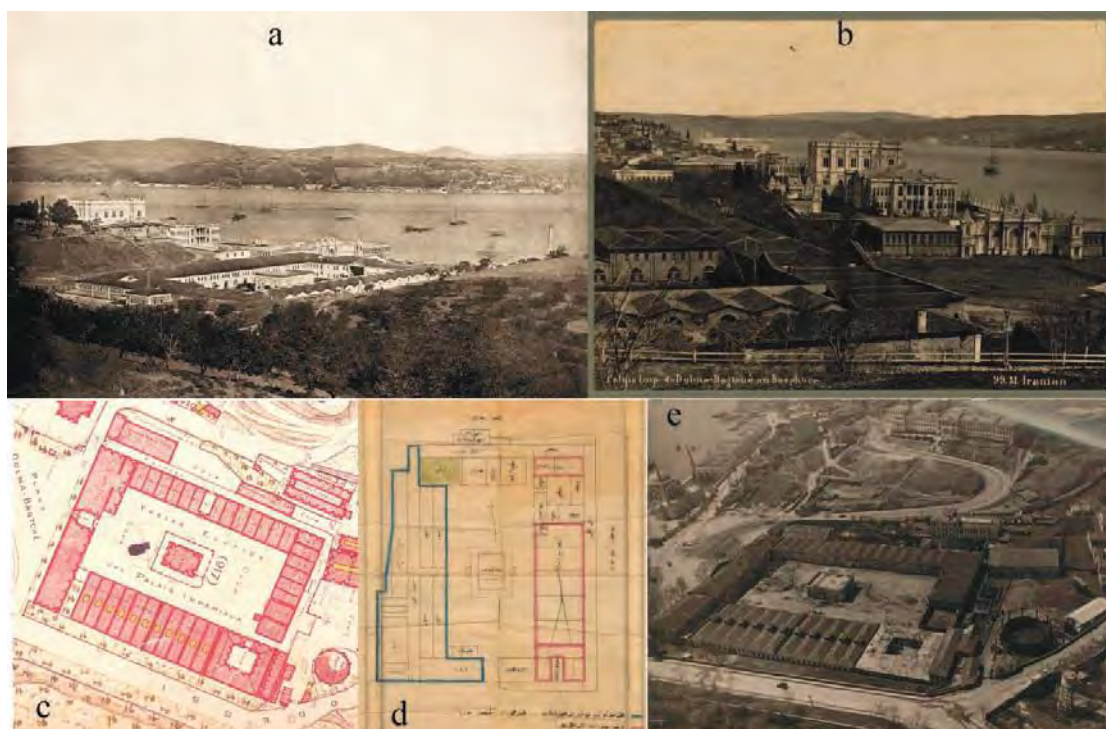Fig. 2 – Topkapı Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire)

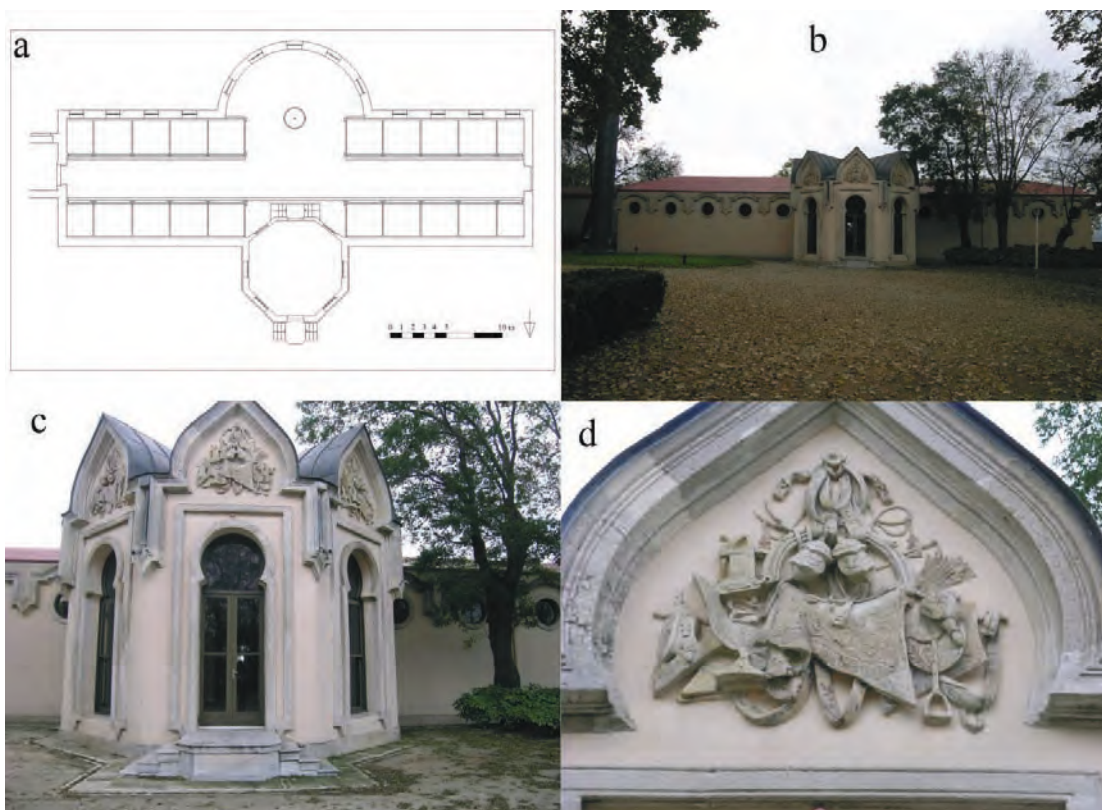Fig. 3 – Dolmabahçe Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire)

Fig. 4 – Beylerbeyi Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire)

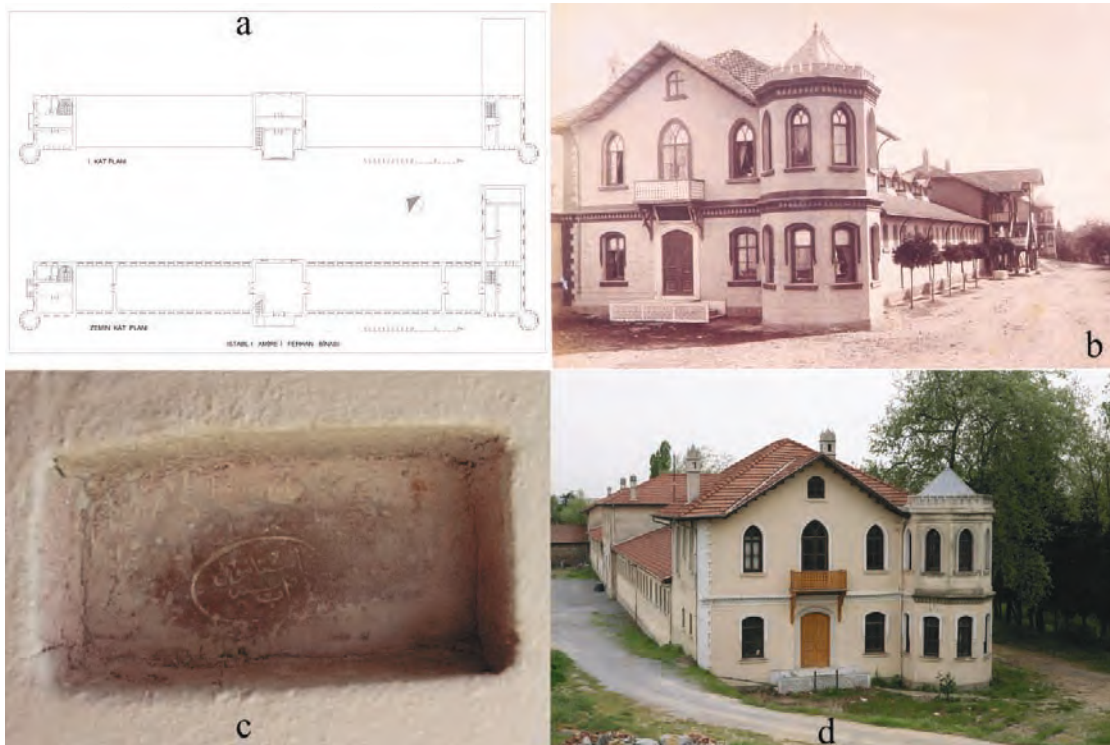Fig. 5 – Beylerbeyi Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire)

Fig. 6 – Yıldız Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire), Ferhan Building

Fig. 7 – Yıldız Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire), Ferhan Building

Fig. 8 – Yıldız Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire), Manege Building

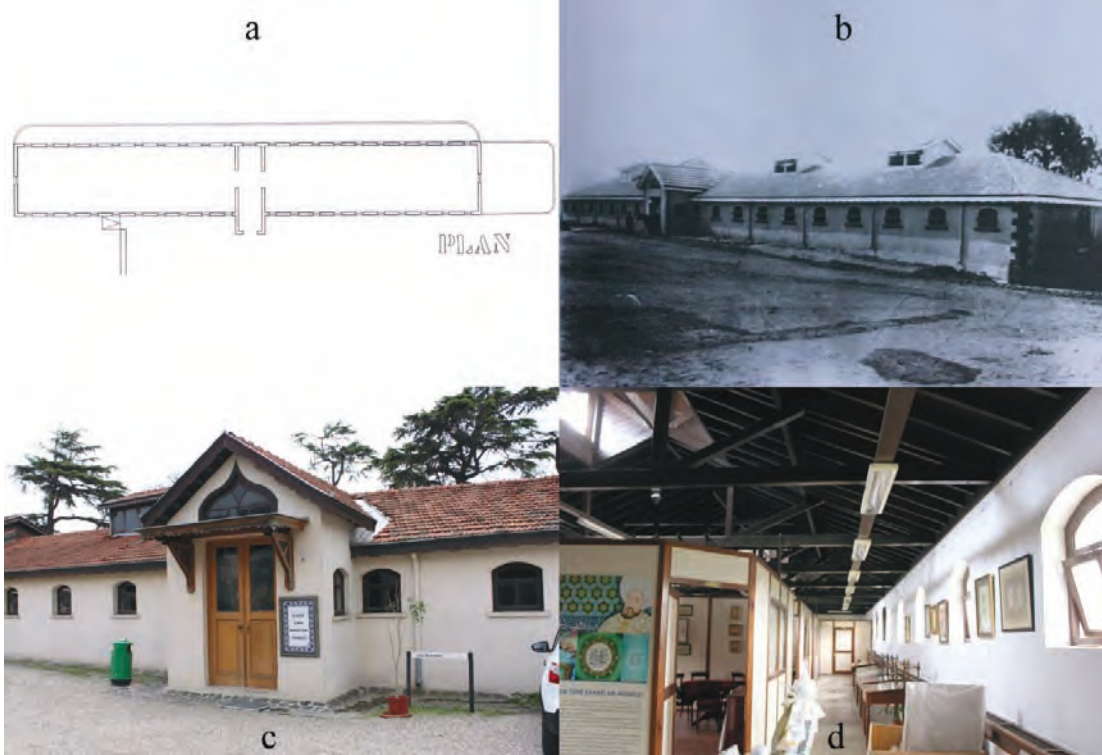Fig. 9 – Yıldız Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire), Stable Building

Fig. 10 – Yıldız Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire), the other Stable Building
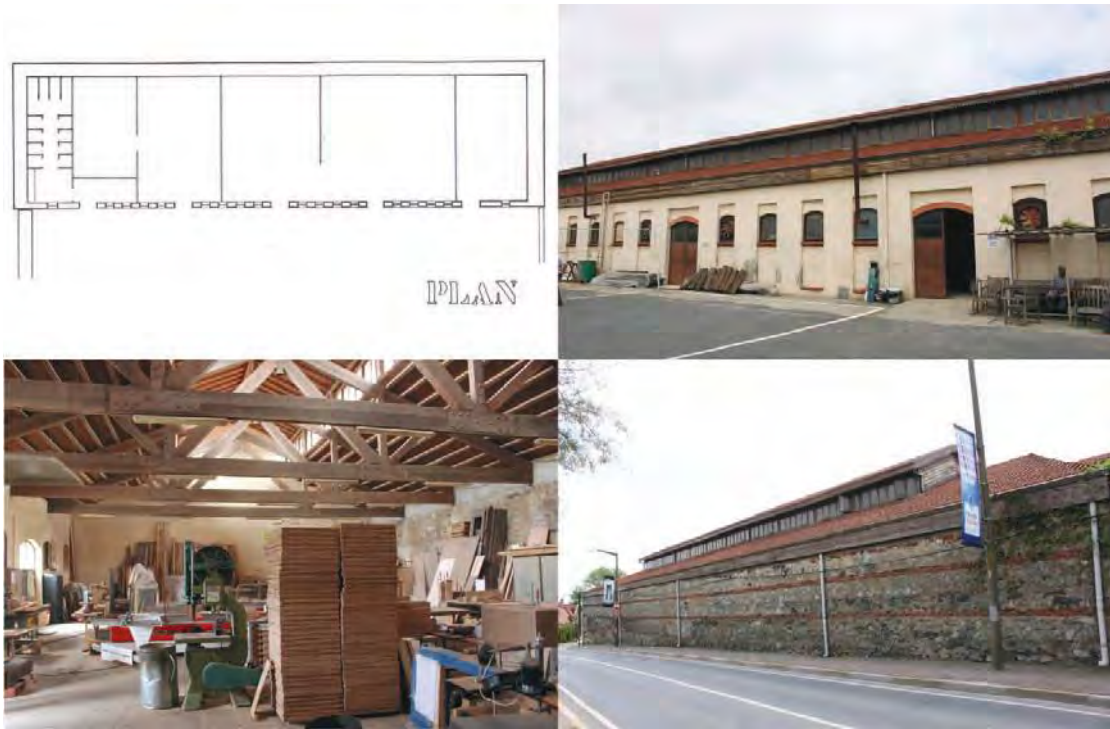
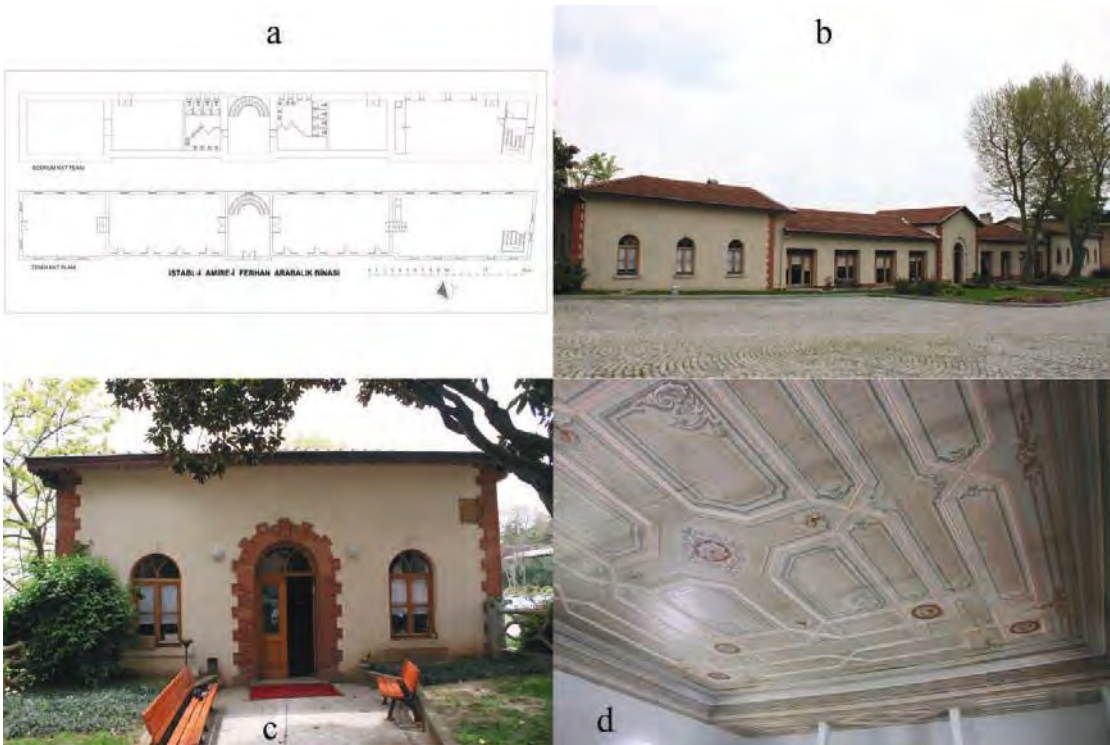Fig. 11 – Yıldız Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire), the other Stable Building

Fig. 12 – Yıldız Palace, Imperial stable (Istabl-ı Âmire), Cart Building

ṬĀZYA: A FOURTEENTH CENTURY RURAL COMPLEX AND ITS CHRONOLOGY[1]

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Historiography of Islamic architecture in medieval Anatolia, as ancient and rich as it is, still shows diverse gaps. For instance, studies had focused on the Seljuk period, with all the questions that such a dynastic division implies, covering the late 12th century and first half of the 13th century. With some recent exception (Blessing 2014), about the 14th century, attention turns toward western Anatolia, birthplace of Ottoman architecture. Among Islamic monuments, a typologist approach of the so-called *Turko-Islamic art* left aside *zāwiya*s and Sufi-related architecture until recently (Wolper 2003, Yürekli 2012). In addition, except for 13th century caravanserais, rural foundations attracted less interest than city buildings, for several reasons going from the accessibility to a peculiar interest in urban fabric and society, better documented in textual sources. As a late 14th century rural *zāwiya* built in north-eastern Anatolia, the architectural complex of Ṭāzya combines all this disadvantages and was only shortly published in two articles (Yurdakul 1969, Tanman 1981) and mentioned in a recent assess of medieval Sufi architecture (Tanman Parlak 2006: 403-404).

Located some 4 kilometres east of the small town of Turhal, in the Inner Pontus region, Gümüştop is today a quiet farm village. However, evidences of several monuments built during the second half of the fourteenth century, attest to a vivid architectural activity at this time. The site, known in medieval sources as Ṭāzya, occupies the foothills of the Yaylacık Mountains, some 560 meters high, at the mouth of the Gülin Çay valley, a subsidiary of the Yeşilırmak. This position overlooks the agricultural plain surrounding Turhal and the beginning of the Gülin Çay valley, a penetration way into the Yaylacık Mountains toward the northeast (Fig.1). No less than four foundations were constructed between 762/1360-1 and 790/1388: a place for worship, a complex including a *zāwiya* and a *dār al-ḥuffāẓ*, a mausoleum and a public bath. This paper aims to analyse the chronology of this complex with a special focus on epigraphical documentation, and to replace it in the special historical context of the disrupted last decades of the fourteenth century.

The Inner Pontus during the post-Ilkhanid period: from Eretnids to Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad

Unlike the history of western Beyliks during the 14th century, the political events happening in the northern and eastern lands of Rūm is far less documented (Uzunçarşılı 1937, 1968a and 1968b, Göde 1994, Paul 2011 and 2013). Such a work overpass the scope of this paper but a brief summary will help to set up Ṭāzya in its context.

In the aftermath of the death of the Īl-Khān Abū Saʿīd in 736/1335, Anatolia was driven into succession quarrels between Jalayirids and Çobanids (Melville 2009: 93-94). Involved in the conflict at the centre of the empire, Shaikh Ḥasan Buzurg Jalāyir, the last Ilkhanid governor of Anatolia, appointed Eretnā, an emir from Uygur ascendance settled in Anatolia under Ḥasan's predecessor, Timūrtāsh, as his *valī* in the lands of Rūm. Eretnā eventually takes this opportunity and starts to rule independently over eastern and northern Anatolia in 738/1337. Albeit he sent an embassy to the Mamluk Sultan and recognize his sovereignty as the *naʾīb of the Bilād al-Rūm* (Uzunçarşılı 1968b: 166), Eretnā also strucked coins in the

name of different candidates to the succession of the Ilkhanids in 739/1338-9 (Melville 2009: 94-95). In fact, Anatolia was already a frontier territory between Mamluk and Ilkhanid empires in the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The campaign of Al-Ẓāhir Baybars in 675/1277 already highlighted an accurate interest in the lands of Rūm, where Ilkhanid legitimacy was questioned (Yıldız 2006: 331). Eretnā seems to have maintained this position until 742/1342, when the breaking-off with the Mamluks has been completed. In the meantime, the collapse of Ilkhanid rule in Iran led to a partition of the territory between rival dynasties. Claiming the title of sultan, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Eretnā ruled over a large part of Anatolia, from Ankara to Erzincan including the main cities of Sivas and Kayseri, until his death in 753/1352. Eretnā's heirs, Ghiyāth al-Din Muḥammad (r. 753-67/1352-65) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī (r. 767-82/1365-80) continued the Eretnid realm despite important territory loses at the benefit of the Karamanids in the west, Dulkadirids in the south and Isfendyarids in the north. The dislocation process of the sultanate and conflicts between powerful emirs already started during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, whose violent death in 782/1380 left a five years old child as heir of the sultanate, Muḥammad Bey. Among these emirs, Muṭahhartan, emir of Erzincan, and Ḥājjī Shādgeldi, emir of Amasya, gained important power. Nonetheless, the Inner Pontus stayed in the core of Eretnid lands until the final collapse of the dynasty in the 1380's and the uprising of a local figure, Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad, qadi of Kayseri, a charge his grandfather, Sirāj al-Dīn Sulaymān, already hold during the reign of ʿAlā al-Dīn Eretnā. Burhān al-Dīn gradually raised to power in the Eretnid realm: he became vizir of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, took power in the name of Muḥammad Bey in 782/1380, thus ruling independently and claiming the sultanate until the Ottoman conquest of the region and his death in 800/1398 (Uzunçarşılı 1968b).

Despite the scarcity of textual sources, Eretnids are notably documented by epigraphy, *waqfiyya*-s, coinage and architectural remains (Göde 1994: 157-173). ʿAlā al-Dīn Eretnā was himself an important patron of architecture and commissioned for instance the large dynastic and Sufi complex known as the Köşk Medrese, near Kayseri in 740/1339 (Şaman and Yazar 1991). Indeed, the architectural activity under the Eretnids is quite important: mausoleums but also several *zāwiya*s were built (Göde 1991 and 1996). Famous himself as a poet, Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad appears also as an enlightened ruler. The *Bazm wa Razm*, a book written in persian by ʿAzīz ibn Ardašīr-i Astarābādī and a precious source for our understanding of the period, was devoted to him (Paul 2013).

Coming back to Ṭāzya, few is known about its history except for the informations one can learn reading the epigraphic material. However, there is a mention of Ṭāzya in the *Bazm wa Razm*. A battle, opposing Ḥājjī Shādgeldi, the emir of Amasya, to another Eretnid emir named Kīlīj Arslān took place there in 782/1380-1 during the struggle for power after the death of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī. While the troops of the latter were camping in Ṭāzya, they were surprised and defeated by the emir of Amasya. After Kīlīj Arslān managed to flee in the mountains, Burhān al-Dīn vanquished Ḥājjī Shādgeldi during the evening of the same day (Astarābādī 1928: 195). Unfortunately, Astarābādī does not provide any description of Ṭāzya. Nevertheless, the fact that Ṭazyā is mentioned in a manner that suppose the reader to clearly know which village the author is writing about is striking. This may reveal that the site was important enough to not need a detailed contextualization, at least for the restricted and local audience of Astarābādī's work. The important architectural activity in Ṭāzya during these times seems to confirm this notoriety.

Place(s) for worship in Ṭāzya: the mosque and the namazgāh

The earliest evidence of building activity in Ṭāzya is an inscription mentioning the construction of a mosque in 762/1361. Unfortunately, it has disappeared since its publication

in the 1960s (Oral 1962: 149; Uzunçarşılı 1968b: 180; Göde 1994: 158; TEI 32496) and we must rely on Uzunçarşılı's reading with some corrections:[2]

أمر بعمارة هذا المسجد الجامع فى أيّام دولة السلطان [الأعظم مالك] رقاب الأمم
سيّد سلاطين العرب و العجم السلطان ابن السلطان ظلّ الله فى العالم غياث الدنيا و الدين
محمّد ابن ارتنا خلّد الله ملكه و رحمته بعناية الأمير الكبير المفضّل المدبّر المبارك أمين
الدولة و الدين [خوشقدم] زيد دولته العبد الضعيف المحتاج إلى رحمة الله تعالى علاء الدنيا و
الدين على بن الحسن الحافظ تقبّل الله منه يوم الإثنين فى غرّة رمضان سنة إثنين و ستّين و سبعمائة

> This mosque was built during the reign of the sultan, the great king, the ruler of the necks of the people, lord of the sultans of the Arabs and Persians, sultan son of sultan, the shadow of God on earth, Ghiya<u>s</u> al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Muḥāmmad ibn Eretnā – may God extend his rule and His mercy – under the aegis of the great 'amīr, the greatest, the statesman, the blessed Amīn al-Dawlat wa'l-Dīn [<u>H</u>ūsh<u>k</u>adam] zayd dawlat (?) by the weak servant who needs God's mercy, 'Alā al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥāfiż - may God accept his good deals – the Monday, first day of the month of Rama<u>z</u>ān 762 [5 July 1361].

In addition to the identification of the patrons, not mentioned in other sources, this inscription raises major questions considering the identification of the mosque and its use.

The first problem is the material identification of the mosque itself, as no evidence of such a building could be found in Ṭāzya. The actual complex of the *zāwiya* is not a transformation of the mosque built in 762/1361 for different reasons. The major argument is the architecture of the *zāwiya* itself. As we will see, the mihrab in its south wall obstructs an earlier window and is a later and non-dated addition.

A valuable clue may come from another building: the ruins of a *namazgāh*, an open-air prayer hall, located 200 meters south of the *zāwiya* complex. It has a rectangular shape (measuring 18 per 26 meters) and only the mihrab and the entrance, marked by two stone jambs, are partly preserved, while the other structures were already largely buried in the 1970s (Tanman 1981). The mihrab is built in brick and has the shape of a 6-sided niche with a pointed half-vault (Fig. 2). Regarding the context and comparing the masonry to the other monuments of Ṭāzya, Tanman argues for dating the *namazgāh* during the second half of the fourteenth century (Tanman 1981: 311). Then, could this structure be the material evidence of the aforementioned mosque inscription? As often, the answer is not one-fold but the problem deserves to be tackled.

When he visited Anatolia in the 1330s, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa relates this intriguing story about Balıkesir, a city in western Anatolia (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1971: 449):

> They proposed to build a congregational mosque outside the town and adjoining it, but after building its walls they left it without a roof, and now they pray in it and hold the Friday service under the shade of the trees

Of course, the climate situation is quite different in the Inner Pontus with harsh winters, making such a use of an open-mosque more difficult. In which extent Ibn Baṭṭūṭa is describing an unfinished mosque or an open-air prayer hall is also not clear. Moreover, one should ask how an inscription might have confirm legally such a practical use of an unfinished building for the Friday prayer. The architecture and legal status of *namazgāhs* in medieval Anatolia is, indeed, not deeply studied (Akmaydalı 1994). The denomination of open-air prayer hall is not clearly defined in epigraphy and, to our knowledge, no other example of a *namazgāh* referred to as

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[2] My translation after Uzunçarşılı and TEI. I thank Zouhour Chaabane for her help, all remaining errors are, of course, my own.

masjid al-jāmi' in epigraphy is documented. The *namazgāh* in Malatya, firstly built during the reign of Kayḫusraw II in 640/1242-3, is described as a *ḥaẓīrāt* (enclosure). The second inscription, dating from the rebuilding of the *namazgāh* in 878/1473-4, refers to the construction as a *muṣallā* (Oral 1948: 436). The closest denomination is the term of *jāmi'* used in an inscription outside a mausoleum in Ahlat (TEI 11330) built in 882/1477-8 for a small open-air prayer place. The situation is quite different in Ṭāzya where dimensions suggests, like in Malatya, a congregational prayer hall.

This raises the second question concerning the use of this *namazgāh*. Insofar as Ṭāzya does not appear as an important settlement before the Eretnid period, who would have come and pray here? One may suppose that the congregational space for worship in Ṭāzya was not only designed for the village community. This mosque may have served a larger rural community coming from other villages around the valley and possibly further in the mountains, to Ṭāzya for common prayer on Friday or Holy Days. It can also has been used by larger groups, armies for instance, as it was quite common in the indo-persian medieval world, where these monuments are called *'idgāh*.

The hypothesis of the identification of the namazgāh with the 762/1361 mosque inscription is tempting but, because it would be a *unicum*, one cannot give firm conclusion and should stay prudent. Only a proper archaeological survey in Ṭāzya may provide a more detailed understanding of the construction of the *namazgāh* or reveals other structures corresponding to the mosque inscription. Given the fact that the ruins of the *namazgāh* stand in the modern cemetery of the village, such a survey is unfortunately not feasible.

The central complex: zāwiya, dār al-ḥuffāẓ and their chronology

At the centre of the village stands the main building of Ṭāzya: a complex built in ashlar, cut stones and bricks, oriented toward the south and measuring 23 per 19 meters at its most length (Fig. 3). The Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü deeply restored and partly rebuilt it in 2007 (Fig. 4). The irregular plan of the building is centred around a large iwan on the south opening to the main square hall, a common feature in *zāwiya*'s architecture (Emir 1994, Wolper 2003). An oculus dome on pendentives, reaching 11 meters high, covers the main hall. The ashlar vault of the iwan stands on three cut-stones transverse arches with S-profile consoles (Fig. 5), a structure Erdmann compared to the architecture of 13th century caravanserais (Erdmann 1961: 197). Although Erdmann is very prudent with the identification of this structure as a reused Seljuk caravanserai, Yurdakul affirms this hypothesis with more confidence (Yurdakul 1969: 246). In our opinion, the arguments in favour of this hypothesis are very light and a comparable vault structure can be seen in other dervish lodges in Tokat like the *ḫānḳāh* Šams al-Dīn ibn Ḥusayn (687/1288) and the *zāwiya* Ḫalif Sulṭān (690/1291-2). At Ṭāzya, two windows are opened in the west wall of the iwan and a third one was located in the south, before it was blocked by the mihrab. The east aisle of the complex is composed of two rooms. In the south, a rectangular hall covered with an asymmetrical barrel vault opens to the iwan. Adjoining it at the north, a square domed hall opens to the main chamber. A larger domed hall occupies the west side of the main hall. It is decorated with delicate stucco panels framing a fireplace concentrated on its east wall (Fig. 6).[3] The dimensions of this room as well as the attention paid to its decoration argue for an identification as a *ṭabḫāne* or reception hall. As it is often the case in multipurpose buildings like *zāwiya*s, the function of the other rooms cannot be firmly determined. A gallery flanks the north wall of the *zāwiya*. It consists of a

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[3] The modern ottoman-style aspect of the chimney is probably an abusive restoration. This stucco decoration is very interesting and deserve a proper analysis; unfortunately, it is beyond the scope of this paper.

brick cupola adjoining the main entrance of the *zāwiya* in the east and a domed chamber opening with an iwan on the northwest corner of the complex. Finally, a staircase leading to a square platform and a small domed metallic structure very likely used for the prayer call rested against the north wall of the complex. This staircase, documented by archive photographs and destroyed in 2007,[4] was probably added during the modern period together with the mihrab when the building was turned into a mosque.

Two inscriptions are located in the north gallery: above the main door of the *zāwiya* and above the door of the northwest corner hall. These inscriptions, cut in fine black marble stone with an elegant *nasḫī* calligraphy, raise interrogations concerning the function and the dating of the complex.

The first inscription (Fig. 7) has an unusual hexagonal shape, designing the polylobate arch of the main door on its bottom. Two walking lion's figures ornate the bottom of the arch. The text relates the foundation and the restoration of the *zāwiya*:[5]

أنشأ هذه الزاوية المباركة أوّلا فى أيّام السلطان على بن محمّد بن ارتنا خلّد سلطانه
و جدّدها ثانيا فى أيّام دولة السلطان برهان الدولة و الدين خلّد ملكه العبد الضعيف الحاجّ
لولو بن عبد الله و جعلها وقفا على العلماء و الفقراء المسلمين عامة وقف على مصالحها جميع القرية المدعوّة
طازيه و كابنوس و اغجه خان و ارسلان طغمش و توابعها و جميع الكروم الأربعة و وقف أيضا جميع الكروم تمور
يوسف على مصالح العين الجارية تقبّل الله منه لسنة سبع و سبعين و سبعمائة
عمل يوسف
بن شادى القيصرى

> The foundation of this blessed *zāwiya* was firstly made during the days of the sultan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Eretnā, may his rule extend forever. It has been rebuilt a second time during the reign of the sultan Burhān al-Dawla wa'l-Dīn – may his rule extend forever – by the weak servant al-Ḥājj Lūlū ibn 'Abdallāh. He endowed it as *wakf* for the benefit of the savants and the poor Muslims. He endowed for its benefit all of the villages and lands named Ṭāzya, Kābnūs, Aġjah Ḫān and Arslān Tuġmuš. He also endowed for the benefit of the spring all of the vineyard belonging to Timūr Yūsuf – may God accept this from him, in the year 777 [1375-6].

> Work of Yūsuf ibn Šādī al-Ḳaysarī

In addition to the interesting artisan' signature and to the rare example of *wakf* inscription in medieval Anatolia (see Blessing 2014: 154-158), the chronology exposed in the inscription needs to be clarified. The date of 777/1375-6 corresponds to the first foundation of the *zāwiya*, during to the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī (r. 1365-80). Then, as the inscription dated the restoration during the reign of Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad (r. 1382-98), when was it apposed? The answer is to be found in the second inscription (Fig. 8) that reads as follow:[6]

وقف جميع الكرم المنسوب إلى الحاجّ
يوسف على مصالح دار الحفّاظ فى سنة تسعين و سبعمائة

> All of the vineyard belonging to al-Ḥājj Yūsuf was endowed at the benefit of the *dār al-ḥuffāẓ*, in the year 790 [1388].

The two inscriptions present very similar material characteristics and one can assume that they were both made after the second phase of construction, achieved in 790/1388. It is rather

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[4] These photographs were taken by the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü. Digital copies are available in Ankara (without inventory number) but are unfortunately unpublishable.

[5] My translation after *RCEA* n° 777 010.

[6] My translation after *RCEA* n 790 008.

unclear if the first phase of construction, in 777/1375-6 was completed by a lost foundation inscription. The second inscription also mentions a *dār al-ḥuffāż* i.e. a pious foundation for the teaching of Qur'an. The location of this inscription probably indicate that the north-western domed room with its iwan was originally the place for learning. Nevertheless, a tomb with a funerary stela bearing the date of *ša'abān* 795 (June-July 1393) revealed that this space was converted into a mausoleum few years later after the second phase of construction (Fig. 9). Unfortunately, we do not know the identity of the deceased. Such a reuse of the space does not mean that the institution itself of the *dār al-ḥuffāż* was abandoned: the teaching activities supported by its *waḳf* were probably delocalised in another room of the complex.

To summarize, the central complex of Ṭāzya was built in two phases (Fig. 3). The main building, identified as the *zāwiya*, was built a first time in 777/1375-6 by a certain al-Ḥājj Lūlū ibn 'Abdallāh, undocumented in other sources to our knowledge. During the reign of Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad, works were done in the *zāwiya* and the *dār al-ḥuffāż* was added together with the north entrance gallery. This chronology is confirmed by architectural evidences. The wall between the *dār al-ḥuffāż* is very thick and there is no communication between this space and the *ṭabḫāne*. Moreover, the brick arched structure of the north gallery comes against the north wall of the *zāwiya*. A preliminary restoration report written by the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü in 2003 confirms this hypothesis.[7] The *waḳf* inscription bearing the date of 790/1388 is then a *terminus ante quem* to date the second construction phase of the complex. Then, how deeply the second phase transformed the original *zāwiya*? Was it only extended or in need of reparations? Only a proper archaeological analysis of the building would have answered this question, unfortunately the recent restorations do not permit such a work. Nevertheless, one may find a hint in the aforementioned military campaign, taking place in Ṭāzya in 782/1380-1, related by Astarābādī. Nonetheless, if a troop camping in Ṭāzya may have caused destruction, one cannot affirm it as the author does not provide any clue about the *zāwiya*-complex. Finally, the complex was turned into a mosque with the addition of the mihrab and the staircase, at an unknown date (probably quite recent).

Other monuments in Ṭāzya

Two other fourteenth-century monuments are preserved in Ṭāzya. The first one is a mausoleum known today as the Ali Baba Türbe and located some 150 meters north to the *zāwiya*, overlooking the Gülin Çay valley (Yurdakul 1969: 246-247). It is a square domed mausoleum with an entrance-iwan projected to the north (Figs. 10-11). It is built in ashlar, cut-stones and bricks in strategic location (essentially for the arches and vaultings). The transition of the dome is very interesting, combining star-vaulted tromps with a sup-register of 24 triangles. The outside covering of the dome disappeared but, basing on the octagonal drum, one can suppose an eight-sided conical roof, a common feature in medieval Anatolian mausoleums. The tomb inside bears the date of 995/1586-7 but its inscription is certainly not a sixteenth-century epitaph and more likely a very recent one. The architecture of this mausoleum, combining an iwan and a square domed room, is familiar during the Eretnid period and should be dated during the 14th century. Similar architectural characteristics can be seen in two mausoleums built in Kayseri: the so-called Şadgeldi or Ulu Hatun mausoleum (765/1363-4) and the Emir Sultan mausoleum (end of the 14th century) (Göde 1996: 178, Kuru 2006: 379-380). In addition to this stylistic dating, an unpublished travel report written in 1953 by M. Tayyip Gökbilgin, member of the Türk Tarih Kurumu, gives the following description of the tombs in the Ali Baba Türbe: "Ali Baba türbesi içindeki iki kadın mezar kitabesi ve bilhassa bunun yanında ümeradan birinin 782 tarihli mezar kitabesi

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[7] Like the above-mentioned photographs, this report belongs to the Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü.

kaydedilmiştir" (Gökbilgin 1953: 3). Although we do not have any hint concerning the identity of this emir, it confirms the dating of the mausoleum during the second half of the 14th century.

Right at the foot of this mausoleum stand the ruins of a fourth building (Fig. 12). It consists of three walls largely destroyed; other vestiges of this building are probably buried under the backfill of the small road passing by the south. The north wall, measuring 4,65 meters, shows traces of a vaulting. The masonry, in ashlar, is quite comparable to the other monuments of Ṭāzya and the context of the site itself with an architectural activity gathered during the late 14th century also argues for a similar dating of this vestiges, which deserves archaeological excavation. Nevertheless, the function of this building, very likely a public bath, can be deduced from the brick mould canalization visible in the northeast corner. The presence of a hammam in Ṭāzya is not at all unexpected. The foundation of *zāwiya* in rural context, where such an institution has strong hospitality functions for the dervishes but also for pilgrims, merchants and travellers, is often accompanied by health building like hammams. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, for instance, relates a similar association near Kastamonu (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1971: 465).

Conclusion

This brief presentation reveals an intense building activity in Ṭāzya including the construction of a mosque and/or a *namazgāh*, a *zāwiya*, a *dār al-ḥuffāẓ*, a mausoleum and a public bath. The chronological coherence of this ensemble is striking: the epigraphical material, partly unpublished, acknowledges three decades of construction between 762/1361 and 795/1393. A careful look at inscriptions as well as its architecture enlightens the chronology of this site. During this short period of time, Ṭāzya, not documented before the Eretnid period, was transformed into a real knot in the Yeşilırmak valley. With the aforementioned monuments, traveller (be it a pilgrim, a merchant or a soldier) would have found in Ṭāzya a place to rest, to stay and to pray. With this situation in mind, it appears quite evident why the emir Kīlīj Arslān chose Ṭāzya as a camp in 782/1380. The reasons why this glorious age of Ṭāzya seems to vanish as swiftly as it appeared are still to investigate. Nevertheless, Ottoman sources document the afterlife of Ṭāzya. The 1455 Ottoman tax register (BOA Tahrir Defter n°2) mentions the *waḵf* of al-Ḥājj Lūlū ibn 'Abdallāh (or Lūlū Āğā) four times, confirming and completing the dotation exposed in the *zāwiya* inscription. An 1112/1701 ottoman document also witnessed teaching activities in Ṭāzya including weekly lesson of *ḥadis̲* and *fiḵh* (BOA C.MF.136.6757) and several sources from the Ottoman archives attest that this *waḵf* was still active during the 19th century.

Research in Ṭāzya are still unfinished yet and new approaches of this site are needed to enlighten our understanding of late medieval Anatolia architecture and society. Focusing on the topography and the integration of the site in road webs and religious networks may give new insights about the role of *zāwiya*s in shaping the rural landscape in this region. Moreover, a more detailed analysis of the architecture and its decoration, more specifically the stucco material, may also bring new elements about artistic circulation between Eastern and Western Anatolia, two worlds that modern scholarship unfortunately tend to isolate.

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Turkish Abstract

Tokat'ın Turhal ilçesi Gümüştop köyü yakınında, Ortaçağ kaynaklarında Ṭāzya olarak geçen, zaviye, dâru'l-huffâz, türbe, hamam ve belki başka yapıları barındıran külliye, Eretnalılar döneminde, bir bölümü yayınlanmamış olan kitabelerine göre 1360-93 yılları arasında üç inşa dönemi geçirmiştir. Külliyenin 1380'de iki Eretna emiri Kılıç Arslan ve Hacı Şadgeldi arasındaki savaş sırasında Dazya'nın karargâh olarak kullanıldığı da bilinmektedir.

762/1361'de yapılmış bir camiden söz eden bugün bulunmayan bir kitabe yayınlanmıştır, ancak hem banilerin isimleri tarihi kaynaklarda rastlanmaz, hem de kuruluşu sırasında külliyede bir cami bulunduğunun maddi delilleri bugün yoktur. Zaviyede bugün bulunan mihrabın sonradan eklendiği gözlenir. Yeterli mimari kanıt olmamakla birlikte kitabenin günümüze tümüyle ulaşmamış namazgâha ait olması mümkündür. Külliyenin ana yapısı zaviyedeki iki kitabeden birincisi yapının ilk inşasından bahseder, 777/1375-76'da El-Hac Lûlû b. 'Abdullah tarafından yeniden yaptırıldığını belirtir ve vakıflarını sayar; Yûsuf b. Şâdi el-Kayseri olarak usta adını da verir. Zaviyenin yeniden inşası ise ikinci kitabede zikredilen 790/1388'te tamamlanmış olmalıdır. Bu kitabe, dâru'l-huffâza bir bağ vakfedildiğini kaydeder. Kuzey batıdaki kubbeli mekân bu dâru'l-huffâz olmalıdır. 795/1393 tarihli bir mezar taşı bu mekânın bir camiye dönüştürüldüğünü gösterir. Zaviyenin kuzeyinde Ali Baba Türbesi olarak bilinen türbedeki mezar 995/1586 tarihini taşımakla birlikte mimari özellikleri 14. yüzyıl sonlarında yapıldığına işaret eder. Nitekim T. Gökbilgin'in gezi notlarında türbede 782 tarihli bir mezar kitabesi bulunduğu belirtilmiştir. Külliyenin bir diğer yapısı ise bugün sadece büyük ölçüde tahrip olmuş üç duvarı ayakta kalmış hamamıdır. Külliyenin zikredildiği Osmanlı belgeleri bu vakıf kurumunun 19. yüzyıla kadar aktif olduğunu gösterir.

Dazya'da arkeolojik verilerle desteklenecek çalışmalar, dönemin kent dışı yapılanmasında zaviyelerin önemli rolüne ışık tutacaktır. Öte yandan, alçı bezemeler doğu ve batı Anadolu'nun sanatsal bağlantılarını aydınlatabilecek veriler sağlamaktadır.

Biographical Note

Maxime Durocher recently got his PhD degree at the Sorbonne-Université with a dissertation about the architecture of dervish lodges and the settlement pattern of Sufi communities in Northern Anatolia. By cross-checking archaeological surveys with the analysis of documentary sources, his research focuses on the architecture of Sufi shrines and the archaeology of rural settlement during the Late medieval and early Ottoman periods. A postdoc fellow at the Alexander Kolleg of Islamicate Intellectual History, University of Bonn for the period 2017-2018, he is now working at the Louvre Museum, department of Islamic Art.
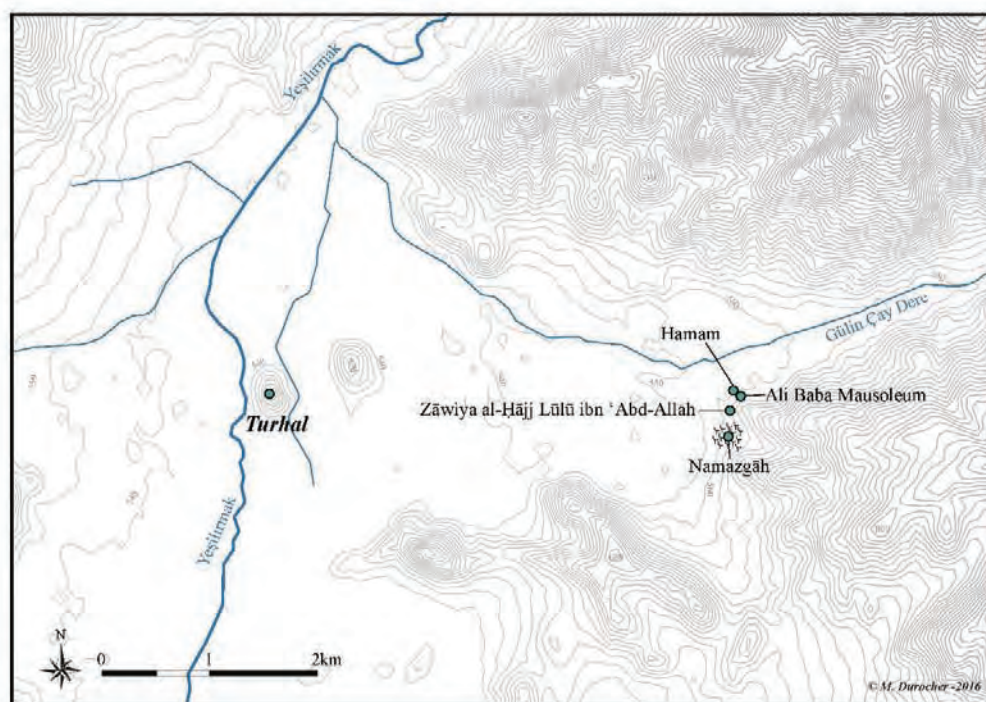
Fig. 1 – Topographic map of Ṭāzya (© M. Durocher 2016)

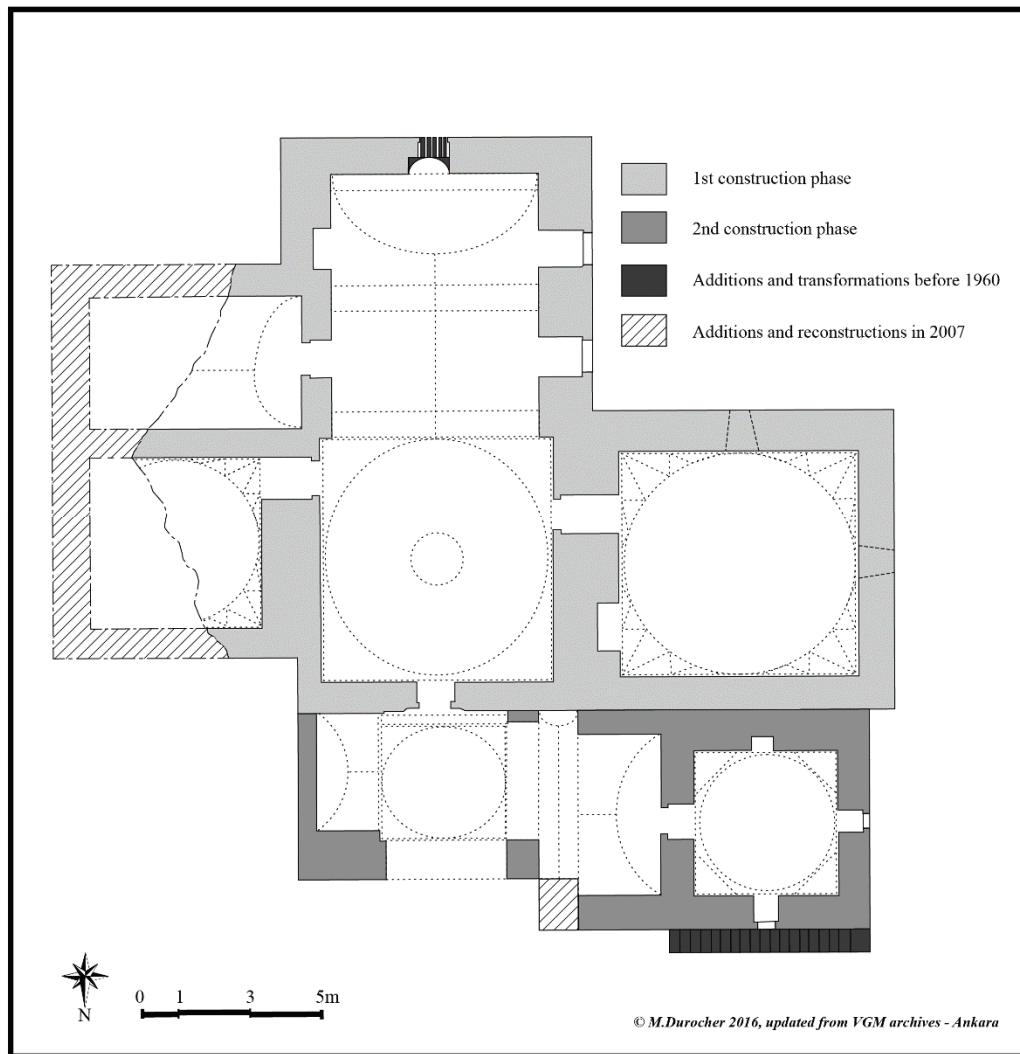Fig. 2 – Mihrab of Ṭāzya's namazgāh (© M. Durocher 2015)

Fig. 3 – Zāwiya al-Ḥājj Lūlū ibn 'Abdallāh, floor plan (© M. Durocher 2016)

Fig. 4 – Zāwiya al-Ḥājj Lūlū ibn 'Abdallāh, exterior view (© M. Durocher 2015)

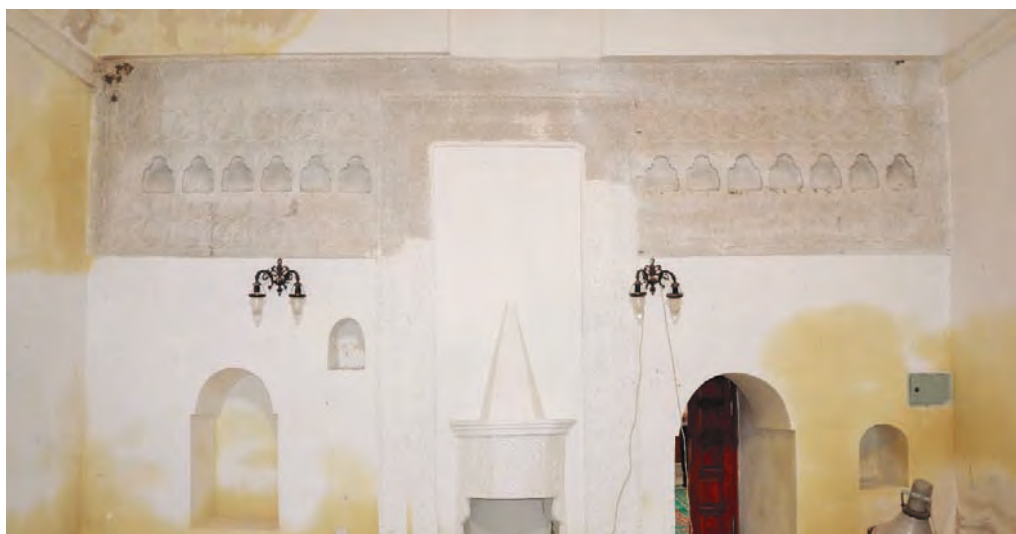Fig. 5 – Zāwiya al-Hājj Lūlū ibn 'Abdallāh, iwan and main hall (© M. Durocher 2015)

Fig. 6 – Zāwiya al-Hājj Lūlū ibn 'Abdallāh, *ṭabḫāne* (© M. Durocher 2015)

Fig. 7 – Zāwiya al-Ḥājj Lūlū ibn ‘Abdallāh, foundation inscription (© M. Durocher 2015)
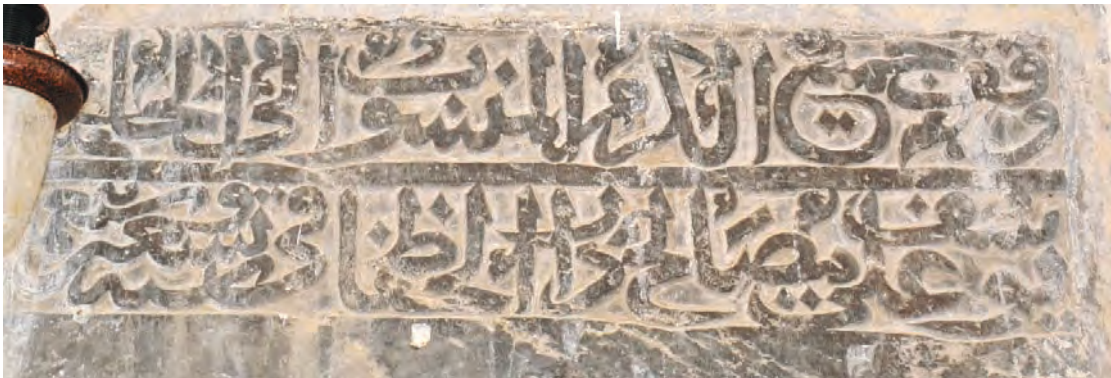

Fig. 8 – Zāwiya al-Ḥājj Lūlū ibn ‘Abdallāh, dār al-ḥuffāẓ's inscription (© M. Durocher 2015)

Fig. 9 – Zāwiya al-Ḥājj Lūlū ibn ‘Abdallāh, epitaph (© M. Durocher 2015)
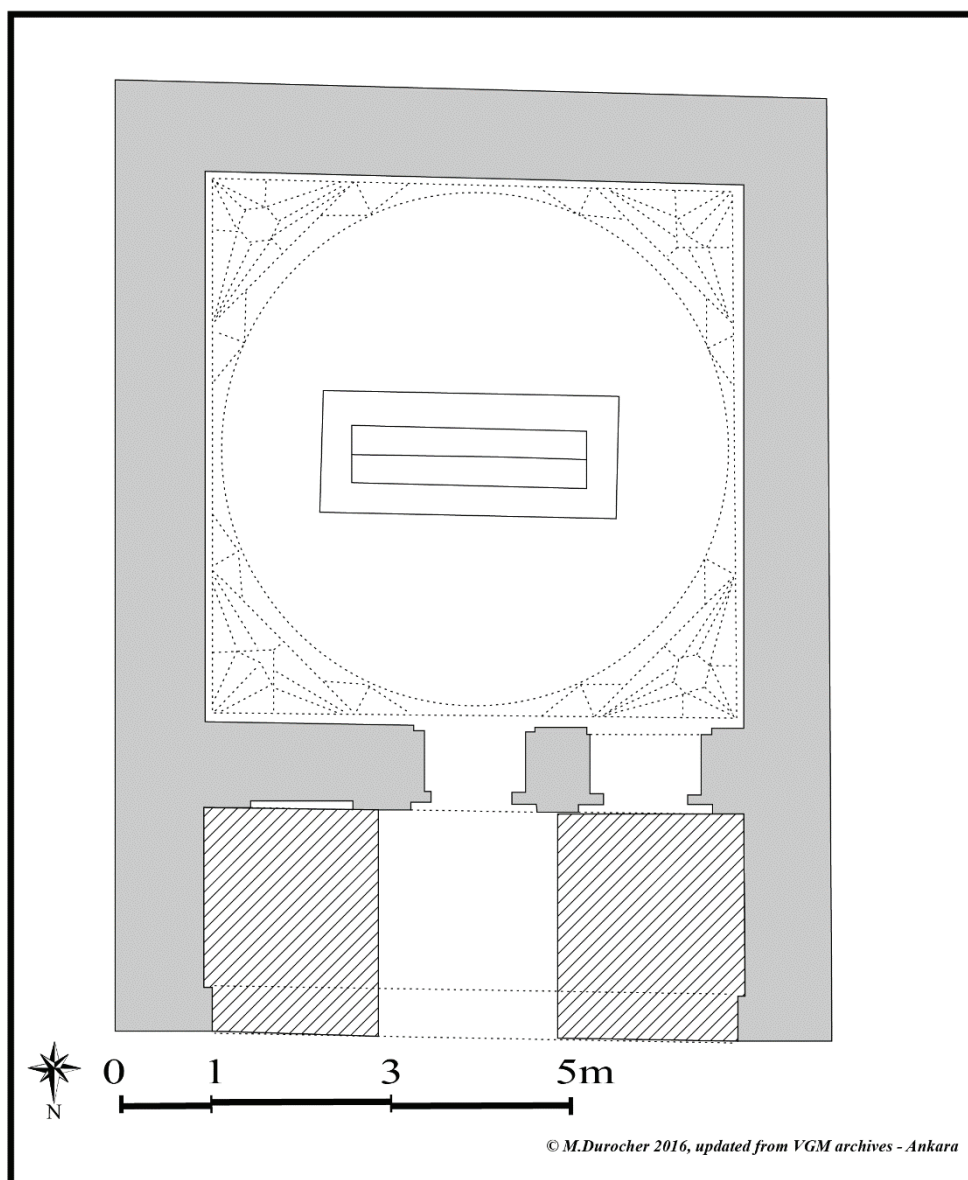
Fig. 10 – Mausoleum Ali Baba, floor plan (© M. Durocher 2016)

Fig. 11 – Mausoleum Ali Baba, exterior view (© M. Durocher 2015)

Fig. 12 – Vestiges of Ṭāzya's hammam (© M. Durocher 2015)

THE IMAGE OF THE TURKS IN THE NEAPOLITAN CRÈCHE BETWEEN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURY: THE CASE OF THE MARCHING BANDS

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The aim of this paper[1] is to analyse the transposition of 'Turkish' figures, made in the Neapolitan crèche, with specific reference to those that made up the eastern military bands. Starting from documentary evidence, here are analysed in details the most important marching bands preserved in public and private crèche collections, taking into account the physical traits of the figures, their clothing and the musical instruments played. Compared to studies of the late 20th century, who brought back these scenes to the generic field of Exoticism and Orientalism using only few and isolated figures, the present work provides a systematic study of the groups, following, where possible, their establishment and defining their formal aspects between reproduction of originals and adaptation of local models.

The evolution of the crèche from holy to ethnographic representation

The crèche is defined as the artistic representation of the Nativity of Christ, especially in its three-dimensional version fitted with single figures.[2] Although often the crèches were prepared with sculptures dressed according to the fashion of the time they were produced, the representation in many cases maintained its original task that is the revival of the Gospel events (integrating the scene of the Nativity with those of the 'Annunciation to the Shepherds' and the 'Adoration of the Wise Men'). However, in some cases, artists and 'directors' included scenes and characters definitely uncommon to the Gospel[3] in order to lead to a temporal and geographical transposition of the story rather than to its integration, thanks to their expressive power.[4] The classic Neapolitan crèche (Fig. 1), standardized between the second half of the 18th and the first quarter of the 19th century, generally consists of figures made using the technique of dressed mannequin and includes scenes related to towns, countryside and Eastern world (Ebanista 2012: 15-28). The authors of the figures and the fitters of sets, probably, interpreted and translated on their own the various aspects related to a world that was for them so distant and quite unknown. This is the case, for example, of the so-called 'Eastern parade' which originally represented the entourage of the Wise Men, but gradually became a separate scene (Fig. 2) mainly consisting of figures reproducing the characters of different people belonging to the Ottoman Empire (Ebanista 2013: 15-18). The recurring inclusion of African (Ebanista 2013, 26-29), Anatolian (Catello 1992: 35) and

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[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Michele Bernardini for the encouragement and the interest shown in my research and to Prof. Letizia Midiri for the friendly support in revising the English text.

[2] It is generally accepted the derivation of the crèche from the theatrical representation known as *Sacre rappresentazioni* or Mystery plays when the actors were replaced by statues. With specific reference to the Neapolitan crèche the evolution of the sculptures (smaller, adjustable, realistic and different in size) allowed the arrangement of a complex scenario with attention to perspective and the possibility of customize position and attitude of the figures. When the crèche left the churches to reach the palaces it lost most of the original religious aspect and became a widespread tradition and a status symbol actualized with the introduction of elements from everyday life and exotic world. Once standardized the secular version of the Neapolitan crèche was finally adopted in the churches too.

[3] The 'Tavern' (represented as a Neapolitan inn) and the 'Eastern parade' are the most peculiar.

[4] Among the anachronisms existing in the Neapolitan crèche, due to its setting in the 18th century, one of the more surprising for the foreign visitors was the presence of the symbols of the Islamic world (Ebanista 2012: 15).

Caucasian (Ebanista 2013: 21-26) figures, essential elements of the representations, testifies the existence of diplomatic relations with the Islamic world, no longer perceived as a dangerous neighbour, but as a rich 'East' full of rare and wonderful things (D'Amora 2003: 720).

The vision of the East between knowledge and interpretation

The visit to Naples in 1741 of the Sultan emissary (*Regno di Napoli* 1741), the one of the Bey of Tripoli the following year (*Diario ordinario* 1743: 3-4) and the mission of the Moroccan ambassador in 1782 (*Gazzetta universale* 1782: 528, 544; *Diario estero* 1783: 3-6) certainly helped to spread the direct knowledge of weapons, furniture, clothing, musical instruments and jewellery used by the people of the Ottoman Empire, encouraging the reproduction in miniature in the crèche.[5] The well refined and accurate execution of the figures shows the image of the Turks held by the Neapolitan artists and artisans between the 18th and 19th centuries. Although the term 'Turks' was often inappropriately used, in the ordinary language and in official documents, as a synonym for people belonging to the Ottoman Empire[6] or professing the religion of Islam (Gizzio 1664: 51; Pianzola 1801: 21), the fine execution of the sculptures, clothes and accessories allows a detailed analysis of the transposition in the crèche. On the other hand, during the 18th century the eastern influence was particularly significant in Europe in various fields such as fashion, furnishing, interior decorations and music; in the latter was particularly successful the one defined *alla turca* (Masala 1978: 11) characterized by an extensive use of percussion instruments (Ranieri 2011: 48). The music of the Ottoman military bands had a large impact on European courts (Bowles 2006) and inspired the most famous composers such as Mozart, Haydn, Beethoven and Gluck (Hunter 1998: 43-46), along with typical instruments like *çevgân* (Masala 1978: 42-43; Facchin 2000: 43; Randel 2003: 294)[7] and their reproduction became an essential component of the most important Neapolitan crèches.

The Turkish military bands in the Neapolitan vision

The band that opened the parade organized in Naples, during the Carnival of 1778, was composed by sixty-one musicians (Morghen 1778),[8] quite the same number of the real military bands (Ferrario 1832: 57; Facchin 2000: 53). In the crèche representation, however, the number of the members is generally much smaller and sometimes the instruments played did not reproduce accurately the characteristics of those who were inspired to.
The eastern bands in Neapolitan crèche have been properly examined, as part of Exoticism and Orientalism, at the end of the 20th century by Giovanni Curatola (Curatola 1984: 757-759) and Elio Catello (Catello 1992: 35, 136-139). In this paper I analyse twelve[9] out of the

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[5] The fashion of the exotic, common to all of Europe, took over in Naples a theatrical aspect, realistic and at the same time spectacular (Muratgia 1992: 419), the perception of the Turks in Naples was strongly influenced by the uncommon aspects, especially in their clothing (Musella Guida 2014: 26-27).

[6] An example of the frequent confusion between various 'Eastern' peoples is provided by the Mozart-Da Ponte opera *Così fan tutte* (1790) where two Albanians are exchanged for Turks or Wallachians. According to Edward Said (Said 2012: 11-14), it seems, in such case, that the vision of the unusual appearance of Eastern people is superseded by the invention of the western image of the Orient (Wolff 1994: 113).

[7] Known in Western countries also as Turkish crescent, *Schellenbaum*, *mezzaluna* or *chapeau chinois*.

[8] *Banda di sessantuno stromenti da fiato, composta di oboè, clarinetti, trombe, fagotti, piattini, e tamburi* in the first division opening the parade, followed by two horse bands: *Banda a cavallo, composta di otto trombe, ed un timpano* in the second division and *Banda a cavallo, composta di Trombe, corni, e fagotto* in the ninth division.

[9] Another band, composed of eight elements (five Turkish and three blacks), appeared in a Christie's auction in Paris in June 2016; by the first analysis of the only available image, the group appears homogeneous and of excellent quality, three band members play the horn and one each the clarinet, the

most important groups belonging or belonged to public and private collections, taking into account the physical features of the figures, clothing and musical instruments.[10] For three groups we only have descriptions while for the remaining nine we also have images. The bandsmen from the royal Borbone collection are described in detail (ASN, Casa Reale, Archivio amministrativo, inventari, busta 491, ff. 3, 7r, 8v, 14, 26r, 27v, 46r), while for those included in the Varelli (Varelli s.d.: 13-14)[11] and Sambon (Catalogue exposition 1908, 116)[12] collections we just know the total number of the members or a little more. For some groups such as Perrone (Esposizione nazionale di belle arti 1877: 421)[13] and private Neapolitan (El belén napolitano 2007: 30-31) (Fig. 3) collections and 'Marble palace' (Gockerell 2005: 286-287) (Fig. 4) and Ricciardi (Bossa 1907: 68,72) (Fig. 5) crèches we just have few images and information, while the bands belonging to Cuciniello (Fittipaldi 1990: 121-129, Creazzo 2005: 27) (Fig. 6), Gatti Farina (Nicolini 1930: 12; Calzini 1939: 889) (Fig. 7) and Leonetti (Molajoli 1950: fig. 3; Causa-Leonetti 1964: n.p.) (Fig. 8) crèches and Catello (Mancini 2004: 95-107: 124) (Fig. 9) and Alvigini (Parini 1961: 24; Finarte casa d'aste 1990: lots 102-109) (Fig. 10) collections are well documented in various issues. Although in some cases the bands have undergone to losses and break up so to make it difficult to be identified,[14] the aim of the present study, where possible, is to reconstruct the original composition of groups, considering the physical aspects of the figures, their clothing and the musical instruments associated with (according to both western and eastern traditions).

Considering that the original instruments may have been replaced during the years in dressed mannequins (except of course in the case of swollen cheeks in the act of playing the wind instruments), it should be noted that there is no direct association between the skin tone of the players and the types of instruments, as well as between the number of band members and their physical features.

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snake and the cymbals, the stick of the band leader and the instrument of one musician are missed (Christie's 2016, lot 49). Pending the availability of further details of assessment, I decided not to include this group in the present study.

[10] I did not take into account the three figures preserved in the Neapolitan church of S. Lorenzo (Neapolitan crèche figures 2003: 50-51), those already belonging to the dispersed Mancini collection, reconstructed only partially through some auction catalogues (Semenzato casa d'aste 1999, lots 59-64; Semenzato casa d'aste 2001, lots 102-104) and those who were part of the crèche of the royal palace of Caserta before the 1985 theft (Catello 1988: 93-95, 107, 128, 143-144, 148), as they are not necessarily representative of the full and original composition of the bands. Considering the transfer of figures from Naples to Caserta for the preparation of the famous crèche of 1844, some of the figures of the Caserta crèche could have been part of the aforementioned Borbone collection (Ebanista 2012: 94). Also the crèche musical instruments preserved in the museum of Valladolid have not been included in the analysis being their relationship with one or more eastern bands not clearly attested (Diaz 2001), some of those instruments were probably part of Perez de Olaguer collection (Ebanista 2012: 88).

[11] *Una banda orientale, composta di ben venti militi asiatici.* The booklet can be dated to 1890 when the crèche was exposed during the exhibition 'Mostra del lavoro nella Galleria Umberto I in Napoli'.

[12] *Concert composé de 11 figures en bois sculpté et peint, vêtues de costumes sarrasins.*

[13] *Venticinque figure orientali che sono il seguito dei Maggi, tutti ben vestiti, con i loro strumenti, da formare una banda musicale, di Mosca.* The bandsmen were previously part of Sgambati and Camerlingo collections (Perrone 1896: 29,36).

[14] Part of the group of twenty-five bandsmen, belonged to the collection of Antonio Perrone, was inherit by Pasquale Perrone (Molajoli 1950, fig. 18; Causa 1951, 58-59) and donated in 1971 to the museum of San Martino in Naples; although eleven elements were part of the donation (Museo nazionale di San Martino 1971, 29-30), only nine figures are currently exposed. The Varelli (Perrone 1896, 31-32) and Alvigini (Finarte casa d'aste 1990, lots 102-109) collections are scattered, the Ricciardi crèche suffered a theft (Creazzo 2005, 23-24), the Sambon collection was acquired in 1911 by the museum Teatrale alla Scala in Milan where the group of crèche figures, that includes at least four musicians and some instruments, is currently not exposed (Ebanista 2012: 84-86) and the Gatti Farina collection by the museum Fundación Bartolomé March of Palma de Mallorca in 1970 (Ebanista 2012: 117) where a group of eighteen figures is documented as *Banda de música de infantería turca* (Llompart-Sánchez Cuenca s.d.: 34).

Despite the heterogeneous nature of the available sources and the inability to track down some bands cited by archival documents and ancient books[15] or vintage photos[16], I can make some considerations about the number of components, the colour of the skin and the instruments they played.

The analysis of the bands examined reveals a number of players between eight and thirty-eight with an average of seventeen components, without prejudice to the eventual loss or disappearance of some figures. The calculation excludes the pieces from the Borbone collection since it is hard to know how many bands they belonged to.

Most of the groups here analyzed were put together during the 19th century and have some common features in clothing, in the setting of the scenes and in the symbolism associated with them. In particular, the musicians dress oriental pants, doublet, waistcoat, sash at the waist and turban, while the band leader, frequently referred in the Turkish way as *Mehterbaşi*, wears the overcoat instead of the waistcoat. The shoes are often modelled as *babouches* with the slightly raised tip and the most common colours of the clothing of the crèche bandsmen are blue and red. The frequent presence of weapons of oriental style seems to be more related to exotic charm rather than to the original military composition of the bands. The groups are sometimes integrated by exotic figures not playing instruments[17] like standard-bearers reproducing eastern symbols as the crescent, sometimes present on headgears too.

The eastern bands in the Neapolitan crèche are usually composed by figures having olive, black and, in a minimum percentage, white skin; this multiethnic variety, combined with the characteristics of their clothing, the type of accessories and symbols on banners and musical instruments clearly shows that the producers of figures had not a clear vision of cultural diversity of the Orient; this is also proved by the fact that the word 'Turkish' was often used to indicate, indifferently, the various populations belonging to the Ottoman Empire.

So far the characters depicted with big noses, uttered lips, big moustaches and olive skin are usually recognized as Turkish-Anatolian (Catello 1992: 35) (Fig. 11), while for the black and white skinned characters identification has not been proposed till now. Some details on the ethnic composition of the bands emerge from the inventory of the crèche figures of the Borbone family, drawn up in 1834; the document records five band leaders (one white, three olive, one undefined) and twenty-eight bandsmen (five white, ten olive, eight black, five not otherwise specified).[18] In addition to the absence of black band leaders, it is significant the presence of white skin musicians, documented – as we will see – just in another case. As already said the Turkish band members have often moustaches, while the black ones are generally beardless and the band leaders almost always had a beard.

We should also point out that, regardless of the characters represented, the Turkish figures in the Neapolitan crèche are generally represented with a completely shaved head, except for

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[15] Some eastern bands were particularly numerous or refined, we know for instance that there were even three bands in the Terres crèche (Perrone 1896: 22; Correra 1899: 330) and that the instruments of the band of Servillo crèche were produced in Paris (Perrone 1896, 26; Correra 1899, 334), but we have no details on their composition. According to Antonio Perrone, a notable eastern band also stands in the crèche prepared in S. Lorenzo church in Naples (Perrone 1896: 44) where three bandsmen are still preserved (Neapolitan crèche figures 2003, 50-51). A crèche band, composed of fifteen elements, is documented, by vintage photo, in 1939 in the Capuchins church located in Corso Vittorio Emanuele in Naples and a large and rich crèche band is also attested, by personal recollection, until the '70s of the last century, in the Neapolitan church of S. Pietro ad Aram. Antonio Perrone reports the existence of both of these latter crèches but with no reference to the band (Perrone 1896: 44-45), the presence of a large parade of musicians in the Capuchin friars crèche is instead confirmed by Angelo Stefanucci (Stefanucci 1944: 214).

[16] This is the case, for example, of some pictures dating back to the '30s of the 20th century (Nicolini 1930: 19; Radice 1935: 1126; Marchesini 1937: 444; Marchesini 1938: 1473; Calzini 1939: 891).

[17] This may be the reason for some discrepancies in the number of bands members when comparing ancient descriptions with more recent pictures.

[18] The skin colours reported in the inventory are *olivastro*, *bianco* and *moro*.

a tuft at the crown, called *cerro*; the presence of the hair tail, re-enforced by a vice-regal decree of 1657 (Gizzio 1664: 51)[19], was very soon intended, together with the crescent and the turban, as a distinctive sign of belonging to the Islamic religion (Ebanista 2012: 54).

As it regards the skin tone of bandsmen, the predominating figures are those with 'light' skin (two third of total) compared to 'dark' skin (one third). If, as it is likely to be, the difference between the figures of white and olive skin reported in the royal inventories reflected a different ethnic group and not just a change in tone of the skin, we must also admit the existence of 'white' players. The frequent inclusion of figures of Circassians and Georgians in the Neapolitan crèche (Ebanista 2012: 51-56; Ebanista 2013: 21-26) could suggest for these figures a Caucasian origin. As far as I know the presence of 'white' players in the crèche marching bands (Fig. 4) is attested only in the 'Marble palace' crèche installed in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (Gockerell 2005: 287).[20]

The eastern band belonging to Roberto Catello collection[21] (Fig. 9) is particularly interesting, for the quality of the figures, the availability of inventory data and the unique ethnic characteristics represented. The cluster, composed of fifteen elements, can be divided into four different groups: eight Turkish, including the bandleader, five black Africans, the Maghreb player of *çevgân* and the standard-bearer with unusual characteristics, apparently in relation with both Anatolian and African origin.

As far as the geographical origin is concerned, we can assign 65% of the whole figures to Asia (Anatolia 60% and Caucasus 5%) and the remaining 35% to Africa (34% Sub-Saharan and 1% North).

With reference to the similarities between the instruments used by the Ottoman military bands and those used in the Western countries, as outlined by Giambattista Toderini at the end of the 18th century, it has been suggested a direct link between the production of some crèche instruments (Toderini 1787, 238-239) and the corresponding models used by the real Turkish military bands (Curatola 1984: 758-759; Catello 1992: 144). Probably the Neapolitan artisans, when producing the musical instruments for the crèche, just used the western models already present in the city rather than referring to the originals. In the case of instruments not used in Western countries, we must however emphasize that the transposition of the *çevgân* to the crèche reflects accurately the original models consisting quite always in the pagoda shape decorated with many bells and the crescent on the top. We must also note that the *çevgân* is generally used as a standard musical instrument by the band members, while the band leader uses a western style stick, often with ivory knob and tip, to mark the time. The inclusion in the bands of instruments such as snakes and hunting horns is certainly an exception to the philological rigor by set fitters. The presence of these instruments, however, is still reasonable, while the harp played by a bandsman of the Cuciniello crèche, as already highlighted (Curatola 1984: 758; Catello 1992: 136), is definitely unjustified owing to the absence of stringed instruments in the Ottoman bands. Suggestive, however, the hypothesis that the presence of a triangle player in the Ricciardi crèche (Fig. 5) could relate to models of Turkish military bands where this instrument is attested (Tecnologia. Annali universali 1827: 395-396; Fétis 1858: 188-189), although this is, very likely, a contamination with typical elements of local itinerant musicians from the town of Viggiano[22].

Considering the musical instruments mentioned in the inventories and those detected by the images available, I examined one hundred forty-three pieces, a significant sample to reach

[19] *Dicemo, ordinamo, & comandamo, che tutti, & qualsivogliano Turchi esistentino in questa predetta Città,* […] *debbiano portare il Cerro predetto in testa.*

[20] The two bandsmen, who play the snake and the bassoon, to the left in the foreground, are clearly with white skin.

[21] The composition of the scene probably dates back to Eugenio Catello (Mancini 1965: n.p.).

[22] The figures reproducing the characters of musicians from Viggiano, a small town in the south of Italy, are frequently included in the Neapolitan crèche; the usual representation consists of two adults who play the harp and the violin and a boy with the triangle (Ebanista 2012: 48-51).

meaningful conclusions on the musical composition of eastern bands in the Neapolitan crèche. While it is not possible, in some cases, to proceed to the exact identification of the instruments, due to the objective difficulty in detecting technical details such as the number of the reeds or the presence of pistons, we can fairly group them together by major type. Wind instruments have the higher incidence (45% for brass and 37% for wood), followed by cymbals and *çevgân* (7%) and drums (3%), in terms of individual instruments the most common are the horns (15%), the small trumpets (12%), the clarinets (10%), the bassoons (8%), the cymbals, the tuba with pistons and *çevgân* (7%), the trumpets, the double clarinets and the snake (6%) (Fig. 12).

Conclusions

In the Neapolitan crèche, characterised by figures accurately executed and dressed with real cloth, the major additions to the Gospel story are represented by the 'Tavern' and the 'Eastern parade'; while the first is a typical representation of a local Neapolitan inn, the second is absolutely exotic but has been, very likely, influenced by the Neapolitan vision of the world.

The existence of Oriental figures in the Neapolitan crèche can be related to the general interest in exoticisms and to the improved knowledge of eastern habits and customs thanks to the visit of important personalities during the 18th century. In particular, the constant presence of marching bands in the Neapolitan crèche can be explained with the exotic charm of the representation, but it is primarily due to a revival of a trendy phenomenon in Europe in that period. In reproducing dress and musical instruments of the Turkish marching bands the Neapolitan artisans were influenced by the direct, but limited, knowledge of the real eastern models, adapted some similar tools already present in the town and introduced those completely unknown generally with great respect of their original features. The marching bands reproduced in the Neapolitan crèche, with the presence of musicians belonging to different ethnic groups, reflect, as already said, the frequent overlap between the term 'Turk' and citizen of the Ottoman Empire.

The evolution of the crèche from Mystery play to ethnographic evidence, allows a better knowledge of customs and traditions of peoples and countries as perceived in Naples in the course of the 18th century. After dealing with the main local and foreign figures used in the crèche representation (Ebanista 2012) and specifically with figures from Caucasus and Africa (Ebanista 2013), I am particularly pleased that my work on the Turkish military bands benefits of this prestigious location.

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Turkish Abstract

İsa'nın doğumunun üç boyutlu tasvirleri olan *Crèche*'lerden, 18. yüzyılın sonları, 19 yüzyılın başlarında klasik standartlarına kavuşan Napoli örneklerinde hakiki kumaşlardan yapılan giysileri içindeki figürler, şehirlerde, kırlık alanlarda ve egzotik doğu manzaraları içinde tasvir edilmişlerdir. Başlarda Kahinlerin Tapınması sahnesinin bir parçası olan, sonradan kendi başına bir tema haline gelen 'doğulular alayı', çeşitli renk ve ırklarda betimlenmiş Osmanlı figürlerini içerir. *Crèche*'lerde tasvir edilen bu figürlerin giysileri, silahları ve kullandıkları diğer objeler ve başka kimi ayrıntılar hakkında Napolili ustaların görsel kaynakları arasında 18. yüzyılda Osmanlı ülkesinden Napoli'ye gelen heyetler önemli bir yer tutar. Bilindiği gibi, 18. yüzyılda Avrupa'da yaygınlaşan Türk modasının önemli yansımalarından biri müzik alanındadır. Osmanlı askeri müziğinin Avrupa saraylarında ve ünlü bestecilerin eserlerinde etkisi belirgindir. Nitekim, Napoli *Crèche*'lerinin önemli bir bileşenini Çevgân gibi tipik enstrümanlarıyla doğulular alayının müzisyenleri oluşturur. Günümüze ulaşmış çeşitli örnekleriyle alayın bandosundaki müzisyenler ve enstrümanları yakından irdelendiğinde modellerini kesin olarak belirlemek mümkün olmamakla birlikte özgün sazlara yakınlıkları gözlenebilmektedir.

Biographical Note

Lorenzo Ebanista is leading researches on the Neapolitan crèche with movable figures, from his first 17th-century occurrence to the end of the 19th century. Thanks to the systematic cataloguing of sculptures and scenes, he has reconstructed, with an innovative methodological approach, the evolution of some crèche figures and the composition of the most important private and public collections. He has published the monographs *Figure e rappresentazioni presepiali nella tradizione classica napoletana* (Napoli 2012) and *Suggestioni esotiche e fascino orientale nel presepe napoletano* (Napoli 2013). He is author of some contributes included in the volumes *Sculture presepiali della Società Napoletana di Storia Patria: tra viceregno e primo novecento* (Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane, 2018) and *Sculture presepiali napoletane nel Museo Civico di Baranello* (Napoli Nobilissima, in press).

Fig. 1 – Cuciniello crèche (Presepe colto 1993: 39, ©Nuova Tavolozza)

Fig. 2 – Royal Palace of Caserta crèche, part. (Zeppegno 1968: 46; ©Istituto Geografico De Agostini)

Fig. 3 – Neapolitan private collection (El belén Napolitano 2007: 31, ©Caja Duero)

Fig. 4 – Crèche in a 'Marble palace', part. (Gockerell 2005: 287, ©Hirmer)

Fig. 5 – Ricciardi crèche, part. (©Ebanista archive)

Fig. 6 – Cuciniello crèche, part. (Creazzo 2005: 27, ©Electa)

Fig. 7 – Fundación Bartolomé March collection (Llompart-Sánchez Cuenca s.d.: 34, ©Fundación Bartolomé March Servera)

Fig. 8 – Leonetti crèche, part. (Causa-Leonetti 1964 n.p., ©Arte Tipografica)

Fig. 9 – Roberto Catello collection (Mancini 2004: 97, ©Franco Di Mauro)

Fig. 10 – Alvigini collection (Finarte 1990: lots 102-109, ©Finarte)

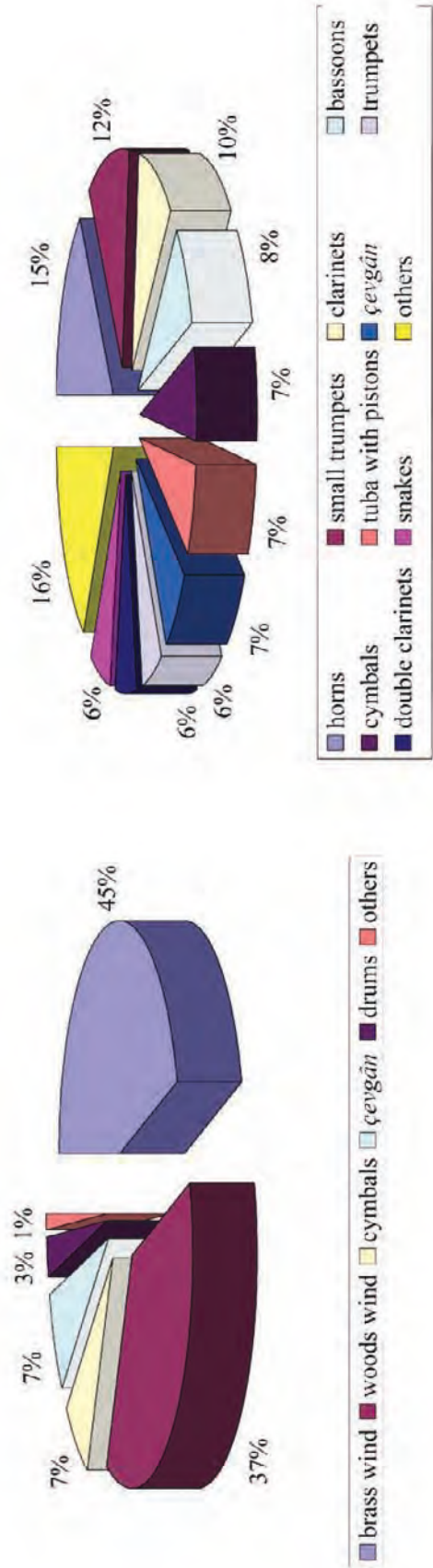Fig. 11 – Ebanista collection (Finarte 2003: lots 24-25, ©Finarte)

Fig. 12 – Crèche musical instruments by category on the left and by type on the right (Author processing)

INCOMPLETE YET INTRIGUING:
NEV'ĪZĀDE ATĀYĪ'S ILLUSTRATED *KHAMSA* AT THE FREE LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA[1]

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T he eighteenth century was a transition period for the Ottoman Empire in terms of art and social life. The effects of contemporary changing tastes may be traced in the visual structure of illustrated manuscripts that evidence a shift away from traditional and orthodox norms and were produced for both the court and private consumption. This paper introduces an often ignored illustrated copy of a popular text by Nev'īzāde Atāyī and provides an analysis of the manuscript while discussing its illustrations in a comparative fashion. The study also aims to demonstrate the importance of such secondary copies in the illustrated manuscript research.

Nev'īzāde Atāyī and His Life

The famous seventeenth-century poet and scholar Atā-āllah bin Yahya (1583-1635) was known as Nev'īzāde Atāyī after his father, Yahya Nev'ī Efendi (d. 1599), who was a renowned poet and scholar of the sixteenth century as well as being the tutor of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95). Nev'īzāde Atāyī received his primary education from his father and completed it under prominent teachers. He became a judge (*kādī*) in the Balkan region of the Ottoman Empire and spent most of his life in the European provinces. However, he died in Istanbul after returning there from Skopje (Üsküp) to await a new appointment. He was buried alongside his father at the Shaykh Vefā Lodge (Simsar 1937: 169-70; İpekten 1991: 40-2).

According to contemporary sources, Atāyī was a well-educated, cultured poet with a great knowledge of Ottoman poetry. He was also known to be humorous and witty. Like his father and grandfather before him, he was interested in Sufism and became a disciple of Azīz Mahmūd Hudāyī, but he cannot be considered a pure mystic himself, though he was certainly sincerely interested in the Sufi worldview (Kortantamer 1997: 229). Atāyī is known as the last great *masnavī* poet in Ottoman literature, for which he primarily took the Persian poet Nizāmī and his famous *Khamsa* as a model.

Nev'īzāde Atāyī's Works and His Khamsa

Nev'īzāde Atāyī's *magnum opus* is *Hadāiku'l-Hakāik fi Tekmileti'ş-Şakā'ik* (Gardens of Truths in the Completion of the *Peonies*), which is a continuation of Taşköprīzāde Ahmed Efendi's (d. 1561) biography of shaykhs and scholars entitled *Shakā'ik al-Nu'mānīya* (Red Peonies). Besides this, he left many poetic works, including a complete *Divān* and a *Khamsa* (Quintet or Pentalogy) (Gibb 1900: 232-41).

The scholarly research on Atāyī started in the 1940s, and his works have been studied both as literature and in the context of cultural history. In his *Khamsa*, Atāyī took Nizāmī as an example, imitating the formal structure of the latter's work while integrating new and unusual topics into his own *masnavī*s. Atāyī embraced new subjects, introduced local elements, used real stories drawn from daily life, and created a rich work embellished with a contemporary,

original narration that moved the Ottoman *masnavī* away from the Persian tradition (İpekten, 1991, 40; Kortantamer 1997: 300).

The five masnavīs in Atāyī's *Khamsa* are the following:

1. *Ālamnumā* or *Sākīnāma (World Displayer* or *the Book of the Cup Bearer)*: Completed in 1617, the first *masnavī* contains 1,561 couplets. The scope of the poem covers the topics of drinking parties, cup bearers, the vine, grapes, goblets, and poetic descriptions of Istanbul and the shores of the Bosphorus.
2. *Nafḥat al-Azhār (The Breath of Flowers)*: Completed in 1625, the second *masnavī* contains 3,200 couplets and was presented to Murad IV (r. 1623-40) and the shaykh al-Islam Yahya Efendi. The poem, based on Nizāmī's *Mahzan al-Asrār* (Treasury of Secrets), consists of twenty sections, with each section consisting of one *nafha* (breath) and one *dastan* (mystical tale) on religious, moral, and cautionary matters.
3. *Soḥbat al-Abkār (The Converse of Virgins)*: Completed in 1626, the third *masnavī* contains 3,450 couplets. Inspired by Molla Jāmī's *Subhat al-Abrār* (Rosary of the Pious), the poem is arranged in forty discussions (*sohbet*) of which divine love, worship, wisdom, the virtues, and goodness form the main themes.
4. *Haft Khān (Seven Courses)*: Completed in 1627, the fouth *masnavī* contains 2,784 couplets. Nizāmī's *Haft Paykar* (Seven Beauties) served as the inspiration for the poem, which consists of seven stories told by seven lovers.
5. *Hilya al-Afkār (Ornament of Thoughts)*: The fifth *masnavī* is not extant in most of the *Khamsa* copies, and all of the surviving *Hilya al-Afkār* poems are incomplete apart from the beginning, which is in the classical *masnavī* form. Agâh Sırrı Levend was the first scholar to study this poem, and he claimed based on some clues in the surviving section, that the main subject was the story of Khosraw and Shīrin (Levend: 1948). In some copies, Atāyī's *Divān* is substituted for the fifth *masnavī* (Renda 1981: 15-8; İpekten 1991: 41-2; Kortantamer 1997: 155-249).

Atāyī's *Khamsa* has more than sixty-five copies in various manuscript libraries and collections, proving that it was a popular work which was widely read and circulated. The most complete copies are at Süleymaniye Library (SK) Esat Efendi 2872,[2] Topkapı Palace Library (TSMK) H. 809, Marburg Staatsbibliothek Ms. Or. Oct. 983, and Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum Library (TİEM) 1969 (Kortantamer 1997: 135-44).

Illustrated Khamsa*s of Atāyī*

There are five known illustrated copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa*. Günsel Renda was the first scholar to study these copies in the context of late Ottoman painting (Renda 1977; Renda 1980; Renda 1981). The surviving illustrated *Khamsa*s are as follows:

1. TİEM 1969, Istanbul: The earliest illustrated copy, completed in 1102 AH / 1690 CE (Çığ, 1959: 59). There are eleven paintings, though only one of them is contemporary with the manuscript (f. 12b). The rest of the illustrations, which were probably attached in the nineteenth century, have flower motifs on their back side (Renda, 1977, 202).
2. Walters Art Museum (WAM) W. 666, Baltimore: The copy is dated 1134 AH / 1721 CE, and the last *masnavī* is absent. There are thirty-eight illustrations (Renda 1981).
3. TSMK R. 816, Istanbul: Dated 1141 AH / 1728 CE, this manuscript includes the first three *masnavī*s illustrated with forty-three paintings, making this copy visually the richest (Renda 1980).
4. British Library (LBL) Or. 13882, London: Dated 1151 AH / 1738-39 CE, this manuscript includes the first three *masnavī*s illustrated with thirty paintings (Titley 1981).

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[2] Süleymaniye Library *Khamsa* is also the oldest dated known copy of the work: 1078 AH / 1668 CE.

5. Free Library of Philadelphia (FLP) O. 97, Philadelphia: This undated copy also includes the first three *masnavī*s with eighteen illustrations, four of which are later insertions (Simsar 1937).

Atāyī's Khamsa *of Free Library of Philadelphia (FLP* Khamsa*)*

The FLP *Khamsa* was first introduced by Muhammed Ahmed Simsar (1937) in his catalogue *Oriental Manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia*, where he gave a brief description of the manuscript in which he mentioned the number of paintings but did not touch upon their subjects (169-71). Renda, in her article on the WAM *Khamsa* (1981), presented a list of all the illustrated Atāyī *Khamsa*s as well as the subjects of the paintings.

The FLP *Khamsa* is a modest copy with 212 folios (six of them blank) and 19 lines to a page, written in *nasta'līq* script on watermarked, ivory-colored native paper measuring 19.5 x 13 cm (with the text area measuring 14.3 x 8.2 cm). The copy's dark maroon leather binding with a flap is original, and the gold decoration of the binding is rather simple. A thick guilloche surrounds the edges of the outer cover and the flap. In the middle of the binding there is a rectangle filled with inexpert floral decoration consisting of rosette flowers and *rumī* leaves (Fig. 1). The inner covers are lined with gold-sprinkled blue paper attached to the manuscript with *ebrū* leather straps. The date and the name of the scribe, written in red ink in the colophon (f. 212a), have been erased and are no longer legible. On the front flyleaf there is an ex libris for the Collection of Thomas F. Richardson in Boston, and a handwritten annotation gives the probable purchase date as 1919.

The manuscript contains the first three of the *Khamsa*'s five *masnavī*s, and the beginning of each poem is decorated with illuminated *'unvān*s in various designs. According to the present order of the FLP *Khamsa*, the first *masnavī* is the *Soḥbat al-Abkār*, which is headed by a dome-shaped golden illumination filled with vermilion, white, blue, and lilac-colored flowers on spiral branches, with two symmetrical flowering twigs in blue ink integrated in on each side of the golden dome (f. 3b). In the *Sākīnāma*'s *'unvān* (f. 78b), an almost identical dome-shaped design is repeated but omits the symmetrical flowers on each side. The margins of both of the pages are illuminated with a floral decoration of *rumī*s, *khatāī*s, and flowers in gold. This design is very similar to that found in the TSMK copy (TSMK, R. 816), where the general scheme and execution is more skilled than that seen in the FLP *Khamsa*. The illumination for the last *masnavī*, *Nafḥat al-Azhār*, is a dark blue-based rectangle with gold floral designs inside (f. 121b) (Fig. 2).

The FLP *Khamsa* does not follow the actual order of the poems, probably as a result of a restoration or rebinding. Atāyī's *Khamsa* originally started with the *Sākīnāma*, whereas the FLP *Khamsa* starts with the *Soḥbat al-Abkār*, which is actually the third poem. In fact, though, the extravagant two-page illumination for the *Sākīnāma* shows that it likely served as a frontispiece; that is, the poem should have been the first *masnavī* in the copy. Moreover, a gold-decorated *shamsa* at the end of the *Soḥbat al-Abkār* on f. 77b and a full-page gold illumination on f. 78a reinforce the idea that the manuscript was misbound. In this article, the paintings found in the manuscript will be presented according to the *Khamsa*'s original order, not the order of the FLP *Khamsa*.[3]

Paintings of the FLP Khamsa

The manuscript of the FLP *Khamsa* has eighteen paintings: one in the *Sākīnāma*, thirteen in the *Nafḥat al-Azhār*, and four in the *Soḥbat al-Abkār*. Two of the paintings are double-page scenes, and four of the paintings are later insertions. The paintings are stylistically coherent, except for the inserted ones, which also show stylistic similarities as a group, thus giving the impression

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[3] The list of the paintings in the appendix is also given in the original order.

that the miniatures are in at least two hands.[4] The first set of paintings may be considered original in that they are on pages accompanied by text. These paintings are simple, undetailed, "narrative" compositions that visualize the stories found in each *masnavī*. Generally covering half of the page, and sometimes overflowing the rulings with natural or architectural forms, the illustrations include basic motifs and elements meant to visualize the tales.

The least illustrated *masnavī* in the FLP *Khamsa* is the *Sākīnāma*, with just one painting. The dominant themes of the *Sākīnāma* – as the name, meaning "book of the cup bearer," suggests – are wine, drinking parties, and love; the venue is Istanbul with its gardens, shores, the Bosphorus, and the citadels on the European and Asian sides of the Bosphorus, which are all described effusively by Atāyī, who accentuates their beauties as favorable locations for gatherings. The painting visualizing this narrative shows two young men fishing on the shore of a wooded creek (Fig. 3). Since the paintings in other illustrated Atāyī *Khamsa*s depict the Bosphorus from a bird's-eye view, mostly with the citadels present (TİEM f. 12b; WAM f. 10a; TSMK f. 71b-72a; LBL f. 68b-69a), this close-up image of fishing is an interesting choice on the part of the artist, though it is not known why he chose to create this particular depiction.

The *Nafḥat al-Azhār* is the most heavily illustrated poem in the FLP *Khamsa*, and almost all of its paintings have an archetype in other illustrated copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa*. The *masnavī* is composed of twenty *nafḥa*, each one followed by a mystical tale, while the themes of the paintings vary from wars and the sinking of a ship to legendary heroes and cautionary tales. The rather large figures are depicted in plain compositions, with the scenes generally uncrowded and reduced to basic elements. For instance, the introduction section of the *masnavī* – concerning the Hungarian campaign, the conquest of the castle of Eger (*Eğri*), and the Battle of Keresztes (*Haçova*) – is illustrated with a two-page painting showing the sultan (Mehmed III) as the commander of the army followed by his retinue (Fig. 4). The soldiers of both armies can be differentiated by their headgear and costume, and considering the direction of movement and the number of casualties, the Ottoman army appears to be defeating the Hungarians.

In the *Nafḥat al-Azhār* Atāyī tells tales from his own life, together with moral references. One of these stories follows a *nafḥa* that criticizes conspicuous worship and gives examples of people who pray in secret. In his story, Atāyī, after being badly treated by certain notorious men, visits a wise man sitting drunk in a tavern in order to get advice from him. At first, the drunk man does not want to talk to him, but after hearing his story he prophesies that Atāyī will be free of these men; three days later, Atāyī heard of the men's death (Kortantamer 1997: 188).[5] The painting shows Atāyī in a green robe sitting across from and listening to a half-naked man in a tavern with a straw mat, a jug, and a couple of barrels; these are direct references to the text's description of the venue (Fig. 5). This painting is repeated in the WAM, TSMK, and LBL copies, with WAM being the most detailed in that it shows the tavern from a wider angle, while the TSMK and LBL copies are almost identical to the FLP *Khamsa*.

Almost half of the *Nafḥat al-Azhār*'s *nafḥa*s and tales criticize homosexuality and emphasize the evil nature of adultery through reference to cases brought to the office of the judge or mufti; these tales are the most frequently illustrated ones. Following a *nafḥa* on masturbation and its harms, the story tells of a man addicted to self-abuse and to molesting young boys. One day, this pederast was looking for a victim around the Bayazīd Mosque Square and he advanced towards a young boy while people were watching jugglers. Another man, aware of his sickness, played a trick on him, and as a consequence he was eventually captured, beaten, and humiliated (Kortantamer 1997: 194). In the painting, a juggler is placed in the center wearing a special costume, and the young boy is walking away in the lower right corner as the pederast is beaten on the lower left by three men with sticks and stones. His genitalia are visible as a tangible proof of his wickedness (Fig. 6). The same story is also visualized in the WAM, TSMK, and LBK copies, with several additions and/or omissions according to the general pictorial cycle of these manusripts (Figs. 7-8).

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[4] One of the inserted paintings is in *Soḥbat al-Abkār*, three are in *Nafḥat al-Azhār*.

[5] The stories here and below are taken from Kortantamer 1997.

The *Soḥbat al-Abkār*, which is originally the third *masnavī* of Atāyī's *Khamsa* but is placed second in the FLP *Khamsa*, consists of forty *soḥbat*s (discussions), each followed by a mystical tale related to that discussion. The discussions deal with love, prayer, the importance of knowledge and wisdom, the reigning sultan and his court and administration, certain legends, the evils of homosexuality, and death (Kortantamer 1997: 197-9).

Four of the stories in the *Soḥbat al-Abkār* are illustrated, one of which is a repeated theme in all the copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa*. In the twenty-fifth discussion, Atāyī speaks of the wrongdoing of womanizing and adultery, accusing those who commit such acts and warning them of the unhealthiness of their actions. Then he proceeds to a story of an exhibitionist in Üsküdar nicknamed is "bound bird" (*kuşu ipli*), with the word "bird" being a colloquial term for the penis. The man is not only an exhibitionist, but also a voyeur who secretly peeps at women through holes in walls or fences. One day while he is watching young girls in a garden through a fence, he cannot help but expose himself through a hole in the fence. One of the girls, understanding what is happening, ties his penis with a silk cord and starts pricking it, which causes him to cry out in pain, but he cannot escape. Upon hearing the screams, the men of the neighborhood come and beat him until the girl lets him go. This is how the man gets his nickname (Kortantamer 1997: 218-9). The painting depicts a man leaning against a wooden fence with his penis thrust through a hole (Fig. 9). Behind the fence a few white, tile-roof houses are seen. Except for the exhibitionist, no figures are depicted. In other copies, however, this illustration is richer in content, with the WAM *Khamsa* being the most detailed, presenting all parts of the story, and the TSMK *Khamsa* showing the men of the neighborhood by the fence.

It may be argued that Atāyī's departure from the traditional *masnavī* genre parallels the Ottoman artist's approach to new themes by using unusual settings, patterns, and plastic elements. Especially in the *Soḥbat al-Abkār* and *Nafḥat al-Azhār*, Atāyī chose not to use great and majestic subjects, instead presenting moral and educational values through his stories, in either a didactic or an entertaining manner and within small and easily understandable frames (Kortantamer 1997: 302). This brief but intriguing approach might also have served as a motivation for the artist or artists' choice of themes.

The Inserted Paintings in the FLP Khamsa

The FLP *Khamsa* has four inserted paintings, all of which deal with the theme of sexuality, while two of these themes being repeated in all the copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa*. The inserted folios are of a different type of paper which is not watermarked like those in the rest of the manuscript. They are marginated with golden rulings imitating the original folios, which are still slightly thicker. The text, however, does not continue on these inserted folios. When examining the original folios before and after these insertions, one can see that the calligrapher wrote the first word of the next page at the bottom of the previous one in order to preserve continuity. This codicological analysis reveals that the paintings were inserted into the manuscript after it was completed, though the actual time of insertion remains uncertain.

Three of these inserted paintings depict young boys being sexually assaulted (Figs. 10-11), while the last one is a scene depicting a womanizing husband who is is caught *in flagrante delicto* by his wife and her surprised guests when a ram butts the lovers into the room (Fig. 12). The general style of these four later additions are consistent as a group and their compositions show certain similarities with the TSMK and LBL copies, though executed by a different hand, thus supporting the idea that these paintings were made by taking these earlier copies as a model. It is also important to note that, unlike the original paintings of the FLP *Khamsa*, the inserted paintings are subject to a variety of censorship by having the genitalia and sexual acts covered with objects like a screen or a tray.

To briefly diverge from discussion of the stylistic features of the illustrated copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa*, it is necessary to first examine their sexual content in the context of the contemporary erotic imagery used in the Ottoman realm. Despite the richness of erotic Ottoman poetry, erotic

illustrations are rather rare, often seen in single-leaf paintings and albums composed entirely of such images (Artan and Schick 2013: 157). One significant illustrated erotic work is *Rujū' al-Shaykh ilā Şibāḥ fī al Quwwah 'alā al-Bāh* (Return of the Old Man to Youth through the Power of Sex) by İbni Kemal Paşa (d. 1534), which was translated and widely circulated via several illustrated copies, with the paintings "[being] of a narrative nature and [serving] to illustrate specific textual accounts" (Artan and Schick 2013: 184).

The themes and compositions in the paintings of the *Rujū' al-Shaykh* manuscripts are similar to the general pictorial program of the copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa*, in addition to being stylistically similar to the inserted paintings of the FLP *Khamsa*. The men's headgear, the women's costumes, and the interiors and various objects show the fashion of the eighteenth-century Ottoman capital, which may also be a reflection of the secret lives of its people. The erotic imagery in late Ottoman painting is often overlooked, but it actually presented a newly established visual program that broke away from the traditional prototypes prepared for court commissions. Moreover, this new visuality seems to have been very popular considering the numerous illustrated manuscripts and lithographic prints of similar works.

Concluding Remarks

Atāyī was active during turbulent times in the Ottoman Empire. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the empire had begun to lose its military and economic power in the region, which was in contrast to the remarkable progress being made in Ottoman art and literature. Atāyī produced highly original works that presented new content within the framework of a traditional style.

The eighteenth century, when Atāyī's *Khamsa* was predominantly illustrated, witnessed a similar development with respect to the art of the book. At this time, the Western elements that had begun to be integrated into Ottoman art as early as the seventeenth century started to be used more often for great patrons of literature and the arts, such as the grand vizier, other viziers, bureaucrats, and the sultan himself. As the cultural exchange with the West became a more conscious practice, new approaches and tastes in artistic production became visible. The "new" style seen in the works of painters like Levnī and İbrahim, as well as in the portraits by Abdullah Buharī, continued in the illustrated copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa*, which can also be regarded as the result of cultural interactions.

It is obvious that Atāyī's *Khamsa* was a popular work both in its own time and afterwards. The poet not only used traditional content via historical subjects like campaigns, sieges, and military victories, which had been the most frequent themes in the sixteenth century, but he also included new topics and local flavors in his poetry, such as contemporary forms of entertainment, bacchanals, the moral situation of the public, and changing social values. The usual historical and legendary figures were enriched by types drawn from real life, showcasing both Atāyī's sources of inspiration and displaying his own interpretation of changing tastes in daily life. These experiments can also be seen in the pictorial program of illuminated manuscripts via the use of perspective, the depiction of ordinary women, and erotic scenes.

The FLP *Khamsa* resembles the TSMK and LBL copies in that all three include only the first three *masnavī*s and show similarities among the themes of the illustrations. The TSMK *Khamsa*, which is an earlier copy, seems to have served as the model for the other two in terms of the choice and iconography of the illustrations. When general codicological elements are considered, the FLP *Khamsa* can be claimed as a direct copy of the TSMK *Khamsa*, probably from the same hand or by a group or artists working together. Some scenes in the TSMK copy are almost identical to those in the FLP copy, but are less detailed and crowded as compared to the LBL *Khamsa*, where the work is more meticulous and features more figures. There is a stylistic unity in the original paintings of the FLP *Khamsa*, which may be traced in the color scheme, compositions, application of paint, and figures. The architectural features are somewhat elaborate in some illustrations, whereas in others there is no single addition to the visualized story.

The illustrations in the other copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa* reveal no stylistic similarities to those in the WAM copy. However, there are many paintings that are similar in terms of context. It may be suggested that the WAM copy was the model for the initial choice of subjects, but then other themes were included in the TSMK *Khamsa*, which then became the new model for the LBL and FLP copies. The decrease in the number of illustrations may have been a preference of the patron for these manuscripts.

Considering the multiple illustrated copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa*, it may be suggested that interest in this intriguing seventeenth-century text revived in the eighteenth century due to the changing sense of art in the latter era. Moreover – as is understood from the additional paintings found in the TİEM and FLP copies – the manuscripts were repeatedly revisited. According to a note in the inner paper, the journey of the FLP *Khamsa* began in the Ottoman capital but in 1919 ended up in Philadelphia as an item in the collection of Boston's Thomas F. Richardson. Regarding the stylistic features of the FLP copy, it can be argued that it was completed after 1730. The visual elements and the painting technique of the additional illustrations suggest that the manuscript was rebound in the nineteenth century before finally coming to Boston.

The illustrated copies of Atāyī's *Khamsa* are important as precious examples of stylistic changes and new iconographic tendencies that developed after the Tulip Era (1718-1730), with the manuscript illustrations reflecting the eighteenth-century Ottoman *zeitgeist*. Where Atāyī's texts shed light on the literary tastes of his age, the illustrated copies of his work act as visual symbols of the new vocabulary of images, which was different from traditional form and content. Although the FLP *Khamsa* is the most problematic manuscript within the group of the illustrated *Khamsa*s, it demonstrates how secondary copies can also prove to be valuable sources for a more holistic examination of Ottoman manuscripts.

Appendix

Paintings of the FLP *Khamsa* (in the original order)[6]

I. First *Masnavī*: *Sākīnāma*

1. f. 98b	(9,6 x 8 cm)	Two young men fishing on the shores of the Bosphorus

II. Second *Masnavī*: *Nafḥat al-Azhār*

2. f. 132b-133a	(11 x 16 cm)	The battle between the Ottoman and Hungarian armies, with Mehmed III commanding the soldiers (WAM, LBL)
3. f. 144b	(7,4 x 8 cm)	A man consulting Atāyī (WAM, TSMK, LBL)
4. f. 165b-166a	(11 x 16 cm)	On the tale of Cossack brigands robbing the shrine of Sarı Saltuk Baba; after the robbery they sail away with the goods, but then are caught in a whirlpool and finally captured (WAM, TSMK, LBL)
5. f. 168b	(6,8 x 8 cm)	Atāyī conversing with a wise man in the tavern (WAM, TSMK, LBL)
6. f. 174a	(8,3 x 10 cm)	The story of Ḫātam and his assassin (WAM, TSMK, LBL)
7. f. 177b	(11,9 x 10,6 cm)	The story of a foolish preacher mistakenly washing his face with ink instead of rosewater

[6] The similar themes in extant copies are shown in paranthesis using the abbreviations of the collections. Later inserted paintings are shown with (*).

		(WAM, TSMK, LBL)
8. f. 179b	(8,9 x 9,5 cm)	On the wit of the mufti Pīr Muhammad Çelebi in an elite assembly (TSMK)
9. f. 181b	(11,4 x 10,6 cm)	The story of a man searching for the mufti Pīr Muhammad Çelebi, who is blind in one eye (TSMK)
10. f. 186a	(9,6 x 10,2 cm)	Pīr Muhammad Çelebi giving advice to a father complaining about his son-in-law and his inability to get his daughter's marriage consummated; the mufti, impatient with the father's arguments, takes out a dildo (*zıbık*) in answer to his questions (TIEM, WAM, TSMK, LBL)
11. f. 195a*	(11,1 x 8,4 cm)	A womanizing husband is caught by his wife and her guests in the act of adultery when a ram butts the lovers into the room during intercourse (TIEM, WAM, TSMK,LBL)
12. f. 198b*	(10,6 x 9,6 cm)	A man seduces a young boy after a night of fun and is then caught by the guests in the house (TIEM, WAM, TSMK,LBL)
13. f. 201b	(12 x 10 cm)	The captured pederast beaten during a juggling performance at the Bayazīd Mosque Square (WAM, TSMK, LBL)
14. f. 205a*	(10,3 x 11 cm)	A sodomist is caught and disgraced before a crowd announcing his misdeed via the *mehter* (Turkish band) (TIEM, WAM, TSMK, LBL)

III. Third *Masnavī*: *Soḥbat al-Abkār*

15. f. 22b	(10,4 x 11 cm)	The philosopher Plato sitting in a cave evaluating the portraits of his consultants (WAM, TSMK)
16. f. 54b	(10,8 x 1,4 cm)	A wrestler (*pahlīvān*) killing a lion with his sword while an odalisque watches from the tent (TSMK)
17. f. 57b*	(11,1 x 10,3 cm)	A group of sodomites assaulting a young boy (WAM, TSMK)
18. f. 63b	(11 x 8 cm)	The story of an exhibitionist nicknamed "bound bird" (*kuşu ipli*) (TIEM, WAM, TSMK, LBL)

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Turkish Abstract

7. yüzyılın önemli entelektüellerinden Nev'īzāde Atāyī (1583-1635), Taşköprīzāde Ahmed Efendi'nin Şakā'ikū'n-Nu'mānīye adlı eserine yazdığı zeylin yanı sıra Divân'ı ve Hamse'si ile tanınır. Atāyī'nin Sākinâme (Ālemnumā), Nefhātü'l-Ezhār, Sohbetü'l-Ebkār, Heft Han ve Hilyetü'l-Efkār başlıklı mesnevilerden oluşan Hamse'sinin bilinen beş musavver nüshası vardır. Söz konusu eserlerden en eskisi Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi'nde bulunan 1691 tarihli, on tasvir içeren yazmadır (TİEM 1969). Walters Art Museum'daki 1721 tarihli nüshada otuz sekiz (WAM 666), Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi'ndeki 1728 tarihli nüshada kırk üç (TSMK R 816), British Library'deki 1738-9 tarihli olanda otuz tasvir yer alır (LBL Or. 13882). Bildirinin konusu olan Philadelphia Free Library'deki nüshanın on sekiz tasviri vardır ve ketebesi silinmiştir (FLP Lewis O 97). İlk üç mesnevinin yer aldığı FLP Hamse'sinin kodikolojik ve biçimsel incelemesi sonucunda, TSMK nüshasının model alındığı ve daha sonra birkaç tasvirin daha eklenerek elden geçirildiği anlaşılır. Eserdeki tasvirler, eşlik ettikleri hikayelerdeki en önemli unsurları içeren, sade, basit ve anlatımcı tarzdadırlar. 18. yüzyılda Osmanlı kitap resmine hakim olmaya başlayan yeni konuların imge dağarcığına dahil edildiği dikkati çeker. Bu bağlamda, eser görsel olarak Atāyī'nin geleneksel mesnevi formundan ve içeriğinden farklılaşan "çağdaş" şiirine daha da yaklaşır. Her ne kadar musavver Atāyī Hamse'leri içinde en mütevazı örnek olsa da FLP Hamse'sinin ayrıntılı incelenmesi, dönemin tasvir sanatında görülen biçimsel ve ikonografik yaklaşımdaki değişimi anlamaya katkı sağlar. Bu bildiri bir yandan eseri ve tasvirlerini tanıtırken, diğer yandan da resimli el yazmaları araştırmalarında ikincil eserlerin bütünsel bir analiz için önemini vurgulamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Biographical Note

Dr. Aslıhan Erkmen has received two BA's, one on Communication and Public Relations (Marmara University-1995) and one on Art History (Mimar Sinan University-2007). She has worked in the private sector at executive levels until 2003. After terminating her professional career for her academical studies, she has received her Ph.D. degree on Art History from the Istanbul Technical University (2011). Her major field of research is Islamic art of books, traditional arts and crafts, arts management, communication, and museum studies. She has conducted researches in several libraries, collections, and institutions across Turkey and abroad. She is currently a faculty member at the Istanbul Technical University and the General Secretary of the "Traditional Arts Association", a UNESCO-accredited NGO based in Istanbul.

Fig. 1 – The binding of FLP Lewis T. 97
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department)

Fig. 2 – The illuminations of FLP Lewis O. 97,
f. 3b, f. 78b-79a, f. 121b
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia,
Rare Book Department)

Fig. 3 – Two young men fishing on the shores
of Bosphorus, FLP Lewis O. 97, f. 98b
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia,
Rare Book Department)

Fig. 4 – The battle between the Ottoman and Hungarian armies, with Mehmed III
commanding the soldiers, FLP Lewis O. 97, f. 132b-133a
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department)

Fig. 5 – Atāyī consulting a wise man in the tavern, FLP Lewis O. 97, f. 144b
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department)

Fig. 6 – The captured pederast beaten during a juggling performance at the Bayazīd Mosque
Square, FLP Lewis O. 97, f. 201b
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department)

Fig. 7 – The captured pederast advancing toward a young boy during a performance
at the Bayazīd Mosque Square, WAM W.666, f. 57b
(Courtesy of The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore)

Fig. 8 – The captured pederast beaten during a juggling performance
at the Bayazīd Mosque Square, TSMK R. 816, f.109b
(Courtesy of Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul)

Fig. 9 – The story of an exhibitionist nicknamed "bound bird" (*kuşu ipli*)
FLP Lewis O. 97, f. 63b
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department)

Fig. 10 – A sodomist is caught and disgraced before a crowd announcing his misdeed
with the *mehter* (Turkish band), FLP Lewis O. 97, f. 205a
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department)

Fig. 11 – A group of sodomites assaulting a young boy, FLP Lewis O. 97, f. 57b
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department)

Fig. 12 – A womanizing husband is caught by his wife and her guests in the act of adultery
when a ram butts the lovers into the room during intercourse, FLP Lewis O. 97, f. 195a
(Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department)

SIXTEENTH-NINETEENTH CENTURY
ITALIAN CERAMICS FROM THE AGORA OF SMYRNA

Sevinç Gök
Ege Üniversitesi

V arious finds have been recovered from the Smyrna excavations over the years, supplying the scholarly community with valuable information.[1] Due to the nature of settlement, populations generally prefer previously settled areas, resulting in layers of settlement over time that necessitates multidisciplinary studies. In this context, the ancient agora of Izmir (Smyrna) and environs, one of the oldest settlements of the city and possessed of rich and varied finds dating to the Ottoman period, demonstrates demographic, socio-economic, and cultural changes over time.

The agora lost its importance after the Roman and Byzantine periods, and its courtyard was converted into a cemetery. The agora and its surrounding area, located on the slopes of Kadifekale next to the port of Izmir, was revived during Ottoman times through newly built houses, shops, and workshops. Settlement from the 16th to the end of the 20th century is seen to be located on top of the ancient buildings (the west stoa, the basilica, the bouleuterion, the mosaic hall, the Roman bath) that surround the agora's courtyard. The top of the west stoa, the courtyard, and the basilica were the places that saw use as a cemetery.[2] During the second quarter of the 20th century, when the cemetery was removed, the buildings of the agora were revealed. Since 2007, excavations have concentrated especially on the western area of the agora (Gök 2015a: 13), facing İkiçeşmelik Street, where the bouleuterion, mosaic hall, and Roman bath are situated (Fig. 1).

Among the finds from the agora, apart from Ottoman goods, ceramics produced in Europe form an important group. In terms of both their numbers and their quality, these ceramics from Italy, Holland, France, England, and Germany show the popularity of European goods in the area (Gök 2012: 429-438; Gök 2013, 61-100; Gök 2015b: 71-76). In Ottoman times, Izmir was a highly cosmopolitan city inhabited by Turks, Armenians, and Greeks, and in the 16th and 17th centuries Levantine, French, Dutch, Italian, and British merchants and their families began to settle in the city as well, which helps explain the prevalence of European ceramics.

Smyrna and its port began to flourish in the 16th century, becoming a major center of import and export, a status that it maintained through the middle of the 19th century. Visiting the city in 1671, Evliya Çelebi provides valuable information about commercial life in Izmir at the time: he mentions 3,060 shops paying fees to the municipality, among which were 40 coffeehouses, 70 soap factories, 200 taverns, 20 *bozahane*s, and 20 dye works. He also mentions the heavy traffic in the city's port: "Every year a thousand ships arrive and a thousand ships depart. It's as if half of Izmir is foreign" (Zıllioğlu 1985: 534; Kent ve Seyyah 2013: 37). He also mentions how the merchants sell all kinds of goods from all around the world in Izmir (Baykara 1974: 31). Most of the trade conducted in Izmir was done by the British and Dutch, followed by the French and Italians. Ceramics, of course, formed a part of this trade, and other sources mention dry goods and glassware as being among the primary imports (Baykara 1974: 106).

Deniz Mazlum, in his work in the Ottoman archives, obtained detailed information concerning various goods brought to the Ottoman Empire from European ports. According to a clearance dated to 1773, over a period of two months the customs official Hasan Agha recorded 14 European ships — and 7 ships at one time — anchored in the Izmir port. These ships carried various goods, such as cinnamon, ginger, sugar, coffee, lead, nails, cochineal

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[1] I would like to thank Asst. Prof. Dr. Akın Ersoy for the opportunity to study this material.

[2] For the agora in antiquity see; Ersoy 2009, Ersoy 2010, Ersoy-Yılmaz 2010, Ersoy 2015.

dye, and indigo originating in the ports of France, Holland, Britain, and Venice (Mazlum 2013: 504). Another document, dated to 12 November 1773, lists goods from Venice. It is not clear at which post this ship anchored, but among the various goods listed a certain "terracotta plate" stands out as remarkable (Mazlum 2013: 505).

Among the goods arriving at Izmir customs between 1818 and 1839 there were bowls, British bowls, Marseille bowls, Flemish bowls, plates, cups and their sleeves, oil lamps, and tea sets (Küçükkalay 2007: 49, 205). These listed goods coincide with the European ceramics found at the Izmir agora.

Ottoman settlement in the agora where the ceramics studied were found was likely a center of trade consisting of shops, tradehouses, coffeehouses, and residences, just as described by Evliya Çelebi. The density of the glazed and unglazed pottery excavated points to primarily non-residential use, which is supported not only by the archaeological finds, but by historical sources as well (Gök 2015a: 13-17). Italian ceramics saw especially widespread use in Smyrna, which was indeed one of the primary port cities in western Anatolia. It seems that the interest in Italian ceramics in Izmir increased when the city was controlled by Venice and Genoa, and later again when Levantines began to settle in the city to trade. The high volume of Italian ceramics alongside contemporary Ottoman examples found in the excavations of Smyrna's agora show that such pieces were in demand not only in Europe, but in Ottoman territory, too.

The first group among the Italian ceramics is the Pisan-type marbled ware (Fig. 2). This type made with high-quality, strong, red clay is decorated in an *ebru*/marbling pattern (Beltran-Miro 2010: 17-18; Vroom 2005: 165), with watered glaze or slip produced in Pisa. Many such examples have been found in the agora.

The marbled ceramics produced at Pisa, which can be dated to the second half of the 16th century and to the 17th century[3], have brownish-red clay (Munsel 2.5 YR 4/6) and yellow/cream and green marbling. This group consists primarily of wide plates with round or gradually conical bodies or round pit bowls. The wide, everted lips of the cups are either slightly sagged or gradually concave. The deep bowls with round bodies have convex lips. The rear faces have liner and brown glaze and are often finished without any decoration, although in some examples the outside and the inner side are also decorated. The low ring bases are concave and sharply gradual[4]. Another characteristic of this type is to have circular decoration on the outside (Blake 1981: 105).

Trade between different countries and regions enables traditional production and techniques to spread while also speeding up intercultural interaction. The ceramics with marbling serve as a good example of this. As such ceramics increasingly gained recognition, imitations began to be produced in Eyüp in Istanbul, as well as in Çanakkale[5]; this group exercised an important influence on Ottoman ceramic art (Fig. 3). F. Yenişehirli states that examples of ceramics with marbling under the glazing were also seen in the Byzantine period, and this era's ceramics with white liner on red clay has equivalents produced later during the Ottoman period with white and colored liner on red clay (Yenişehirlioğlu 2000: 49). Other sources claim that, owing to the trade between Byzantine and China, these ceramics were also used in the region of Anatolia (Uçar 2012: 153). Some Ottoman-period buildings were also decorated with marbled tiles (Öney 1976: 109; Barışta 2000: 160-163).

The glazed and unglazed marbled ceramics found in the Eyüp neighborhood in Istanbul in recent years make local production seem more likely (Yenişehirlioğlu 2012: 84, Şek. 6.b). It

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[3] Examples of this group are found in Pontorme in Empoli Region of Italy in a context dated to 1575-1625, in Holland 1575-1650, in Britain 1620-1640. (Beltran-Miro 2010: 18). Finds from the Damascus Castle are dated to 16.-17. centuries by V. François. (François 2009: Fig. 3 / 13-14, s. 59 Tableau II). Also see. Amouric-Richez-Vallauri 1999: 83/fig.173, 99/fig.212 et 213.

[4] For similar examples see Blake 1981: 103-107; Berti 1998, 323.

[5] Vroom 2005, 165. Yenişehirlioğlu 2007: 356 Foto. 8, 361;Yenişehirlioğlu 2004: 373; Yenişehirlioğlu 2012: 84-86 Şek. 6.b; Barışta 2000: 157-159.

is known that the ceramics – also called "potter's ware" (*çömlekçi işi*) – thought to have been produced in Eyüp were widely used in Istanbul as well as being exported outside the city. Researchers believe that the ceramics in this group that were found during excavations in the castles of Sudak and Kaffa in Crimea (which was a vassal of the Ottoman Empire) were either imported from Istanbul (?) or produced locally (Yenişehirlioğlu 2000: 49.). Marbled ceramics were also found during the excavations of the tile kilns that were active in the 18th century in the Palace of the Porphyrogenitus in Istanbul. Another group has been found in the Ottoman-period kilns of Didymoteicho, and are dated to the 19th century by C. Bakartis (Yenişehirlioğlu 2000: 49). In the agora of Smyrna, apart from the marbled ware produced in Istanbul, there are many examples of another marbled ware group that I believe to have been produced in Çanakkale. These examples, with similar clay to the underglazed ceramics of Çanakkale, show that Italian ceramics were being imitated and were thus widely popular in Ottoman territory.[6]

Another group with similar clay and form to the Pisa marbled ceramics are the graffiti polychrome, late graffita ceramics (Gök 2013: 71-73). These ceramics have red clay; green, brown, and ocher coloring; and floral decoration as well as animal figures like birds and fish (Blake 1981: 105; Beltran-Miro 2010: 22). These ceramics, which were based on ceramics made using the Byzantine sgraffito technique, were produced primarily in the Emilia-Romagna region of northern Italy (Anılanmert-Rona 2008: 1639). But they were produced in other cities as well, such as Bologna and Padua (Sevim-Özüdoğru-Eğin 1992: 216), and in the 16th and 17th centuries vast numbers were produced in the Arno Valley of northern Italy.[7] They have been found in Geneva in a context dated to 1550-1650 (Blake 1981: 105), and were also exported to Turkey, Egypt, France, Spain, Britain, Holland, and the United States[8].

The graffiti polychrome ceramics found in the agora of Smyrna consist of spherical bowls and conical stepped wide plates (Fig. 4/1-9). They mostly have floral decorations: a simple branch with thin leaves and a simple flower on the end. On the lip of the spherical bowls are three thin, incised lines. The everted lips of the plates showcase abstract decoration with twisted lines inside three bands. In the center of the plates we see abstract flower motifs, just as with other deep bowls. Ocher and green coloring are used to animate the ceramics. In this group, apart from those with floral decoration, there is another group of wide plates with stylized birds and fish in the center: the birds, with long beaks, and the fish are drawn in a linear manner and touched with brown and green coloring.

The sgraffito technique was widely used in Anatolia from the Byzantine period through the end of the Ottoman period. Traditional tastes must have affected the popularity of Italian sgraffito in Ottoman territory.

Another group with numerous examples found in the agora of Smyrna is the Majolica ceramics, which were produced in many cities in Italy (Sevim, Özüdoğru, Eğin 1992: 216; Vroom 2005: 147) (Fig. 5). Majolica, being glazed ware, is produced similarly to the lusterware produced in Islamic countries. It is made with a colored glaze on top of an opaque glaze, and it spread to Europe – and Italy in particular – especially during the Fatimid period (Sevim, Özüdoğru, Eğin 1992: 215). The finds in the agora are mainly northern Italian-Tuscan majolica, with some others having been produced in Montelupo. Apart from these, the group known as *Famiglia Verde* features circles in the center of the ceramics, with the leaves around these circles being the distinguishing motifs (Meriç 2014: 179). One of the most interesting among the agora finds is a plate featuring a figure of a cavalry soldier; such items were produced in Montelupo and were widely seen from the end of the 15th century through the 17th century (Gök 2013: 74) (Fig. 5/ 26). Majolica ceramics are decorated with spirals, leaves, hatches, nature scenes, and religious subjects, and were affected by the motifs found

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[6] For similar examples see Doğer 2008: 35, Res. 10.

[7] Meriç 2014: 89. For examples from Montelupo see Berti 1998: 322.

[8] Beltran-Miro 2010: 22. For similar examples see Amouric-Richez-Vallauri 1999: 83/fig.175, 85/fig.185, 86/fig.186.

on Iznik and Kütahya ceramics (Yenişehirlioğlu 2004: 378-379) and Chinese porcelains (Sevim, Özüdoğru, Eğin 1992: 220). The finds from the Smyrna agora are similar to the small fragments[9] with hatched decoration, introduced by Joanita Vroom, as well as to majolica pitchers (Teslenko 2012: 212-214) found in Crimea and dating to the period of Ottoman control. The *spirali verdi* majolicas, generally dated to the 18th century and produced throughout much of Italy, have all known examples coming from northern Italy (Tuscany) and Montelupa (Berti 1998: 323). The preference for this type of ceramic was probably a result of the trade agreements made during this period[10].

The baroque style ceramics, called *barocca scenografia*, are blue-white majolica examples (Agnellini-Grosso 1992: 13) (Fig 4/10-13). These were influenced by Chinese porcelains, are dated to the 17th–18th centuries, and were produced in Albisola or Savona (Beltran-Miro 2010: 61, 75). *Barocca scenografia* ceramics feature a fine white clay and are mostly decorated with floral motifs, though there are also examples with human figures and architectural and nature scenes, all in blue coloring. The putto in the center of the decoration forms the main scene in many examples (Fig. 4/13). There are also architectural elements, buildings, lighthouses, and stampings found on the bases[11]. Among the agora finds there are wide plates and cups that belong to this group. These ceramics – decorated with nature scenes, putti, and architectural elements – also have interesting lighthouses on their bases (Gök 2013: 76) (Fig. 4/12).

Also found in the Smyrna agora were examples of *taches noires/siyah lekeli* ceramics produced in Albisola and Savona (Fig. 3/14-17). This group features a hard and fine red clay and is generally decorated with thin, black strips and a brown glaze (Blake 1981: 116). There are also plain examples from this group (Doğer 2009: 37; Meriç 2014: 58, 95-98), which is known as *taches noires/siyah lekeli* owing to the decoration. It has been claimed (Blake 1981: 114; Meriç. 2014: 58) that this group – which consists of plates, bowls, cups, and so on used in daily and religious activities – was influenced by the British creamware exported to Italy in the middle of the 18th century. *Taches noires* ceramics began to see wide use starting in the second half of the 18th century (Meriç 2014: 58). In 1978, H. Blake stated that 48 workshops produced 24 million of these ceramics (Blake 1981: 116).

Among the *taches noires/siyah lekeli* group found in the agora of Smyrna and produced in Albisola, there are numerous wide plates, deep bowls, and cups. As there are no complete or even near complete examples of these, it can be understood that these ceramics were cheap and mass produced, which is further supported by the fact that they were exported to France, Spain, Turkey, Africa, and many countries in the Mediterranean, as well as to the United States and Canada. Although these ceramics have been found in many excavations in Turkey, Ottoman ceramic producers appear not to have been influenced by or imitated this group.

The ceramics produced in Italy between the 16th and 19th centuries that have been discussed here under five main groupings are all products of a certain tradition and culture. These ceramics show the influences of different cultures, and they were in demand and imitated in Ottoman lands. As this indicates, interaction is never a one-sided affair, and in this case different cultures took different aspects of the ceramics suited to their own tastes and adjusted them in accordance with their own culture.

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[9] J. Vroom dates these to the end of the 15th–beginning of the 16th century (Vroom 2005: 146, TUR / VEN 4.1). Similar ceramics produced in Montelupo with spiral decorations have been dated to the end of the 16th–beginning of the 17th century (Beltran-Miro 2010: 27, 29 pl. 13/1-3). For examples from Montelupo see Berti 1998, 399. A few majolica pieces produced in Montelupo were found in Kouklia Cyprus (Wartburg 2001: 377/Fig. 7, 378, 379).

[10] For similar examples see François-Ersoy 2011: 416-417.

[11] Beltran-Miro 2010: 65 pl. 41/1, 75, 75 pl. 43/1; Amouric-Richez-Vallauri 1999: 126/fig.253.

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Turkish Abstract

İtalyan seramikleri, Batı Anadolu kentleri içerisinde önemli bir liman şehri olma özelliğine sahip Smyrna'da (İzmir), ciddi bir kullanım alanı bulmuştur. İtalyan kent devletleri Venedik ve Cenevizlilerin hakimiyetleri ve ardından ticaret yapmak için kente yerleşen Avrupalı Levantenlerin etkisiyle, İtalyan seramiklerine olan ilginin arttırdığı anlaşılmaktadır. Özellikle 16. yüzyıldan itibaren gelişen ve Osmanlı devletinin önemli bir liman kenti olan İzmir'de, iç ve dış ticaret yoğunluk kazanır. Smyrna Agorası kazılarında bulunan ve Osmanlı dönemi seramikleriyle çağdaş İtalyan seramiklerinin yoğunluğu, bu örneklerin Avrupa'nın yanı sıra, Osmanlı döneminde de büyük beğeni topladığını göstermektedir.

Smyrna Agorası kazılarında, ciddi ve özenli bir stratigrafi ile ortaya çıkarılan Osmanlı ve Avrupa seramiklerinin çeşitliliği heyecan vericidir. Kazılarda, İtalya üretimi seramikler içerisinde ilk grubu mermer dekorlu (*Pisan Type marbled ware*) seramikler oluşturur. Kaliteli, sert ve kırmızı hamurlu seramik üzerine sıvılaştırılmış renkli astar ya da sırın, ebru/mermer deseni oluşturacak şekilde karıştırılarak uygulanmasıyla elde edilen bu örnekler, Pisa üretimidir ve Agora'da oldukça yoğun buluntu vermektedir. Ebru/mermer deseninin çok beğenilmesiyle İstanbul da taklitleri de üretilen bu grup örnekler, Osmanlı seramik sanatını etkilemeleri açısından da önemlidir.

Pisa tipi mermer dekorlu seramikler ile aynı hamur yapısına ve form tipine sahip bir diğer önemli grup, sgraffito teknikli (*graffiti polychrome*) kaplardır. Pisa'da üretimi olan kırmızı hamurlu, yeşil, kahverengi ve hardal sarısı renkli bezemeli bu örneklerde, bitkisel bezemelerin yanı sıra kuş ve balık gibi hayvan figürlü örnekler de görülür. Sgraffito tekniği, Anadolu'da Bizans'tan itibaren Osmanlı'nın son dönemlerine kadar sevilerek kullanılmıştır. İtalyan sgraffito örneklerinin de Osmanlı coğrafyasında sevilerek kullanılmasında, geleneksel beğeni ve etkilerin olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

Smyrna Agorası'na yoğunluk gösteren bir diğer grup ise İtalya'nın birçok kentinde üretilen Mayolika (*majolika)* seramiklerdir. Özellikle Kuzey İtalya-Toskana mayolikalarının

görüldüğü kazı buluntuları içerisinde, Montelupo üretimi *süvari figürlü* tabak özel bir yere sahiptir. Bunların dışında Famiglia Verde (Yeşil Aile) grubunun da dikkat çekici bir yoğunluğu vardır. Bunların dışında Albisola ya da Savona üretimleri olan ve Barocca Scenografia olarak adlandırılan barok tarzı seramikler de bulunmuştur. Kaliteli beyaz hamurlarıyla dikkat çeken bu örneklerde, yapılar ve deniz feneri gibi mimari öğeler marka gibi kaideye işlenmiştir. Albisola'da üretilen Albisola siyah lekeli seramiklerin de varlığı, İzmir sosyal hayatında İtalyan seramiklerinin popülerliğinin yüksek oranda olduğunu gösterir niteliktedir. Ancak bu üç grup, çağdaş Osmanlı seramiğinde belirgin bir etki bırakmamış, yalnızca kullanılmıştır.

Smyrna Agorası'nda çeşitli gruplarla karşımıza çıkan İtalya seramikleri, İzmir'in sosyo-kültürel, ekonomik ve ticari hayatının zenginliğini gözler önüne serer. Çalışmamızda, İtalyan seramiklerinin Smyrna Agorası'ndaki yansıması, Osmanlı seramik sanatına etkileriyle birlikte ele alınmıştır.

Biographical Note

Sevinç Gök, graduated from Ege University, Faculty of Letter, Department of Art History in 1996. She became there assistant in 1998. She completed her Ph.D. thesis at the Ege University Institute of Social Sciences in 2007. Since 2012, she is Associate Professor and currently servs as a lecturer at the Department of Art History at Ege University Faculty of Letters. She participated in the excavations of Incirhan (Burdur-Bucak), Beçin (Milas-Muğla), Tabae / Kale-i Tavas (Denizli), Smyrna (İzmir) Antique City, Balatlar Church Buildings Community (Sinop). Her fields are tile and ceramics: *Kütahya Tiles and Ceramics 2: Suna and Inan Kıraç Foundation Pera Museum* (2016), *Kütahya Çini ve Seramikleri 2: Suna ve İnan Kıraç Vakfı Koleksiyonu Pera Müzesi* (2015), *Smyrna/İzmir Agorası'nda Osmanlı İzleri: Kütahya Seramikleri (2007-2014 Kazı Dönemi)* (2015) ve *Bir Seramik Definesinin Öyküsü. Saruhanoğlu Beyliği'nin Mirası: Manisa Gülgün Hatun Hamamı Seramikleri* (2011).

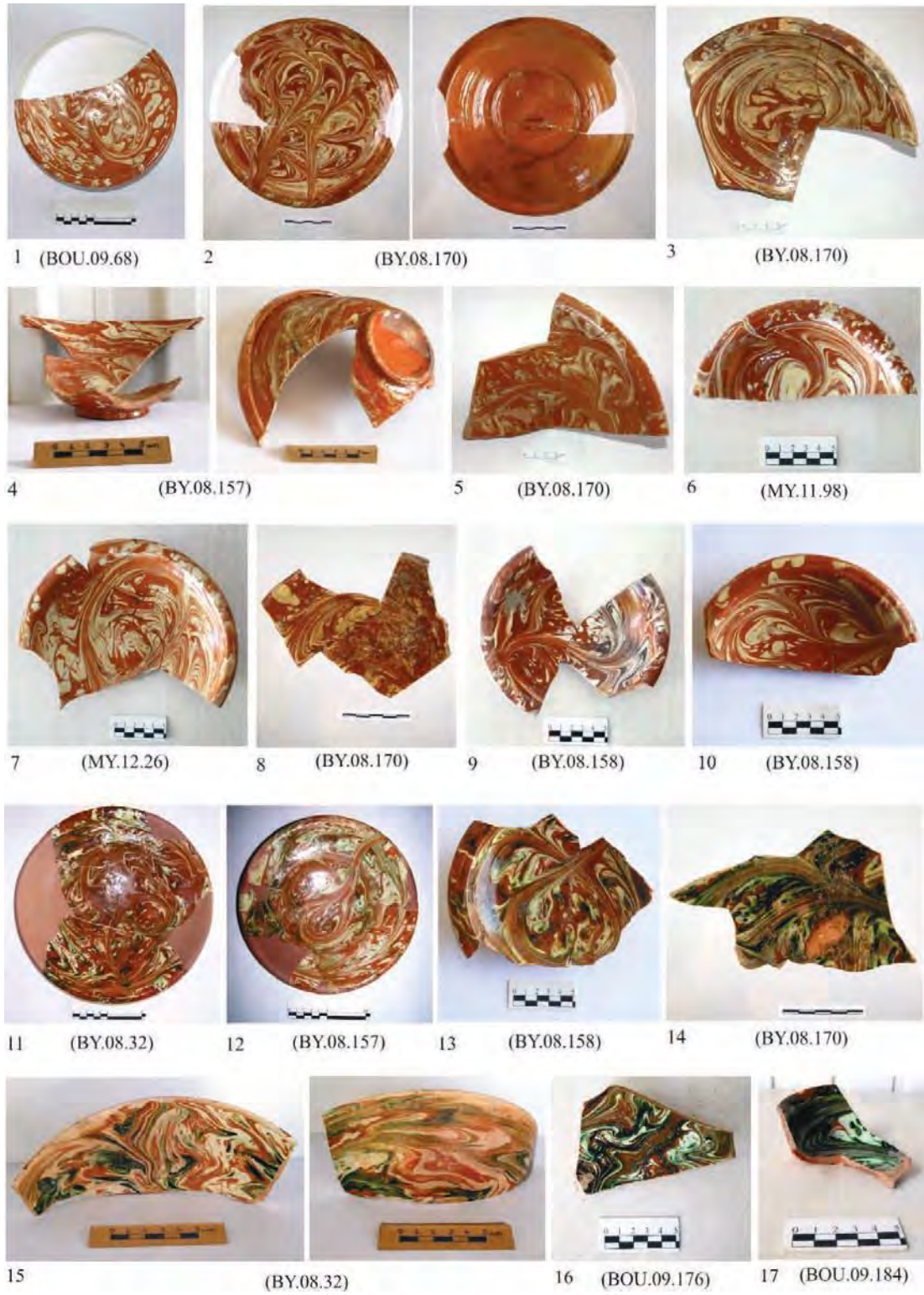Fig. 1 – Overview of the Agora of Smyrna (Smyrna excavation archive)

1   (BOU.09.68)   2   (BY.08.170)   3   (BY.08.170)

4   (BY.08.157)   5   (BY.08.170)   6   (MY.11.98)

7   (MY.12.26)   8   (BY.08.170)   9   (BY.08.158)   10   (BY.08.158)

11   (BY.08.32)   12   (BY.08.157)   13   (BY.08.158)   14   (BY.08.170)

15   (BY.08.32)   16   (BOU.09.176)   17   (BOU.09.184)

Fig. 2 – Pisan type marbled ware from the Agora of Smyrna

Fig. 3 – Eyüp and Çanakkale marbled ware from the Agora of Smyrna

Fig. 4 – Various ceramics from the Agora of Smyrna. 1-9: Graffiti polychrome ceramics. 10-13: Baroque style ceramics called Barocca scenografia. 14-17: Albisola (Taches noires/siyah lekeli) ceramics

1   (BY.08.29)

2   (BY.08.29)

3   (BY.08.29)

4   (Fau.09.13)

5   (Bou.09.184)

6   (Bou.10.137)

7   (Bou.09.189)

8   (MY.12.24)

9   (MY.11.22)

10   (MY.12.24)

11   (MY.11.22)

12   (MY.11.98)

13   (BY.08.197)

14   (BY.08.120)

Fig. 5 – Majolica ceramics from the Agora of Smyrna

DEPICTING THE ISLAMIC HOLY SITES: MECCA, MEDINA, AND JERUSALEM IN LATE OTTOMAN ILLUSTRATED PRAYER BOOKS

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The major Islamic pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) and visitation (*ziyāra*) sites were depicted in different media and with various compositional arrangements, architectural drawing techniques, and pictorial attributes in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire.[1] The largest bulk of representations in this period are from two prayer books: the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* (Guide of Good Deeds) and the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*. The author of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt,* Muhammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465) was a Moroccan Sufi leader of the Shādhilī order; however, the popularity of this prayer book exceeded North Africa. His *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* consisted of blessings (*ṣalawāt*) for the Prophet Muḥammad organized in two, three, four, and/or eight sections (*aḥzāb*) to be recited daily or at other intervals.[2] Except for the texts added to the beginning and the end, the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* had a more or less standard textual organization, regardless of different periods and geographies (Daub, 2016, 135, 139). The *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*, conversely, was of flexible content in that it depended on its patron, copyist/calligrapher, illuminator, and/or painter (Bain 1999: 49). It was often made up of a collection of religious imagery, prayers (*ʿādʿiya*), and verses (*āyāt*) and chapters (*suwar*) from the Qurʾan, including the sixth chapter Sūrat al-Anʿām. The religious imagery in the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* often displayed an array of images and/or graphic compositions, including amulet seals, calligraphies of the names of God, the Prophet, and the Rightly Guided Caliphs, as well as the physical description of the Prophet (*ḥilye-i şerīf*), the Prophet's belongings (*muḥallefāt*), and representations of the holy sites.

Among others, Ottoman copies of Mahdī al-Fasī's (d. 1109/1698) Arabic commentary *Maṭaliʿ al-Masarrāt* and Karadavudzade's (d. 1170/1756) Turkish commentary *Tevfīku Muvaffiḳiʾl-Ḥayrāt* could also be illustrated. In several miscellanies, the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* and the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* were compiled together, or with other texts such as the *Ḥizb al-Aʿẓam* by the Ḥanafī scholar and calligrapher ʿAli al-Qārī (d. 1014/1605), the *Ḥizb al-Baḥr* by the Moroccan scholar and founder of the Shādhilī order Abu Ḥasan al-Shādhilī (d. 656/1258), and the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*[3] by the Sufi poet of the Shādhilī order Saʿīd al-Būṣīrī (d. 694-96/1294-97).

In this paper, I specifically focus on representations of the Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites in these types of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman prayer books. My aim is to answer the following questions: Which holy sites were represented in prayer books? What motivated the inclusion of representations in prayer books? And how did image and text relate to each other? I have observed that the House of God (in Mecca), the Tomb of the Prophet (in Medina), the Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina), and the Holy Triad (Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem) appeared in prayer books separately, in different combinations, or

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[1] I would like to thank Günsel Renda, Nina Ergin, Zeren Tanındı, and Christiane Gruber for their feedback on the drafts of this paper.

[2] The full name of the book is *Dalāʾil al-Khayrāt wa Shawāriq al-Anwār fī Dhikr al-Ṣalāt ʿalā al-Nabī al-Mukhtār* (Proofs of Good Deeds and the Brilliant Burst of Light in the Remembrance of Blessings on the Chosen Prophet). For more information about the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt*, see Witkam 2002.

[3] The original name of the book is *Al-Kawākib al-Durriyya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Bariyya* (Pearly Stars in Praise of the Best of All Creation). For the *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* and other mantle odes, see Stetkevych, 2010.

with additional religious imagery.[4] Representations of the holy sites displayed great variety based on sources internal and external to the *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt* and the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*. I argue that there was a diversification of religious imagery in this period rather than an evolutionary development, because different attitudes toward image and text coexisted.

The House of God

In the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf,* representations of the Kaʿba, the Masjid al-Ḥarām, or Mecca appear in isolation or in addition to representations of the Ḥaramayn (Figs. 1-2). For instance, a late eighteenth-century *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* in the Süleymaniye Library consists of representations of the Kaʿba, Mecca, and Medina among other religious imagery (Fig. 1). On the right-hand page, the Kaʿba is shown, whereas on the left-hand page the Prophet's belongings are aligned with their accompanying labels. Two verses from *Sūrat Āl ʿImrān* (3: 96-97) surround the Kaʿba image on four sides and a Turkish text follows in the space below. The poem suggests that, if one pays homage or rubs his/her face (*yüz sürmek*) to the Kaʿba (*Beytullah*) or its image, then his/her sins will be forgiven. As Christiane Gruber has shown, rubbing an amulet seal on the face was considered a way to activate its protective and/or curative powers (2018: 27-29). In the case of the Kaʿba representation, it is stated that forgiveness via homage or rubbing of the face will not be granted to those who have committed grave sins. Nevertheless, the hajj or the act of rubbing the face could provide forgiveness for minor sins, which might explain the presence of the Kaʿba image in this particular prayer book. The Kaʿba's role as a mediating "house" (*beyt*) to secure God's forgiveness can be deduced from the smudge marks on its pictorial representations in several prayer books.

Verses from Sūrat Āl ʿImrān are also inscribed on a Masjid al-Ḥarām representation in an *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* copy housed in the Chester Beatty Library (Fig. 3) and on several seventeenth-century ceramic panels.[5] Sheila Blair notes that the same verses, as well as those immediately before and after, were often inscribed when an association with the *ḥajj*, the Kaʿba, or Mecca was present (2013: 160):

> The first House [of worship] to be established for people was the one at Mecca. It is a blessed place; a source of guidance for all people; there are clear signs in it; it is the place where Abraham stood to pray; whoever enters it is safe. (Q 3:96)

The Kaʿba – the "first House" (*Bayt al-Awwal*) of worship or the House of God (*Baytu'l-lāh*) – is the center of focus in the majority of Masjid al-Ḥarām and Mecca representations. The significance of the Kaʿba and Mecca as the direction of prayer (*qibla*) and the site of pilgrimage, as well as their association with "clear signs", motivated their visualization. According to David Roxburgh, cosmological and eschatological links mark sacred topographies, most especially Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem (2012: 33-37). To illustrate this point, the black stone (*al-ḥajar al-aswad*) in the Kaʿba connects Adam, Abraham, and the Prophet Muḥammad chronologically and commemoratively, and thus touching and kissing it during *ḥajj* or seeing its representation recalls pilgrims' memories and experiences. Therefore, representations help their beholders visualize and imagine the powers of the holy sites that they long for, and/or remind them of the sites that they have visited. Similar to representations

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[4] So far, I have come across only one prayer book that consists of a representation of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus in addition to the Holy Triad, which is an eighteenth-century *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* in the Ankara Ethnography Museum (AEM 17069).

[5] CBL T 464 (1213/1798-99) belongs to a corpus of manuscripts copied by Mehmed Emin Rüşdi Teberdari, which also consist of CBL T 463 and another *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* from the Ankara Ethnography Museum (AEM 20665). See Minorsky 1958: no. 463-64; Wright 2009: 157-63; and Renda 1980: no. 10.

in pilgrimage certificates and on scrolls, those in prayer books also operated as mementos and thus urged visuals to be added to devotional texts.[6]

In another *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*, the Masjid al-Ḥarām is shown alone without the accompanying Masjid al-Nabawī (Fig. 2).[7] The sacred precinct is depicted with its arcades and seven minarets surrounding the Kaʿba, the minbar, and the stations (sing. *maqām*) of Abraham, and the Ḥanafī, Mālikī, Ḥanbalī, and Shāfiʿī schools. The architectural features of the holy mosques and the Ḥaram al-Sharīf are often inscribed with labels (Fig. 3 and 4). Similar textual identification of images in pilgrimage manuals, ceramic panels, and other media served didactic purposes, whether they were privately or publicly viewed.[8] They provided a better understanding of the holy sites for future pilgrims. As visual aids in pilgrimage preparations, they thus could impel the inclusion of representations in prayer books.

The Tomb of the Prophet

The Minbar and Burial Chamber (*Ḥücre-i Saʿādet*), the Masjid al-Nabawī, and Medina were frequently depicted in the *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt* (Figs. 5-7). As Jan Just Witkam notes, representations of the Tomb of the Prophet were inspired by the *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt* text itself, whereas representations of the Minbar and Burial Chamber were sourced from a hadith (2009: 29-30). Representations of the Masjid al-Nabawī and Medina, however, seem to be included in the *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt* because they contain the Burial Chamber and other religiously significant structures or sites, such as the garden of Fāṭima in the Masjid al-Nabawī and the Baqīʾ Cemetery in Medina. In several Medina representations, the Baqīʾ Cemetery is also shown within the same composition; however, few manuscripts depict the Masjid al-Nabawī and the cemetery on separate pages.

In the *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt*, the description of the Blessed Garden (*Rawżat al-Mubārak*) is located after the Names of the Prophet (*Asmāʾ al-Nabī*) and before the first section (*ḥizb al-awwal*) of prayers, marking the section to be recited on Monday:

> And this is the description of the blessed precinct [*Rawżat al-Mubārak*] in which the prophet of God is interred; the blessing and peace of God be on him, and his two comrades Abou Bekr and Omar, the favor of God be on them both; be He ever blessed and exalted. (al-Jazūlī 1907: 17)

The description of the Blessed Garden led to representations of the tombs of the Prophet Muḥammad, the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿOmar, and of the more inclusive Burial Chamber in the *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt*. Commentaries provided possible configurations of the three tombs in the Burial Chamber, which in return became an external source for some representations in the *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt*. For instance, in one *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt* manuscript, the facing Mecca and Medina paintings are preceded by a full-page drawing showing four different arrangements of the tombs in the Burial Chamber based on al-Fasī's commentary (Fig. 5). The spatial configurations of the tombs alone or inside the Burial Chamber were not arbitrary in prayer books, as they followed one of several variants (Figs. 4-9). The Tomb of the Prophet, and thus the Burial Chamber, are highlighted by a flaming nimbus in several representations (Figs. 4 and 6). As Gruber has demonstrated, textual sources mention the "primordial light" of the Prophet, and visual representations include a prophetic halo (2009a: 247-249). In prayer books, however, the halo does not girdle the physical presence of the

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[6] For pilgrimage scrolls, see Chekhab-Abudaya et al. 2016: 345-407; Sourdel and Sourdel-Thomine 2006; Aksoy and Milstein 2001: 101-34; and Tanındı 1983: 2-6.

[7] See TSMK EH 365 (1144/1731-32) in Karatay 1962: I, no. 929 and Tanındı 2014: 103.

[8] For ceramic panels with representations of the holy sites, see Maury 2013: 143-59. For pilgrimage manuals depicting stops on the *ḥajj* route (*manāzil*) and/or the rites of the *ḥajj* (*manāsik*), see Milstein, 2006: 166-94 and 2001: 275-345.

Prophet; instead, it hovers above his tomb, which represents his primordial and posthumous radiance.[9]

The following hadith about the Blessed Garden catalyzed representations of the Minbar and Tomb of the Prophet in many *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* copies, as well as in some *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* copies: "The space between my house and my pulpit is like one of the gardens of and my pulpit will stand next to my basin."[10] The word "house" (*bayt*) alternates with the words "tomb" (*qabr*) and "chamber" (*ḥujra*) in collections of hadith compilers. The "tomb" version of the hadith was recorded in two undated Magribi copies of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* manuscripts, now held in the Bodleian Library (MS. Marshall Or. 82) and the Harvard Art Museums (1984.464). In both examples, the Burial Chamber is depicted on the right-hand page and the hadith is inscribed between the Minbar and the Mihrab on the left-hand page. Based on an interpretation of the hadith, the Minbar and the Burial Chamber define a space in the Masjid al-Nabawī that is considered to be more virtuous than the rest of the mosque complex.

The "tomb" version of the hadith is also inscribed in the Masjid al-Nabawī illustrated in Figure 4. The hadith is recorded on the right of the Burial Chamber and above the Minbar, as if it is defining the virtuous space via text. However, in the Burial Chamber representation, "*Haḏhā* ('this is') *Rawḍat al-Mubārak*" is inscribed under the dome to denote the chamber. In other words, the Blessed Garden must have been perceived in at least two different ways: as synonymous with the Burial Chamber and/or as the space between the Minbar and the Burial Chamber. Two *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* copies further exemplify the possible meanings of the Garden. In a *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* held in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (1158/1745-46), the representation of the Minbar includes the caption "*Haẕā Minber-i Şerīf*," whereas the Burial Chamber is identified by "*Haḏhā Rawḍat al-Mubārak*."[11] In a *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* in the Süleymaniye Library (1270/1853-54), a richly colored double-page perspective view of the Garden precedes Mecca and Medina (Fig. 7). The accompanying Ottoman Turkish text describes the image, or what is seen from the mosque interior, while quoting the "tomb" hadith. Such three-dimensional representations of the Garden are quite rare. Here, the viewer gazes upon the Minbar and the Burial Chamber from the gallery level on the southern section of the mosque. This perspectival rendering allows the beholder to experience a holistic view of the Garden, in contrast to the set-apart representations of the Minbar and the Burial Chamber as in Fig. 6.

The Ḥaramayn

Paired images of the Kaʿba and the Burial Chamber, the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the Masjid al-Nabawī, or Mecca the Blessed (*Makka al-Mukarrama*) and Medina the Illuminated (*Madīna al-Munawwara*) were widespread in copies of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* and the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* (Figs. 8, 10-11). According to Witkam, the introduction of Mecca images into the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* took place in Ottoman lands with the rise of the Wahhābī movement in the second half of the eighteenth century.[12] He explains the change in representations as an Ottoman attempt to counterbalance the emphasis on the Tomb of the Prophet with images of the House

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[9] Louis Massignon differentiates the prophetic light from the hanging lamp in face-to-face confrontation (*muwājaha*) and benediction (*taṣliya*) (1969: 290-92).

[10] Here, I have used Juynboll's translation (2007: 313) of the hadith (al-Mizzi: IV, no. 5300). Some *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* copies also consist of representations of the basin (*khawḏh*).

[11] The manuscript was copied by Yazıcı Derviş Mustafa el-Mevlevi b. Ali el-Konevi in 1158/1745-46. See EH 1014 in Karatay 1966: III, no. 5473.

[12] Frederike-Wiebke Daub also states that the Mecca and Medina pairs emerged in the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* during the second half of the eighteenth century, while questioning Witkam's explanation about the Wahhābī impact (2016: 161).

of God (2007: 73-75). According to Bain, the proliferation of the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* and the introduction of religious imagery into this devotional miscellany also took place in the second half of the eighteenth century. However, she explains the change as a Sufi response to the fundamentalist approach to Islam propagated by the Wahhābī movement (1999: 129-130).

The Wahhābī movement may not, however, have initiated the change in the image content of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* or the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*, as there exist examples of both dating to the first half of the eighteenth century. For instance, a *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* in the Süleymaniye Library (Laleli 1541, 1145/1732-33) and an *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (YY 155, 1153/1740) include representations of the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the Masjid al-Nabawī already in the first half of the eighteenth century before the spread of Wahhabism. Furthermore, there are North African copies of the prayer book that consist of representations of the holy mosques with those of the Minbar and the Burial Chamber.[13] Therefore, early North African copies might have inspired later Ottoman examples, or simultaneous changes in the image content of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* may have thrived contemporaneously in different geographies. Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem had been under Ottoman sovereignty since the early sixteenth century (1516/17). Therefore, visual propaganda could be one of the reasons why representations of the holy sites were so common in the Ottoman Empire. The Wahhābī threat might indeed have influenced the diversification of representations' content; that said, though, such a threat does not explain how and why Ḥaramayn representations emerged in prayer books.

The popularity of Ḥaramayn representations is obvious from one *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* manuscript. Here, the Minbar and Burial Chamber composition was altered subsequently with the additional image of the Kaʿba on the left-hand page (Fig. 9). The Kaʿba and the circumambulation area (*maṭāf*) were painted above the Minbar, offering an alternative pictorial combination to the original. Based on the preference or expectations of a later user, the single Medina representation was transformed into the dyad of Mecca and Medina with a sketch-like rendition of the Kaʿba.

Geography, vegetation, *ḥajj* season, and time of day are differentiated in several representations. For instance, in one *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*, Mecca's surrounding hills and Medina's palm groves are also incorporated into the composition (Fig. 10). In other examples, Mecca and Medina are painted on colored backgrounds of yellow/brown and green, which give an idea about the flora of both cities. In several lithograph versions of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt*, one can distinguish crowds approaching and entering Mecca, which suggests the performance of pilgrimage rites (Fig. 11). Pilgrims shown in circles or conical formations capture the temporality of the *ḥajj* season within these types of representations.[14] Fig. 11 also displays the addition of the Prophet's relics, a visual strategy of expansion that will be discussed below.

Ḥaramayn representations followed a strict decorum in all media and settings, including manuscript and wall paintings: representations of Mecca and calligraphies of the name "Allah" (*İsm-i Celāl or Lafẓa-i Celāl*) almost always went on the right-hand side, whereas representations of Medina and calligraphies of the name "Muḥammad" (*İsm-i Nebī or Lafẓa-i Nebī*) went on the left (Figs. 8, 10-11). Such coupling is logical, because Mecca houses the House of God and Medina houses the Tomb of the Prophet. This pictorial strategy is also sustained in other arrangements, where the Kaʿba is located on the right-hand page and the Prophet's belongings on the left (Fig. 1). Only a small number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century manuscript paintings violate this visual modus operandi; however, the numbers increase in lithographic prints due to the production of mirror images.

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[13] See the Maghribi copies of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* in the Berlin State Library (Ms. or. oct. 240), the Harvard Art Museums (1984.464), or the Khalili Collections (MSS 1188). For an Ottoman example, see the copy in the Sakıp Sabancı Museum (103-0359).

[14] Bahattin Yaman presented a paper on images of Yazıcıoğlu Mehmed Efendi's (d. 855/1451) *Muḥammediyye* at the present congress, which focused on the circular depictions that replaced figures.

The Holy Triad: Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem

Some prayer books include representations of the Dome of the Rock and Masjid al-Aqsā, Ḥaram al-Sharīf, or Jerusalem in addition to those of the Ḥaramayn (Fig. 3 and 4). Therefore, a triad of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem displays the three major Islamic pilgrimage and visitation sites. Jerusalem's significance as the "City of All Prophets" and Muslims' first direction of prayer, as well as the city's role in the Prophet Muḥammad's night journey (*isrāʾ*) and his heavenly ascension (*mirʿāj*) make this three-city formula a powerful one. A verse from Sūrat al-Isrāʾ (17:1) emphasizes the Masjid al-Ḥarām and the Masjid al-Aqsā as the departure and arrival points for the night journey:

> Glory to Him who made His servant travel by night from the sacred place of worship [Masjid al-Ḥarām] to the furthest place of worship [Masjid al-Aqsā], whose surroundings We have blessed, to show him some of Our signs: He alone is the All Hearing, the All Seeing. (Qurʾan 17:1)

In Figure 3, this verse is quoted above the Ḥaram al-Sharīf representation together with a Turkish inscription under the Dome of the Rock denoting the minbar as the place where the Prophet tied the winged steed (*burāq*) before his ascension. As Gruber has demonstrated, Jerusalem also has significance as the land of gathering (*arḍ al-maḥšar*), which can be traced through eschatological imagery (2014: 55). For instance, the scales of justice (*mīzān*), which weigh good and bad deeds on Judgement Day, is depicted below the Dome of the Rock in this example.[15]

Moreover, in Figure 3, the Ḥaram al-Sharīf is shown on the left of the Masjid al-Ḥarām, which interrupts the Ḥaramayn layout. Nevertheless, the night journey between Mecca and Jerusalem can be better visualized in this sequence. A similar dyad of Mecca and Jerusalem can also be found in the double-page paintings of the eschaton in İbrahim Hakkı Erzurumi's (d. 1194/1780) encyclopedic work *Maʿrifetnāme* (Book of Gnosis). Often, heaven and hell are depicted at the top and bottom of both pages, with the Kaʿba in the center right and Jerusalem in the center left. The Kaʿba is shown as the center of the cosmos, and Jerusalem as the land of gathering after the resurrection (Gruber 2014: 54-55). This holy triad was of pre-eminent importance in pilgrimage scrolls and manuals, but they also appeared in *ḥilye*s and wall paintings.

Expanding Horizons: Prophetic Vestiges

The *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* was a very popular prayer book in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, and hundreds of manuscript and print copies from this period are now preserved in private collections, museums, and libraries. Meeting a high demand required producing manuscripts in large numbers or printing them in several editions. In some nineteenth-century lithographs, Ḥaramayn representations were surrounded by religious imagery, such as the Prophet's footprint (*ḳadem-i şerīf*), sandal (*naʿlın-ı şerīf*), and belongings (*muḥallefāt*) (Fig. 11). This double-page design not only provided visual economy, but it also amalgamated devotional and terrestrial imagery for its users. Seals, *ḥilye*s, and relics were depicted on separate pages of the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* to provide its users intercession, blessings, cure, or protection together with a selection of explicative texts (Gruber 2009b: 144). For instance, in Figure 1, the Prophet's mantle (*ḥırḳa-i saʿādet*), Qurʾan copy (*muṣḥaf-i şerīf*), toothbrush (*misvāk-i şerīf*), prayer beads (*tesbīḥ-i şerīf*), comb (*ṭarāḳ-i şerīf*), ablution basin (*leğen-i şerīf*) and pitcher (*ibrīḳ-i şerīf*) are depicted across the Kaʿba image. With the addition of images depicting the Prophet Muhammad's personal effects drawn from illustrated *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*

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[15] For eschatological imagery, also see Necipoğlu 2008: 73-79.

manuscripts, the horizons of Mecca and Medina were effectively widened in the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* print in Figure 11.

Some *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* copies also consisted of *ḥilye*s and representations of the Prophet's relics. I have come across a corpus of three *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* copies from the Beyazıt Library, which replaces the Blessed Garden representations with those of the Prophet's relics (B 1265, B 1266, and B 1269). Each of these manuscripts includes a single-page composition of the Prophet's footprint and belongings after the first section of the Garden text (Fig. 12). Similar to the incorporation of religious imagery into Ḥaramayn lithographs, the Beyazıt manuscripts demonstrate how the image content of the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf,* or other external sources, was subsumed into the expanding pictorial program of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt.* The incorporation of the Prophet's relics and *ḥilye*s into *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* manuscripts and prints not only enabled veneration of the Prophet, but also carried blessings and potential curative powers for their owners/viewers.

Conclusion

The *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* and the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* were endowed to institutions and owned by private individuals. In the Pavilion of the Sacred Relics at the Topkapı Palace, prayer books were kept among other religious objects, such as the Prophet's footprint, sandal, and mantle as well as Qurʾan copies and commentaries (Aydın 2006: 10). At the Library of Rawḍat al-Muṭahhara in Medina, two *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* and two *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* copies were recorded among many Qurʾan copies in the early twentieth century.[16] Two archival documents from the Atatürk Library and a library catalogue further attest to the public and private uses of prayer books. A document from the Atatürk Library lists the objects kept in the tomb of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan (d. 1883), the mother of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-76), among which are an *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* and a *Duʿāʾ Risālesi*.[17] Furthermore, the printed library catalogue of the Aksaray Valide Mosque records ive copies of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt*, six copies of its commentaries, and five copies of the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* (1893: 4-5). Therefore, both the Tomb and Library of Pertevniyal Valide Sultan must have provided prayer books for its reciters and visitors.[18] Another document lists a volume of the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* and the *Enʿām-ı Şerīf* and a volume of the *Ḥizbüʾl-Baḥr* and the *Devr-i Āʿlā* among the valide sultan's personal scriptures/litanies (*evrād-ı maḥṣuṣa*).[19]

Like other illustrated manuscripts produced in Islamic lands over the centuries, the various functions of Ottoman prayer books were just as important as their public and private uses in shaping their visual programs. In this regard, based on his study of illustrated copies of the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, Oleg Grabar has suggested five attitudes towards illustrating a literary text, which motivated the incorporation of images into manuscripts. In his opinion, illustrations can be literal, descriptive, interpretive, predominantly visual, or purely visual (2006: 190-202). If one takes devotional texts into account as well, another attitude outsourced by the Qurʾan, hadith, and commentaries, or by protection, healing, guidance, longing, and memento can be added to the list. With the increasing number of pilgrims in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, all these different sources and diverse uses of prayer books contributed to the diversification and articulation of representations. On

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[16] See the Fahreddin Paşa Notebook (YY 827) in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library. See also Kahraman 2008: 214, 237.

[17] See PVS 1676 in the Atatürk Library in Istanbul.

[18] Another elite woman who endowed prayer books was Bezmialem Valide Sultan (d. 1853), the mother of Sultan Abdülmecid I (r. 1839-61). There are five *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* copies and a miscellany including the *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt* at the Beyazıt Library (B 1265-70), each of which carries the endowment inscriptions (1266/1849-50) and the seals of the valide sultan.

[19] See PVS 2202 in the Atatürk Library in Istanbul.

the one hand, depictions of the holy sites navigated, illustrated, described, or interpreted the text; increased the appreciation of the book; and reminded users of Ottoman sovereignty over Islamic holy sites. On the other hand, they referred to external verbal descriptions and interpretations; answered users' urge to seek out protection and healing; guided users in pilgrimage; and mediated imagination and remembrance. As a result, a large array of representations – from the tombs of the Prophet, Abū Bakr, and ʿOmar to the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem – appeared in Ottoman prayer books during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Their different combinations and expansions yielded a new kind of Ottoman religious imagery that creatively combined holy spaces with prophetic traces.

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Turkish Abstract

Bu makale 18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda çok yaygın olan Delāʾilü'l-Ḫayrāt ve Enʿām-ı Şerīf isimli dua kitaplarındaki Mekke, Medine ve Kudüs tasvirlerini ele almaktadır. Bu kitaplarda yer alan kutsal mekânlara ait tasvir yelpazesi, imgelerin birbirleriyle ve metinlerle olan ilişkileri ile tasvir çeşitliliğinin muhtemel kaynaklarını incelemektedir. Geç dönem Osmanlı dua kitaplarında Beytullah (Mekke), Hz. Muhammed'in Kabri (Medine), Ḥaremeyn (Mekke ve Medine), ve Kutsal Üçlemeler (Mekke, Medine ve Kudüs) tek başlarına, birlikte veya Hz. Muhammed'e özgü dini imgelerle (ör. ḳadem-i şerīf) bir arada bulunmaktadır. Mekke, Medine ve Kudüs görselleri sık sık bu şehirlerin kutsal mekânlarıyla

ilişkilendirilen metinlerle birlikte yer almaktadır. Dönemin dini imge çeşitliliği yalnız dua kitaplarının metin içeriklerinden değil muhtelif dış kaynaklardan da beslemiş ve farklı kullanımlara olanak verecek şekilde biçimlenmiştir. Mekân tasvirleri bir yandan metni görsele aktarırken okurlara da kılavuzluk etmiş, kutsal topraklardaki Osmanlı egemenliğini hatırlatmış ve el yazmalarının değerini artırmıştır. Dualar, ayetler, hadis rivayetleri, şerhler ve şiirlerle de beslenen görseller şefaat, bereket, şifa ve koruma sağladığı inancıyla yaygınlaşmış, hacı adaylarına rehberlik etmiş, hac ile ziyaret deneyimlerini anımsatmış ve kutsal toprakları göremeyenlerin hayal gücünü tetiklemiştir.

Biographical Note

Sabiha Göloğlu completed her dissertation titled "Depicting the Holy: Representations of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem in the Late Ottoman Empire" in the Department of Archaeology and History of Art at Koç University in June 2018. Her work focuses on image-and-image and text-and-image relationships of religious architectural imagery, modes of representation utilized to depict the Islamic holy sites, various uses of religious imagery, and principles governing visual arrangement and architectural placement of representations, as well as production, circulation, patronage, and ownership of prayer books. During her doctoral studies, she received several grants including the Ilse Böhlund Hanfmann Fellowship (2015) of the American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT). In 2018-19, she will be a post-doctoral fellow at the program "Connecting Art Histories in the Museum," a joint project between the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz and the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

Fig. 1 – The Kaʿba and the Belongings of the Prophet Muhammad, *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*, 1208/1793-94, copyist: Dürbinizade Mustafa Nazif, illuminator: Hafız Mehmed Nuri, 16.9 × 11.5 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Pertevniyal 43, 56b-57a (©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)

Fig. 2 – Masjid al-Ḥarām, *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*, 1094/1682-83, copyist: Mehmed Hocazade, illuminator: Salih (1144/1731-32), 16.5 × 11 cm, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, EH 365, 79b-80a
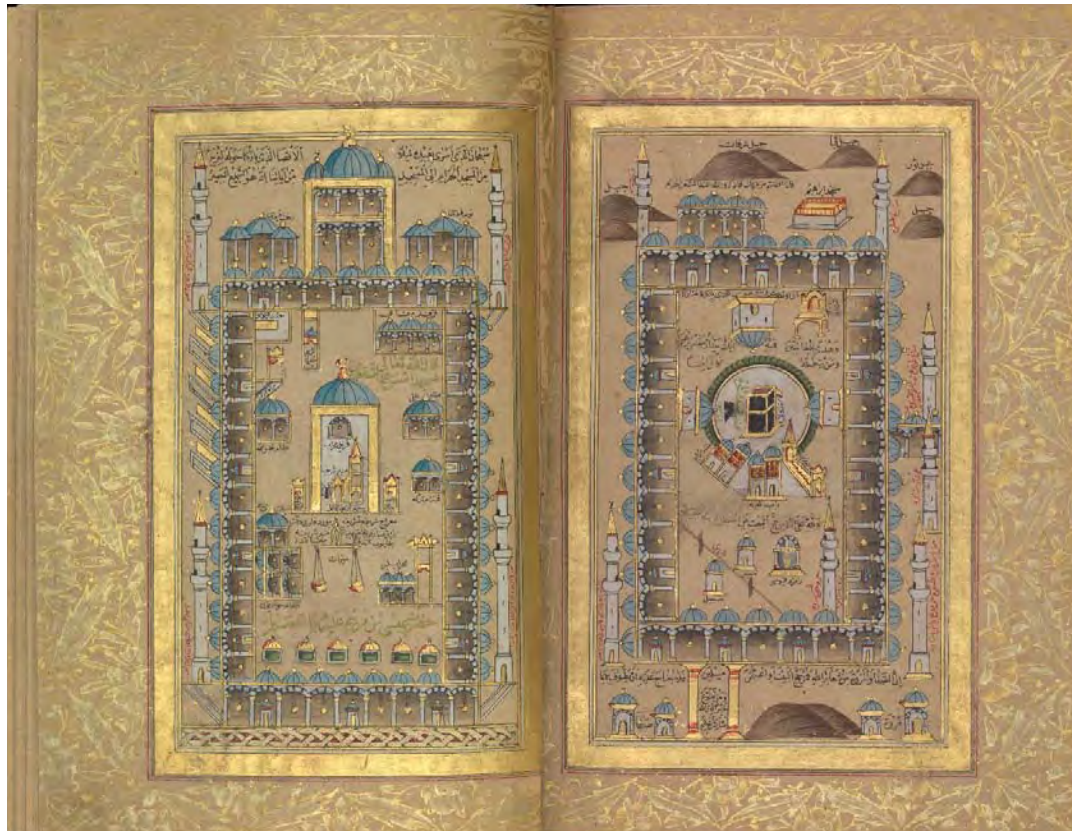(©Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi)

Fig. 3 – Masjid al-Ḥarām and Ḥaram al-Šarīf, *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*, 1213/1798-99, copyist: Mehmed Emin Rüşdi Teberdari, a disciple of el-Hac Mehmed Kütahi, 17.7 × 11.2 cm, Chester Beatty Library, T 464, 98b-99a (©The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)

Fig. 4 – Burial Chamber and the Masjid al-Nabawī, *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*, 1213/1798-99, copyist: Mehmed Emin Rüşdi Teberdari, a disciple of el-Hac Mehmed Kütahi, 17.7 × 11.2 cm, Chester Beatty Library, T 464, 99b-100a (©The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)

Fig. 5 – The Tombs of the Prophet Muhammad and the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿOmar, *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt,*
15.8 × 10.5 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Nuri Arlasez 316, 14b-15a
(©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)

Fig. 6 – The Rawżat al-Mubārak, al-Jazūlī (d. 870/1465), *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt,* 1143/1730-31,
copyist: Hasan b. Abdullah, 17 × 11 cm, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, EH 1029, 17b-18a
(©Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul)

Fig. 7 – The Rawżat al-Mubārak, *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt,* 1270/1853-54, copyist: Mehmed
Rasim, 19.7 × 12.3 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Pertevniyal 35, 22b-23a
(©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)

Fig. 8 – Masjid al-Ḥarām and Masjid al-Nabawī, *Dalāʾil al-Ḥayrāt,* 1145/1732-33, copyist: Hafız İbrahim,
17.4 × 11.2 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Laleli 1541, 12b-13a
(©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)
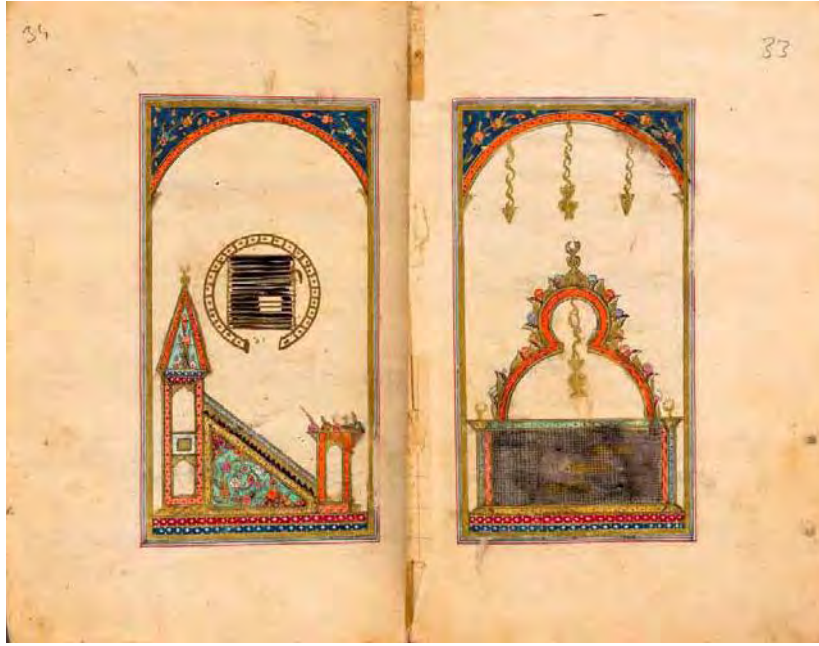
Fig. 9 – The Rawżat al-Mubārak and the Kaʿba, *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt,* before 1165/1751-52, 18 × 11.8 cm, Ankara Ethnography Museum, no. 17228, 33b-34a
(©Hadiye Cangökçe, Ankara Etnografya Müzesi)

Fig. 10 – Mecca and Medina, *Enʿām-ı Şerīf*, 1173/1759-60, copyist: Mustafa b. Mehmed Paşa, 26.2 × 16.2 cm, Süleymaniye Library, Halet Efendi 5, 45b-46a
(©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)

Fig. 11 – Mecca and Medina, *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt,* 1285/1868-69, lithograph edition,
Ankara National Library, EHT 1967 A 390, 16-17 (©S. Göloğlu)

Fig. 12 – The Belongings of the Prophet Muhammad, *Dalāʾil al-Ḫayrāt,* 1260/1844-45, copyist: Seyyid Hasan
Hüsnü, a disciple of Vasfi Efendi, Beyazıt Library, B 1266, 22b-23a
(©Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı)

MAPPING OTTOMAN FLAGS IN THE MARCHES REGION

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Ottoman flags in Europe

Flags and banners from the Ottoman world are not unusual material in European museums and churches. This is due to the long confrontation between the Ottoman Empire and Europe during the early modern era. Military clashes brought spoils of war to be conquered and distributed among European elites. Among spoils of war flags played undoubtedly a prominent role. As the capture of flags in battlefields was an iconic moment of enemies' defeat, they were part of the paraphernalia displayed in the following triumphal ceremonies. An analysis of Ottoman flags and banners might contribute well beyond the sub-field of military art of the Islamic world they formally belong to. Flags and banners are worth studying not only for mapping overlooked Islamic material culture and contributing in shedding light on this specific textile typology, but also because in the process of being transferred from the Ottoman to the European realm, such objects were reinterpreted, manipulated and transformed according to expectations and agendas different from those dictating their production.[1] As such, flags and banners belong to a wide range of objects, the so-called "traveling objects",[2] a vast variety of artefacts that were moved from the Islamic world to Europe before the nineteenth century, in other words before the time when more systematic and museum-dictated collections were expanded or created.

The following paper briefly presents Ottoman flags available in the Marches region and explores some possible avenues of research for contextualizing the movement and relocation of Ottoman flags in Marches' museums and churches. The undergoing research, and the following publications, will explore all the points mentioned in this very first work on the topic.

The Marches

The Ottoman flags identified so far in the Marches region consist of seven specimens. These range from high-quality silk textiles to more modest pieces (Fig. 1). Before offering an introductory description of the pieces, it looks significant providing a brief overview of the prominence of the Marches region in early modern Europe. Three elements are worth being mentioned at this regard.

The first aspect is the affiliation of the region to the States of the Church. The Marca Anconitana constituted the eastern border of a political key-player in the early modern period. The Adriatic Sea was the liquid border through which Rome and Italy were in contact with the Ottoman Empire. The second element is that the Marches region, its cities and its elites, participated to the anti-Ottoman campaigns promoted by the Habsburgs from Vienna. As in the case of many other European regions, starting with the mid-seventeenth century, intellectuals and military personnel from noble families were increasingly employed by the Habsburg court and army. A third component – related to the first two points – highlights the role of the Marches during the early modern period: the presence of the Basilica of the Holy

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[1] Żygulski 1968; Denny 1974; Żygulski 1992; Alexander 1992; Shalem 2000; Piwocka 2004; Karl 2011; Karl 2014. See also the volume recently published by the Istituzione dei Cavalieri di Santo Stefano on the Ottoman flags preserved within the church of St. Stephen in Pisa (*Le bandiere della Chiesa di Santo Stefano dei Cavalieri di Pisa. Loro storia, significato e restauro*, Pisa: CLD Libri, 2015) (I thank Markus Pilz for providing me with a copy of the publication).

[2] Shalem 2011: 2.

House of Loreto, located in the centre of the region, nearby the Sea and at the end of the Via Lauretana, connecting Rome to Ancona. The Sanctuary of Loreto was an international site of pilgrimage, acknowledged and visited by pilgrims far beyond the geographical borders of the States of the Church (Fig. 2).[3] Established on the border, nearby the Adriatic Sea, the sanctuary was a material and spiritual stronghold against the threats posed by Ottomans and the Ottoman-backed corsairs. Given its extraordinary importance in the early modern period, it dictated the pietistic attitudes of the entire area, contributing in providing the territory of the Marches with an identity of its own.[4]

Ottoman flags in the Marches: material aspects

The seven specimens related to the Marches region are reasonably known to local historians, appearing in publications devoted to the churches in which they were or are located or to the history of specific towns. However, with the exception of the superb flag of Loreto, they are barely known beyond such range of scholarship and the "Islamic" aspects of such items, from the technique of manufacture to epigraphic content to iconography, have been often overlooked. Furthermore, there has never been an effort to present them together, exploring patterns of manufacture, collection and display that go beyond local circumstances. The limited chronological span of their collection allows considering all them together as the outcome of a historical process that was regional and that, in turn, inscribed the region into a larger, international framework.

The most prestigious flag related to the Marches is actually located in Cracow, Poland. A late seventeenth-century Polish gift to the House of Loreto, the flag was transferred to Cracow in the nineteenth century following the French occupation of Rome-related territories. It consists of a seven-meter wide silk banner with both an inscriptional and iconographical decoration woven in gold and silver. Such a flag belongs to a restricted group of banners that were used by the Gran Vizir and top elite of the Ottoman army.[5]

In the year 1687 an Ottoman flag was transferred to the Basilica of St. Paterniano in Fano, while in 1691 a flag was hung on the walls of the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption in the city of Urbino, also located in the north of the region (Fig. 3). The two silk flags are smaller in size (250 × 175 cm and 373 × 225 cm respectively) than the one of Loreto, and belong to the Sanjak tipology, with a rectangular shape and a triangular fly. In the case of the textile of Fano, the decoration is dominated on the one side by the "dhu al-faqar", the famous double-blade sword that Islamic and Ottoman lore attributed to 'Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad and, on the other side, by the Muslim formula of the "basmala" ("In the name of God, the Merciful and the Compassionate").[6] In the case of the silk flag of Urbino, the gold and silver painted decoration consists of an epigraphic program and phitomorphic scrolls.[7]

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[3] Bercé 2012.

[4] Proceeding toward north the following great pilgrimage centre devoted to the worship of Mary was located at the Monastery of St. Maria del Monte in Cesena, in the Romagna region. St. Maria del Monte in Cesena was another receptacle of ex-voto devoted to the menace posed by the Ottoman world.

[5] Żigulski 1968: 417-424; Pivocka 2004: 488-489. It is likely that other textile material from the battleground also arrived to the Sanctuary of Loreto; a portion of the tent of the Ottoman Grand Vizir is, for instance, often mentioned in secondary literature, though more research is needed to assess this aspect (Ricci 2002: 102).

[6] Volpe 2010: 104-112.

[7] Guidetti *forthcoming*.

Some years later, in 1717, two small flags (110 × 155 cm circa) provided with woven motifs such as a protective hand and the crescent were installed in the Sanctuary of the "Madonna della Rosa", in the town of Ostra (AN).[8]

In the year 1723 a very different item, an elongated flag measuring ca. 500 × 100 cm and consisting of a patchwork of red and white textiles adorned with contrasting white and red crescents was donated to the cathedral of St. Leopardo / St. Tecla at Osimo. The commemorative plaque informs that the flag was definitely hung in the church in year 1766.[9] Three crescents and an eight-pointed star are woven into a reddish textile in the case of the flag of Spelonga del Tronto (Arquata del Tronto, AP). The flag, actually preserved in the parochial church of St. Agata, measures ca. 190 × 155 cm and consists of three stripes woven together. The history of such a flag is far from being clarified, as local traditions assertion that it should be dated back to the Battle of Lepanto needs more grounding.[10]

With the exception of the flag of Loreto, now in Cracow, all flags are preserved in the Marches region, either in churches or in museums. The flags vary in material, size, technique and content of the decoration. Their variety not only reflects the hierarchy among Ottoman flags and banners assigned to the military groups composing the army at the order of the sultan, but also the status of the donors as well as of the sanctuaries they were donated to.

Capture of the flags

All flags were captured during military encounters with the Ottomans and Ottoman-backed corsairs. The conquest and subsequent relocation of the flags in churches of the Marches region mark a transformation in the way such military objects were handled, shown and perceived. In particular, the perception of the flags came to overlap with the profile of those who conquered and donated them to churches and sanctuaries or with the sites of the battles in which they were conquered (battles that allowed Christian forces to survive sieges or reconquer cities and territories). Flags were provided with a specific narrative that, together with the place of relocation, totally reconfigured the dimension and perception of the objects. Five out of the seven flags came from the "East", that is from the movable fault line separating the Ottoman realm from Christian Europe. As thoroughly explained by Cardini, in the aftermath of the liberation of Vienna from the Ottoman siege in the year 1683, the counter-attack devised by the Catholic forces took place along both the sea-route, along the Adriatic Sea, and the inland-route following the retreat of the Ottoman forces, first in Hungary and later on to the south in the Balkans.[11]

The flag sent to Loreto came from Parkan (today Štúrovo, in Slovakia, located on the River Danube facing the Hungarian city of Esztergom), while the flag today displayed in Urbino was recovered in Lippa (today Lipova in western Romania). The Dalmatian coast, and more precisely Castelnuovo (Herceg Novi in today Montenegro) and Split were the centres from which flags were sent to Fano and Ostra respectively. The dates of the conquest of the flags span from 1684 to 1717, thus corresponding to the period in between the liberation of Vienna from the Ottoman siege in the year 1683 and the Peace of Passarowitz, the treaty between European allies and the Ottoman Empire stipulated in the today Serbian city of Požarevac in the year 1718.

Such dates frame the period during which the threat posed by the Ottomans and the Ottoman-backed corsairs gained its apex. During this period, the confrontation against the "Turcos" was a daily concern, as also ordinary people were involved: the coast was under the

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[8] Morbidelli 2005: 35-37; Raffaeli 2014: 210.

[9] Grillantini 1969: I, 474-475; Grillantini 1985: I, 251-252.

[10] Nanni 2007: 38-42.

[11] Cardini 2011: 374-398.

threat of attacks fomr the sea, while compulsory conscription was active when military operations were organized. Several noblemen from Marches enrolled in the Habsburg army, reaching often positions of command. At the same time religious fervour and pietistic attitudes were encouraged as a sign of support for the military actions.

In the case of the two remaining flags, some details might explain the odd chronology when compared with the abovementioned chronological framework. The flag in Osimo is said to have been conquered in the Tirrenian Sea in front of the port of Anzio in the year 1723, during a battle between a pontifical galley and the corsairs. The second flag, the one located in Spelonga del Tronto, instead, is loosely attributed to the Battle of Lepanto. The attribution is based on an oral tradition and lacks substantial underpinning to be considered totally reliable.[12] The red flag does not clarify the date itself. However, there is one point worth mentioning: one parchment preserved in the very same town testifies the establishment of the "Confraternity of the Holy Rosary" in Spelonga del Tronto in the year 1638. The text underlines the role of the Rosary for commemorating the victory "contra Turcos" at Lepanto.[13] It is plausible that it was the foundation of the Confraternity to stimulate the acquisition of a Turkish flag rather than the hypothetical presence at the Battle of Lepanto of a group of soldiers from Spelonga.

Reinstallation of the flags

Flags are nowadays preserved in museums and churches, though in a first instance they were all displayed within churches. Each one of them was donated as an ex-voto to a given sanctuary, starting with the by then most important Marian Sanctuary in Europe, the sanctuary of Loreto, and continuing with important churches in Fano and Urbino, to also include smaller towns, as, for instance, in the case of Ostra. An aspect that is shared by all specimens is the fact that donors did not hand in their gift in person but sent it over with as the flag the request to have it displayed in the churches. This is an important aspect tore from the Ottoman enemies appears to have substituted the return of the hero back home. As the flag did not communicate by itself the details on the events that brought it to the church which was relocated, a usual strategy was the production of a piece of paper narrating the circumstances of the conquest of the flag, as well as mentioning the name of the donor, and to slip it in the flagstaff. Another option was to add a commemorative monumental inscription just beside the flag hung within the church (Fig. 4). At once ex-voto and trophie, flags bear witness of the protective power of the holy person the churches were dedicated to, as well as of the valiant virtues of the (very often local) hero/es who was/were able to conquer the flags while fighting against what was felt by most as a dangerous enemy. Ludovico di Montevecchio (a nobleman from Fano), Federico Veterani (a nobleman from Urbino) and Francesco Guarnieri (a nobleman from Osimo) all expressed the desire to thank a determinate saint for surviving the battle as well as the wish to be commemorated through the trophy they sent back home as material proof of their commitment to the cause. By sending to Loreto the luxurious flag conquered in Parkan, Johannes III Sobieski (King of Poland) paid homage to the Virgin Mary for her help in liberating Vienna from the Ottoman siege. A few years later, the efficacy of the image preserved within the sanctuary of the "Madonna della Rosa" in Ostra was reinforced through the donation of two Ottoman flags. After special prayers were publicly proffered for assisting the Christian forces fighting in Dalmatia, to which perhaps also people from Ostra and the surrounding area participated, the Ostra-native, and by then bishop of Loreto, Lorenzo Gherardi donated the sanctuary two Ottoman flags provided to him by Alvise III Mocenigo

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[12] Nanni 2007: 40-42.

[13] Nanni 2007: 29.

(the Doge of Venice) and Stefano Cupilli (archbishop of Split).[14] As already mentioned above, much less clear is instead the donor of the flag preserved in Spelonga del Tronto.

Flags were displayed on the walls of churches and sanctuaries.[15] In Loreto the flag was hung within the Basilica at the exterior of the sacellum (the Holy House) in front of the statue of the prophet David.[16] In Fano, the flag was hung beside the organ *a cornu evangelii* (left side of the altar) (Fig. 5), while in Urbino the flag was originally located on the upper wall located in front of the statue of St. Crescentino, in turn placed on the main altar of the cathedral.[17] In Ostra flags were displayed in the midst of other hundreds ex-voto that were collected within the sanctuary (Fig. 6), while in Osimo the flag was displayed some decades after its capture in the church and hung at the back wall of the left nave of the cathedral.[18] In Spelonga, the flag is not mentioned in any report of visitation to the church. Used as a talisman against diseases, it might be possible the flag, before being displayed in the church in the twentieth century, was preserved in a private mansion.[19]

WIth regard to the relocation of enemies' objects, it is interesting to note how there is a report of a gonfalon of the Order of the Knights of Malta conquered by the Ottoman side that was hung in the Mosque of St. Sophia at Istanbul thus echoing what was done in Europe with Ottoman flags.[20]

By being installed in prominent positions within churches, Ottoman flags underwent two parallel phenomena. The first is that, with the exception of the magnificent flag in Loreto, rather anonymous material that was mass-produced to serve the needs of Ottoman army became extraordinary. Treated and displayed as ex-voto and as extensions of important donors, flags were transfigured and assigned an individual biography. The second phenomenon, instead, is the concomitant and subsequent dissemination of Ottoman flags and their reproductions. Flags were real, tangible objects and, at the same time, were reproduced on diverse media and with different aims, raising the popularity of Ottoman flags in the visual culture of the period.

Perspectives on Ottoman flags in early modern Marches

In order to deepen the study of the Ottoman flags mentioned so far, the scope of research should be enlarged. On the one hand Ottoman flags in early modern Marches can be compared with other flags existent today in both Turkey and Europe. The flag preserved in the Diocesan Museum of Urbino, for instance, presents formal similarities with Ottoman flags preserved in Vienna, Augsburg and Cracow.[21] On the other hand the scope of the research can be expanded beyond Islamic artworks by looking into the visual context into which flags were re-displayed.

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[14] Morbidelli 2005: 36.

[15] Other war-related objects might have also had similar functions: the ex-voto function is, for example, fullfilled at Marino Laziale (birthplace of Colonna, the commander of Christian forces at Lepanto) by a Turkish shield while in Trogir (Croatia, near Split) by a wooden cock originally placed in the head of galleys (Biagetti, Bucci and Palanca 2002: 82).

[16] Raffaelli 1886: 64. Similaritied did exist between between the display of the huge Ottoman flag with its commemorative marble tablet in Loreto and the very similar arrangement for the Ottoman flag relocated in the cathedral of Cracow (Piwocka 2004: 488).

[17] Volpe 2010: 104-106; Lazzari 1805: 148-149.

[18] See above, footnote 9.

[19] Biagetti, Bucci and Palanca 2002: 80.

[20] Biagetti, Bucci and Palanca 2002: 64. Other similar instances might be revealed through further research, See for instance, Karl 2004: 200 (I thank Lorenz Korn for suggesting me to also look at the reverse process taking place in the Ottoman world).

[21] Guidetti *forthcoming*.

In Fontanellato (PR), for instance, a huge, crimson silk flag dated to the mid-seventeenth century and belonging to the order of the Knights of Malta is preserved. The flag (314 x 480 cm) was probably conceived as a galley-flag or banner to be used in the battles against the Ottomans.[22] The item has the peculiarity to have the decoration painted on silk, as in the case the Ottoman flag in Urbino.[23] Furthermore the flag had a blatant religious iconography displaying the Madonna of the Rosary with Carlo Borromeo at her feet on the one side and the God Father with John the Baptist at His feet on the other side (Fig. 7). The Madonna of the Rosary is a well-known figure invoked by the Christians as a protector against the Turks;[24] a perfect match to the Islamic apotropaic inscriptions selected in the case of the Ottoman flag preserved in Urbino (Fig. 8).

The high standard and quality of some of the flags conquered while fighting against the Turks did not pass unnoticed. As analysed by Giovanni Ricci the transfer of the large banners from Vienna and Parkan to, respectively, Rome and Loreto, in the aftermath of the victory of 1683, triggered a series of celebrations echoed in engravings and prints.[25] The works by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli in Bologna are particularly noteworthy at this regard: allegories of the triumph of the heroes of the siege of Vienna and of the church over the Ottoman Muslims were depicted, also including the large Ottoman flags, which visually symbolised a historic event soon to be exploited by local authorities.[26] Pamphlets illustrating both Rome and Loreto flags and explaining the content of the inscriptions were published. Such is the case of the publication dedicated to Loreto, which only existing copy was donated by the President of Italy Oscar Luigi Scalfaro to the Archive of the Holy House in Loreto in the year 1993.[27] The flag sent to Loreto was also immortalized on a medallion issued by the pope Innocent XI in the year 1684.[28] Inserted within a series of medallions issued to coincide with the liberation of Vienna, the medallion displays the pope on the recto and, on the verso, a scene including the Virgin with the Child seated on top of the Holy House supported by clouds, the unfolded flag with the flagstaff nailed to the ground, and down below from left to right the Polish cavalry approaching the stronghold of Parkan. A cartouche in the upper section says "sub tuum praesidium" ("under your protection"), while down below the battleground scene in exergue it runs "Turcis. Ad. Parkan. Caes Is. A. Ioanne. III. Pol. Rege. A. 1684" (Fig. 9).[29]

Flags clearly inspired by Ottoman examples are also featured in two eighteenth-century paintings preserved in the Marches and only very recently addressed by scholarship.[30] Though the two paintings depict a different subject, they do share a very similar iconographical scheme.[31] The earlier of the two paintings might be the Madonna of the Rosary depicted for a church in Petriolo (Macerata). The addition to the traditional scheme of the Virgin Mary holding the Rosary with donors and saints at her feet consists of a lower section characterized by a cylindrical basement to which four figures of Turks are tied. While the basement displays a battle scene in relief, the Virgin steps over two swords and stands out against undefined

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[22] Bertani, Cherubini e Lusvarghi 2015.

[23] Guidetti *forthcoming*.

[24] Mitchell 2009: 21-24; 62-63.

[25] Ricci 2002: 102-103; Formica 2012: 110-131. See also Raffaelli 1886: 4-7.

[26] Mitelli 1978: figs. 119, 130.

[27] *Notificatione del regio stendardo turco mandato dal re di Polonia alla Santa Casa di Loreto* (Ancona: Stamperia Camerale, 1684); see also Ricci 2002: 102 and for publications on other flags, Karl 2004: 206-209.

[28] Raffaelli 1886.

[29] Raffaelli 1886: 28.

[30] Capriotti 2016: 367-373 (the section of the article devoted to the two paintings mainly focus on the iconography of the Turkish slaves).

[31] Capriotti 2016: 369-370.

Ottoman flags identified through crescent-shape finials (Fig. 10). The painting in Grottammare (Ascoli Piceno) modifies several details, though the arms, the Turks, the reliefs on the basement and the flags on the background, depicted with more accuracy and details than in Petriolo's painting, are repeated.[32] The composition seems the result of the juxtaposition of disparate iconographies. The set of Turkish elements (slaves, arms and flags) added to the traditional scheme of the Madonna and the Child, might have been transplanted from vault- and ceiling-paintings of late seventeenth and eighteenth-century monasteries and palaces, in which they appear rather often (Fig. 11).[33] At the same time, however, the overall composition might have reproduced, or found a parallel in, pietistic processions taking place in the region. When, for instance, the two Ottoman flags conquered in Dalmatia arrived to Ostra in 1717, before being moved to the Sanctuary of the "Madonna della Rosa", they were carried throughout the town in the yearly procession commemorating the victory of Lepanto. On that occasion the two flags flanked on both sides a wooden statue of the Madonna of the Rosary owned by the Ostra-based family of the bishop of Loreto Gherardi.[34] Faith in the efficacy of the prayer to "Madonna della Rosa" was reinforced by the presence of the two flags, while the configuration of the scene parallels the formal composition of the paintings in which the Madonna has Turkish flags on both sides.

The ubiquitous presence of Ottoman flags in the Marches since 1684 and the impact flags had on the visual culture of the region cannot be explained only through the memory of the Battle of Lepanto (1571) (an even pointed out very often by scholars as the raison d'être for every appearance of Turks and Islam in visual culture). The dates and the circumstances of the capture of the flags point instead to the role the liberation of Vienna from the Ottoman siege in 1683 had in the Catholic world (also in re-igniting the memory of Lepanto). On a local level, while indeed the case of Loreto might have caused a sequence of replica in smaller sanctuaries, an explanation for the ubiquitous presence of Turkish flags should also be searched in the daily engagement of early modern Marches society with the Ottoman world, a commitment that appears to have increased in the period spanning the time from the liberation of Vienna (1683) to the Peace of Passarowitz (1718).[35] Flags were meant to be ex-voto to show gratitude to the saints and the Virgin for their protection and, together with the diffusion of the Confraternity of the Rosary, they index a persistent anxiety with regard to the threat posed by the Turks. Reference to the confrontation with the Turks is also evident in humble ex-voto preserved in various collections, in which the sea is presented as a source of danger because of the presence of corsairs. Corsairs were used to steal goods as well as kidnap people in order to get a ransom.[36] During those same years in which flags were placed into churches, Marches' shores were battered by raids carried out by Ottoman-backed corsairs. Marsili, in the year 1715, describes two raids in a row taking place in Senigallia and Porto Recanati, respectively north and south of Ancona.[37] Marsili was appointed to plan the consolidation of the military defenses of the States of the Church on the Adriatic Sea: while a primary objective was to avoid the plunder of the sanctuary of Loreto, this was also a response to the widespread concern caused by the raids carried out by the corsairs. Ransomed

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[32] Capriotti (2016: 370-373) also discusses some archival documents on the painting in Grottammare (Ascoli Piceno).

[33] Palazzo Colonna in Rome is indeed one example, though the theme also recurs in the Habsburg Empire (see, for instance Mádl 2014; I thank Gernot Mayer for his kind advice on this matter).

[34] Furthermore, the two flags were reproduced in Senigallia (Ancona) by a local painter and the painting, together with the letter by the archbishop of Split accompanying the flags, sent to the Pope in Rome (Morbidelli 2005: 36-37).

[35] Lami 2008.

[36] See, for instance, Anselmi 1980: 313 and compare with Gnola 2014: 34-35.

[37] Ciotti 2009: 221-222.

slaves were also sources of ex-voto: copies of their slavery chains were donated to sanctuaries in order to thank for the liberation (Fig. 12).[38] Narratives about conversions of Muslims to Catholicism, caused by the miraculous interventions by saints, *in primis* Madonna of Loreto, played a very similar role in deactivating the dangerous potential and reality of the Ottoman threat.[39]

Conclusion

Though often classified as simple spoils of war devoid of any potential in contributing to art history and despite confined to local studies and narratives, Ottoman flags in Europe are worth consideration for several reasons. Firstly, because these are artefacts that need material analysis in order to be fully deciphered (the reading of the inscriptions of some flags, for instance, requires revision and technical aspects – such as painted versus woven decoration – need clarification). Secondly, because, by scrutinizing the biographies of objects and by putting them in perspective, larger, entangled and connective patterns might surface. Extrapolated from each local context, flags reveal a regional phenomenon related to the Marches and its civic and religious elite that, in turn, was inscribed into an even larger framework that involved the mobilization of part of the Catholic realm during and in the aftermath of the liberation of Vienna from the Ottoman siege in 1683. Thirdly because, mostly forgotten after the end of the eighteenth century (though a revival of flags and Turkish-related narratives took place in 1911, at the time when Italy confronted the Ottoman Empire in Libya), Ottoman flags had a significant role in the visual culture of the region in which were relocated. On the one hand they were a blatant and easy-to-display proof of the alleged triumph of the church during a period in which both Protestantism and Islam sieged Catholic identity and related territories. On the other hand, and perhaps even more interestingly, they entered, the realm of the pietistic visual expression of Counter-Reform Catholicism. Several factors allow objects provided with a "foreign" visual vocabulary such as Ottoman flags to become familiar in eighteenth-century Marches: their association with the Virgin Mary, their connotation as ex-voto, their being tangible aspects of narratives dominated by the personal and collective ordeal of those who conquered them, and, eventually, their apotropaic function with respect to fears experienced by thousands on a daily bases, caused mainly by conscription and raids carried out against the Marches seaside.

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http://issuu.com/istitutobeniculturali/docs/dossierconcopertina (visitato in data 27/02/2017).

[38] While rather renowned is the alleged donation of chains to the Sanctuary of Loreto (Bercé 2012: 168-171), quite interesting is also the case of the Certosa of Bologna in which chains are still visible on the walls, each one provided with an explanatory cartouche (Ricci 2011).

[39] Gobbi 2009; Lavenia 2015.

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Turkish Abstract

İtalya'nın Adriyatik sahilindeki Marche bölgesinde bulunan bazı kiliselerde yedi adet Osmanlı sancağı bulunmaktadır. Bu makalede sancaklar tanıtılmakta ve bu kiliselere ne zaman, ne amaçla bağışlandığı belirlenerek tarihi bağlamı içinde yorumlanmaktadır. Bu sancaklar, Osmanlılara karşı galibiyetin birer göstergesidir; muzaffer bir şekilde sağ salim eve dönme umutlarının karşılandığı inancıyla çoğunlukla kilisenin ithaf edildiği kişiye/azize minneti temsilen adak hediyesi olarak bağışlanmıştır. Genellikle kimin tarafından, nerede ele geçirildiği ve ne zaman kiliseye verildiği kayıtlıdır. Bu sancakların 1571 İnebahtı zaferini anma niteliği öne çıkarılmıştır, ancak 1683 Viyana kuşatmasından kurtulmakla bağlantısı da açıkça gözlenmektedir. Sancaklar Müslüman Osmanlılara karşı zafer simgesi olarak anıtsal dini imgelerde de yer alırlar. Coğrafi konumu nedeniyle denize ve Osmanlı tehdidine açık olan Marche bölgesindeki kiliselerde bulunan sancakların hediye edilme süreci Viyana kuşatması ve Pasarofça antlaşması (1718) arasındaki yıllarda yoğunlaşır. Bu tarihler arasında bölge halkının Osmanlı destekli korsan akınlarının tehdidi altında olması sancakların önemini arttırmıştır. Sancaklarla ilgili günümüze ulaşmış ayrıntılı veriler ve tarihsel bağlam, bireylerin adak hediyeleri ve kurtuluş için harcanan çabaların somut kanıtı olmalarının yanında, bu sancakların Katolik inancının zaferini de temsil ettiğini gösterir.

Biographical Note

Mattia Guidetti (PhD, University Ca 'Foscari of Venice, 2006) is a specialist in the history of Islamic art. He was recipient of post-doctoral fellowships at Harvard University (Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture), the Getty Institute of Los Angeles and the Kunsthistorishes Institut of Florence. He taught courses of Islamic art history at the University of Edinburgh (2011-2013) and University of Urbino (2014). He is currently wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter at the Institute of Art History of the University of Vienna and teaches at the University of Bologna. His publications include the volume "In the shadow of the church: the building of mosques in early medieval Syria" published by Brill and awarded the 2016 book prize by the Syrian Studies Association.
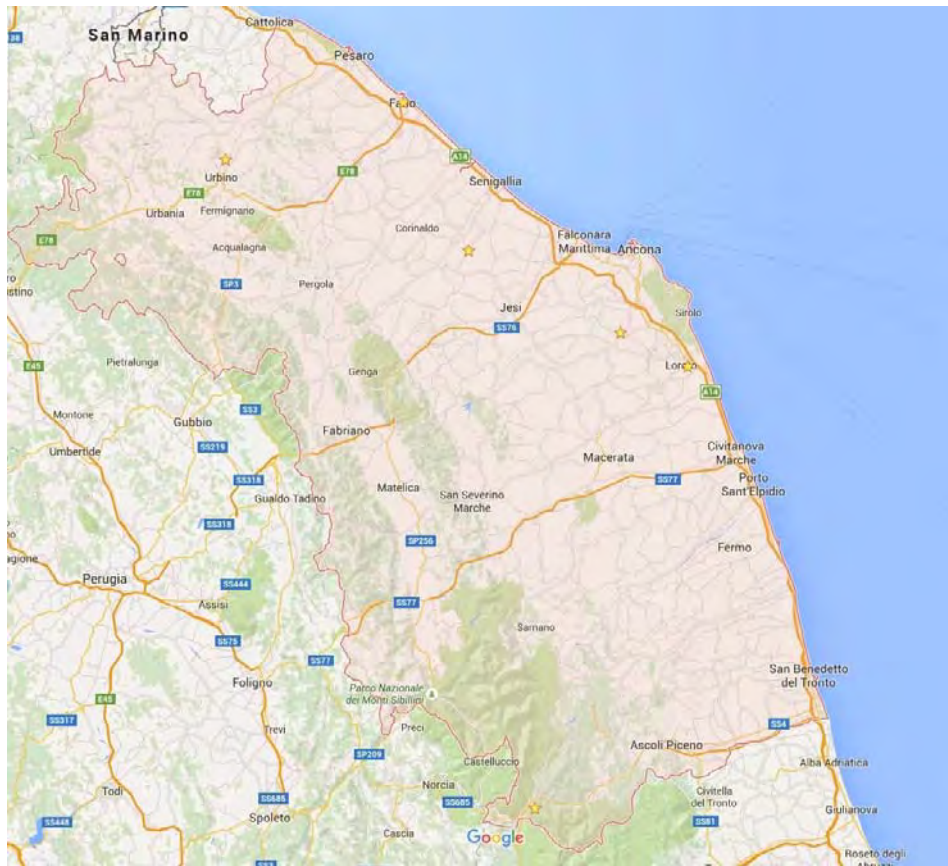
Fig. 1 – Map of modern region of Marches (stars indicate where flags were located)
(after Google Maps)

Fig. 2 – The Sanctuary of Loreto in one seventeenth-century copy
of the Book on Navigation by Piri Reis
(©The Art Walters Museum, W658, detail of F.193a)

Fig. 3 – The Ottoman flag in Urbino,
relocated in 1691
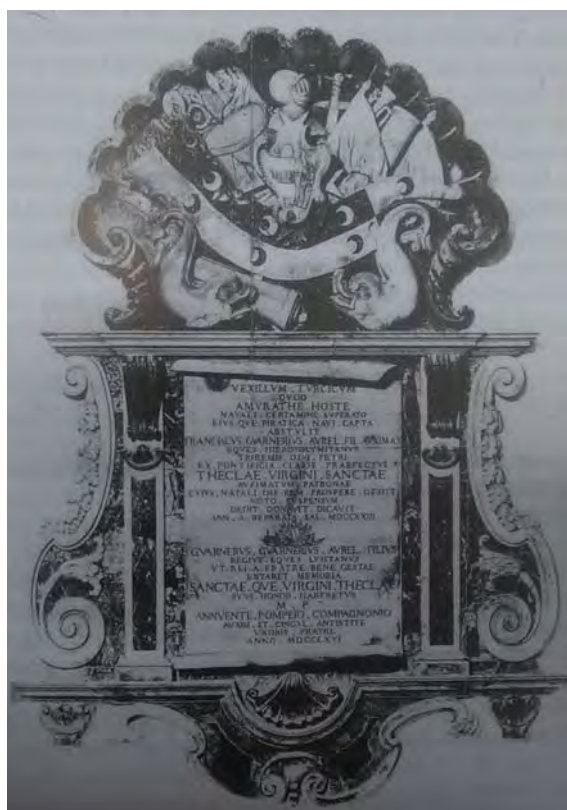(Courtesy of the Diocesan Museum, Urbino)

Fig. 4 – The commemorative plaque in the
Cathedral of Osimo, Ancona, 1766

Fig. 5 – The flag in the church of San Paterniano
in Fano, Pesaro-Urbino, relocated in 1687 (after
Volpe 2010)

Fig. 6 – The flags among other ex-voto in the Sanctuary of Madonna of the Rose, Ostra, Ancona, relocated in 1717 (after Morbidelli 2005)

Fig. 7 – Detail of the decoration of the flag of Fontanellato (PR), 17th century (Courtesy of the Istituto per i Beni Artistici, Culturali e Naturali – Emilia Romagna)

Fig. 8 – Detail of the Ottoman flag in Urbino (Courtesy of the Diocesan Museum, Urbino)

Fig. 9 – Verso of a copy of the medallion issued by Pope Innocenzo XI to celebrate the flag deposited in the Sanctuary of the Holy House in Loreto, Ancona, in 1684.

Fig. 10 – Madonna of the Rosary, author unknown, Petriolo, Macerata, 18th century

Fig. 11 – Turkish prisoners, stucco statue, author unknown, Schloss Rastatt (Germany), 1704
(after Mádl 2014)

Fig. 12 – Ex-voto depicting a former prisoner of a galley donating his chains to an image of the
Madonna, Santuario of Santa Maria del Monte, Cesena, early 18th century
(after Gnola 2014)

A TURKISH FEMALE ARTIST LEAVING HER TRACE THROUGH THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: SABİHA RÜŞTÜ BOZCALI (1903-1998)*

Ayşenur Güler
Independent scholar

S abiha Rüştü Bozcalı is one of the foremost female artists of the late Ottoman and early republican era.[1] Given that, during the Ottoman era, life for women outside the home was limited, Bozcalı's manner of being brought up and her education were rare: born into the Ottoman elite, she was able to receive an unmatched education in art to which very few at the time had access. This paper focuses on roughly the first half of Bozcalı's life, especially the years between 1918 and 1949, concentrating on the period of her extensive education abroad. During these years, Bozcalı frequently traveled to various European art centers in order to study art, and she received lessons and training from such well-known artists as Lovis Corinth in Berlin, Moritz Heymann and Karl Caspar in Munich, Paul Signac in Paris, and Giorgio de Chirico in Rome. Unlike most of the female artists of her generation in Turkey, Bozcalı never ceased working, eventually building a career as an independent artist and recognized illustrator.

Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı was born into a prominent family in Istanbul in 1903. Her father, Admiral Rüştü, was the son of Hasan Paşa, Sultan Abdülhamit II's naval minister, while her mother, Zeliha Handan Hanım (1887-1958), was the daughter of Memduh Paşa, Minister of the Interior under Abdülhamit. At a young age, Bozcalı began learning French, German, and Italian. In her personal notes, she states that her interest in art was initially developed by watching her mother paint, and adds that it was her mother "who infused [her] with love for art" (SALT Research, Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı Archives, SRBDOC0042). Handan Hanım had a profound interest in the decorative arts, and she was the first to utilize postal stamps in collage to create paintings. Bozcalı started drawing and painting at the age of five in the family's mansion, called the Memduh Paşa Mansion, which was located in Kireçburnu, Istanbul (Tanaltay 1989, 49). She took lessons from Ali Sami Boyar (1880-1967),[2] an established painter of the time, when she was 8 or 9 years old (Koçu 1963: 3056), and it was from him, under whom she studied till she was 12, that she learned to work from nature (SALT Research, SRBDOC0042). Bozcalı writes in her personal notes that Ali Sami Boyar never interfered with her own individual artistic approach (SALT Research, SRBDOC0042).

In 1918, Bozcalı went to Berlin in order to expand her horizons and continue her art education. In a later interview, Bozcalı tells the story of her sojourn in Berlin:

> My father took me to Berlin when I was 14-15 years old. With the embassy's help, he placed me in a hostel for girls. He wanted me to study art at the atelier of the renowned artist Lovis Corinth. At first, Corinth rejected me due to my young age. After my crying and my father's insistence, Corinth saw a couple of my paintings and changed his mind: "She should register; I accept her [will take her] immediately," he said. From then on, I became Corinth's student and the mascot of the atelier. There were 80 students in the atelier. After a while, they told me that a fellow citizen of [mine] was

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[1] The family adopted the last name "Bozcalı" following the enactment of the surname law in 1934.

[2] Ali Sami Boyar (1880–1967) graduated from the Naval School, after which he attended the Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul. Between 1910 and 1914, he studied in Paris under Fernand Cormon at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts. He held numerous posts in Istanbul, among them director of the Naval Museum, director of and teacher at the Women's School of Fine Arts, director of the Fine Arts Academy, and curator of Evkaf Museum (Sehsuvaroğlu 1959: 17-18).

coming. This was Namık Ismail himself. A while later, Kenan Temizan, the designer, joined us. I stayed in Berlin close to two years (Tanaltay 1989: 49).[3]

A self-portrait dated 1919 (Fig. 1) shows us that Bozcalı already excelled at painting by the time she was 16 years old. Another self-portrait, believed to be painted around the same time (1918-1919) and this time featuring a locket (Fig. 2), particularly shows off her dedication to and discipline in art at this early age. In 1920, Bozcalı painted a portrait of her father (Fig. 3), which is thought to have been painted after she had come back from Berlin.

Having returned to Istanbul, Bozcalı enrolled in the Women's Fine Arts School, where she took lessons from Turkey's first female art educator and artist, Mihri Müşfik, a pioneer of her time, as well as from Ömer Adil Bey, who together with Mihri Müşfik had helped to develop the school (Özen 1985-86: 30). In 1921, Bozcalı exhibited her work in the annual Galatasaray painting exhibition in Istanbul (Beykal 1983: 11 and Şerifoğlu 2003: 36).

Bozcalı's second visit to Germany, this time to Munich, took place between 1922 and 1925 (SALT Research, SRBDOC0043). In order to pass the entrance exam of Munich's Academy of Fine Arts, for a year she first took lessons from Moritz Heymann (1870-1937).[4] Then, after passing the exam, she continued her studies with Karl Caspar (1879-1956). Bozcalı's student identification cards from the academy for the years 1922-1923 and 1923-1924 have survived (SALT Research, SRBDOC0053, SRBDOC0055). Among her other personal belongings, there is also a card dating to 1922 that gave the young artist free access to Munich's prominent museums and art galleries (SALT Research, SRBDOC0054). This shows us that Bozcalı was keen to expand her vision and knowledge of art during her stay in Munich. While still there, in 1923 she sent some of her work to the Galatasaray painting exhibition in Istanbul; however, her name could not be published in the exhibition catalogue because the work she had sent arrived after the catalogue had already been published (Beykal 1983: 11). According to an article published in the journal *Yeni Mecmua* in 1923, Bozcalı and her work received attention due to her talent as well as her youth (Beykal 1983: 11).

During these years, Bozcalı was invited to Egypt as a guest of Princess Emine, also known as Valide Paşa (1858-1931), who was the mother of the last khedive, Abbas Hilmi Paşa II (Koçu 1963: 3057). During Bozcalı's stay in Egypt, she not only produced numerous drawings, but also a portrait in oils of Valide Paşa (Koçu 1963: 3057); it is, however, unfortunately unknown whether or not this painting has survived to the present. In her personal notes, Bozcalı states that she stayed in Egypt for a year, during which time she participated twice in exhibitions (SALT Research, SRBDOC0043). Bozcalı also exhibited the work she had done in Egypt in the Galatasaray exhibitions of 1925 and 1926 (Şerifoğlu 2003: 53, 55).

Upon her return to Istanbul sometime between 1926 and 1928, Bozcalı joined, as a guest student, the atelier of Namık İsmail (1892-1935) at the Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul (Bozcalı 1976, 29). Though Namık İsmail was eleven years older than Bozcalı, as already mentioned they had in fact already met several years earlier, in Lovis Corinth's atelier in Berlin. There is a surviving guest student card that was issued to Sabiha Rüştü by the Fine Arts Academy; the card states that Bozcalı was recommended to the academy by Namık İsmail, who was in fact the academy's director at the time. In 1926, the academy had moved to a new location in the former Chamber of Deputies building, and Bozcalı had the opportunity to work in this new, modern

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[3] Different sources present varying information concerning the length of Bozcalı's stay in Berlin. One source states that she went to Berlin in 1919, staying there for a year and a half (Ozen 1985–86: 30). Bozcalı's own personal notes states that she went to Berlin in 1919 and studied in Lovis Corinth's atelier for two years (SALT Research, Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı Archive, SRBDOC0042). Finally, another source states that Bozcalı went to Berlin in 1918 and stayed for a year (Koçu 1963: 3057).

[4] Bozcalı recommended Moritz Heymann's atelier to other prominent Turkish artists, including Ali Avni (Çelebi), Ratip Aşir (Acudoğlu), and Kenan (Yontuç), all of whom were in search of an atelier in Munich (Coker 1979: 60).

building, which was spacious and more than met the needs of both students and faculty. According to Namık İsmail, Bozcalı worked in his atelier for three years before subsequently going to Paris in 1931 (N. İsmail 1932: 4).

This trip, undertaken with her family's support, was done so that Bozcalı might continue her education in art. In particular, she wanted to work with the famous neo-impressionist painter Paul Signac (1863-1935) (Tanaltay 1989: 49). Arif Paşa,[5] who knew Signac well, was a friend of Bozcalı's father, and with Arif Paşa's intercession, Bozcalı managed to join Signac's private atelier (Tanaltay 1989, 49). During her three-year sojourn in Paris, Bozcalı had cordial relations with the Signac family: she became friends with Signac's daughter, Ginette (1913-1980), and she even stayed as a guest of the Signac family at their home in Barfleur in Normandy, where after 1932 the Signac family would spend several months each year. In Barfleur, Bozcalı produced numerous landscape studies (Fig. 4). During the course of her stay in France, Bozcalı exhibited twice with the Société des Indépendants at the Grand Palais (SALT Research, SRBDOC0043). At the time, Paul Signac was the president of the Société, as he had been since 1909, with only a brief interruption, and would continue to be until late 1934. At the 1932 exhibition of the Salon des Indépendants, Bozcalı exhibited her *Portrait of Ginette Signac* (Fig. 5) (Anonymous 1932: 1).[6] The painting was well received by the public, and *Le Quotidien*, *La Liberté*, and *L'Echo de Paris* all published positive reviews of the work (SALT Research SRBDOC0084, SRBDOC0085, SRBDOC0087). Bozcalı's success in Paris was also reflected in the Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet* (Anonymous 1932: 1). The portrait of Ginette Signac exhibited in 1932 has survived and is to be found in the Signac Archives. In numerous interviews, Bozcalı stated that she painted a number of portraits of the Signac family; for instance, she painted a portrait of Ginette Signac known by the name *Jeune fille à la mandoline* (Fig. 6), as well as a portrait of Paul Signac's second wife, Jeanne, playing the piano (Fig. 7). Both of these portraits were exhibited in 1933 and received positive reviews in the French press.[7] These portraits also reveal that, in the early 1930s, Bozcalı was influenced by her teacher's pointillist technique. These portraits of the Signac family, which were never exhibited in Turkey, are especially important for demonstrating Bozcalı's close relations with the Signac family and for providing insight about the work she did in France in the 1930s.

Having been in France for three years, Bozcalı returned to Istanbul with two watercolors given to her as a gift by Paul Signac. These works – *Fishermen at the Port of Andierne* (*Pêcheurs au port d'Andierne*) and *Port of Honfleur* (*Le Porte d'Honfleur*) – were both executed in 1930 and were signed and dedicated to "Sabiha." Today, both paintings are in private collections.

Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı opened her first solo exhibition in 1946 in Istanbul. Here, she exhibited works grouped under four categories: pastels, oils, watercolors, and sketches (SALT Research, SRBDOC0069). The majority of the works were portraits and landscape paintings done in Istanbul and France. This solo exhibition was remarkable not only for being done by a female artist in the early phase of the republican era, but also for showing the consistency and determination Bozcalı showed in her efforts to become an established artist.

In 1947, with the support of her uncle Mahmut Nedim Oyvar, Bozcalı went to Rome to further expand her horizons. While there, she had the opportunity to work with the Italian

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[5] There is little information with which to shed light on Arif Paşa's life. However, we do know that, during Bozcalı's stay in France, Arif Paşa, as a family friend, was supportive (for various letters, see SALT Research, Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı Archives).

[6] According to Reşat Ekrem Koçu, Bozcalı exhibited *Portrait of Ginette Signac* at Galerie Braun (Kocu, 1963, 3057).

[7] *Mademoiselle Signac with Mandolin* and *Madame Signac Playing the Piano* were mentioned in *L'Oeuvre* on 20 January 1933 (SALT Research, SRBDOC0089), while the portrait with piano was also mentioned in *Le Matin* (20 January 1933), *Le Bulletin de l'Art* (February 1933), and *La Dépeche* (21 January 1933) (SALT Research, SRBDOC0091, SRBDOC0094, SRBDOC0092).

master Giorgio de Chirico, who had settled in the city after World War II. Bozcalı began to work in de Chirico's atelier in November 1947 (SALT Research, SRBDOC0108). During her three-year stay in the Italian capital, Bozcalı was able to examine the old masters and make copies from their works, which Giorgio de Chirico advised her to do (SALT Research, SRBDOC0111). For instance, Bozcalı copied Rafaello's *Transfiguration* from the Vatican (Tanaltay 1989: 50), and she also worked at the Villa Borghese, where she made copies from Titian and Lorenzo Lotto (SALT Research, SRBDOC0042). In connection with this, it is known that de Chirico had also spent time at the Villa Borghese, around 1918, where he copied Lorenzo Lotto and admired the art of Titian (Alberton, Pegoraro 2010: 158).

We have no first-hand knowledge of any full-scale work Bozcalı executed while in Italy, though as mentioned she made many copies from old masters as well as doing some landscape studies, which she would go on to exhibit at her second solo exhibition in Istanbul in 1952 (SALT Research, SRBDOC0070). In her personal notes, however, Bozcalı states that while in Rome she completed four portraits that she had received on commission (SALT Research, SRBDOC0042). She also took advantage of her time in Italy to expand her knowledge of artistic techniques and materials.

Bozcalı remained in touch with her teacher de Chirico until 1955. During the time when she was studying under him, de Chirico was disturbed by the increasing number of fakes circulating on the art market, in addition to being agitated because the international art community, most notably the Surrealists, praised his metaphysical works while refusing his more recent output (Alberton, Pegoraro, 2010: 159). In 1948, the Venice Biennale organized a Metaphysical Painting Exhibition, at which time de Chirico took legal action against the Biennale, for a variety of reasons (de Chirico 1994: 184–187). Most importantly, he objected because he had not been personally informed and the paintings (or photographs thereof) that were to be exhibited had not been shown to him. According to de Chirico, among the group of metaphysical paintings attributed to him was a "fantastic fake" (de Chirico 1994: 186). Letters dating to 1948 show us that de Chirico asked Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı to help him in his court case against the Biennale by providing a declaration from the president of the artists' union in Istanbul, which would serve as an example of established international practice. This declaration would state that the Turkish artists' union would never prepare an exhibition featuring the work of a living artist without first receiving his or her consent (SALT Research, SRBDOC0109, SRBDOC0110). While we know that Bozcalı and de Chirico subsequently exchanged letters as well, it remains unknown whether or not Bozcalı was able to provide the declaration requested by her teacher. This correspondence is nevertheless worth mentioning since it shows that de Chirico trusted his Turkish student to ask her for help in a matter of great importance to him. In connection with this, there is also among Bozcalı's personal belongings a sketch signed by de Chirico (Fig. 8), which was likely given to her by the artist as a gift.

Following her return to Istanbul in 1949, Bozcalı started to work as an illustrator for the newspaper *Milliyet*. She later took on illustration work for other newspapers as well, among them *Her Gün*, *Havadis*, *Tercuman*, *Ulus*, and *Yeni Sabah*. She also collaborated with the famed historian Reşat Ekrem Koçu on the ambitious, yet ultimately unfinished *Istanbul Encyclopedia* project, for which she provided most of the illustrations. She also did illustration work for numerous other books by distinguished authors, including Reşat Ekrem Koçu, Nezihe Araz, and Cahit Uçuk.

Over the course of her career as a whole, Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı produced work in a variety of genres like portrait, still life, and landscape, as well as working in various media, such as oils, watercolors, and pastel. She had a profound interest in different techniques and formulae, keeping copious notes on such matters as she learned of them from her colleagues. Because the majority of Bozcalı's work is scattered in private collections, it is difficult to make an overall assessment of her artistic output. She can certainly, however, be considered an exceptional portraitist who was capable of conveying the sentiment of her sitter. She remained somewhat

distant from the modern art and artistic developments of the 20th century, as she herself stated in her personal notes: "When it comes to modern art, I have no interest in these works; therefore, I cannot comment about new painting" (SALT Research, SRBDOC0042).

During the late Ottoman and early republican era, the Turkish art scene was male-dominated. Moreover, at the time, it was a rare occurrence for a woman to live abroad for an extended period of time in order to advance her career, and even those many female artists who did graduate from the academy often ceased working after their graduation: marriage represented the end of their professional careers. In contrast to this situation, throughout her life Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı continued to participate in group exhibitions, and she never ceased work: she last participated in an exhibition in 1992, at the age of 89. Bozcalı's unparalleled education, great determination, and the exemplary life she led as a female artist deserve appreciation and applause.

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Online Access to the Sabiha Rustu Bozcali Archives:

http://saltresearch.org/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=0&vl(1UI0)=contains&scp.scps=scope%3A%28digitool_salt%29%2Cscope%3A%28aleph_salt%29&frbg=&tab=default_tab&dstmp=1462718700776&srt=rank&ct=search&mode=Basic&salt_current_filter=ALL&dum=true&tb=t&indx=1&vl(9926023UI0)=any&vl(freeText0)=Sabiha%20Rustu%20Bozcali&fn=search&vid=salt&vl(6443075UI1)=all_items (Accessed on 8.5.2016)

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Turkish Abstract

Bu araştırma, 1918-1949 yılları arasında Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı'nın yaşamına odaklanmakta, sanatçının bilhassa yurtdışında eğitim aldığı döneme yoğunlaşmaktadır.   1903 yılında İstanbul'da doğan Bozcalı, seçkin bir aileye mensuptur.   Babası II. Abdülhamid'in bahriye nâzırı Bozcaadalı Hasan Paşa'nın oğlu Amiral Rüştü, annesi aynı hükümdarın dahiliye nâzırı Memduh Paşa'nın kızı Handan Hanım'dır.   Bozcalı'nın çizim ve resme olan yeteneği erken yaşta ailesi tarafından fark edilir ve evde özel eğitim almaya başlar.   Henüz 14 yaşındayken Almanya'ya sanat eğitimine gönderilir. 1918-1949 yıllarını kapsayan dönemde Avrupa'nın sanat merkezlerinde sanat eğitimi almak üzere bulunur. Berlin'de Lovis Corinth, Münih'te Heimann ve Karl Caspar, Paris'te Paul Signac ve Roma'da Giorgio de Chirico'dan resim dersleri alır.

Osmanlı döneminde kadının yaşam ve üretim alanının büyük ölçüde evle sınırlı olduğu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı'nın erken yaşta aldığı eğitime ve onun yetiştirilme koşullarına ender rastlanır. Bozcalı'nın hayatının farklı aşamalarındaki çalışmaları ve çizimleri, onun mükemmel bir portre ressamı ve suluboya sanatçısı olma yolunda kararlı olduğunu ortaya koyar. Bozcalı'nın yurtdışındaki meslektaşlarıyla yaptığı yazışmalar ondaki öğrenme hevesini açığa çıkarır. Sanatçının çizimleri, resimleri, mektupları ve kişisel notları araştırmacılar için kapsamlı bir kaynak niteliğindedir ve Bozcalı'nın bir sanatçı olarak kariyerinde ilerleme kaydetmek için gösterdiği çaba hakkında etraflıca bilgi verir. Bozcalı, bir kadın sanatçı olarak geç Osmanlı erken Cumhuriyet döneminde nadir görülen bir figür olarak karşımıza çıkar.

Biographical Note

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Fig. 1 – Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı, *Self-Portrait*, 65 × 48 cm, charcoal, pastel on paper, signed "Sabiha Rusdi 1919, Istanbul", ©SALT Research, Istanbul

Fig. 2 – Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı, *Self-Portrait with Locket*, 66.5 × 47.7 cm, watercolor on paper, ©SALT Research, Istanbul

Fig. 3 – Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı, *Portrait of the Artist's Father*, 65 × 50 cm, watercolor on paper, signed "Sabiha 1920", ©SALT Research, Istanbul

Fig. 4 – Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı, *Barfleur Landscape Study*, 22.3 × 28.2 cm,
pencil, watercolor on paper, signed "Sabiha Rüştü", ©SALT Research, Istanbul

Fig. 5 – Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı,
Portrait of Ginette Signac, 92 × 73 cm,
oil on canvas, signed, ©Archives Signac

Fig. 6 – Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı,
Jeune fille à la mandoline (Ginette Signac),
67 × 55 cm, oil on canvas, signed, ©Archives Signac

Fig. 7 – Sabiha Rüştü Bozcalı,
Portrait of Jeanne Desgranges,
54 × 65 cm, oil on canvas, ©Archives Signac

Fig. 8 – Giorgio de Chirico, Drawing, 20.3 × 24.5 cm, pencil on paper, signed,
©SALT Research, Istanbul

OTTOMAN VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN THE TOWN OF KASTORIA (KESRİYE), GREECE

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Introduction

The Ottoman house developed its forms in different cultural areas, adapted itself to a variety of climatic and topographical situations, and even though many external factors contributed to its development, it was never anything other than a Turkish house, presenting a synthesis of elements incorporating the lifestyle and aesthetics of the Turks. This is particularly well illustrated in the houses of the Balkan Peninsula, where there was not only a merging of elements, but also a merging of different religions and cultures. The non-Muslim population native to this area made a contribution to the development of vernacular architecture in the region, particularly through interaction artisans working in the region. This led to a form of vernacular where opposing elements stood side by side yet in harmony with Turkish matrices.

After the Turks established their rule over the Balkans and the region of Rumelia,[1] they maintained some of the building and housing elements that they found there, but the superior housing concept that they developed later spread throughout Rumelia and came to be accepted everywhere. What is today's northern Greece was then a part of the Ottoman Empire's Rumelia region.

Vernacular Architecture

Vernacular architecture is an area of architectural theory that studies structures made by builders without the intervention of professional architects. It is a very open, comprehensive concept, and is used synonymously for several different practices, such as traditional architecture; folk, primitive, and rural architecture; ethnic architecture; informal architecture; and "non-pedigree" architecture. All of these terms were used as synonyms to describe one specific architectural field and theoretical practice until Allen Noble, in his book *Traditional Buildings: A Global Survey of Structural Forms and Cultural Functions*, wrote an extended explanation and clarification of the terms, in which he presented different scholarly opinions on folk building or folk architecture, which is built by "persons not professionally trained in building arts", and where he clarified that vernacular architecture is still of the common people, but may be built by trained professionals through an apprenticeship, but still using local, traditional designs and materials. Traditional architecture is architecture passed down from person to person and generation to generation, particularly orally, but at any level of society, not just by common people, though it is decidedly not primitive architecture. In fact, in his book, Noble discourages use of the term "primitive architecture", as it has negative connotations (Noble 2007: 1-17).

Vernacular architecture is influenced by different aspects of human behavior and the environment, leading to differing building forms for almost every different context; indeed, sometimes we can witness different approaches to the construction and use of dwellings even in neighboring settlements, even if the buildings superficially appear the same. Despite such

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[1] The territory of Rumelia was the European territory of the Ottoman Empire, covering the geographical areas of today's Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and some parts of today's Albania and Greece.

variations, every building is ultimately subject to the same laws of physics, and this is why we see similarities in structural forms.

One of the most important influences on vernacular architecture is the climate of the area in which the building is constructed. Depending on whether the building is built in a hot or a cold climate, it will have variable and significant use of materials: structures built in colder climates are characterized by the mass use of local insulation and by structural and constructive differences (e.g., thick walls, small window openings), whereas structures built in hot climates are characterized by lighter construction, different construction materials, and wider openings. Buildings in warm climates, by contrast, tend to be constructed of lighter materials in order to allow significant cross-ventilation through openings in the fabric of the building. These are some of the specific differences to be found in diametrically opposite climate areas. When it comes to continental climates, though, structures there must adapt to and balance among the significant temperature variations occurring throughout the year, and as such they are adapted to such conditions in a way that will allow occupants to live and function normally in all the changing seasons. Climatic influences on vernacular architecture are substantial and can be extremely complex. Such complexities can be seen in, for instance, the Mediterranean vernacular, as well as the vernacular of the Middle East, where a water feature is often placed in an enclosed courtyard in order to make inhabitants' lives pleasant in the hot summers and to provide the air with the necessary humidity spread through the stricter providing a pleasant day life.

Culture and religion have a strong impact on vernacular architecture as well. The way of life of the building's occupants, and the way they use their shelters, of course has a great influence on building forms. The dimensions of family units, the functions that are executed, the gender of the occupants, the preparation and consumption of food, how people interact, and many other cultural considerations all affect the layout and size of a given structure. Culture has a great influence on the appearance of vernacular buildings, since occupants often decorate buildings in accordance with local customs and beliefs. Some religions dictate the daily life and functional units of a house. In line with all this, one of the distinctive characteristics of the study of vernacular architecture has been its interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary focus: "Vernacular architecture has been examined from the perspectives of art and architectural history, social history, folklore, anthropology, historical and cultural theory and sociology to name only those disciplines to come immediately to mind" (Upton 1983: 263).

Plan and Siting of the Ottoman Town

When the Ottomans conquered the territories of northwestern Anatolia and the Balkans, they encountered already existing cities, and thus they did not strictly need to establish new ones. As such, it is more accurate to speak of the "Ottomanization" of cities than of Ottoman cities in a strict sense, especially regarding urban forms, which were partly inherited and rarely reconstructed. The Ottoman town of the Balkans is more often an adaptation of the Byzantine city, an adaptation that later led to transformations and/or extensions. To speak of Ottoman cities in the Balkans is to attempt to identify the diverse origins of Balkan cities before the Turkish conquest, as well as to describe and interpret the developments that occurred from the beginning of the conquest through the beginning of the 20th century (Pinon 2008: 147).

The Anatolian cities of the Ottoman period were compared in detail to both their Islamic-Arab counterparts and to the medieval cities of Europe by Pinon (2008), who focused on streets, parcels (lots), and housing units. Pinon proposed a typology of urban texture based on, for example, street pattern, the density of different grid types, and overall density. The first morphologically specific element to emerge in early Ottoman towns after the establishment of the empire was the absence of walls. The consequences of this were numerous. City plans, for

example, were now no longer conditioned by an imposed frontier that limited extension and implied that the street layout would have to pass through gates (Pinon 2008: 152). Another characteristic of Ottoman town morphology was how the urban fabric was made up of plots with gardens that were not very large. The house plan was generated within the plot, but encroached on the street, thus conditioning its architecture. The peculiarity of the Ottoman linkage of street patterns to building type consisted in its development along an axis perpendicular to the street, which articulated the volumes in a free pattern that moved from the street inwards. In the Ottoman house, it was only the ground floor that adapted to the site, invariably edging up to the street front, even when it was irregular (Cerasi 1998: 119). Ottoman urban morphology was also dictated by the low density of settlements, by the constant quest for a view and for good orientation *vis-à-vis* the sun, and by the position of the house on the street front. This morphology was a result of garden lots set along the isometric curves of the site (Cerasi 1998: 119).

The Ottoman House and its Typology

If we try to make a comparison of the Ottoman type with the many other house types coexisting within the boundaries of the empire, we will notice that, while individual elements of the house might be shared, overall houses from different regions had different characteristics (Cerasi 1998: 120-129). The Ottoman house has its own specific characteristics, and as such it occupies a particular place in the universal history of house types.

The regional classification of Ottoman houses occurred as a result of different topographical, social, and climatic conditions. The Ottoman house found its classic form in the Marmara and Rumelia regions, as well as places that were within the zone of influence of these regions. Of these two central regions, Marmara has dominated Rumelia, and Istanbul has dominated Anatolia. Istanbul and the Marmara regions have special importance among the other six main house-type regions (Eldem 1954: 31). The Istanbul house can be considered a typical Turkish house, while the house types of the other regions can be described as regional provincial types. Edirne is in the same group as Istanbul, with the difference that the influence of the Edirne house type spread towards Rumelia while Istanbul's influence embraced the whole of Anatolia (Eldem 1954: 31, 32).

The Ottoman house is a type of house found within the territories of the Ottoman Empire, specifically in the territories of Rumelia and Anatolia. By the end of the 14th century, the Ottomans had conquered the European territory of Rumelia (Kurran 2012: 240-260). It was in these territories that the Ottoman house was established and began its development (Eldem 1954). It is believed that the origins of the Ottoman house lie in Anatolia, whence the type spread to Europe through the territory of the newly conquered Rumelia. However, it must be stated that the origins of the Ottoman house remain uncertain, and are still being researched. The Turks, who originated in Central Asia and conquered these territories, were initially nomadic tribes who lived in tents (*otağ*).[2] After their arrival in Byzantine territory, they encountered already existing architectural structures and an existing culture on lands that had once been home to the art and architecture of ancient Greece. The question of how the nomadic tribe's tent evolved into a solid material house is still an open one, even today.

If we look at the tent that the Turkic tribes used as houses, we can find certain similarities with the first Ottoman house, which was a single room used as a site of everyday activities (sleeping, eating, sitting), thereby maintaining the functional concept of the Turkic tribal *otağ*. Later, the house continued to grow, and gradually two, three, and four rooms were combined together, forming the unity of the house – but the rooms' functions were still as they had been when the house type had consisted of a single room. This is one of the characteristics of the

[2] The word *oda*, which means "room", originated from the word *otağ*, meaning "tent".

Ottoman house; namely, the *oda* or room. Each separate room contained all daily functions of the household, unlike Western houses, where each room had its own defined single function; i.e., one room for sitting, one for sleeping, one for dining, etc.

In the Ottoman house, only the ground floor adapted to the site, invariably edging up to the street front, even when it was irregular (Cerasi 1998: 119). The concept of the room defined the Ottoman house, and later, as it continued to develop, it added other necessary features that also became elements thereof. The storey is one of the elements specific to the Ottoman house: the house has a ground floor, usually built of stone, with an entrance and either small windows or sometimes no windows at all, as well as a first floor (sometimes the highest floor) that served as the floor where everyday life was conducted.

Stairs are another essential element of the Ottoman house. Through the 18th and 19th centuries, they were located outside of the external side of the hall. Later, they were included in the floor plan, either inside the hall or between the rooms, and this started to increasingly influence the house plan, making houses wider and more spacious (Eldem 1954: 219).

Another element of the Ottoman house is the hall (called the *sofa*). The rooms always open into the hall. The different types of Ottoman house can be classified into four, according to the position of the hall and the way the rooms open onto it (Table 5):

- House without a hall (*sofasız*)[3]
- House with an outer hall (*dış sofalı*) [Table 1/1]
- House with an inner hall (*iç sofalı*) [Table 1/2]
- House with a central hall (*orta sofalı*) [Table 1/3]

This classification is made according to plan and not according to chronology or to topographical and climatic conditions. This is because these types cannot be attributed specifically to certain periods or certain regions, but are independent of time and place. If a classification based on regional conditions (Eldem 1954: 30-32) were to be drawn up, it would have to be made according to the degree of progress and advancement reached by the towns and villages in which the houses were situated (Eldem 1954: 220).

These four floor plans later developed, but they always maintained the basic structure of a plan ordered by the position of the hall (Table 1). The various plan compositions were realized via divisions such as the *selamlık* and the *harem* (Bertram 2008: 30, 31, 250), as well as by junctures that allowed for increasing the number of halls in the plan. In smaller houses, the plan was divided in two by simply leaving one or more rooms for the *selamlık*, while in larger spaces the *harem* and *selamlık* were actually separate structures, with the unity of the house being preserved by joining these two parts to one another. Elements like pavilions at the end of one or both sides of the hall and oriel windows (*çıkma*, *cumba*, *şahnişin*) were also elements strongly present in the floor plans of the Ottoman house (Cerasi 1998: 125).

The house without a hall is the most archaic plan, consisting of one or more rooms placed in a row with a passage in front of the rooms. In houses with an upper storey, this passage takes a form of a balcony.

The house with outer hall represents the first stage in the development of the house plan. It was used in Hittite and Hellenic houses existing in Anatolia before the arrival of the Turks,

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[3] The house type without a hall has been considered a first step in the development towards the other three types. This house type consisted of a single room, or more than one room, placed in a row with a passage for communication in front of the rooms. If there was a second floor, this passage took the form of a balcony; hence the development of the so-called "Hayat" house, a primordial house type from which the other house types evolved. This house was adapted to the southern provinces, where the climate was hot. Its importance in the development of the Turkish house was studied by Kuban Doğan (1995). The difference between this type and the type with an outer hall is that, in the case of the latter, the hall is enclosed and treated as a part of the house, while in the former the hall presents together with the public space on the ground floor (the street) and the open balcony on the first floor.

but they developed this plan in accordance with their own needs. This plan consists of a hall and a suite of rooms that give onto the hall. This plan offered the possibility of enlarging the space by adding more rooms, with recesses (*eyvan*) between the rooms. This plan was modified when pavilions (*köşk*) began to be added, and subsequently, in some plans, the main hall developed with side halls providing access to the side pavilions.

The house with inner hall represents the next stage of the development of the floor plan of the Ottoman house. This plan is the most widespread in Turkey. It began to develop through the incorporation of another row of rooms on the outer side of the hall. These two house plans continued to exist side by side through the 18th century, but since that time, and particularly in the 19th century, the house with the inner hall has suppressed the type with the outer hall in most larger towns (Eldem 1954: 200-220).

The last type, the house with central hall, represents the third and last stage of the development of the Ottoman house plan. Here, the hall is situated in the middle of the house, surrounded on four sides by rows of rooms. Among these rows of rooms are one or two recesses (*eyvan*s) cut out so as to allow light into the hall. This house was most common in Istanbul. The similarities between this type and the atrium type of house of the Greco-Roman era are not based on a process of transformation, but are rather the result of coincidence. The fact is that the central hall plan has its origins in Asia, the ultimate origin of the plan of the Turkish house (Eldem 1954: 223). This plan was used mostly in palaces and royal residences. The plan, which had been used in Central Asia and Iran since the 12th and 13th centuries, was first introduced to Turkey and to Ottoman imperial buildings with the construction of the Tiled Pavilion (*Çinili Köşk*) in Istanbul's Topkapı Palace in 1472 (Eldem 1954: 223).
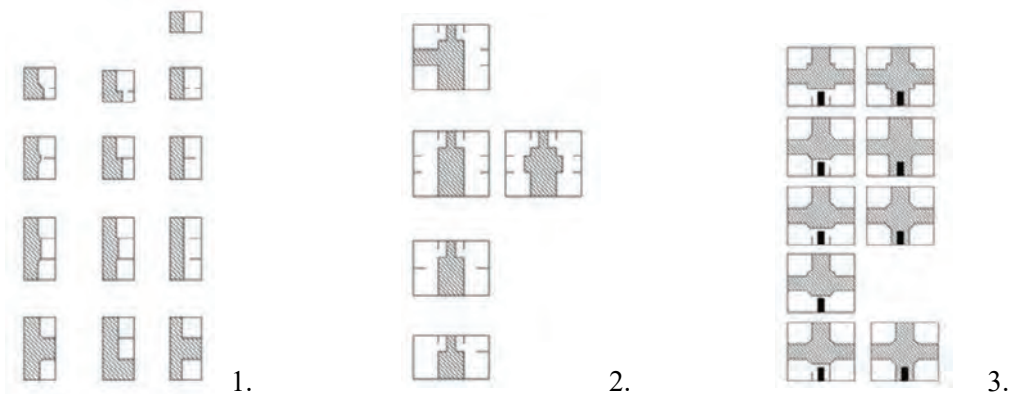
Table 1 – House plan types with outer hall, inner hall, and central hall
(graphics by Velika Ivkovska, source: Eldem 1984).

HOUSES IN KASTORIA (KESRİYE)

History of the Settlement

Kastoria is a town in northern Greece in the region of western Macedonia. It is the capital of the Kastoria regional unit and is situated on a promontory on the western shore of Lake Orestiada, in a valley surrounded by mountains. The settlement has had a rich history over the centuries. The name "Kastoria" first appears in the middle of the 6th century (550 AD), when it is mentioned by Procopius as follows: "There was a certain town in Thessaly, Diocletianopolis by name, which had been prosperous in ancient times, but with the passage of time and the assaults of the barbarians it had been destroyed, and for a very long time it had been destitute of inhabitants; and a certain lake chances to be close by which was named

Castoria […] There are several theories about the origin of the name Kastoria. The dominant of these is that the name derives from the Greek word *kastoras* (beaver)".

Kastoria's history was peaceful until the 10th century, when its strategic position led to it being contested between the Byzantine Empire and the First Bulgarian Empire. The town was conquered by the Bulgarians in the mid-9th century and remained in Bulgarian hands until the fall of the empire at the hands of Byzantine emperor Basil II at the beginning of the 11th century, after which it once again became part of Byzantine territory. The town was later reconquered by Bulgaria under Kaloyan and Ivan Asen II in the 13th century, but not long afterward, in 1246, it was recovered by the Nicaean Empire. It was held by the Serbian Empire between 1331 and 1380 and by the Albanian Muzaka family between 1380 and 1385.[4] Around 1385, the Ottomans conquered Kastoria and instituted a radical reorganization of local administration. In 1519, Kastoria was made a large fief (*zeamet*),[5] and soon afterward, in 1526-1528, it was made into the personal property of the sultan (*hass-i hümayun*)[6] (Dimitriadis 1973: 164). Later, in the middle of the 17th century, Kastoria became the possession of the sister of Sultan Murad I (Dimitriadis 1973: 164). In Ottoman times, Greece was part of the province of Rumelia, and in the middle of the 18th century was a *sanjak*[7] of Rumelia. The town would remain under Ottoman rule until the First Balkan War (1912), and with the 1913 treaties of London and Bucharest, Kastoria was incorporated into the Greek state.

Kastoria Town Plan

Two accounts concerning the site of Kastoria have survived from the early Christian and Byzantine period, providing us with a precise description of the settlement's geomorphology. The first account comes from a historian of the period of Justinian, Procopius (Procopius 1913: 273), while the second comes from Anna Comnena's work *Alexias*, which she dedicated to the exploits of her father (Moutsopoulos 1990: 16, 17). Judging from these accounts, the town was situated on a promontory on the western shore of Lake Orestiada, in a valley surrounded by mountains. Its town walls protected it on all sides – that is, not only on the narrow neck of land entering the peninsula, where the town lies (Fig. 1). After the town fell to the Ottomans, the Turks settled in the fortress, and subsequently Muslims lived side by side with Christians and Jews, creating a diverse ethnic and religious community.

Although a large majority of the population was Muslim, Christians lived in complete freedom. During Ottoman times, Kastoria attracted a multitude of people from across the Balkans and beyond, leading to a diverse, multiethnic community. As a result of this process, the city plan was radically transformed. The different ethnic communities – Turkish, Greek, and Jewish – became centered around separate neighborhoods or quarters. Some 72 churches of various sizes existed in the small town; only some of the small churches were converted to mosques. Evliya Celebi described the city as having a magnificent castle at whose lowest gate stood a mosque of Sultan Süleyman, while outside of the fortress stood the mosque of the *kadı* (judge). The town also had one school (*mekteb*), two baths (*hammam*), 70 churches, and by the lake there was the dervish lodge of Kasım Baba. On a higher point of the peninsula

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[4] http://www.histcape.eu/content/tt6-ntoltso-district-centre-town-kastoria-regional-unity-kastoria-preservation-revival-and-capacity-developing-additional-value-activities-historical-values-rural-areas-related-enhancement-cultural-herit.

[5] A *zeamet* was a form of land tenure in Ottoman Empire, consisting in grant of lands or revenues by the Ottoman Sultan to an individual in compensation for his services

[6] Literally meaning "private, special to the sultan, royal domain".

[7] Ottoman provinces (*eyalet*s, later *vilayet*s) were divided into sanjaks (also called *liva*s) governed by *sanjakbey*s, and these were further subdivided into timars (fiefs held by timariots), *kaza*s or *kadılık* (the area of responsibility of a judge, or *kadı*), and *zeamet*s (also *ziam*, which were larger timars).

was the Kurşunlu Mosque, but it was supposed that this mosque had once been a church (Eyice 1954, 207-210). The Turkish quarter was located at the the Great Gate, and the mosques were located here as well, close to the gate. At some point the Christians were driven from their old neighborhoods and started to create new, very densely populated nuclei in the southeastern part of the peninsula. While Semavi Eyice mentions that almost 70 churches existed in the town, Moutsopoulous states that no Byzantine church had survived in the Turkish quarter, while outside this quarter only the Koubelidiki and the high school had survived (Moutsopoulos 1990: 17). Two old Greek lakeside quarters, the Doltso and Apozari neighborhoods, are among the best preserved and last remaining traditional quarters of the city. These neighborhoods are characterized by a rich stock of old houses preserved in the form of autonomous historic buildings, among them important private mansions as well as more humble folk dwellings ("accessory" buildings) constructed between the 17th and 19th centuries.

The Architecture

Some regions in Greece fell under Ottoman rule quite early, and so were unaffected by Western influences, which led to oriental urban characteristics. This was especially true in the northern part of Greece, as that was one of the first regions to be settled during the Ottoman-Turkish conquest and includes structures from this first period of Ottoman art.

Table 2 – Arrangement of the houses on the steep terrain
(graphic by Velika Ivkovska, source: Moutsopoulos 1990)

The Ottoman urban development that developed in Greece was implemented atop the structure of the ancient and Byzantine periods, following the already established road arteries, the structure of the rules determining the height of the housing, and the minimum size required for structures to take in sun and air. Protection against fire was complied with via set conditions, with cantilevered floors opening onto the street. By following these laws, similarities in urban neighborhoods and housing were created. Adapting fully to the topography of the city, the neighborhoods included extended roads varying in width as required by the lack of space. The neighborhoods' narrow streets created an interesting perspective with houses located on both sides (Akın 2001: 74) (Table 2).

    During and after the Ottoman conquest of this area, the houses – which were primarily single-storey adobe structures – started to develop in height into two- or three-storey buildings, especially from the 17th century onward, and this house model continued to exist through the 18th and 19th centuries. This development undoubtedly increased the value of the

urban land. These multistorey spacious and majestic buildings, with their courtyards, gardens, and fountains, reflected traditional Ottoman house features.

Various house types were present in Kastoria depending not only on the particular area and the morphology of the terrain, but also on the density of the local neighborhood. In the older neighborhoods, rows of buildings formed a single façade on either side of the street, a continuum that was only interrupted by oriel windows (*şahniş*).[8] Today, these row-system houses survive only in the Serviotou section and in the neighborhoods of Tsarci, Ayioi Anargyroi, and Ovriomachalas (Moutsopoulos 1990: 25). The row houses were specific to areas where the streets had a commercial use: in other neighborhoods – either those that were isolated or those where the terrain was steep and lots happened to be larger – other systems were used to adapt the house to the lot and the terrain, with the houses usually being open on all sides and surrounded by gardens (Table 3).

The houses in Kastoria can be either single-storey houses facing the street or multi-storey houses facing a courtyard and with a view of the lake. There is one specific characteristic that is always encountered: the courtyard is always surrounded by high walls.
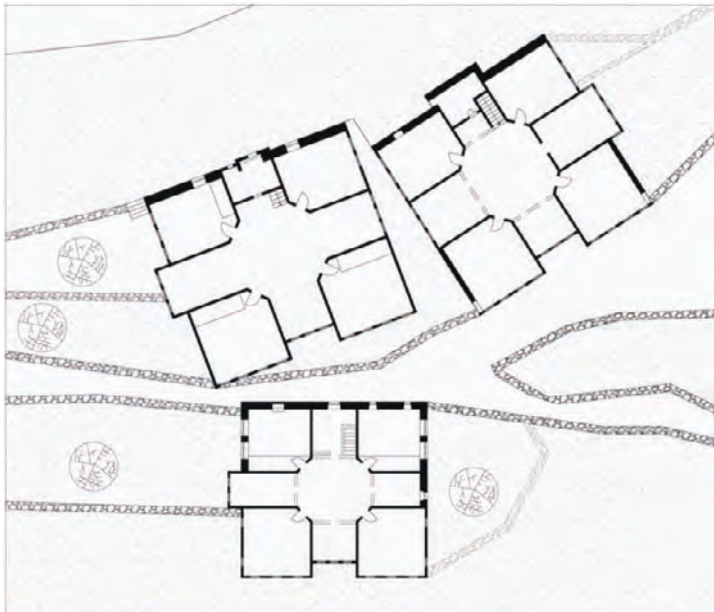
Table 3 – Lots on the Pappa street
(Vergouleika neighborhood)
(graphic byVelika Ivkovska,
redrawn from: Moutsopoulos 1990)

Evliya Celebi describes the mansions of the Greek quarter in 17th-century Kastoria as being "grand seraglios of a strange and curious nature. All the houses on the shores of the lake possess boatsheds and enclosed balconies. The seraglios are mansions with ports, and with one floor above the other in the Constantinople style".[9] The mansions in the hilly district of Doltso were destroyed by fire, and all of those that remain in the city date from the 19th century. Most of these mansions, 20-30 in all, were built by wealthy Greek merchants between 1740 and 1780. Most are the type of plan with an inner hall, and their outer façades are of unpainted plaster. Sometimes on the top floor, in certain places in the interior, there were alcoves separated into niches meant to hold an oil lamp or icon. Apart from such special features as these, the architecture of the house was completely Ottoman (Fig. 2, Table 4).

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[8] The *şahniş* is a traditional type of oriel window found in Greece, the Balkans, and the Middle East.

[9] Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatname*, V, 575-577.

Table 4 – Floor plans, section and west view of the Papakosta Mansion
(graphics by Velika Ivkovska, source: Doikos, S. 1980)

The architecture of the older mansions in Kastoria (as well as those in Siatista) that have survived and date to the beginning of the 18th century – such as the mansion called Tsiatsapas (repaired 1754) and those of the Emmanouil brothers (Fig. 3) or Nantzis (Fig. 4) – emerged during that period with a very particular morphology and typology, employing a tower-like base and a linear arrangement of the rooms on the floors. The interior courtyard is surrounded by high walls, which isolates it from the street. In front, on the interior façade facing the courtyard, is a rectangular hall, a broad "Hayat"-type house with pavilions (Moutsopoulos 1990: 27).

The mansions referred to above are all located in the Greek quarter of the town. Surviving inscriptions indicate that all these mansions were built at the beginning of the 18th century.

The houses seen in Kastoria are all built on a high foundation wall. They generally have two or three floors. The houses have an inner courtyard, and the ground floor was used as stables while the rooms and the hall (*sofa*) were positioned on the upper floors, which were reached via wooden stairs to the *doxatos* and the pavilion on the top floor. The houses have windows on both the upper floors (where they are called *tepe pencere*) and on the lower floors, where they have wooden shutters. Most of the upper windows still have stucco frames and stained glass. The houses had a tremendously rich wooden interior decoration.

The Kastorian mansions are generally two-storey structures (ground floor and first floor); there are also, however, examples of three-storey mansions. The ground and first floor were usually built of stone, with a few slits (vertical shafts) on the ground floor and a few small windows on the mezzanine and first floor. The second floor was built of lighter materials – especially the section facing the interior courtyard or the lake, as well as the oriel windows – and was lighted by a double row of windows. The differentiation between the ground and first floors, which were built of stone, from the top floor, which was built of whitewashed *çatma*[10] with numerous large openings and a pronounced overhang of the eaves, is what created the characteristic morphology of the Kastorian mansions. The classification is based exclusively on the floors and bears no relationship to the actual height of the houses, which was highly dependent on the particular formation of the land as well as on the period of construction,

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[10] A thin wooden wall, a light exterior structure on the top floors of houses plastered on the outside with reinforced slaked lime mortar.

with, for example, many of the later mansions being taller and having more of a fortress-like character (Figs. 5-6). The morphology of the Kastorian house was characterized primarily by the appearance of the structural features, the arrangement of its plan, and its function and foundation (Moutsopoulos 1990: 23).

Moving on from this description of the plan types of the Ottoman houses in Kastroia to the matter of development over time, in analyzing the Kastorian mansions we can see that, from the time of their first appearance at the end of the 17th century through the 19th century, their floor plan function remained the same: auxiliary spaces and storerooms on the ground floor, with winter quarters on the mezzanine floor that communicated with the interior space via the staircase (Figs. 7-9). The second floor usually had two main rooms with fireplaces, and the doxatos served as the representative space for receptions, as well as the pavilions.

Through analysis of the floor plans of Kastorian mansions, three types emerge (Table 5). Type A was characterized by a long, narrow rectangle with a representative façade always turned toward the interior courtyard and with pavilions on the second floor at both ends of the hall. Type B featured a plan with a U-shape visible on the first floor (Table 3). And type C was a plan that reached its final stage in the shape of a cross inscribed within a square.
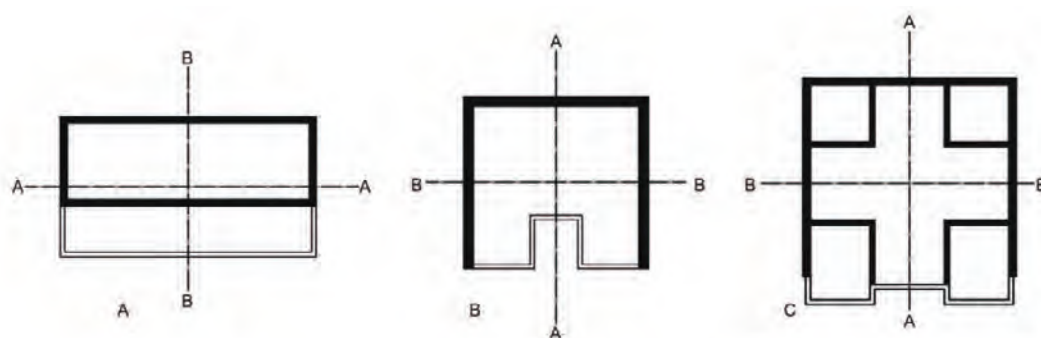
Table 5 – Typology of a Kastorian dwelling
(graphics by Velika Ivkovska, source: Moutsopoulos 1990)

Taking into consideration these three types, which are widely accepted by scholars in Greece, and making a comparative analysis with the detailed floor plan typology established by such Turkish scholars as Sedad Hakkı Eldem (in his detailed study of Ottoman house typology in *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi*), we can conclude that the type A, B, and C houses that are widely accepted and used as a typological determination for Ottoman houses (or for houses built in Ottoman times in what is now Greece) are actually the three common types that were present throughout the Ottoman Empire; respectively, the outer hall type (*dış sofalı*), the inner hall type (*iç sofalı*), and the central hall type (*orta sofalı*). The central hall type sometimes presents as the so-called "split belly type" (*karnıyarık*), as seen in the Ottoman houses in Kavala, in the Eastern Macedonia and Thrace administrative districts of today's Greece (Ivkovska 2016: 24). Later, these three types continued their development by adding pavilions at both ends of the hall, as well as by adding the *eyvan*s between rooms, which are present in the houses in Kastoria as well.

Conclusion

As has been seen, analysis of floor types shows that Kastorian houses followed the already established Ottoman floor type patterns, and that there were no differentiations between them. The beauty of Kastorian houses lies in their rich environment and society. The economic position of Kastoria's inhabitants allowed for the building of these magnificent structures that followed and respected nature through adaptation to the morphology of the terrain, creating

tower-like structures that stabilized them on the steep slopes while also incorporating the rich Ottoman traditions of aesthetics and construction.

We cannot conclude that these were typical Greek houses based simply on the fact that they were owned or commissioned by Greeks. In Ottoman times, Kastoria was a very wealthy settlement frequented and inhabited by merchants traveling to and trading with Venice, Istanbul, and the Austro-Hungarian kingdom. The fact that Kastoria was the personal property of the sultan (*hass-i hümayun*) tells us a lot about the position of the town and how it was viewed by sultans, since at the time it was the main producer of fur for the court. Trade and economic growth gave the town exceptional values and freedom to express in terms of architecture, which led to the construction of large, rich mansions that incorporated the elements of Ottoman architecture not only as a contemporary style of the era but also as a sign of wealth. The fact that these mansions were built, owned, and commissioned by Christians does not make them any less Ottoman, and this is true not only for their exterior, but also for their interior, which only utilized minor adaptations in certain elements in relation to the owner's religious practice.

Overall, it is a well-known fact that the architecture of Rumelia in Ottoman times had local influences. As Cerasi states:

> The typical Turkish-Ottoman house with its sharply defined characteristics not found in other cultures prevailed only in a limited core area of the empire, and though it has often been associated by scholars with Turkish ethnic elements, it included a large number of Slavic, Macedonian, Armenian and Greek communities and craftsmen. Whether the Turkish-Ottoman house existed as a distinct type before the seventeenth century and imposed itself to the non-Turkish Balkan communities when they began to prosper, or whether the Ottoman house was a syncretic product of a multiethnic society from the seventeenth century onward with the imperial court acting as a powerful catalyst is an open question. It is undeniable that synthesis and typological consolidation came after the seventeenth century when middle and upper class towns people gained larger role in the urban economy and life (Cerasi 1998: 116).

The architecture of the houses in Kastoria is of great importance for the development and richness of the Ottoman house, as well as for how it shows an immaculate conjunction of two cultures and religions in one space, the house.

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Turkish Abstract

1385'ten Yunanistan'a dahil olduğu 1913'e dek Osmanlı yönetiminde kalmış, 1526-28'de hass-ı hümayun ilan edilmiş olan Kesriye (Makedonya), önemli ticaret yolları üzerinde, zengin bir Osmanlı şehridir. Bu zenginlik günümüze ulaşmış kitabeleriyle 18. yüzyılın başlarında yapıldığı anlaşılan ve Osmanlı dönemi ev ve konaklarında izlenmektedir. Özellikle iç bezeme ve tefrişatları çok gösterişli olan Kesriye evleri geleneksel Türk ev mimarisinin plan tipleri olarak bilimsel literatürde tanımlanmış dış, iç ve orta sofalı örneklerdir. Konaklar genellikle iki katlıdır, zemin ve birinci katlar taştan, iç avluyu veya gölü gören ikinci kat ise beyaz sıvalı çatma tekniğindedir. İkinci katların saçaklarla vurgulanan cephelerinde çok sayıda geniş pencereler bulunur. Osmanlı estetik ve inşaat geleneklerini izleyen konaklar tepelik arazinin eğimine uyum sağlamak üzere yükseltilmiş, kule benzeri bir görünüm kazanmıştır.

Tümü şehrin Yunan mahallesinde bulunan konakların sahiplerinin Hıristiyan olması yapıların dış veya iç yapılarının, görünümlerinin değiştirilmesini gerektirmemiştir. Bu sahipler sadece inançlarının gereklerine göre bazı uyarlamalar yapmakla yetinmişlerdir. Kimi yerel katkıların da gözlendiği bu yapılar farklı kültür ve dinlerin buluştuğu ortak bir mekânları (ev) oluştururlar.

Biographical Note

Velika Ivkovska is an engineer architect and currently teaches History of Art and Architecture and Design Studio courses at Bahçeşehir University (BAU) in Istanbul. She was born in Skopje, Republic of North Macedonia where she got her Bachelor degree in Engineering and Architecture at the University of "Ss. Cyril and Methodius" (2004). She received (June 2013) her Master of Science degree (Building Heritage) at the University American College Skopje, Department of Architecture and Design. She discussed her PhD thesis entitled "The Formation of an Ottoman Town in the Balkans: the Case-study of Kavala" at the Istanbul Technical University. She actively participates in conferences and seminars related to the History of Architecture. Her fields of interests cover the area of the Ottoman and Vernacular architecture as well as the field of the Byzantine Architecture, Modern architecture, and the History of Garden Design.
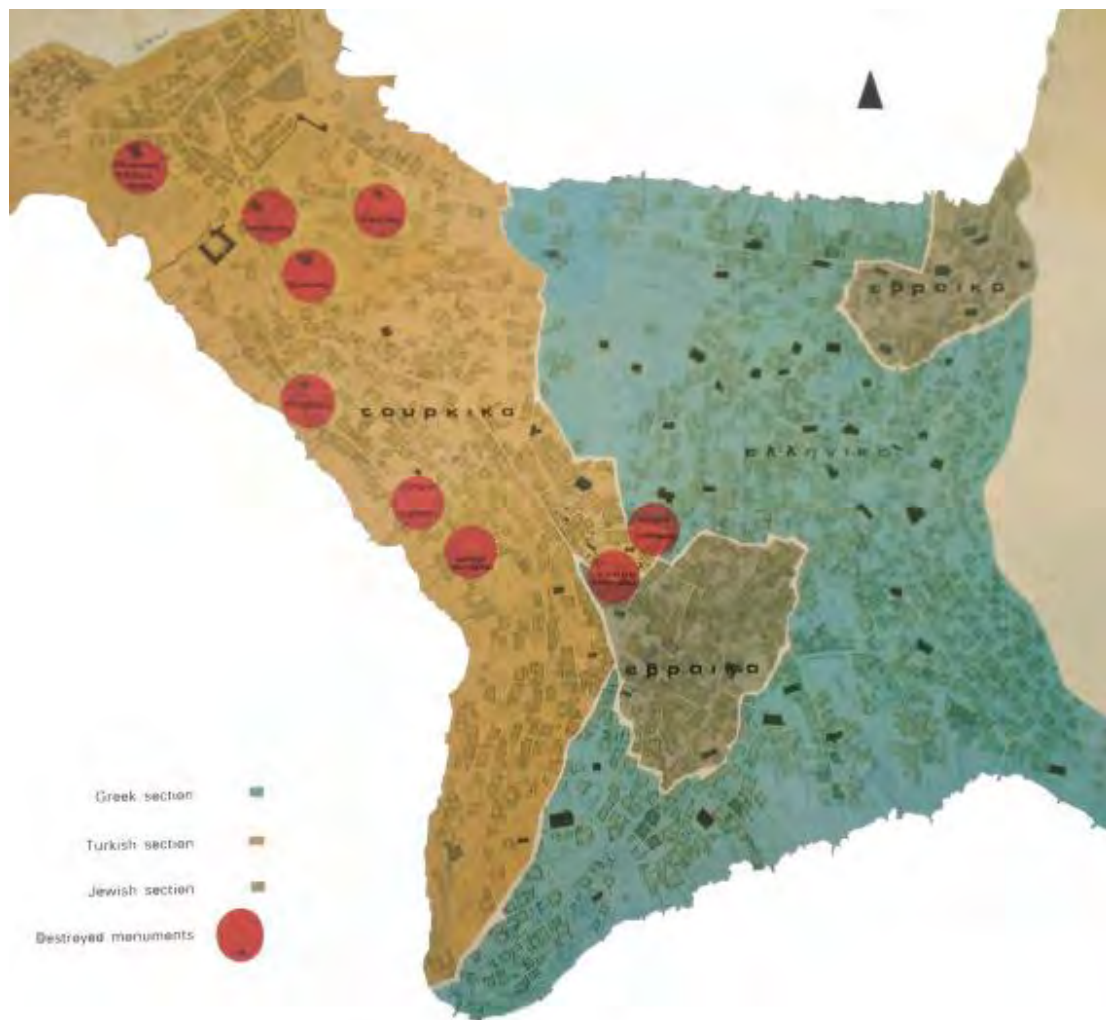
Fig. 1 – Map of Kastoria with the neighborhoods
(after Moutsopoulos 1990)

Fig. 2 – South view of Papaterpou
Mansion in the Doltso
neighborhood
(©V. Ivkovska, 2014)

Fig. 3 – Emmanouil Mansion
(©V. Ivkovska, 2014)

Fig. 4 – Nantzis Mansion
(©V. Ivkovska, 2014)

Fig. 5 – Skoutaris Mansion
(©V. Ivkovska, 2014)

Fig. 6 – Pouliopoulou
Mansion
(©V. Ivkovska, 2014)

Fig. 7 – Bassara mansion
(©V. Ivkovska, 2014)

Fig. 8 – Bassara mansion interior
(©V. Ivkovska, 2014)

Fig. 9 – Staircase of the Bassara mansion (©V. Ivkovska, 2014)

Fig. 10 – The rich interior of the Kastoria houses (source: Wikimedia Commons)

Fig. 11 – View of Constantinople (ca 1750), Kyr-Yiannakis Nantzis mansion
(source: macedonian-heritage.gr)

AN OVERVIEW ON MOSQUE ARCHITECTURE
OF THE GOLDEN HORDE PERIOD IN CRIMEA

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T his paper provides a condensed overview of mosque architecture in the period of the Golden Horde in Crimea. Research on the Golden Horde Empire (XIIIth to XVth century) and its material culture is still in its beginnings. Little is known regarding the construction activities of the vast territories of this empire during that time.[1]

The material presented here is part of the author's broader research on the Golden Horde remains in Crimea. As space is limited, this paper focuses on material evidence related to mosque architecture, specifically plan and structure.[2] The results of the author's research are based on extensive fieldwork over the course of several excursions undertaken in the last twenty years. The latest and most in-depth of these fieldworks having occurred between 2012-14 within the *Crimean Historical and Cultural Heritage Inventory Project* on the Turco-Muslim heritage in Crimea,[3] the results of which have been recently published (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016).

The question of influence and/or common sources of earlier or contemporary cultural fields must be taken into consideration when dealing with the peninsula's heritage of the *Ulus-ı Cuci*,[4] the name referring to how the Golden Horde referenced itself. For instance, the art and architecture of Golden Horde territories outside Crimea, of the neighboring and rivaling Ilkhanids and the Seljuks in Anatolia and even the Mamluks must also be considered. The relationship to neighboring cultural environments in the peninsula, the Italian colonies in southern Crimea, the Byzantine/Greek colony of Theodoro-Mangup, the North-Western Black Sea shore and the Transcaucasian region are also part of the author's query (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a and 2018b).

An investigation into the remaining inscriptions – including inscriptions transmitted into written sources – and a careful study of primary sources opens new perspectives on patronage and movement of artisans and shows interconnection that has until now been overlooked. The narratives of Ibn Battuta who traveled through Crimea in the 1330s and Evliya Çelebi, who visited the peninsula in the 1650s, furnish valuable information.

A region of transit and trade, Crimea was a prosperous territory for diverse influence and all kinds of exchange during the Middle Ages, as part of the Silk Road trade route, and integrated into the vast Mongol Empire thus politically and culturally connected from China to the Balkans (Ciocîltan 2012). What we call today the "Golden Horde Period" spans from 1240 until the middle of the 15th century, when the region was taken over by the Crimean Khanate. This political change was not reflected in a radical change regarding the material culture until the beginning of the 16th century, when the orientation of the whole region underwent major transformation.

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[1] In order to shorten the references, only studies directly relevant to the issues examined in this paper are given, with preference given to recent ones containing references to earlier work. Pioneer works on the Turco-Islamic Heritage are Akçokraklı 2006, Jakobson 1964, Aslanapa 1979.

[2] Issues of decoration, the question of workshops and patronage; i.e. the deeper socio-historico-cultural and anthropological dimensions of the peninsula's Golden Horde environment as discernable in its material heritage are discussed in an article prepared by the author for the REMMM special edition on the Golden Horde and the Islamization of the Eurasian Steppes (1250-1550) (Kançal Ferrari 2018a).

[3] Project on the Turco-Muslim heritage in Crimea funded by Prime Ministry of Republic of Turkey Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB).

[4] All names are given in modern Turkish spelling.

The later turbulent history of Crimea with its changing political identities had significant consequences for the material remains of Crimea, particularly the ones from the period of the Golden Horde. As a result, there exist only few monuments of the pre-modern period in comparison with other regions, e.g. Anatolia.

Among the cultural centers of the Golden Horde Empire, the important cities of Ürgenç in Harezm, Old and New Saray (Saray Batu-Saray Berke), accepted to be founded bu Batu Han (r. 1227-1255) and Muhammed Özbek Han (r.1312-1340) respectively, Gülistan (possibly New Saray), Bulgar, Astrakhan (Hacı Tarhan) in the Volga Basin, Ükek (Saratov), Beldjamen (Vodyansk) on the river Volga Azak-Tana on the River Don, Macar on the river Kuma in the North Caucasus, and in the West, Şehr-i Cedid (Orhei-Moldova), Kuchugury and finally Isaccea on the river Danube can be enumerated (Fedorov-Davydov 2001, Nadyrova 2010).[5] From all of these important cities outside of Crimea, only the remains of a handful of mosques are known thanks to archeological excavations (Zilivinskaya, 2012).

Currently, the opinion that the Golden Horde Empire was a simple culture still based on nomadic life without much in the way of construction activities; a culture not comparable with other important centers in Central Asia or Iran is prevalent. Even publications on the extensive excavations of Golden Horde cities, which bear witness to a sophisticated urban life, did not alter these prejudices. This is because, until today, no written documents like *vakfiye* (endownment descriptions) to concretely support archeological finds have been discovered; as is the case in neighboring regions like Anatolia and especially Ilkhanid Tebriz, where nothing of the monuments of Gazan Han (r. 1295-1304) and his vezir Reşiduddin (1249-1318) is extant, but knowledge of these large endowment complexes is transmitted through written evidence (Blessing 2014: 149-153).

Mosque construction in the Golden Horde realm and especially in Crimea differs from other regions in Central Asia, e.g. Bukhara and Samarkand, in the sense that there was no Islamic culture and as a consequence, no building tradition, before the arrival of the *Ulus-ı Cuci* in many of the settlements. Ürgenç, which contained a Muslim community since the 8th century is the most important exception; and its remains of the Golden Horde are generally not evaluated within the heritage under discussion. Nearly all other towns were newly founded on empty locations or rarely implemented / restructured on non-Islamic settlements, a likely factor, which lead to their decay after political and economical crisis.

In the Golden Horde territories, Islam became widespread in the 14th century, although it was already Berke Han (r. 1257-1266) who had adopted Islam in the second half of the 13th century. It was mainly under Muhammed Özbek Han (r.1312-1340) during the first half of the 14th century that most of the population of the Golden Horde realm converted to Islam and the Golden Horde Empire gained an "Islamic" identity, although the nature of this identity is disputed. Turkish saints like Sarı Saltık and his disciple, Kemal Ata, were influential figures in the peninsula (De Weese 1994; Izmailov-Usmanov 2010). The Ilkhanid ruler Gazan Han (r.1295-1304) embraced Islam in the last years of the 13th century, thus much later than the rulers of the Golden Horde.

Mosques having been identified on the Golden Horde territory all show a similar design; they are so called hypostyle mosques with equal unities; in some cases, adjunct minarets are partly extant, e.g. in Bulgar and Ürgenç. Currently remains of mosques have been found and partly investigated in 14 locations, but further research will surely furnish new material. (Izmailov-Usmanov 2010, 102-111; Zilivinskaya 2012) The remaining traces of decoration of these edifices point to Central Asia and Iran, and only to a lesser extent, to Crimea and Anatolia.

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[5] The names and geographical situation of some settlements are still a matter of discussion. I hold to the use in scholarly literature and in not solved names on the evidence on coins given in Ağat 1976.
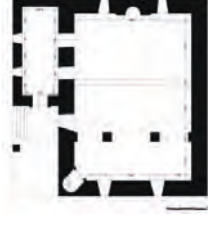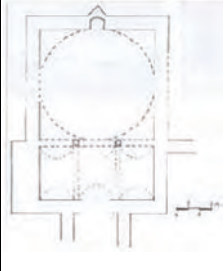
Brick construction and tile decoration, so widely used in Central Asia, Iran and partly Anatolia has also been identified on some edifices in Crimea. However, stone as a construction and decoration material, sufficiently available in the region, was always preferred. On the other hand, the remains of the mosque in Bulgar with its stone pillars show technical and stylistical connections to the architecture of Crimea and Anatolia, an indice that material and style were not limited to specific geographical areas. Therefore we can accept that diverse combinations of ashlar and rubble stone, brick and tile were used in the whole geography of the Golden Horde realm.

As little is known regarding the religious monuments in the Golden Horde cities, the remaining structures in Crimea gain importance. Eski Kırım (Solkhat) in the East and Kırk Yer-Salaçık in the West and their respective environments were important Golden Horde settlements. Eski Kırım was a city newly founded during the Golden Horde period not far from Genoese Caffa, which was settled at approximately the same time. Ibn Battuta's enumeration of settlements and buildings on his way through the eastern part of Crimea gives the image of a nearly empty peninsula except for some areas of settlement. He speaks of Eski Kırım as a prosperous, wealthy city and mentions a mosque in Genoese Caffa. In Eski Kırım, architectural remains that include inscriptions are extant. Information of construction activities in the second half of the 13th century, among them a mosque in 1261/62 (660) at the time of Berke Han (r. 1257-1266) and a second one with the support of the Mamluk Sultan Kalavun (r. 1279-1290) some years later, witness not only a strong urbanization, but also furnish evidence of the early Islamization of Crimea. Construction activities in this town would continue until the beginning of the 16th century, when Mengli Geray I endowed a minbar for the Özbek Han Mosque (Evliya Çelebi 2003, 252). In Kırk Yer-Salaçık, the currently earliest inscription in Arabic dates from 710/1310-1311[6] and therefore furnishes concrete proof of its being inhabited by the Golden Horde at that date too (Gertsen-Mogaritchev, 1993. The important town of Sudak was also under Golden Horde (or Turkish) rule until the second half of the 14th century, as it was part of the *iqtā* (a non-hereditary grant of usufruct rights to a territory) granted to the former Selçuk sultan Izzettin Kaykavus (r.1246–1257) by the Golden Horde khan Berke (r. 1257-1266) (Sümer 2001). It would then be under Genoese control from 1365 until the Ottoman conquest in 1475.

Today, in total, there are six extant mosques from the Golden Horde period in Crimea, three of them in Eski Kırım, four of them having only portions of the walls without a remaining ceiling. (Kırımlı-Kançal 2016: 88-95, 456-461, 606-631, 762-773; Zilivinskaya 2014) (See table)

Current name, type of building, date and location	Name as it appears in historical sources or on inscription Patron (if known)	Measurements	Plan*	Extant Decoration
Sultan Kalavun Mosque (1287) Eski Kırım (Solkhat)	-cami (Makrizi 1845, 2/2-91) Patron: Mamluk Sultan Kalavun (r. 1279-1290)	15 x 19 m	**	

[6] This inscription fragment today inserted on the entrance façade of the Zincirli Medrese in Salacık is to my knowledge not yet published. The date has been read by the late Hüsamettin Aksu, God rest his soul.

Özbek Han Mosque (1314-1315) Eski Kırım (Solkhat)	-mescit Inscription in situ Patron: Abdülaziz bin Ibrâhim el-Erbîlî during the reign of Muhammed Özbek Han (r.1312-1340)	13.5 x 17.5 m with adjunct medrese		Entrance (north-western) façade, mihrab, columns and capitals show sophisticated decoration carved into stone. Diverse decorated fragments show a rich motif vocabulary
Sudak Fortress Mosque (begin 13th-first half 14th century) Sudak	-cami (Ibn Bibi 1996, 1/345, Evliya Çelebi 2003, 7/554-555) Patrons: Hüsameddin Çoban during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad (r. 1220-1237); -Muhammed Özbek Han (r.1312-1340)	10 (13) x 13 m domed space: 10 x 10 m only extant original ceiling		Mihrab, columns and capitals show sophisticated decoration carved into stone
Kurşunlu Camii (Leaden Mosque) undated, probably end of the 14th-beginning 15th century Eski Kırım (Solkhat)	-tekke, imaret, buka cami-i kebir, mescid-i kebir (Evliya Çelebi 2003, 252) Patrons: Bayboğalı Hatun and a certain Şeyh Ali el-Bâkırî	12.30 x 17.70 m with dependencies domed space: ca. 10.5 x10.5 m	**	
Tekke-Mosque and Darü'l-Huffâz (1358) Şeyhköy	-darü'l-huffâz (now lost inscription, Akçokraklı 2006, 254) Patron: Emir Kutluğ Timur Bek bin TulekTimur Bek during the reign of Giyaseddin Berdibek Han (r. 1357-1359)	10 (14,5) x 16 m with dependencies domed space: 10 x 10 m		Decoration in the extant part of the mihrab
Canibek Han Mosque (1345-1346), (1454-1455) Kırkyer – Salaçık	-mescid (Evliya Çelebi 2003, 7/228) Patrons: Canibek Han (r. 1342 -1357); Hacı Geray Han I. (r. 1441-1466)	8 x 12 m		Mihrab, fragments inside the mosque, others in the Hansaray Museum.

*Plan drawings by Gülşen Dişli for the *Crimean Historical and Cultural Heritage Inventory Project*. **Sketch by the author

Physical description of the Mosques:

Eski Kırım (Solkhat):

1. The Sultan Kalavun Mosque (1287):
According to Makrizi, the mosque was constructed with the financial support by the Mamluk sultan Kalavun (r. 1279-1290) (Makrizi 1845: 91). Although the patronage of Kalavun seems now firmly established, the edifice is still widely known under the name of Sultan Baibars I (r. 1260-1277).[7] The edifice measures roughly 19 × 15m; it is the biggest mosque in Crimea from that period. From this mosque, only the floor and the walls are extant and it has undergone some restoration. Consequently its remains today are supposed to be only partly the original building of the 13th century. Kramarovsky even denies any attribution of this mosque to the Mamluk sultan (Kramarovskiy 2013: 43-44). Today, only a projecting mihrap niche and on the opposite façade, some traces can furnish information on its interior organization. It seems the edifice had a projecting entrance portal. Further examination of the traces on the inner surface of the wall facing the *kıble* wall point to arches posed on piers or columns supporting the ceiling and dividing the interior into longitudinal naves similar to the Özbek Han Mosque discussed below. The current state of research does not allow any further conclusions to be made (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 622-625).

2. The Özbek Han Mosque (1314-1315)
This edifice is probably the best known monument from the early period in Crimea. It is today an active mosque. The mosque has undergone several extensive restorations; the minaret is reconstructed, however it was probably added later (Kirilko 2015). It is also claimed that the mosque was initially erected at a different place and then only the entrance portal (and *mihrab*) later moved to its current location. (Kramarovsky 2013:[8] 39; 2008)

According to its inscription, the mosque was constructed by Abdülaziz bin Ibrâhim el-Erbîlî during the reign of Muhammed Özbek Khan in 1314-1315.[9] It measures 13.5 × 17.5m, and is connected to the medrese of İnci Bek Hatun, dated some twenty years later (1332/33). The mosque possesses the only extant entrance façade decoration in Crimea; although the façade underwent heavy restoration and many losses can be seen. Today, a gable roof is posed on this substructure; the built-in minaret is placed on the North-east corner. The interior of the prayer hall shows a longitudinal organization with three naves divided by arches on octagonal columns with beautiful capitels. The most important feature of this mosque besides the entrance façade is certainly the extraordinary *mihrab*, although it was also damaged and has undergone restoration and recently was colored with a thick layer of color by the local community against any conservation standards. It shows a double *mihrab*, i.e. consisted of two niches with two *muqarnas* hoods, the one situated inside the other, the exterior one forming a frame for the smaller one. Colonettes frame the niches. Similar *mihrabs* do exist in Anatolia (Bakırer 2000: 270, 276, 282, 283, 305, 310, 311). A detailed analysis of the decoration of this building goes beyond this paper, but stone decoration points to contemporary East Anatolia, at that time under Ilkhanid rule, i.e. to the cities of Sivas, Amasya, Tokat and Erzurum (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a; Kırımlı-Kançal 2016: 612-621; Blessing 2014).

The combination of this mosque with the adjunct medrese and inside the medrese (or between the medrese and the mosque) of the tomb of the patron (Kramarovsky 2013: 39) is

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[7] For a discussion of the primary sources relating to mosque construction in Eski Kırım to the Mamluk Sultan see Garkavetc 2010, and Kançal-Ferrari 2018a.

[8] Kramarovsky was at the head of the archaelogical investigations in Eski Kırım and has published widely on the topic.

[9] For a discussion of the possible identity of the patron see (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a).

also known outside Crimea, i.e. Mamluk Cairo, Iran and Anatolia (Behrens-Abouseif-Fernandes 1984; Blair 2002: 117-129; Tanman 2005; Tanman-Parlak 2006; Blessing 2014: 30-35, 183-192; Gündüz Küskü 2014: 337-338)

3. Sudak Fortress Mosque (begin 13th-first half 14th century):

Erected by the Seljuk's and later the Golden Horde, the monument served as a mosque under the Ottomans until the end of the 18th century. During the reign of the Genoese and later Russian domination, the mosque was transformed into a church and employed accordingly.The current mosque in the Sudak fortress must have been erected prior to 1365, as the Genoese then transformed it into a church.Today's knowledge assumes the Sudak fortress mosque to be constructed during the reign of the Seljuk Sultan Alaeddin Keykubad (r. 1220-1237) by Emir Hüsameddin Çoban, governor of Kastamonu during his conquest of Sudak. The mosque underwent restorations in the 13th-14th centuries, probably during the prosperous phase of the reign of Özbek Han (r.1312-1340) the stone carvings seem to be completed during this period.

The edifice mesures 10 × 13m exterior, the depth of the narthex is about 3m. The built-in minaret is placed at the south-west corner, the extant *mihrab* consists of a set of frames and colonettes support a *muqarnas* hood. According to Evliya Çelebi, there was a mausoleum on the north-east of the mosque that today is non-extant. A narrow room with a separate entry from the outside and direct access through a door and a window with the domed main space shows structural similarity with the Darü'l-Huffâz in Şeyhköy. The edifice was presented by the author in an earlier paper where the focus was particularly on the passage to the dome which is a combination of romboite formes known as Turkish triangles filled in pendentives. It is of extraordinary importance, as it is the only mosque in the Crimean peninsula and in the whole Golden Horde realm having its original ceiling. Its *mihrab*, which has an inscription in Latin carved in during the time of the Genoese, is also notable as it is, together with the one in the Özbek Han Mosque, the only completely extant *mihrab* from that period. The edifice must be included into the group of remaining religious buildings of the Golden Horde in Crimea. Parallels can be traced to Selçuk and early Ottoman so called 'single dome mescit' type (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a, Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 762-773).

4. *The Tekke-Mosque and Darü'l-Huffâz in Şeyhköy (1358)*

This edifice has been included in our inventory on the edifices in Crimea. It was examined in the 1920s by the famous Crimean Tatar scholar Osman Akçokraklı who called it Tekke-mosque (tekke-cami) and read the now lost inscription. (Akçokraklı 2006, 254) The edifice must be included into the group of remaining religious buildings of the Golden Horde in Crimea. According to the inscription, the edifice was constructed as a darü'l-huffâz[10] during the reign of Kutluğ Timur Bek mentioned below, the governor (emir) of Crimea at the time of the Golden Horde khan Giyaseddin Berdibek Han (r. 1357-1359) in 1358.

Blown up in the last days of World War II, it remains a ruin. The general layout is known thanks to a plan made at the beginning of the 20th century. This plan has been verified during field observation. The edifice had a main domed space of 10 x 10m (domed space) with adjunct rooms on the north-west and west-south, forming an L around the building. The photograph of the inscription, being most likely the entrance portal, shows a row of *muqarnas* which, seems to suggest that the original entrance portal had a kind of *muqarnas* hood that was later altered. This entrance portal was probably situated opposite the *kible* wall, where according to the plan, a corridor with two rooms on each side, lead to the domed main room. On the south-west side, two small and one large room were placed. The large room in the corner did have a separate entrance and was not connected to the rest of the building while

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[10] A theological school for the memorizing of the Holy Qur'an; sometimes attached to a mosque.

one of the two adjunct rooms also had an entrance and was connected to the room on its south, which had a window opened on the domed main space. Another narrow room (designed in the plan as room of the şeyh) on the north-east side of the domed hall also furnished direct access to this same domed room; thus from two rooms, direct communication through windows was established with the mescit part of the building. Parts of the projecting *mihrab* are still *in situ*. The author proposes that the *mihrab* was a so-called double *mihrab* like the one in the Özbek Han Mosque discussed above. Large marble pieces showing round moulding of high plasticity scattered in the environment were probably parts of the entrance portal. The remains of a minaret are still visible. This minaret was, according to the plan, a built-in structure placed on the south-west corner of the main domed space, and as a consequence, accessible from inside the adjunct room. It is currently impossible to know to which degree this layout is original, and which functions the different rooms had. It seems nevertheless possible to see in this structure a kind of *zaviye*, i.e. a multifunctional building with originally a sort of a central domed prayer space with a *mihrab* and adjunct rooms of the *darü'l-huffâz* and other rooms for the need of the school/community. As the name "tekke-mosque", as it is known today is not present in the surviving reading of the inscription, it could be a later namegiving and does imply, not necessarily an original but at least a later, affiliation to a Sufi community (Kançal-Ferrari 2018a, Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 88-95).

5. *Kurşunlu Camii (Leaden Mosque) (14th century/beginning 15th century)*
Another mosque in Eski Kırım is the so-called Kurşunlu Camii (Leaden Mosque): The edifice does not contain any inscription, but is dated back to the end of the 14th century/beginning 15th century based on attributions according to the account of Evliya Çelebi. He indicates two successive stages of the building, the second one being a reorganization and change in function. He cites the name of a woman of the line of Kutluğ Timur, governor of Crimea under Canibek Han (r. 1342-1357) and Berdibek Han (r. 1357-1359), Bayboğalı Hatun and for the later stage the name of a certain Şeyh Ali el-Bâkırî and the date Cemazeyilahir 815/ September-October 1412. In his account on the monument, he uses the terms "tekke", "imaret", "buka", "cami-i kebir", "mescid-i kebir" (Evliya Çelebi 2003, 252). The different names Evliya Çelebi attributes to the building and his quotation of two different inscriptions shows that a building could be multifunctional and/or undergo a change in function within a short time. Furthermore, multifunctional earlier structures belonging to Sufi communities could evolve in time and also be transformed into 'orthodox' buildings and would then be called simply 'mosque' from the 16th century on. It is not clear from the account if the building was used as a tekke and a mosque at the same time, but this was most probably the case. A similar situation can be observed in Anatolia and Mamluk Cairo. (Tanman-Parlak 2006; Behrens-Abouseif 1985). The analysis of the blurrying of frontiers between mosques and Sufi convents in Cairo during the Mamluk period (1250-1517) can give further interesting insights into the socio-cultural dimension of identities attributed to buildings and their transformations (Loiseau 2012: 191).

The core structure of the edifice measures 12.30m × 17.70m. Investigations have shown that it had a domed main space and connected rooms, the ones opposite to the *kıble* wall were likely covered by barrel vaults. Traces of the passage to the dome can be seen on the extant walls; the dome had a diametre of approximately 10.5m; if so, it would be the largest dome from that period in Crimea. As the edifice is in ruins and the site is filled up with earth and building material, no close analysis is possible anymore. But the remaining structures point to a projecting portal on the north-west side, another entrance on the north-east side and several adjunct rooms. It had perhaps a layout similar to the edifice in Şeyhköy discussed above. (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 608-609).

6. Canibek Han Mosque in Kırkyer – Salaçık (later known as Çufutkale) (1345-1346; 1454-1455)

The Canibek Han Mosque in Kırkyer was constructed by Canibek Han (r. 1342-1357) in the middle of the 14th century according to the date on a now lost inscription which reads 746/1345-1346; and then reconstructed/restored a hundred years later (1454-1455) by the founder of the Crimean Khanate, Hacı Geray Han I. (r. 1441-1466). This mosque was excavated and examined in 1928 by Osman Akçokraklı, Hüseyin Bodaninski and Boris Zasıpkin (Akçokraklı 2006: 257-293). The interior of this rather small mosque measures 12 × 8m. Today, the walls and the *mihrab* are partly extant. Traces of a built-in minaret at the south-west corner and four columns inside the mosque have been determined. That they would have carried a dome, as it was also supposed, is not really probable, as the extant domes of the period in the region are all posed directly on the walls and not on columns. It is more likely they carried arches which supported the ceiling; remains of the support stones, from which the arches did spring, can still be seen in the side walls, pointing to arches parallel to the *kıble* wall. The *mihrab* wall shows an interesting triple-niche arrangement with the partly extant *mihrab*. It consists of a niche and colonettes supporting a *muqarnas* hood with a rosette on each side. This building exemplifies the direct continuation of the architectural culture in the peninsula from the Golden Horde to the Crimean Khanate. The mausoleum (türbe) of Hanike Hanım, the daughter of Tohtamış Han (r.1380-96), in the same place, dates from the first half of the 15th c. It is the only standing Islamic edifice in Kırkyer, although heavily restored. A cemetery existed nearby the mosque. Many fragments with diverse vegetal and geometrical decoration were found on the site; some of them are still inside the mosque, others were brought to the Hansaray Museum in Bahçesaray (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 456-461).

Regarding the typology, it can be said that in the light of current knowledge, only the edifice in Kırkyer is an independent mosque with a single praying hall, but the extant structure dates probably from the early Crimean Khanate period, i.e. from the middle of the 15th c. All of the other edifices consist of a main prayer space with dependencies/attached rooms/antechambers. Of the six extant mosques, three show a domed structure, the dome having a diameter of about 10 m. For the other three edifices we do not have concrete information on the structure of the ceiling, two of them have a longitudinal, the third one has a transversal arrangement of the arches on piers or columns bearing the ceiling. In Anatolia, similar structures are known from the beginning of the12th century on, with a dome of similar size (Altun 1988: 54-55; Gündüz Küskü 2014: 121-129, 368-369).

In examining the layout of the buildings, it becomes obvious that in Crimea, we have socio-religious complexes which are typical for the period in a region with a newly converted and partly still heterodox population. Some monuments are called "mosque" (i.e. "cami", "mescit"), others have different namings like convent ("zaviye"). Ibn Battuta calls some complexes "zaviye"; and the larger edifices "Friday mosque" or simply "mosque". The multifunctional convents, which also provided lodging and food for three days could later simply be called "mosque" too and as a consequence the naming also points to a change in use (See table).

Later buildings like the completely reconstructed mosque in Akmescit/Simferopol dated 1508 or the huge mosque today in ruins in Eskisaray dated to the early 16th century, show both dependencies, pointing also to a multifunctional use. The mosque in Eskisaray is worth mentioning as it consists of a large rectangular main space and a two-storey mausoleum with a *mihrab* on its eastern part of the *kıble* wall with a window opening on the prayer space (Kırımlı-Kançal-Ferrari 2016: 78-87). This edifice, with its relationship between mausoleum and mosque, must have belonged to a Sufi order. The question if it continued a tradition already established in Crimea is still open. Among the monuments discussed above, only one has a tomb attached to it (Özbek Han Mosque), others have tomb structures next to or knowledge of them is transmitted in sources. On the other hand, the domed structures in Şeyhköy and Eski

Kırım can be interpreted as a multifunctional type of building with a domed structure combining communal prayer with the use by a Sufi convent (Tanman 2005).

Besides the architectural layout and plan, the decoration of these edifices furnishes important information on the context of the artistic environment in Crimea. Motives, patterns and decoration schemes of the edifices must be compared within Crimea itself, a task which has only been done limitedly until now (Aibabina 2018; Aibabina 2001; Kançal-Ferrari 2018a). Additionally, the continually mentioned relationship with places outside of Crimea, here mainly Anatolia and the Transcaucasian region, must be examined in greater depth, as the connection to Anatolia has always been pointed out, but concrete evidence has rarely been furnished. We can, for example, find parallels to Ilkhanid Anatolia where the Anatolian "counterparts" were considered as products originating in local workshops. (Blessing 2014: 6, 183, 189) This then, can reciprocally lead to reconsider the artistic language of Anatolia during the Ilkhanid period and its being in contact with other places. The first Turkish scholar to write on the architectural heritage in Crimea, the late Oktay Aslanapa, established a relationship between the decoration of the Özbek Han Mosque based on stylistic analysis with the mosque of Ilyas Bey in Balat (1404, Milet) (Aslanapa 1979: 6). Current knowledge and close analysis permits the establishment of connections to examples in Amasya, Tokat and Erzurum which are from the same period as the edifices in Crimea.

Conclusion

This short overview shows that we are just at the beginning of the exploration of the artistic connections within a region currently so fragmented. Considerable material in this article is presented for the first time within the framework of the Golden Horde architecture by the author, e.g. the Tekke-mosque (darü'l-huffaz) in Şeyhköy. A special focus on inscriptions and close analysis of primary sources and the buildings themselves opens new perspectives. The monuments in Crimea have to be (re-)situated within the broader geographical and historical context as Crimea was, and with its remains continues to be, a microcosmos showing influences and interactions with many different environments, but in the light of current knowledge, mainly Anatolia. Discussions on the early period of Islamization in the peninsula, until now based almost uniquely on historical sources, have to include the presented edifices. Furthermore, these monuments can give important insights into the nature of the relationship between different practices within the Muslim communities in the pre-modern period.

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Turkish Abstract

Bu yazıda Kırım'daki Altın Orda dönemine ait cami mimarisinin genel bir değerlendirmesi yapılmaktadır. Altın Orda dönemi (13ncü-15nci yüzyıllar arası) yeterince incelenmemiştir; bundan dolayı bu döneme ait inşa faaliyetleri hakkında ancak kısıtlı bilgi mevcuttur. Az bilinen Altın Orda'nın mimari kültürünün en önemli yapıları ve yapı kalıntıları Kırım'dadır. Bu yazı, incelenen arkeolojik bulgular ile yazılı kaynakları birleştirip, söz konusu dönemin mimari kültürünü daha iyi anlamayı hedeflemektedir. Yazıda sunulan bulgular son yirmi sene boyunca yapılan saha çalışmalarının kısa bir özetidir; en geniş arazi araştırması 2012-14 arasında gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu birinci el bulguların yanında, tarihi kaynaklar, arşiv belgeleri, seyahatnameler, arkeolojik raporlar ile yayınlanmış geniş literatür de araştırmaya dahil edilmiştir.

Daha önceki ve çağdaşı kültür ortamlarıyla olan etkileşimi ve/veya beslendikleri ortak bir geçmiş de yazıda değinilen konular arasındadır, bunların başında Kırım dışındaki Altın Orda hâkimiyeti altındaki bölgeler ve Anadolu'daki Selçuklu ve İlhanlı dönemi yapıları gelmektedir. Kırım yarımadası, İpek yolunun bir kolunda yer almasından dolayı orta çağda önemli bir ticaret bölgesiydi. Kırım'ın bu özelliği, eskiden beri yarımadayı kültürel etkileşim, fikir alışverişi, eşya ve el sanatlarının değiş tokuşu için çok verimli bir bölge haline getirmiştir. Altın Orda ortadan kalktıktan sonra bölge Kırım Hanlığı ve Osmanlı

İmparatorluğu'nun hâkimiyeti altına girmiş, daha sonra da Sovyetler Birliği, Ukrayna sınırları içinde kalmış ve en son Rusya Devleti tarafından ilhak edilmiştir; bu çalkantılı geçmiş Kırım'ın kültürel mirasının tahrip edilmesinin en önemli sebebi olarak kabul edilebilir. Doğal afet ve zamana bağlı yıkımın yanında siyasi sebeplerden dolayı yarım adanın maddi kültürü birkaç defa kasten tahrip edildi ve sonuç olarak başka bölgelerle kıyasla günümüzde az yapı ayakta kalabilmiştir. Özellikle Altın Orda mirası yüzyıllar içinde fazla tahribat görmüştür.Günümüzde mevcut olan mimari kalıntılar az sayıda cami ve türbelerdir. Burada bu cami ve cami kalıntıları tanıtılacaktır: Sultan Kalavun Camii (1287), Özbek Han Camii (1314-1315), Sudak Kale Camii (13ncü-14ncü yüzyıllar), Kurşunlu Camii (14ncü-15nci yüzyıllar), Şeyhköy Darü'l-Huffâz (Tekke-Camii) (1358), Kırkyer-Salacık'taki Canibek Han Camii (1345/46-1454/55).

Biographical Note

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Illustrations (©Osman Oktar for the *Crimean Historical and Cultural Heritage Inventory Project*):

Fig. 1 – Map of the Crimean Peninsula with main settlements of the Golden Horde period and extant mosques

Fig. 2 – Sultan Kalavun Mosque (1287), walls and interior with remaining traces of the springer for the arches

Fig. 3 – Özbek Han Mosque (1314-1315), entrance façade

Fig. 4 – Özbek Han Mosque (1314-1315), interior

Fig. 5 – Sudak Fortress Mosque (begin 13th-first half 14th century), *kıble* façada with projectiong *mihrab*

Fig. 6 – Sudak Fortress Mosque (begin 13th-first half 14th century),
interior, sight towards the *mihrab* from the antechamber

Fig. 7 – Tekke-Mosque and Darü'l-Huffâz in Şeyhköy (1358),
remains with *kıble* wall and projecting *mihrab*, seen from the south-west

Fig. 8 – Tekke-Mosque and Darü'l-Huffâz in Şeyhköy (1358),
kıble wall with remains of the *mihrab* seen from the east

Fig. 9 – Kurşunlu Camii (Leaden Mosque) end of the 14th century/beginning 15th century.
Remains with visible passages to the dome seen from the south

Fig. 10 – Canibek Han Mosque in Kırkyer – Salaçık (later known as Çufutkale) (1345-1346; 1454-1455)

A NEW PERSPECTIVE TOWARDS NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN PROVINCIAL MOSQUES

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In architectural historiography, nineteenth century Ottoman mosque architecture is usually discussed in terms of Ottoman westernization. There is a strong tendency among Ottoman historians to describe and define the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire within the decline-dissolution paradigm. A similar pattern can also be observed in Ottoman architectural historiography for 'distinct' architectural languages of the era. While the architectural elements and spatial configuration of sultans' mosques in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul, determine the discourse, (the eclectic style, as previously mentioned), which can be found in Mecidiye, Teşvikiye, Aziziye, Pertevniyal Valide and Hamidiye mosques in Istanbul, for the all of the nineteenth century Ottoman mosques. However, the provincial mosques, those that have received support from the sultan himself, have distinct spatial design and ornamental approaches than the mosques found in the capital. Thus, the examination of these mosques can give us an alternative historiography of 19th century Ottoman mosque architecture.

Capital-province relations and the issue of representation

The political power construct between the capital and provincial cities played a significant role in the architectural developments, particularly the architectural endowments by the sultan to the provinces. The shifting meaning of 'center' and 'sultan's central authority' are discussed in terms of Ottoman development. More specifically, the background information on the centralization agenda of the Hamidian regime, since he was the leading figure of the 19th century Ottoman world, is very significant in the evaluation of the provincial architecture. Abdülhamid II gave emphasis to the Ottoman Sultan's title 'Caliph of Islam' as a means to integrate and unify the Muslim population and to maintain the empire's territorial integrity against interference from European powers (Karpat 2001). Sunni orthodox interpretation of Islamic faith was used and propagandized as the main ideological tool of the Ottoman State.

Researchs on the political agenda of Abdülhamid II prove that he used architecture as a powerful legitimizing structure to propagandize his manifesto and to strengthen his hold over the territory. Both Waqf records and archival documents on the architectural developments of the era verify that there was a substantial construction activity including clock towers, fountains, city gardens, schools, railway stations, hospitals, government halls and barracks in the Ottoman provinces during Hamidian era. Erkmen states that there was an increase in these types of activities all around the empire near the 25th jubilee of Abdülhamid's ascension to the throne (Erkmen 2011). She considers 1,376 buildings, based on a construction list prepared for his 25th jubilee, were constructed or renewed on Ottoman lands, especially in the provinces (Erkmen 2011: 124).

For this study, 19 provincial mosques were studied. Although it would have been preferable to include all provincial mosques built within the former borders of the Ottoman Empire from 1839 to 1914, the case studies for this study are chosen among the examples located in the former Anatolian provinces of the Ottoman Empire, including a few cases from the Balkans. Within this study, the geographic areas include the Ottoman provinces (*vilayet*s) of Hüdavendigar, Konya, Trabzon, Aydın, Mamuretü'l Aziz (Elazığ), Thessaloniki, Halep, Sivas, Ankara and Kosovo. More specifically the studied mosques are cited in the districts (*liva*) of Biga, Konya, Samsun, Kütahya, İzmir, Karasi (Balıkesir), Malatya, Aydın, Halep,

Sivas, Ertuğrul (Bilecik), Kayseriye and Üsküp. (Map 1 and Table 1) These 19 provincial mosques are discussed with respect to their construction date, location, plan organization and spatial configurations.

Evaluation of the mosques with respect to construction date and location

The cited provincial mosques are assessed based on their construction date and the administrative centers (in their related provinces) for the first part of the evaluation. It can be stated that the general overview to these mosques briefly reveals four significant points.

First, the list in Table 1 reveals that, with the exception of two mosques, Konya Aziziye and Çanakkale Fatih mosques, almost all of the mosques in the provinces were constructed after 1876, during the era of Abdülhamid II. The construction dates of the mosques clearly point out that there was major construction activity during Abdülhamid II's era. The reason behind this vast construction activity can be considered part of Abdülhamid II's political agenda. Ottoman historians believe that Abdülhamid II's skepticism and fear of assassination caused him to distance himself from his people. This was in contradiction with his ideal central state power and sultan's absolute authority (Karpat 2001; Deringil 2004). In this atmosphere of self-isolation, it is not surprising that he aimed to build a 'world of symbols' (Deringil 2004: 18) to communicate with his people was well as with western powers. From this perspective, architecture can be considered as the very strong propaganda tool used to manifest his power in a concrete manner for everyone to comprehend.

Erkmen explains the increasing number of the construction works during Abdülhamid II's era in line with the sultan's jubilees, which were celebrated as national festivals all across the empire. (Erkmen 2011) She states that even though the anniversary of the sultan's accession to the throne could not be accepted as a traditional festival in Ottoman culture, the jubilees became an official state custom starting from the last years of the Mahmut II's enthronement. (Erkmen 2011: 81) She also believes that the invention of the jubilees coincided with the period when the legitimacy of the Ottoman monarchy started to be questioned (ibid: 89). Therefore, the jubilee festivals were used as tools to restore the visibility of the sultan and gained him publicity around the empire. Making the jubilee activities an empire-wide national festivals started with Abdülhamid II in 1893. The state had to specify a date as the 'Ottoman national holiday' at the Chicago World's Fair. The palace decided that the date of Abdülhamid II's accession to the throne, on the date of 31st August was the best date for the national holiday (ibid: 77). After 1893, the jubilees were celebrated enthusiastically, not only in the capital but also in the provinces. In particular, the sultan's 25th year silver jubilee in 1900 was celebrated not only within the Ottoman territories, but also in Europe as a part of international protocol (ibid).

The connection between the jubilee festivals and the creation of architectural edifices became more visible and obvious during the Hamidian era. Architecture was turned into one of the two major publicity tools of the central authority, along with the Ottoman press (ibid: 112). The main reason behind the jubilee celebrations was to stress and enhance the political agenda of Abdülhamid II, which was primarily based on the sultan's role and political leadership over all of the Islamic states as the caliph of Islam. Architecture, particularly mosque architecture, can be interpreted as a valuable symbolic instrument to make the sultan's agenda evident all around the empire.

Secondly, when the location of the construction activities is taken into consideration, it can be seen that all of the Ottoman territories experienced significant urban development during the Hamidian era. For instance, the Balkan Peninsula has undergone a considerable modernization process, starting with the railroad project; Thessaloniki became one of the most important ports of the empire. (Tanyeli 2013: 97; Colonas 2005: 127) Similarly, İzmir and Samsun underwent urban development projects during the 19th century. The Ottoman

Arab lands also had undergone a significant renovation process during Abdülhamid era. Half of the Arab peninsula, the areas where the haj takes place and Iraq were still included within Ottoman lands at the end of the 19th century. While the Ottomans established their dominance in the Arab lands from the 16th century on and claimed their legitimacy as the universal leaders of the Sunni Muslim states, the adjoining country of Iran or the Persian monarchy represented the principal Shii Muslim authority. Since the Ottomans controlled the major Shii centers such as Baghdad, Najaf, Kerbela and Kazımiye, there was a major conflict between the Ottomans and the Persians for the key frontier zones as well as some enclaves where Sunnis or Shiis lived as minorities. (Deringil 1990: 46-7) Because of the Shii challenge to the control of the Muslim areas, Ottomans took some safeguards in the Iraqi territories. Starting from the 1870s, Abdülhamid II started to construct new primary, secondary and high schools in the Baghdad and Basra provinces for the education of the Shii families in order to include them in the state's bureaucracy, which was one of the main tools of the absolute supremacy of the state (Somel 1999: 182).

Thirdly, when the locations of the mosques are categorized in relation to provinces and the cities, it can be said that construction activities were purposefully selected in some of these provinces and cities. The list in the Table 1 proves that the Hüdavendigar province has experienced significantly more construction activity than the other provinces in Anatolia. When the minority population in Anatolia is taken into consideration, it can be said that the mosques in Ayvalık and Burhaniye were constructed to exhibit the dominant religion, Islam, to the minority groups. Particularly Ayvalık Hamidiye mosque, which was the first Ottoman mosque in the city, is located on a hill where it can be clearly seen from the shoreline and is a very striking example of this philosophy. Although the number of Muslims within the city's population was very small (based on census records in 1893, 90 Muslim people (Karpat 1978: 264), Abdülhamid II wanted a mosque constructed in the city. İzmir Karantina Hamidiye mosque can also be added to this category. Although there were an abundance of many great mosques in the city center (Konak), Hamidiye Mosque is the first and the only mosque that was constructed in the name of a sultan. It is known that by the end of the century, the Levantine population preferred to live in this Karantina district, and had constructed three churches to service the community (Atay 1998: 81)

However, choosing Söğüt to build a new mosque as well as restore an older one from the same time period can be considered to be a conscious effort to place emphasis on the significant role of the city, which was the birthplace of the Ottoman Empire. Mülayim states that Abdülhamid II aimed to rebuild Söğüt during his reign to signify to its importance as the founding city of the empire. (Mülayim 2007: 288) Inevitably, like his predecessors, Abdülhamid II also propagated the empire's unique history and golden ages by emphasizing the older capitals such as Söğüt and Bursa. Dreams of a 'lost golden age' or deeply felt 'nostalgia' for a past can be seen within the culture; especially as the present is seen to be imperfect and when the faith in progress is gone. However, this strong sense of nostalgia is not the only reason for Abdülhamid II's construction campaign. In contrast with other sultans, he specifically aimed to reemphasize the Islamic aspects of the empire, which had been an integral part of the empire's makeup from the very beginning of its founding. His nostalgia can be seen as part of the dream to be the leader of a unified Muslim state. Thus, restoring one mosque and building a new one with two minarets in the first capital of the Ottoman Empire can be deemed as a sign of this intention. Similarly, there is a parallel scheme behind the two mosques in Kütahya, one of which one was restored and one as newly built. Kütahya as one of the most important cities of the empire as it connects with the Turkish and Islamic past and represents similar connotations to Söğüt for Abdülhamid II.

Evaluation of the mosques with respect to plan organization and space configuration

The spatial organization of an Ottoman mosque is tightly tied to the floor plan. The floor plan determines the size and cover system, which in turn defines the volume of the building. Basically, the floor plan and the cover (in Ottoman architecture refers to the organization of the domes, semi domes or in some cases vaults) defined the major characteristics of a mosque as well as the space itself.

Group A (Table 2) consists of single-domed mosques. The single dome covers the whole harim portion of the mosque. Except for the New Mosque in Thessaloniki, the single dome is the most dominant part of the whole structure. Almost all the mosques in this category have a dome that is elevated by an octagonal drum. The Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque's small unique dome sits on a cylindrical drum. The Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque has a polygonal drum, which provides the transition between the main body and the dome itself. Though the single-domed mosques were commonly used in classical Ottoman architecture, generally the three- or five-domed portico on the south facade accompanies this scheme. However in the 19th century provincial mosques, the absence of the porticos can be considered as one of the significant differences. The last prayer hall was eliminated from the main structure, not only in single-domed mosques, but also in other types of mosques. Kütahya Hamidiye, Gaziantep Alaüddevle, Çanakkale Fatih, Burhaniye Great, Balıkesir Zağnos Paşa and Söğüt Hamidiye Mosques are constructed without any vestibule or preparation space. It is very significant to point out the contrast in architectural language between the capital and the provinces regarding the last prayer hall. Compared with the large spaces of the vestibule sections of the 19th century mosques in the capital, the eliminated last prayer halls in the provinces manifested a different design approach for the provinces.

Furthermore, this kind of a variation can be also observed in the spatial organization of the sultan's lodges (*hünkar mahfili*). In the capital, the sultan's lodges are nearly bigger than the main prayer halls and gained a slightly independent character from the rest of the structure. It is more suitable to label these sections as 'pavilions' since they have a separate spatial organization and cover system from the entire building. This separation is never witnessed in the provincial architecture except in the New Mosque in Thessaloniki; the architectural function shows some distinctions from traditional Sunni shrines. Since it was constructed for the Dönme community, it is believed that their different religious rituals was influenced by a mix of Jewish, Muslim and masonic rituals. (Baer 2010) The function of the large two-storied section of the building could have been used for one of those particular rituals. Naturally, it can be said that the reason for the need of an exaggerated pavilion can be explained by the presence of the sultan. Since he lived in the capital, there had to be a special section for his worship, yet this was unnecessary in the provinces.

While the spatial organization of the provincial mosques that are single-domed can be thought as a continuation of the classical period; the dome-vaults in group B can be considered as a novelty that came about in the provinces in the 19th century. Group B consists of mosques where the space under a central dome is surrounded by vaults and the corners are covered with small domes or barrel vaults. Although creating a comprehensive space for the congregation is the central goal for a mosque design, the dome and the vaults around it divide the main prayer hall. The high elevation of the inner space prevents the compartmentalization of the prayer hall such as in Burhaniye Great, Balıkesir Zağnos Paşa, Pınarbaşı Aziziye and Malatya Yeni mosques. Here the central dome is much more symbolic and smaller than the mosques constructed during the classical period of Ottoman architecture. The dominant view of the single dome is replaced by this new design in the 19th century provincial architecture. This design scheme presents a new space concept as well as a novel approach to designing the facade.

In addition to the two different interpretations of the single-dome plan schemes in groups A and B, there are also multiple-domed designed mosques in the provinces. The following two examples, it is believed that the columns of the former mosque were used without

changing their existing position in the building, which may be why multiple-domed design was used. The Kütahya Great Mosque's the two big domes are supported by small domes and semi domes on four sides. The Söğüt Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Mosque's 16 domes cover the main space.

Conclusion

The alternative way of thinking this study proposes is to see the architecture of 19th century provincial mosques not as a deviation but as a natural step within the continuity of the changing and evolving path of Ottoman architecture. After all, it is not farfetched to say that architectural features such as the layout of the harim section have not changed at all compared to the 16th century or that there is a similar spatial relationship between the space covered by the main dome and the surrounding half-domes and vaults between these mosques and Sinan's late period works.

However, western modes used on facades with European origins should be considered as a reflection of the established taste of the times and the architectural language of the capital. This is a natural result within the dynamics of an architectural production mechanism dominated by the centralist approach of the capital with a strong political agenda.

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Turkish Abstract

Mimarlık tarihi yazımında 19.yy Osmanlı cami mimarisi son 10 yıla kadar tarih yazımının "gerileme-çöküş" ve "batılılaşma" paradigmaları çerçevesinde ve başkentteki yapılar ışığında tartışılmıştır. Osmanlı başkentindeki sultan camilerinde kullanılan mimari öğeler ve bu camilerin mekansal örgütlenmesi, bu dönemin mimarlık tarihi yazımının ana belirleyicisi olmuşlardır. Ancak aynı dönemde başkent dışında dönemin sultanları tarafından yaptırılan camiler incelendiğinde pek çok açıdan başkentten ayrılabilecek bir mimari üretimden söz etmek mümkündür. Anadolu'daki camilere odaklanan bu çalışma, ele alınan yapılar ışığında 19.yy Osmanlı dönemi cami mimarisi için alternatif bir tarih yazımı önermektedir. Bu makale yazarın bu konuyu incelediği 2014 yılında Odtü Mimarlık Tarihi Programında tamamlamış olduğu "Re-Thinking Historiography on Ottoman Mosque Architecture: Nineteenth Century Provincial Sultan Mosques" doktora tezinden üretilmiştir.

Biographical Note

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Map 1 – Territorial map of the Ottoman Empire in 1882. The mentioned cities and some of the important centers are cited on the map by the author. The red ones are the cities of the cited mosques. Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org

TABLE 1 - BRIEF INFORMATION ON THE MOSQUES IN THE PROVINCES

	Name of the Mosque	Province (Vilayet)	District (Liva)	Sub-District (Kaza)	Construction Date	Reign	Founder / Contributor	Cover System	Total Area (m²)	Last Prayer Hall (m²)	Gallery (m²)	Dome (Diameter) (m)	Constructed on the site of an old mosque
1	Çanakkale Fatih Mosque	Hüdavendigar	Biga	Kal'a-i Sultaniye	1862-3 / restore in 1904	Abdülaziz (restore Abdülhamid II)	Biga Governor Hakkı Pasha (1862-6)	9-units, one small dome in the middle	432 m²	none	90 m²	6.00 m.	yes (restorated-repaired)
2	Konya Azizye Mosque	Konya	-	-	1872-76	Abdülaziz	Abdülaziz I and Pertevniyal Valide Sultan	one dome supported by 4 semi-domes	483 m²	72 m²	26 m²	18.12 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
3	Samsun Great (Hamidiye, Valide) Mosque	Trabzon	Samsun (Canik)	-	1884-6	Abdülhamid II	Abdülaziz I (?), Pertevniyal Valide (?), Abdülhamid II	covered by one big dome	530 m²	90 m²	90 m²	16.10 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
4	Kütahya Great Mosque	Hüdavendigar	Kütahya	-	1888-93	Abdülhamid II	Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz II, Abdülhamid II	two domes supported by 6 semi domes	1070 m²	114 m²	145 m²	10.05x2 m.	yes (restorated-repaired)
5	Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque	Hüdavendigar	Kütahya	-	1905	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome	260 m²	none	60 m²	13.40 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
6	İzmir Hamidiye Mosque	Aydın	İzmir	-	1890 (1892?)	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome	138 m²	27 m²	14 m²	9.70 m.	no
7	Burhaniye Great (Koca) Mosque	Hüdavendigar	Karesi (Balıkesir)	Burhaniye (Kemer Edremid before 1894)	1891-1908?	Abdülhamid II	not known	one dome, supported by 4 vaults and 4 small barrel vaults on the corners	473 m²	none	110 m²	7.30 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
8	Adıyaman Great Mosque	Mamuretü'l Aziz (Elazığ)	Malatya	Adıyaman	1895-6	Abdülhamid II	Kolağası Mustafa Ağa and Hacı Molla	one dome, supported by 4 vaults and 4 small domes on the corners	397 m²	70 m²	none	8.00 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
9	Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque	Hüdavendigar	Karesi (Balıkesir) (since 1843)	Ayvalık	1894-7	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome enlarged by 2 vaulted structure on the south north axis	86 m²	10 m²	none	6.17 m.	no
10	Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque	Aydın	Aydın	-	1899	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome	307 m²	80 m²	42 m²	13.30 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
11	Thessaloniki New Mosque	Selanik	-	-	1900-3	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome	316 m²	60 m²	98 m²	10.40 m.	no
12	Balıkesir Zağnos Pasha Mosque	Hüdavendigar	Karesi (Balıkesir) (since 1864)	-	1902-3	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II and Governor Ömer Ali Bey	one dome suported by three vaults and one small dome and also 4 small domes on the corners	1059 m²	144 m²	144.6 m²	17.3 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
13	Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque	Halep	Halep	Ayıntab	1903-9	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome carried by octagonal baldachin	300 m²	none	none	15.30 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
14	Pınarbaşı Azizye Mosque	Sivas	Sivas	Azizye (Pınarbaşı)	1903-9	Abdülhamid II	Abdülaziz I, Abdülhamid II	one dome, supported by 4 vaults and 4 small domes on the corners	218 m²	34 m²	none	6.11 m.	?
15	Söğüt Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Cami	Hüdavendigar	Ertuğrul (Bilecik)	Söğüt	19th century ?	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	12 domes	461 m²	none	86 m²	5.40 m./3.10 m.	yes (restorated-repaired)
16	Söğüt Hamidiye Mosque	Hüdavendigar	Ertuğrul (Bilecik)	Söğüt	1905	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome carried by octagonal baldachin	142 m²	31 m²	30 m²	8.80 m.	no
17	Tomarza Merkez Mosque	Ankara	Kayseriye	Develi	1906	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one big dome supported by a semi dome on the north side	200 m²	40 m²	15 m²	9.0 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
18	Malatya Yeni Mosque	Mamuretü'l Aziz (Elazığ)	Malatya	-	1893-1913	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one dome, supported by 4 vaults and 4 small domes on the corners	596 m²	68 m²	88 m²	9.70 m.	yes (totally rebuilt)
19	Firzovik (Merkez) Mosque	Kosovo	Üsküp	Firzovik	19th century ?	Abdülhamid II	Abdülhamid II	one big dome	252 m²	59 m²	25 m²	10.5 m.	?

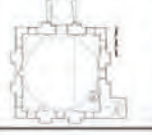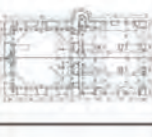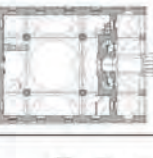Table 1 – Brief Information on the Mosques in the Provinces
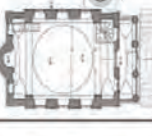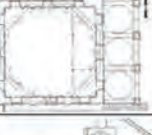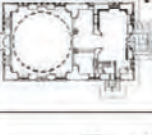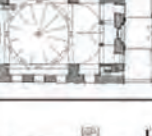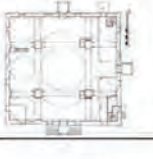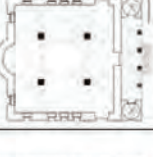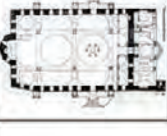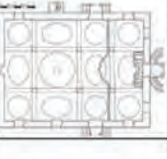
TABLE 4 - GROUPS BASED ON PROVINCIAL MOSQUES' PLAN SCHEME

A. Space Structured under Single Dome

Konya Aziziye Mosque	Samsun Great (Hamidiye Valide) Mosque	Kütahya Hamidiye Mosque	İzmir Hamidiye Mosque	Ayvalık Hamidiye Mosque	Aydın Ramazan Pasha Mosque	Selanik Yeni Mosque	Gaziantep Alaüddevle Mosque	Söğüt Hamidiye Mosque	Tomarza Merkez Mosque	Firzovik Great Mosque

B. Space Structured under a Dome Surrounded by Vaults

Çanakkale Fatih Mosque	Burhaniye Great (Koca) Mosque	Adıyaman Great Mosque	Balıkesir Zağnos Paşa Mosque	Pınarbaşı Aziziye Mosque	Malatya Yeni Mosque

C. Space Structured under Multiple Domes (Bursa Type)

Kütahya Great Mosque	Söğüt Çelebi Sultan Mehmet Cami

Table 2 – Groups Based on Provincial Mosques' Plan Scheme

THE FIRST PORCELAIN FACTORY OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: THE BEYKOZ PORCELAIN FACTORY

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Introduction

Porcelain dates back to ancient times, and was first manufactured in Europe from the beginning of the 18th century. In the Ottoman Empire, the first porcelain was produced around the reign of Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1808). Tile and pot workshops were established after this period, with the first porcelain factory using Western technology supposedly opening during the time of Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839-1861), in Beykoz (Kocabaş 1941: 64-65; Bayraktar 1982: 3).

This porcelain factory was established in Paşabahçe, in the Beykoz district, and played an important role in the commencement of porcelain production in the Ottoman Empire. It thus played an important role in terms of Ottoman economic history, not to mention art history. While the idea of state socialism was known to some extent in the first period of Ottoman industrialism, it was only officially adopted between 1840 and 1860, after the Tanzimat reforms. As a result, state-owned factories were established mainly in order to produce goods that were needed within the country (Önsoy 1988: 47). Private factories were also encouraged to continue production during this period (Kal'a 1993). It was during this time that the porcelain factory at Beykoz was established by Fethi Ahmed Pasha, Abdülmecid's son-in-law, who also served as the factory's first director.

This study examines documents and other information that shed light on the production process of the Beykoz porcelain factory.[1] It will not look at the artistic aspects of the factory's products, as this is a separate area of research.

History

In Istanbul, tile/ceramic and glass workshops were traditionally concentrated in the same areas of the city because they made use of the same raw materials. This aspect of production did not change during the transition from traditional to industrial production. The first Ottoman glass and porcelain factories, among other, were factories established in the 19th century in Beykoz, which at that time was fast becoming one of Istanbul's industrial centers.

The porcelain factory examined in this study was established around 1845/1846, with the support of Sultan Abdülmecid, by Fethi Ahmed Pasha[2] (1801-1858) (Kocabaş 1941: 64-65). This establishment was given different names in different documents, depending on the location and the nature of production: Porcelain Factory, Beykoz Factory, Plate Factory, Beykoz Plate Factory, *İncir Köy (İncir Village) Factory*, and *İncir Köy Saxony Factory* (Table 1).

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[1] The original data for this study draws on documents from the Ottoman Archive. I would like to thank Dilek Cansel for her help in finding and transcribing these documents. I would also like to thank Belgin Demirsar Arlı, Z. Cihan Özsayıner, Ömür Tufan, Irfan Sevim, and Mahir Polat for their assistance and contributions.

[2] Having completed his military training, Fethi Ahmed Pasha was initially promoted to a position as squadron leader. He later saw appointment as Minister of Commerce, Minister of War, President of the Council of State (*Meclis-i Vala*), and Admiral of the Armory Admiral, in addition to serving at the embassies in Vienna and London (Mehmed Süreyya 1996: 522). Fethi Ahmed Pasha also appears to have been one of the shareholders of the brick factory established in Büyükdere at the beginning of the 1840s (İ.MVL. 15/233).

Porcelain Factory	Beykoz Factory	Plate Factory	Beykoz Plate Factory	Incir Köy Factory	Incir Köy Saxony Factory
İ. MVL. 210/6820.	A. AMD. 32 / 132.	HR. MKT. 86/67.	İ. DH. 426 / 28164.	A.} MKT. NZD. 227 / 46.	İ. DH. 452 / 29943.
		A.} MKT. NZD. 334 / 9.	A.} MKT. MHM. 759 /27.		
		A.} MKT. NZD. 338 / 74.			
		Y. PRK.M. 1/81.			

Table 1 – Names of the factory according to archival documents

The documents mention the location of the factory as Beykoz, the village of İncir (*İncirköy*), and Paşabahçe, with the most commonly used name being *İncirköy* (Table 2). In one piece of correspondence carried out with another factory thought to have been established in the region, all three names were used together as "A porcelain factory in Paşabahce around İncir Village in the Beykoz district" (İ.MVL. 210/6820). This document demonstrates the administrative situation of the areas in question during the period, while also making it clear that the factory itself was in Paşabahçe. *İncir Köy* (or *İncirli Köy*), also mentioned in connection with the factory's location, is an old residential area within the boundaries of the Beykoz district (Eyice 2003: 31-35) (Fig. 1). In the 17th century, the area in İncir Köy known as *Burun Bahçesi* (Garden on the Headland) started to be called *Paşa'nın Bahçesi* (The Pasha's Garden) after the grand vizier Ahmed Pasha constructed a pavilion there (Aysu 1994: 228). During the second half of the 19th century, Paşabahçe began to develop with the construction of a ferry pier there (Yarcı 2015: 49). Today, both İncirköy and Paşabahçe are two neighborhoods in the district of Beykoz.

Beykoz	İncir Köy / İncirköy	Paşabahçe
A. AMD. 32 /132.	İ. DH. 452 / 29943.	İ.MVL. 210 / 6870.
İ. DH. 426 / 28164.	A.} MKT. NZD. 334 / 9.	HR. MKT. 86/67.
A.} MKT. MHM. 759 /27.	A.} MKT. NZD. 338 / 74.	
	A.} MKT. NZD. 227 / 46.	
	Y.PRK. M. 1/81.	

Table 2 – The names of locations mentioned in the archive documents as the location of the factory

Beykoz/İncirköy is one of the traditional glass and pot production centers in Istanbul. The initial period of glass and porcelain production began during the time of Sultan Selim III (Müller Wiener 1992: 71). The glass and crystal factory was established by Mustafa Nuri Pasha, the governor of Bursa, during the time of Sultan Abdülmecid, and was transferred to state administration in 1845 (Bayramoğlu 1974: 20-21). Some information in the sources indicates that there may have been a relationship between the porcelain factory and the glass factory, which were established at the same time. For instance, it is stated that the İncirköy glass and crystal factory was established by Fethi Ahmed Pasha (Küçükerman-Yücel 1993: 21). Despite this, the factory established by Fethi Ahmed Pasha in Beykoz is known to have produced glass and porcelain as well (Küçükerman 1998: 12). Charles MacFarlane's examinations in 1847 and 1848 (1850: 367-369) mentioned the factory in İncirköy as the glass and porcelain factory and considered them together. MacFarlane emphasized Ahmed Pasha's activity in glass production and mentioned how glass and porcelain objects were

shown to him at a warehouse, and he also provided significant information regarding relationships of production.

However, as mentioned above, these two factories were of different status in terms of administration. MacFarlane (1850: 367) wrote that the glass factory belonged to Fethi Ahmed Pasha, whereas the porcelain factory belonged to the sultan and his mother. The facts, though, seem to indicate a different situation. In the catalogue of the London International Exhibition of 1851, the producer of glass objects was described as "the Imperial Glass House of Indgirkeny, Constantinople", while the producer of porcelain objects was referred to with the phrase "Manufactured at Fethi Paşha's Pottery of Indgirkeny, Constantinople" (Authority of the Royal Commission 1851: 1396-1367). This indicates that MacFarlane was mistaken in regards to the administrative structure of the two factories.

The Ottoman Empire not only established the state factories in order to develop the industry, but also supported private establishments with certain privileges. No accurate information has been obtained as to whether any privileges were given to the porcelain factory established by Fethi Ahmed Pasha. However, there are documents stating that the factory that was established by a firm in Paşabahçe and produced tile and brick was given a 12-year privilege by demand of Yusuf Efendi, who happened to be one of the factory's partners from June 13, 1845 (Damlıbağ 2011: 165-167). As the porcelain factory in Paşabahçe was established on the same date, it indicates that both of the factories may have been the same. On the other hand, the demand for a privilege also indicates that porcelain was not the only material whose production was aimed at by the factory in question. In fact, it has been shown that the privilege demands of the other porcelain factories planned for the second half of the 19th century ended up covering different product groups in the same production branch (Kaya 2014). One document dated 1852 bears a request that brick or tile should not be produced at the factory that Bilezikçioğlu Miğirdiç wished to establish in Kurtuluş, owing to the privileges that had been given to the factory in İncirköy (Damlıbağ 2012: 167). This factory in İncirköy must have been the factory built in 1845 and given the 12-year privilege mentioned above. These documents show that the production of brick or roof tile may have been occurring.

Other documents and sources provide information regarding the production process of the Paşabahçe porcelain factory. Considering these chronologically, it is understood that, during the early production phase of the factory, mainly luxurious goods were produced. The statements of MacFarlane, who saw the factory in its initial years, provide evidence of this: he (1850: 368) states that luxurious objects were produced there he also notes that various glass and porcelain objects that were shown to him at the warehouse. The factory's products were sent to the international exhibitions in London in 1851 and Paris in 1855. According to the catalogue of the London exhibition, these porcelains were for daily use (Authority of the Royal Commission 1851: 1396-1367). However, the products from this factory were not present at any of the other exhibitions in which Ottoman representatives participated, which may be related to the developments that will be mentioned below.

In general terms, the factories established during this period, closed after only a short amount of time, due to high costs as well as a lack of understanding and experience (Önsoy 1988: 55). MacFarlane (1850: 367-369) states that the production at the glass and porcelain factory was ineffective due to problems in terms of workers' health, raw material supplies, or administrative matters. However, since these two factories were of a different nature in terms of their administration, their production processes also differed. In 1858, the factory that belonged to the state was transformed into a sperm oil candle factory (Yarcı 2015: 51).

In a study on the sperm oil candle factory, it is stated that part of the factory was affected by this transformation (Mert 2015: 102). This can be seen as a result of the transformation that was occurring at the same location as the glass factory as well as amongst other glass and porcelain operations. Various documents dating to the period after 1858 prove that production at the porcelain factory continued. For instance, a document dated February 17, 1860

mentions the presence of various raw materials and tools relating to tile and porcelain production at the plate factory in Beykoz (İ.DH. 452/29943).

One of the developments that had a direct affect on the porcelain factory was Fethi Ahmed Pasha's death in 1858, after which the factory lost supporters, leading to its closure shortly thereafter (Küçükerman 1998: 12). It is understood from archival documents that there were various aspects to this situation. For one thing, various debts were paid over to the heirs. The shares of the plate factory in Beykoz and the copper mine in Sarıyer were passed on to a jeweler named Küçükoğlu Agop and his partner Frank in return for receivables. Some time later, Küçükoğlu Agop and his partner wished to stop purchasing the shares, but their request was denied (A.} MKT. NZD. 334 / 9; A.} MKT. NZD. 338/74; A.} MKT. NZD. 339 / 93). The names of these shares was not, however, mentioned in the correspondence dated AH 1278 / 1861–1862 CE regarding the issue (İ. MVL.456 / 20457).

Certain other obstacles affected the factory during this period as well. Müller Wiener (1992: 71) states that the glass and porcelain manufacturing plant was ruined by a fire that broke out at the tallow factory in the later part of the 19th century. This fire must in fact have been the one that broke out in the sperm oil candle factory in 1860. One-fifth of the factory buildings were damaged in the fire that broke out at the factory's tallow melting facility (Mert 2015: 102-103).

The archival documents dating to between 1857/58 and 1880 reveal that tiles meant for use in the restoration of the Dome of the Rock and the Prophet's Mosque were produced at that factory. Based on these documents, it can be stated that the factory's production policy changed over time in such a way that tile production became more dominant than the production of porcelain objects. However, we also know that the tile production here was not continuous. Other possibilities also come to mind regarding production at this location, one of these being that, before the specified dates, there may well already have been tile production at the same location. Another possibility is that porcelain production may have been an ongoing operation with the exception of those times in which tile production was dominant. Additionally, the factory may have simply been considered redundant at times.

The factory's operation process, which can be traced through the year 1880, ran parallel with the information stated in the sources. However, the reason for the factory's closure was explained differently. Kocabaş (1941: 65) states that the factory was actively producing for 25–30 years, making luxurious goods at high costs; this, however, proved unsuccessful due to a good deal of neglect and to the failure to receive payments. In another source, it is stated that the factory closed down during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 (Yarış 2012: 49).

It is possible to follow the development of this case through the closures of other factories in the same area. The sperm oil candle factory, which was directed by Salih Münir between 1893 and 1895, began to be run by an Ottoman-French partnership after 1896 (Bilir 2008: 44; Yarcı 2015: 65). This factory was transferred to the treasury in 1922. Hasan Hulki Bey, who purchased a part of the candle factory in 1923, then established the Paşabahçe ethyl alcohol and alcoholic beverages factories (Küçükerman 1994: 229; Bilir 2008: 44-45). The glass factory located next to the ethyl alcohol factory was recorded as abandoned in a map dated 1920 (Köksal 2005: 53), (Fig. 2). This glass factory is the Modiano Glass Factory, which opened in 1899, closed in 1922, and was demolished in 1933 (Küçükerman 1994: 229). The ethyl alcohol and alcoholic beverages factories were transferred to the Monopoly Administration at the beginning of the 1930s. Subsequently, a new factory building was constructed in the same area, as well as on the site of the demolished glass factory, in 1939 (Şahin 2011: 72-73). The old buildings here continued to be used as warehouses (Köksal 2005: 53). Following the privatization of the state monopoly in 2004, production in the factory continued for a time, though it was later sold to a private company in 2012 (Şahin 2011: 94; Gün 2014: 78).

Architectural Features

We lack detailed information about the architectural aspects of the porcelain factory established in Paşabahçe. However, drawing on MacFarlane (1850: 367-369), it can be concluded that the factory was composed of various units in its manufacturing establishment and warehouse. In addition, it was recorded that the candle factory, which had been converted from the glass factory and established on the İncirköy coast on 150 acres of land, consisted of units of at least two storeys. These units were built at different times, and included a pavilion, a guard house, workers' units, a store, a storehouse, and candle manufacturing areas (Yarcı 2015: 49-50). Nonetheless, regular production at the candle factory did not commence until the end of the 19th century (Yarcı 2015; Mert 2015). This factory was also renovated in the later part of the 19th century (Sarı 2016: 217-218). Those structures that belonged to the porcelain factory but were not producing at the time were most likely demolished, or else given over to new functions.

It is possible to recognize the factory space from a photo dating back to the end of the 19th century (Fig. 3). One of the two wooden buildings with the cradle roof has been recognized as the manufacturing unit. The two-storey building on the right is the administration building. The structure on the top must be the warehouse (Genim 2012).

Manufacturing Technology

As was also the case with other factories established in the Ottoman Empire, many of the factory's machines and technical equipment were brought over from Europe (MacFarlane 1850: 357). Even so, this was not a factory that could compete with the European porcelain industry. According to Müller Wiener (1992: 71), glass and porcelain in Beykoz were produced in a manufacturing unit that had a small steam machine. The technical equipment used at the factory naturally affected the overall manufacturing capability: since the ovens and counters were not suitable for large-scale porcelain manufacturing, only small porcelains were produced there (Bayraktar 1982: 4).

The Ottoman industry not only made use of Western technology, but also, in part, a Western work force. The Europeans working in these factories were allocated to high positions, acting as consultants, experts, administrators, or skilled workers. Ottoman subjects were made to work as unskilled labor, with only those subjects who knew a foreign language being able to work in administrative positions (Önsoy 1988: 54). The information provided by MacFarlane (1850: 357) concerning the workers in these two factories reflects this approach. Between 1847 and 1848, except for a few local workers handling the task of carrying coal, there were 11 French workers and 1 English engineer at the porcelain factory, and 14 German workers and 1 English supervisor at the glass factory. Both of the factory's directors, however, were Turkish.

Despite foreign presence, local masters who were considered experts on porcelain and tile manufacturing also worked there. It was even recorded that Fethi Ahmed Pasha had some porcelain masters brought in from various districts of Istanbul to work (Kocabaş 1941: 65). The locals and foreigners employed at the factory worked for varying hours and periods depending on the intensity of the manufacturing. For instance, Muslim and foreign masters were hired during the manufacturing of the tiles intended for the renovation of the Prophet's Mosque (A.} MKT. MHM. 758 / 29), while for the tiles intended for the repair of the Dome of the Rock in 1874 and 1875, tile masters were brought in from Kütahya and other cities (Topuzlu 1994: 12). This reveals that traditional tile masters were especially used in tile production.

Porcelain Production

In this factory, which was established for the purpose of meeting the porcelain needs of the Ottoman Empire, original porcelains were produced by adapting Vienna and Saxony porcelains in a Turkish style (Kocabaş 1941: 65). It has been stated that these porcelains were stamped as *Eser-i İstanbul* (Made in Istanbul) (Bayraktar 1982: 3). However, the manufacturing locations of the products stamped *Eser-i İstanbul* remains unclear. Kocabaş (1941: 64-66) identified the place of manufacture according to the type of stamp: in traditional workshops like Eyüp and Beykoz, a cold stamp technique was used, whilst red handwriting was used for products of the porcelain factory in Beykoz. Moreover, there are also examples in the same color but with decorative formations that can be seen as part of the *Eser-i İstanbul* stamp (Tufan 2012: 382). Taking into account the manufacturing environment of the 19th century, Yenişehirlioğlu (2012: 99) pointed out that products with the *Eser-i İstanbul* stamp could have been manufactured by European porcelain manufacturers for the Ottoman market. Despite all this, it has been emphasized that the very *use* of this stamp indicated an organized and standardized manufacturing process (Yenişehirlioğlu 1994: 200).

While we have no undeniable evidence that *Eser-i İstanbul*-stamped works were produced at the factory under consideration here, the various aspects of these works are summarized below. A portion of the porcelains stamped *Eser-i İstanbul* and produced in different forms for daily use consisted of large flower patterns on a white background, which was also seen in European porcelains of the 19th century (Fig. 4). There are also *Eser-i İstanbul* plain porcelain models with a creamy white body (Fig. 5). Some porcelains had gilding (Yenişehirlioğlu 1994: 200). It has been said that these porcelains are of the same quality as European porcelains of the same type (Bayraktar 1981: 5). One analysis carried out on porcelain findings from the excavations at Tekfur Palace demonstrated that these were of the same quality as the half-porcelains manufactured in England and France for cheap consumption (Yenişehirlioğlu 2012: 99).

A porcelain wall board with an *Eser-i İstanbul* stamp was manufactured in limited numbers (Tufan 2010: 382). The stamps on these were done in gilding (Bayraktar 1982: 5). Two examples of these are held in the collection of the Topkapı Palace Museum, and feature a geometric pattern created by connecting four tiles. One of the examples is enriched with gilt and herbal patterns (Fig. 6). There were also some tiles stamped *Eser-i İstanbul* that bore depictions of the Kaaba and other scenes; these were smaller than the traditional tiles (Yenişehirlioğlu 1994: 200).

It remains a mystery as to who made the patterns seen on the products stamped *Eser-i İstanbul*. If these porcelains were produced at Paşabahçe, the patterns could have been made by European masters employed at the factory. Comparison with MacFarlane (1850) makes this possibility stronger, as he visited the factory at a time when there were no skilled local workers. However, we must also take into consideration the fact that Fethi Ahmed Pasha brought in local porcelain masters from Istanbul when he established the factory. Moreover, there is more concrete information regarding how some of the pattern masters working at the factory were Ottoman subjects. Kocabaş (1941: 68) stated that Haci Beyzade Ali Bey, whose signature is on Yıldız porcelains, worked at Fethi Ahmed Pasha's factory in Beykoz as the pattern master. All of these indicators show that these patterns may well have been done by both local and foreign artists.

Tile Production

At the factory, tile for daily use was produced alongside luxurious porcelain objects. One of the structures that used these tiles was the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. Comprehensive repair work on this mosque was undertaken twice during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid, in AH 1265/1848-49 CE and AH 1277/1860-61CE (Ateş 1994: 17-18). For these repairs, it was decided to renew

some of the missing and old tiles in some parts of the mosque (A.} MKT.MHM. 758/29). Ali Efendi was appointed for the manufacturing of these tiles and given a salary of 2500 lira (A. AMD. 32/132).

One document dated January 21, 1858 provides details of the manufacturing process (A.} MKT.MHM. 758/29). According to this document, tile coverings were considered for the arches of the dome between the Jibril Gate, the Reisiye Minaret, the Selam Gate, and the Rahmet Gate, with exceptions for the holy places called the *Hücre-i Mutahhara* and the *Hücre-i Sâmiye*. A total of 26,000 tiles were planned for manufacture. In the end, however, it was decided to cover no areas apart from the *Hücre-i Mutahhara*[3] and the *Hücre-i Sâmiye*[4], because the tiles would not fit well enough and would be damaged over time; thus, the total number of tiles was reduced to 3,195. It is understood from the document that these tiles would be compatible with each other, with their measurements being 25×25cm for the tiles and about 9.5×25 cm for the border tiles. 1,575 tiles and 450 border tiles would be used on the external walls of the *Hücre-i Mutahhara* and 378 tiles and 114 border tiles would be used in the interior in place of the old and missing ones. 540 tiles and 138 border tiles would be used in the *Hücre-i Sâmiye*, which was initially covered with tiles but later painted with lime.

From another document relating to this subject (A.}MKT. MHM. 759 / 27), we learn that Commander Hüseyin Efendi was assigned to inspect the tiles of the Prophet's Mosque, as well as those that would be produced in Beykoz, which were to be made in accordance with the samples that he had brought back with him. The number of tiles that had been destroyed was stated as 4,000, considered together with the tiles that were to be produced for safety reasons. Another document, dated February 17, 1860, makes it clear that these aforementioned tiles had been completed by that date (I. DH. 452/29943).

There are some photos of the Prophet's Mosque showing that the tiles were indeed used at places indicated in this document (Fig. 7). However, when later renovations are taken into consideration, it is difficult to say whether all of the tiles were indeed produced at this factory.

The tiles for the Dome of the Rock, which were renewed in 1873/74 for Sultan Abdülaziz's visit to Jerusalem, were produced in Istanbul (Clermont-Ganneau 1899: 179). Yenişehirlioğlu (1990: 269) states, based on the published memoirs of Cemil Topuzlu (1866-1958), that these tiles might have been produced in Beykoz. In his memoirs, Topuzlu (1994: 11-12) mentions how his father Yusuf Ziya Pasha, who had once been the district governor of Beykoz, learned – while he was a district governor in Antakya and had come to Istanbul to found a tile factory in Paşabahçe – that the missing tiles of al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem would be renewed. However, Topuzlu had confused al-Aqsa Mosque with the Dome of the Rock (Yenişehirlioğlu 1990: 269).

One archival document mentions that the tiles for the Dome of the Rock were produced in the İncirköy plate factory, thus clarifying the place of production of these tiles (Y. PRK.M. 1/81). This document also states that the tiles were decorated with texts. Topuzlu (1994: 12) mentions that verses were inscribed on the tiles produced by his father. However, the date of this document is November 4, 1880, which corresponds to the sultanate of Abdülhamid II (r. 1876–1909). The Dome of the Rock's interior and exterior were both restored during this period (Aslanapa 1989: 17). Thus, looking at the date of the document, we can say that production began under Sultan Abdülaziz and continued under Sultan Abdülhamid II.

The aforementioned document explains the various stages of the tiles whose production was planned at the factory. Accordingly, 205 216-*zirai*[5] tiles with the Ya Sin surah inscribed on them were completed and sent to Jerusalem. The white base of 31-*zirai* tiles inscribed with

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[3] This sacred area was 10 meters wide and 20 meters long, and was located between the grave of Muhammad and the pulpit in the Prophet's Mosque.

[4] This is the site in the Prophet's Mosque where Fatima's shrine was located.

[5] An old unit of measurement varying between 75 and 90 cm.

the al-Isra surah, which were missing, were also prepared. Additionally, the white base of the tiles inscribed with the names of God were prepared, but not painted. The tiles consisting of certain Quranic verses and hadith had no indication of date.

It is possible to detect where the surahs mentioned in the document are located in the actual structure. The Ya Sin surah is on the tile border, bordering the wall of the structure on the top. There is also an epigraph on this border bearing the calligrapher's name and the date 1874/75. The calligrapher was Mehmed Şefik Bey (d. 1880), one of the famous calligraphers of the time. The tile on which the al-Isra surah was inscribed is on the dome drum, with an epigraph dated AH 952/1545 – 46, from the time of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (Demirsar Arlı 2007: 3-4) (Fig. 8-9). The tiles that form the border are from different periods, and have been described in other studies (van Berchem 1927: 361-363; Demirsar Arlı-Arlı 2001: 532). Van Berchem (1927: 361-363) pointed out the similarity of the fonts in some of the tiles that made up the border to those of the tile border surrounding the wall, and stated that these could be from the same period.

The tiles for various parts of the Dome of the Rock must have been produced at the factory under discussion here. For instance, it is possible that the tiles on the west and southwest walls, which were removed in the 1873/74 restoration, were renewed with the tiles brought from Istanbul (Yenişehirlioğlu 2012: 94).

In the collection of the Turkish Construction Artwork Museum in Istanbul there are various tiles produced as per these examples or brought during the later renovations of the Dome of the Rock. Among these, tiles with a blue rumi pattern on a white background form one group. The measurements, body, glaze, and colors of the tiles – which were made according to older examples – are different from the originals (Yenişehirlioğlu 1990: 273-274). These tiles, made of a white body measuring about 18x18x2 cm, were introduced as Beykoz ware (Fig. 10). These tiles are found on the façade of the Dome of the Rock and the Dome of the Chain (Fig. 8, 11).

The structures where tiles were produced and used are limited to these two examples found in archival documents. However, as Yenişehirlioğlu (2012: 94) pointed out, it should not be forgotten that some tiles used in 19th-century structures in Istanbul may well have been produced in Istanbul.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be stated that glass and porcelain production began in the Paşabahçe area in the time of Sultan Selim III, with the porcelain factory founded there later being a continuation from the time of Sultan Abdülmecid, when industrialization policies began to pick up pace. Porcelains were exhibited at international fairs and produced on a small scale at the factory, which began operations thanks to the capital and support of Fethi Ahmed Pasha, who made a significant contribution to this industry becoming common in the Ottoman Empire by utilizing not only Western technology but also a partly Western work force. During the production process between the years of 1845 and 1880, it has been found that tiles were produced for the restoration of sacred structures such as the Prophet's Mosque and the Dome of the Rock. Considering all the factory's production activities, we can understand that planning for production was largely determined based on the needs of the palace. Prior to the establishment of the Yıldız tile and porcelain factory, the Beykoz porcelain factory filled the gap in this area and brought a certain standardization and quality control to porcelain production in the empire despite the short period during which it was in operation. Thus, the factory represents the continuation of the Istanbul tile tradition, which had been in place in the Ottoman Empire since the 16th century.

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Y.PRK.M. 1/81.

Turkish Abstract

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun 19. Yüzyılın ilk yarısındaki sanayileşme politikaları bağlamında ilk porselen fabrikası, Sultan Abdülmecid döneminde, Batı sanayinin Osmanlı'da yaygınlaşmasında önemli katkıları olan Fethi Ahmet Paşa tarafından Beykoz/İncirköy'de kurulmuştur. 1845-1880 yıllarına kadar üretim sürecini izleyebildiğimiz Küçük ölçekli bu fabrikada yalnızca Batı teknolojisinden değil Batı iş gücünden de yararlanılarak uluslararası sergilere katılacak düzeyde porselen eserler üretilmiştir. Porselen dışında Mescid-i Nebevi, Kubbet-üs Sahra gibi kutsal yapıların restorasyonları sırasında yenilenen çinilerinin bu fabrikada veya Beykoz'da üretildiği de tespit edilmiştir. Sonuç olarak, Yıldız Çini ve Porselen Fabrikası'nın kurulmasından önce bu alandaki üretim boşluğunu dolduran Beykoz Porselen Fabrikası, aynı zamanda XVI. yüzyıldan itibaren varlığı bilinen İstanbul çiniciliğinin XIX. yüzyıldaki devamcısı olmuştur.

Biographical Note

Graduated at the Art History Department of Istanbul University. Şennur Kaya received a master of science with her thesis entitled 'Büyük ve Küçük Kumla in 2000 and she received a PhD with her thesis entitled 'Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e İzmit Kenti'' in 2008. She has worked in the Department of Fine Arts of Istanbul University since 2001. She participated the Iznik Kilns Excavations since 1997.

Fig. 1 – 19th Century Beykoz Map Showing İncirkoy, (BOA; HRT.0705)

Fig. 2 – Paşabahçe Ethyl Alcohol Factory and Glass Factory in the Beginning of 1920s (Köksal 2005)

Fig. 3 – Paşabahçe Spermaceti Candle Factory, (Genim 2012)

Fig. 4 – Eser-i İstanbul Stamped Porcelain Container, (Topkapı Palace Museum),
(Bayraktar 1982)

Fig. 5 – Eser-i İstanbul Stamped Porcelain Container (Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum) (Şahin et al, 2011)

Fig. 6 – Eser-I İstanbul Stamped Porcelain Wall Panels (Topkapı Palace Museum) (Tufan 2010)
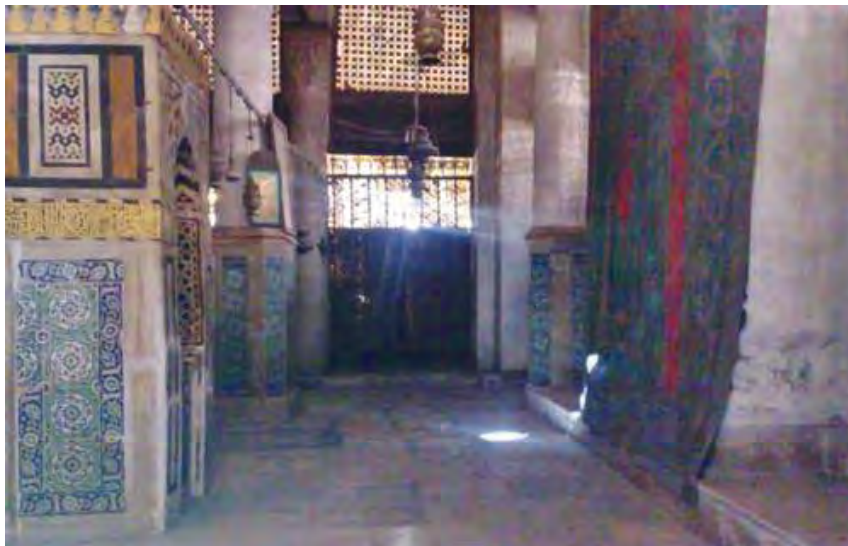
Fig. 7 – Fatima Shrine. (https://ismailhakkialtuntas.com; Access: June 2016)
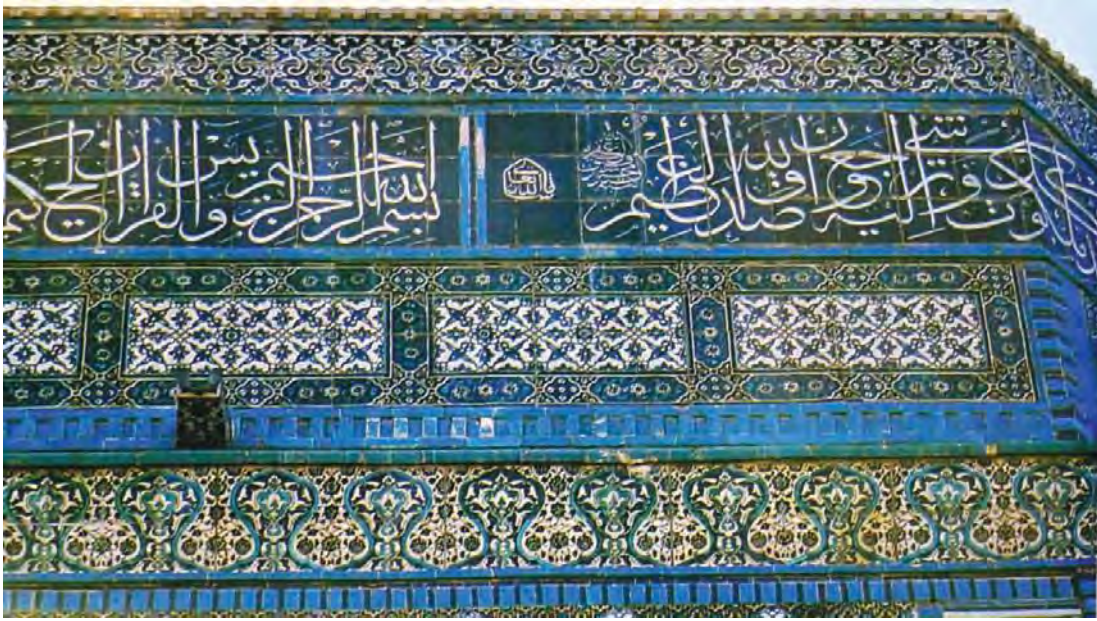
Fig. 8 – Tile Border where Yasin Sure is written and Rumi Decorated Tile Boards
(Demirsar Arlı-Arlı 2001)

Fig. 9 – Tile Border Where Ikra Sure is Written on Drum,
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dome_of_the_Rock) (Access: June 2016)

Fig. 10 – Rumi Decorated Glazed Tile (Turkish Construction Artworks Museum) (Kaya, 2016)

Fıg. 11 – Dome of the Chain Tiles,
(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dome_of_the_Rock) (Access: June 2016)

IN PURSUIT OF MERITORIOUS TREASURES:
A LATE OTTOMAN COLLECTOR AND PAINTER,
HÜSEYIN ZEKÂI PAŞA

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Exhausted by the criticisms he has been receiving from the people around him, one day a man decides to go for a stroll around Kadıköy and Üsküdar. While walking, he happens to see a mound of earth ahead of him, and moving quickly towards the heap he discovers a sarcophagus buried in the ground, with its lid broken into pieces. As if he were a museum official, he immediately starts to examine the sarcophagus, taking his measuring tape from his pocket and taking notes on the artefact. Concluding that the sarcophagus must be of Roman origin, he talks to a coffeehouse owner nearby and learns that authorities came to the area to dig for stones, but when they found sarcophagi they left the excavated area unattended. The man yearns to obtain official permission to unearth the antiquities buried there and to take one of the sarcophagi to his courtyard. He smiles when he thinks of the possible reactions of his household, raising hell about the fact that he has brought a grave into the house. Although everyone would burst into anger, he thinks of Pierre Loti, who keeps gravestones in the best room in his house. If Loti feels so proud about displaying them, then why not take the plunge and collect one for his house? The man visits the same area several times in the months to come, and to his surprise he finds that no authority has come to dig out the sarcophagi (Zekâi 1913: 206-212).

Thereafter, he starts to think aloud about his ideas on the archaeological activities going on throughout the Ottoman Empire in the late nineteenth century. The story is narrated in *Mübeccel Hazineler* (Meritorious Treasures), dated AH 1329/1913 CE, and the man in the story is Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha, the author of *Mübeccel Hazineler*, in which he enunciated his concerns over the protection of cultural heritage, monuments, and ancient sites.

Who is Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha?

Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha (1860-1919) was one of the early representatives of Turkish painting in the Western modality, along with Şeker Ahmet Pasha, Süleyman Seyyid, and Hoca Ali Rıza. He is widely acknowledged as a painter of historical buildings, florid still lives, and panoramic landscapes displaying a romantic approach. Like the other students of his age, he started painting from photographs and postcards, and he adopted an attitude that emphasized detail over everything; in time, he would develop his painting style through free brushstrokes.

During his time in military school, one of his paintings attracted the attention of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909), and as a result Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha was accepted to the court as an assistant to Şeker Ahmet Pasha (d. 1907). The artist would thereafter work for the palace until the dethronement of Abdülhamid. After Şeker Ahmet Pasha's death, he became the last court painter of the Ottoman palace, as well as being the officer of protocol for foreign guests (Kılıç 2010: 33-34).

When Abdülhamid lost the throne after the March 31 Incident, the pasha's symbiotic bond with the palace came to an end: not only was he appointed back to field duty as a commander of troops, but his military rank was also degraded,[1] which he found rather humiliating, and as

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[1] An archival document confirming his retirement reveals that his military rank was degraded from that of brigadier to that of colonel (see BOA İ.HB 18/1328 Ra 069). After the beginning of the Second Constitutionalist Period, such practices were widely implemented on officials who were close to the palace.

a result he requested retirement (Pakalın 2009: 73). It was only after his retirement that he found time to pursue his own desires: he had students in his painting studio;[2] he was invited to share his experiences with the Committee on Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Encümeni*); and, most importantly, he wrote the book *Mübeccel Hazineler*, which can be considered the fruit of his lifelong experiences and observations relating to the arts and antiquities.

In fact, the approach Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha adopted in *Mübeccel Hazineler* seems to have been in line with that of the elites in the Ottoman capital. This paper examines the content of and the motive behind the pasha's private collection, though little of it remains in the present day. The paper will also discuss, in the light of *Mübeccel Hazineler*, how this prominent Ottoman artist's perspective provides insights into the prevailing attitudes towards the protection of antiquities, and thus to archaeology in the late 19th-century Ottoman Empire.

Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha as a Collector

To understand the motive behind Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha's collection, one should probe into the sources of his interest in cultural heritage. There are several factors that helped to cultivate his passion for fine arts and antiquities. For one thing, Hüseyin Zekâi—had once been chastised by his primary school teacher for drawing pictures—was, during his time in military school, the student of such distinguished instructors as Osman Nuri Pasha and Süleyman Seyyid (Yetik 1940: 73; Boyar 1948: 73). Osman Nuri Pasha was an important figure at the Kuleli and Harbiye military schools, and as an instructor he strove to develop an appreciation for the arts in all the young officer cadets. He strongly advocated the idea that for military students not to appreciate the value of painting and the fine arts was a lack of education and, indeed, a great shame (Boyar 1948: 35-36). Süleyman Seyyid was another influential character during Hüseyin Zekâi's Harbiye years, as his interest in painting became more intense owing to the encouragement he received from Süleyman Seyyid (Pakalın 2009: 73).[3]

Another factor that contributed to Hüseyin Zekâi's passion for the fine arts and antiquities was the guests who visited the artist in his three-storey home in Doğancılar, Üsküdar. Just as with the salons, which marked the Enlightenment period in France by providing a network of ideas for intellectuals, through the end of the 19th century Ottoman elites and intellectuals would congregate in the homes of important figures of the day, like the poet Nigar Hanım and Prince Abdülmecid Efendi, where they would share ideas on current social, cultural, and political events (Mardin 1985: 48; Berksoy 2002: 11-12). In the same fashion, it is known that Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha opened his home to gatherings of contemporary intellectuals and artists. The pasha is said to have enjoyed discussions — in the mixed company of men and women — not only on scientific and artistic matters, but also on domestic affairs. Among his guests there were foreign visitors to the Ottoman capital as well: Paul Signac,[4] who was in Istanbul in 1905, and the French painters Legrange,[5] Charles Alexander Malfray,[6] and Valentin René Huault-Dupuy were among such guests.[7] The congregations in Hüseyin Zekâi's home, the

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For instance, another late Ottoman painter, Halil Pasha, suffered a similar punishment by having his military rank degraded (Tansuğ 1993: 24).

[2] His grandson, Aydın Zekâi Bill, states that the artist used to have a house in Pendik, where he set up a painting studio and gave painting lessons to willing students.

[3] In *Mübeccel Hazineler*, Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha devotes one section to Süleyman Seyyid, whose work and qualities, he says, were not sufficiently recognized or enjoyed by other s (Zekâi 1913: 223–224).

[4] See BOA. İ.HUS/DosyaNo:152/Gömlek Sıra No: 1325.s/84. BOA DH.MKT 1159/87.

[5] Legrange was a friend of Nazmi Ziya from France (Boyar 1948, 81; Tansuğ 1981, 8). Even though he paid a visit to Istanbul, no information could be found concerning his biography or artistic activities.

[6] Information provided by Aydın Zekâi Bill via mail dated February 19, 2010.

[7] In Aydın Zekâi Bill's private collection, there is a sketch signed by Valentin René Huault-Dupuy for Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha.

people around him, and the exchange of ideas must have greatly contributed to his attitude towards the fine arts, archaeology, and current museum practices in the capital of the empire.

The third factor that surely shaped his interest in antiquities was the duties of his official position at the palace, most of which were related to the issue of heritage. As is stated in an article by Şahabeddin Uzluk, Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha had to accept a number of different appointments by the palace. Among these was a position as head of the committee assigned to photograph the properties within the borders of the empire; a position as member of a committee devoted to the establishment of the Museum of Arms under the supervision of Mahmut Şevket Pasha (Boyar 1948: 141; Turgut 2005: 45; Shaw 2004: 260–263; Zonaro 2008: 258–259); and the decoration of porcelain products produced at the Yıldız Porcelain Factory with such important names as Halid Naci and Hoca Ali Rıza (Küçükerman, Bayraktar and Karakaş 1998: 26). He was also appointed as an antiquities expert for the German kaiser Wilhelm II's trip to Syria in 1898 (Yetik 1940: 76; Boyar 1948: 74; İslimyeli 1965: 52).

The duties he had to fulfill, the current issues he must have closely observed as a member of the court, and the people around him are all likely to have contributed to Hüseyin Zekâi's stance towards antiquities and archaeology. Interestingly, in his article on the pasha, Uzluk states that "he is one of the good archaeologists among the Turks, after Osman Hamdi Bey" (Şahabeddin 1924: 252-253); although Hüseyin Zekâi is known to have made several expeditions to Bursa and its environs in order to document ancient ruins, no extant document has been found to show that he actually conducted archaeological excavations himself. Most probably what Uzluk meant was the pasha's lifelong involvement in old and antique artefacts, as well as the efforts he exerted to amass the collection that he kept in his home. In fact, he seemed to quite enjoy the time he spent among his paintings and in his "museum". Once, Sami Yetik visited him in his studio filled with Turkish artefacts and expressed his astonishment by saying, "I was in a museum I have never seen before" (Yetik 1940: 74-75).

What was it in Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha's studio that so dazzled Sami Yetik? For one thing, the content of the collection must have been intensely interesting for Yetik. Unfortunately little remains from the collection, but Yetik states that Hüseyin Zekâi had a number of artefacts ranging from carvings (*oyma*) to samples of calligraphy and from manuscripts to embroidered cloth and cotton headscarves (*yemeni*). Yetik reports that the artist had a deep admiration for old Turkish artefacts and embroideries, each item of which he enthusiastically explained down to the smallest detail. Yetik's visit to Hüseyin Zekâi's "museum" clearly made a deep impression on him, and he even described the pasha as "the most sensitive soldier painter of his nation" (Yetik 1940: 74-75).

Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha himself explains his behavior and approach throughout his book *Mübeccel Hazineler*, providing insights into how he perceived the responsibilities of an Ottoman intellectual. As he put it:

> [T]hose who visit, examine, and later come to appreciate the works of art of the old civilizations are privileged and elite people. These educated elites are supposed to share their knowledge of antiquities with the people around them, thus enlightening them in the name of civilization and progress (Zekâi 1913: 200-202).

It must have been this perspective that drove Hüseyin Zekâi to get into the practice of collecting and to set up his so-called "museum".

In *Mübeccel Hazineler*, Hüseyin Zekâi further explains to his readers that he had decorated his house with antique objects representing the "power" and the "grandeur" of the past, and this manner he unfolds the content of his collection throughout the course of his book. He dedicated his life, which was spent among these antiquities, to the enlightenment and intellectual awakening of everyone around him. However, the pasha – who clearly enjoyed talking about the pieces in his collection – seems to have grown tired of certain criticisms he received. Those who saw no point in the act of collecting did not show approval, saying that

he had turned his home into the "Mosque of Hagia Sophia". Everywhere in his house and garden was filled with the objects he had gathered here and there. And the *Mübeccel Hazineler* gives clues about the objects he collected over time. The column in the middle of his courtyard, for example, would have belonged to a mosque or church. The old inlaid doors leaning against the courtyard walls must have been viewed with awe and curiosity by visitors to the house. Carved stones in the Byzantine style were acquired from the environs of Gebze and transported to the house through a thick forest filled with serpents, and at great difficulty and expense (Zekâi 1913: 203-204).

Many people found it difficult to comprehend why the pasha was throwing so much money at broken pieces of pots and pans, worn-out doors, and meaningless stones; they could not understand why he had turned his home into a flea market, as Hüseyin Zekâi puts it, going on to insinuate that he was sometimes treated as if he were a garbageman. Preferring to remain silent, he felt no need to try to persuade them. In contrast, judging from how he expresses himself in *Mübeccel Hazineler*, it is obvious that he was proud of his home being likened to a museum or to Hagia Sophia (Zekâi 1913: 203–205). But more importantly, considering the general chorus of disapproval, to what extent did the current concerns about archaeology and the act of preserving the remains of the past in museums and imperial collections (and thus, on an individual level, antiquarianism) resonate with the common people? Apparently, in the eye of ordinary men – and even amongst Hüseyin Zekâi's close family circle – his preoccupation with dusty oddities was no more than a kind of eccentricity. Today, unfortunately, all that remains from the pasha's collection are two candleholders, a mirror, a console table originally made for the French palace, and a hand-carved statue of a lion. As is the fate of most collections, Hüseyin Zekâi's artefacts were sold to an antique dealer before being catalogued, and the members of his family left for the United States.

The second reason why Sami Yetik was so astonished by the artist's home was most probably rooted in the very idea of a museum and the act of collecting, whether public or private: this was quite a new concept in Ottoman society at the time. There had been museums for some time at certain minority schools, such as Robert College and the Beirut American College, as well as at Christian churches and monasteries.[8] In addition, the collections at the Topkapı and Yıldız palaces paved the way for the establishment of the Imperial Museum in 1880. But apart from such corporate bodies, on the individual level it was primarily non-Muslim subjects who were known to collect antiques. These people also worked as antique dealers and provided assistance to Europeans in obtaining the items they wanted (Özkan 2004: 65-84).

Among Muslim Ottomans, however, those who were into collecting were interested primarily in manuscripts, calligraphic samples, and miniatures. They also collected prayer beads, seals, writing sets, guns, and old coins. Most commonly, Ottoman collectors were numismatists who were also top government officials or intellectuals. Among those who had private collections in the 19th century were Osman Hamdi Bey's father İbrahim Edhem Pasha, Fotyadi Pasha, Suphi Pasha (1818-1886), Theodore Makridis (1872-1940), and Kalost Gülbenkyan (1869-1955) (Özkan 2004: 65-84).

In an age when the concepts of archaeology, the museums, and collections were still new, any attempt to understand the rationale behind Hüseyin Zekâi's personal efforts in this area

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[8] Süleyman Özkan states that, along with such minority schools, there also used to be museum collections at the high schools (*idadi*) in Konya, Kayseri, İstanköy, Nablus, and Jerusalem. Their collections came from excavations and incidental findings made in their respective areas. The reason why old artefacts were gathered in these schools was that the museums were then under the supervision of the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezareti*). Later, these collections were transferred to local museums that were established over time. However, in the monasteries, the collections were primarily religious, composed mainly of liturgical objects, manuscripts, and various other items. The aim of these religious collections was to protect them from looting (Özkan 2004: 70).

must lead to the pages of *Mübeccel Hazineler*, which takes us right into the 19th-century Ottoman mindset where the ideas of civilization and the progress of the nation went hand in hand with archaeology and museum practices.[9]

The Tanzimat reforms served as an important threshold in the 19th-century Ottoman intellectual realm in that, via the schools it instituted on different levels and for different purposes, a group of intellectuals was developed on Turkish soil, intellectuals who could and did closely follow the West and so were eventually introduced to new ideals of the individual and of civilization. The new ideal individual was someone who would devote his life to humankind and to the enlightenment of humanity. He should be educated, knowledgeable, and do his best to improve the standards of the society in which he lived (Tanpınar 1976: 201–205; Özkırımlı 2004: 1208). Hüseyin Zekâi was among the educated people brought up with such ideals: in the preface of his book, he manifests these concepts when he says, "in the name of national pride and civilization, everyone should enlighten people as much as they can (Zekâi 1913: 4). This reflects not only his own mentality, but also that of his era. Hüseyin Zekâi's collection, as well as his book, are the tools he used to try to achieve his goals. As such, *Mübeccel Hazineler* is a blend of facts, professional observations, and personal opinions.

In fact, *Mübeccel Hazineler* serves a variety of different purposes. It is primarily an informative text addressed to a general audience. In it, Hüseyin Zekâi provides information about a variety of topics, including cultural heritage, Ottoman decorative styles, and the meaning of painting for society; he even dedicates a section to superstitious beliefs. But much more than this, through the book he aims to raise awareness in each individual who is *truly faithful to his country* about what cultural heritage means and what its importance is. At the very beginning of the book, he states that certain buildings – like the tombs and graves of important historical figures; or libraries, which house the books that have shaped civilizations throughout history; or indeed any other building with historical, archaeological, or artistic importance – must be considered invaluable treasures of and for humanity. Thus, even the remains and ruins of this tangible heritage are worth preserving (1913: 6). And in the book he focuses on certain outstanding examples of these, such as the Fountain of Sultan Ahmed II, Hagia Sophia, the Green Mosque in Bursa, and certain ancient sites like Baalbek and Troy. Seen from this perspective, *Mübeccel Hazineler* is much more than merely an art history book describing monuments and ancient sites in an encyclopaedic manner.

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[9] Actually, Ottoman archaeology and museum practices developed as a reaction to Europe's imperialistic desires. Europeans' growing interest in the antiquities in Ottoman territory goes back to Johann Joachim Winckelmann's studies on the ancient Greek sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum in the second half of the 18th century, which eventually attracted public attention to antiquities (Cezar 1987:17–20). Some European countries—especially Britain, France, and Germany—competed to obtain as many ancient artefacts as they could from within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, since European scholars closely identified themselves with the ancient Roman and Greek heritage (Özkan 1999: 449–476). At first, Ottoman governors adopted a tolerant attitude towards European expeditions to Ottoman lands and the archaeological excavations conducted by European diplomats, artists, travellers, tradesmen, and clergy. However, as the number of artefacts taken from Ottoman territory to European museums increased, the demands to obtain the necessary permission for excavations and exportation through diplomatic channels began to put more pressure on officials. Eventually, Ottoman officials – who were deeply involved in the intricacies of diplomacy in the name of saving the empire from collapse – began to realize the political and historical value of ancient sites and ruins. After the declaration of the Tanzimat in 1839, a number of legislations were implemented in order to protect cultural heritage and prohibit its export outside the empire's borders (Özkan 1999: 449-476). The appointment of Osman Hamdi Bey to the Imperial Museum in 1881 marked a new era in the history of archaeology and museology in the Ottoman Empire. The archaeological activities of Westerners, financially and diplomatically supported by their own governments, had turned into cultural plunder of a type and extent never before seen. Osman Hamdi Bey's devoted efforts to stop this plunder led to the Law of the Conservation of Antiquities (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*), which was an important achievement in the areas of Turkish museology and the protection of antiquities (Akın 1993: 233-238; Şahin 2007: 101-125).

Moreover, *Mübeccel Hazineler* is also addressed to the officers who were responsible for these antiquities. In Participating in state projects on cultural heritage, Hüseyin Zekâi must have been frequently exposed to the problems involved in the protection of ancient sites, and in one sense the book represents his reaction to the plunder of such sites by Europeans in the 19th century (1913: 97; 129–130). He was well aware that antiquities played an important role in declaring ownership of the legacy of the past, and so he urged Ottoman officials to act quickly to protect antiquities, however difficult that might be. He declared that all this heritage, no matter its origin, was the possession of the Ottoman Empire:

> [T]hese types of monuments and buildings are the pride and honour of our domains; they should be examined carefully and scrupulously to determine their historical and artistic value. However, because of ignorance, this heritage is at risk of disappearing, let alone having its beauty and value appreciated. Protecting [this heritage] is indispensable […] for the Ottomans to prove to other nations that they can appreciate the value of these buildings and are taking great steps in every field of science, but especially in the science of archaeology [and thus advancing towards civilization] (1913: 6–7; 101; 135–136).

Actually, Europeans assumed that the Ottomans were neglecting the antiquities within their borders, which provided them with a ready justification for the removal of antiquities to their own museums. Simply put, what Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha was trying to do was to eradicate such prejudices and, in the process, assert the Ottoman commitment to modernity.

But most importantly, Hüseyin Zekâi was also well aware that foreign visitors to the empire were also conducting scientific research and producing a staggering amount of knowledge aimed at improving the human condition. Among these researchers, says Hüseyin Zekâi, were a number of botanists, mining engineers, painters, architects, and historians, as well as archaeologists. Having already discovered their own geographies, these people were now travelling around the empire collecting data in order to "inject the seeds of knowledge and wisdom, instead of ignorance and illiteracy, into the culture" (1913: 130–133). Relating this issue to archaeological activities, Hüseyin Zekâi emphasizes the importance of the science of archaeology to progress, and he states that, rather than importing knowledge from the West, Ottoman intellectuals should produce their own knowledge relating to the history of humankind—which could indeed be considered his own personal definition of what an "intellectual" was.

All in all, Hüseyin Zekâi Pasha was a typical Tanzimat intellectual, a man who lived during a period when Ottoman officials were striving to adapt to the rapidly changing world while also trying to prevent the empire's gradual disintegration. He was one of those intellectuals of that era who felt a deep responsibility to society, and he closely followed Western scholarship and went about researching, writing, and sharing his own ideas in the public sphere via *Mübeccel Hazineler*.

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Turkish Abstract

19. yüzyıl Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Avrupalı ülkeler arasında ekonomik ve siyasi ilişkilerin değişime uğradığı bir dönemdir. İmparatorluğun çöküşünü engellemek adına, bir dizi reform hareketi başlatılmış, pek çok alanda hızlı bir modernleşme sürecine girilmiştir. Sonuçta, askeri okulların müfredatlarına ihtiyaç doğrultusunda eklenen resim dersleri, "asker ressamlar kuşağı" olarak bilinen bir kuşağın doğmasına sebep olmuştur. Bu çalışma, 19. yüzyılın son çeyreğinde etkin olan asker ressam Hüseyin Zekâi Paşa'nın eski eser tutkusu ve koleksiyonerlik deneyimi üzerinedir. Ressamlığının yanı sıra tutkulu bir eski eser koleksiyoneri olarak da bilinen Zekâi Paşa'nın bu ilgisi, yaşadığı dönem için oldukça yeni bir olgudur. Sanatçının 1913 yılında yayınlanan tek kitabı *Mübeccel Hazineler*, sanatçının tarihi ve kültürel değer taşıyan sanat eserlerinin, anıtların ve antik kentlerin korunması konusundaki kaygılarını dile getirdiği bir esere dönüşmüştür. Esasen, Hüseyin Zekâi'nin *Mübeccel Hazineler'de* takındığı tutum, döneminin aydınlarınca da benimsenen bir tutumdur. Bu çalışma, sanatçının kitabında dile getirdiği düşünceler ışığında, geç dönem Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda eski eserlerin korunması, saklanması ve teşhiri ile ilgili yaklaşımları gözden geçirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Biographical Note

Aylin Kılıç received her MA from Hacettepe University, Department of History of Art in 2010. Her master's thesis, entitled *Asker Ressamlar Kuşağı Temsilcilerinden Hüseyin Zekâi Paşa ve Ahmet Ziya Akbulut*, attempts to analyse the books and the artworks of these late 19th century Ottoman artists. She is currently a doctoral candidate at the same department. Her research concerns a costume book produced for Peter Mundy, a British merchant who lived in Istanbul at the beginning of the 17th century.

MUSICAL, COSMIC, AND GEOMETRIC METAPHORS
IN THE *RİSALE-İ MİMARİYYE* OF CAFER EFENDI

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Introduction

The 17th-century Ottoman manuscript *Risale-i Mimariyye* (Treatise on Architecture) provides information on the life and architecture of Sedefkar Mehmed Aga, the architect of the Sultanahmed Mosque in Istanbul, together with an architectural dictionary. The author of the manuscript is Cafer Efendi, who in the text introduces himself as a poet under the protection of Mehmed Aga. The *Risale-i Mimariyye* utilizes various cosmic, musical, and geometric concepts that are not common in Ottoman manuscripts on architecture. These concepts were either regarded as "just" metaphors or were simply ignored by researchers. Studies of the text are introduced in "Osmanlı Mimarlık Tarihi Yazımında Risale-i Mimariyye" (The *Risale-i Mimariyye* in Ottoman Architectural Historiography) by Gül Kale (Kale 2009: 405-424) and in the introduction to the *Risale-i Mimariyye* (Cafer Efendi 1987: 1-15) by Howard Crane. In the first chapter of the treatise, music is related to the cosmic system, the planets, the constellations of the zodiac, and the rotation of the earth, and geometric shapes are discussed in detail as well. The text also indicates that, as an architect, Sedefkar Mehmed Aga was very knowledgeable on these issues. In the sixth chapter of the manuscript, Cafer Efendi uses musical and cosmic terms in his description of the process of construction of the Sultanahmed Mosque. He uses Ottoman musical terms to define the sounds of the 12 "different kinds of marble" during the dressing work by stonemasons. Although such concepts may be uncommon in the Ottoman tradition, they show some similarities with concepts used in Vitruvius' *De Architectura* (On Architecture) and in the *De re aedificatoria* (On the Art of Building) by Alberti, who had studied Vitruvius in detail. Thus, in this paper, Alberti's *On the Art of Building* and Vitruvius' *On Architecture* are surveyed in order to trace the roots of these concepts. The cosmic, musical, and geometric concepts met with in the *Risale-i Mimariyye* are surveyed in the three texts in terms of: information on music, music related to architecture, information on the cosmos, the cosmos related to architecture, the cosmos related to music, information on geometry, geometry related to architecture, and geometry related to music. In the paper, similar references to the four elements and the creation of the world that are found in some of these texts are evaluated, as is information on the virtues of the architect as conveyed by the three texts in question.

Cosmic, Musical, and Geometric Concepts in the Three Books

Information on music in the *Risale-i Mimariyye* is given in various parts of the text. "The science of music", as Cafer Efendi calls it, is defined in detail in the first chapter via definitions of contemporary Ottoman musical terms. In this regard, he mentions "*nağme*" (note), "*zaman*" (time), "*lahn*" (melody), "*bu'd*" (interval), "*savt*" (sound), "*ġinā*'" (song or tune), "the twelve *makam*s" (twelve principal modes), four "*şube*s" with the lowest and highest initial tones (derivative modes), seven derivative modes known as "*avaze*" (song), and the 24 derivative modes known as "*terkib*" (composition). He defines "*mülayemet*" (harmony) within the science of music as follows: "Harmony is that which is agreeable to nature. Dissonance is that which is offensive to nature". He also states that the science of music is an ancient science, giving the date when it began to be systematized as approximately 1600 CE (Cafer Efendi 1987: 27). Alberti also refers to music in various parts of *On the Art of*

Building. In Book 9, Chapter 5, he introduces the tones as follows: "Some are deep and some are more acute. The deeper tones proceed from a longer string; and the more acute, from a shorter". He continues by giving the definitions of the modes, before stating that "harmony is an agreement of several tones delightful to the ears" and that "the ancients gathered [harmony] from interchangeable concords of the tones, by means of certain determinate numbers" (Alberti 1955: 194-197). In *On Architecture*, Vitruvius states his ideas on music in several parts of the text. In Book 5, Chapter 4, on the subject of harmonics, he uses the term "musical science" in trying to define harmonics, stating that "harmonics is an obscure and difficult branch of musical science, especially for those who do not know Greek." From the writings of Aristoxenus, he defines it as "the boundaries of the notes", including "that with somewhat careful attention anybody may be able to understand it pretty easily" (Vitruvius 1960: 139-140). In the same chapter, he describes tone as something whose "voice, in its changes of position when shifting pitch, becomes sometimes high, sometimes low", and mentions the "intervals of tones and semitones", the "three classes of modes", and the fact that "in each class there are eighteen notes" (Vitruvius 1960: 140).

Cafer Efendi, in his sixth chapter, relates the "science of music" to architecture via the sound made by the pickaxe during the stonemasons' stone dressing at the construction site of Sultanahmed Mosque. He states that there are twelve varieties of marble used in the construction, and that from each variety "a different sound or type of melodic mode is produced" (Cafer Efendi 1987: 68). In this manner, the twelve modes of music are brought forth. He continues his observations by saying that some of the craftsmen wield their picks very gently and some harder, thereby introducing the four pitches that he relates to the four derivative modes (*şube*). He points out how "from each one of the twelve types of marble a different sound or type of melodic mode is produced", coinciding with the 24 derivative modes (*terkib*). Moreover, he relates the "Work!" command of the site's seven foremen (*mutemed*) to the seven secondary modes (*avaze*) (Cafer Efendi 1987: 68-69). Alberti – in Book 9, Chapter 6 – indicates that some of the architectural rules for proportions are derived from musicians, discussing the variety of sounds of a harmonious and wonderful union of the musical proportions. He gives a detailed list of numbers derived "from the harmonious concords of the tones of the ancients" (Alberti 1955: 198-199) and applies them to architecture for a harmoniously articulated design (Alberti 1955: 13-14). In Book 7, Chapter 10, he proposes that "the composition of the lines of the pavement of the churches have full musical and geometric proportions" (Alberti 1955: 150). Vitruvius relates music to architecture in the construction of theaters, as "likewise, there are the bronze vessels which are placed in niches under the seats in accordance with the musical intervals on mathematical principles" (Vitruvius 1960: 10), which was done for acoustic reasons. He also states that the architect should know how to adjust the strings of the "ballistae, catapultae, and scorpions" so as to "give the same correct note to the ear", which will result in more effective shots (Vitruvius 1960: 9).

Cafer Efendi, in his introduction and first chapter, provides information on the cosmos based on the planets and the constellations of the zodiac (Cafer Efendi 1987: 19, 27). In Alberti's work, there is no such general information on the cosmos, though Vitruvius gives information about the universe, planets, and constellations in detail in Book 9, Chapters 1 and 3 (Vitruvius 1960: 257-258, 265).

Although Cafer Efendi and Vitruvius give detailed information about the cosmic bodies and their movements, they do not refer them directly to architecture. Alberti, however, makes references to architecture in design by stating that stairs should have seven steps, which matches the number of the planets (Alberti 1955: 19), and he also explains the planning characteristics of a circus with cosmic numbers (i.e., the number of the planets, constellations, hours in a day, and seasons) (Alberti 1955: 180). He also discusses construction and materials by stating the best time for digging the foundations, laying the coat on the walls (Alberti

1955: 63), and cutting the timber for the construction (Alberti 1955: 26), with all of these being related to the positions of the constellations.

Cafer Efendi, in his first chapter, relates cosmic numbers to music as the number of the constellations in relation to the number of the modes, the number of the planets in relation to the number of the derivative modes, and the number of the hours in a day in relation to the number of compositions (Cafer Efendi 1987: 27). While Alberti does not relate the cosmic numbers directly with music, Vitruvius in Book 1, Chapter 1 points out that "the Astronomers likewise have a common ground for discussion with musicians in the harmony of the stars and musical concords" (Vitruvius 1960: 12).

Cafer Efendi does not give definitions of geometric terms in his text. In Alberti's text, on the other hand, Book 1, Chapter 7 and Book 9, Chapter 6 provide definitions of the circle and of the different types of angles and lines (Alberti 1955: 9-10, 199). Vitruvius, like Cafer Efendi, gives no definitions for geometrical terms in his text.

Cafer Efendi relates geometry to architecture by stating in Chapter 1: "As long as a person does not understand" the science of geometry, "he is not capable of the finest working in mother-of-pearl, nor can he be expert and skilled in the art of architecture" (Cafer Efendi 1987, 28). He also points out "how all craftsmen's [i.e., stonemasons and carpenters] tools and implements, even musician's instruments, are fashioned in conformity with the science of geometry" (Cafer Efendi 1987: 24). Alberti – in Book 1, Chapter 8 – refers to geometric forms such as lines, arches, angles, circle, and polygons in connection with architectural design (Alberti 1955: 11), while in Book 7, Chapter 10 he states that, for the decoration of the floor of churches, he "would have the composition of the lines of the pavement full of musical and geometrical proportions" (Alberti 1955: 150). Vitruvius does not refer to any direct connection between geometry and architecture, except very briefly in Book 1, Chapter 1, where he mentions the science of geometry as one of the sciences of which an architect should have knowledge (Vitruvius 1960: 6).

Cafer Efendi relates geometry with music in his Chapter 14, where he describes in detail the forms of several musical instruments in terms of their geometric forms (Cafer Efendi 1987: 104). Alberti, in the quote given above, refers to geometry and music in terms of the decoration of the floor of churches when stating that he "would have the composition of the lines of the pavement full of musical and geometrical proportions" (Alberti 1955: 150). Vitruvius makes no direct reference to the relation between geometry and music.

The *Risale-i Mimariyye* also makes reference to the four elements (fire, air, water, and earth) of Ancient Greek philosophy, as well as the creation of the world. Vitruvius also refers to the four elements, while Alberti refers to the creation of the world. In terms of the four elements, Cafer Efendi relates them to music, stating in Chapter 1 that "the four derivative modes known as *şube* are defined in accord with the four elements" (Cafer Efendi 1987: 26-27). Vitruvius only gives only gives the names of the four elements and the names of their founders, information which is found in Book 2, Chapter 2 (Vitruvius 1960: 42). As for the creation of the world, Cafer Efendi's introduction provides a rather long description of the how the earth and the heavens were created (Cafer Efendi 1987: 19). Alberti – in Book 2, Chapter 13 – provides information on the creation of the world as related to the cosmic order and based on ancient writings (Alberti 1955: 39).

All three works discuss the virtues of an architect. Cafer Efendi, in Chapter 4 of the *Risale-i Mimariyye*, gives a long description of these virtues based on the case of Sedefkar Mehmed Aga, whose kindness, modesty, piety, generosity, courage, charity, and benevolence he expounds upon (Cafer Efendi 1987: 42-47). The virtues of an architect according to Alberti are found in Book 9, Chapter 10: "As to the other virtues, humanity, benevolence, modesty, probity; I do not require them more in the architect, than I do in every other man, let him profess what art he will: for indeed without them I do not think anyone worthy to be deemed a man: but above all things he should avoid levity, obstinacy, ostentation, intemperance, and all

those other vices which may lose him the good will of his fellow citizens, and make him odious to the world" (Alberti 1955: 205). Vitruvius also makes a short comment on the virtues of an architect in Book 1, Chapter 1: "As for philosophy, it makes an architect high-minded and not self-assuming, but rather renders him courteous, just, and honest without avariciousness. This is very important, for no work can be rightly done without honesty and incorruptibility. Let him not be grasping nor have his mind preoccupied with the idea of receiving perquisites but let him with dignity keep up his position by cherishing a good reputation. These are among the precepts of philosophy" (Vitruvius 1960: 8).

Conclusion

In this survey, the cosmic, musical, and geometric concepts met with in the *Risale-i Mimariyye* are connected with those in Alberti's *On the Art of Building* and Vitruvius' *On Architecture* in an attempt to trace the origins of those concepts. Vitruvius wrote *On Architecture* in the Augustan age of Roman antiquity, probably toward the end of the first century BCE. Alberti presented his *On the Art of Building* to Pope Nicholas V in 1452; its first edition was printed in Florence in 1485 and later editions, through Cafer Efendi's time, were printed in 1512, 1541, 1546, 1550, 1553 (in French), 1568, and 1582 (in Spanish), as outlined in the editor's foreword of the English translation considered here (Alberti 1955: vi). The manuscript of Cafer Efendi's *Risale-i Mimariyye* was completed in 1614/1615. Although these books on architecture and architects were all written by authors from different cultures and in different languages, the concepts surveyed exist in all the texts in various permutations. A comparative analysis of the surveyed concepts in the texts can be seen in Table 1 below. Four of the eleven concepts – namely, information on music, the relation between music and architecture, the relation between geometry and architecture, and the virtues of an architect – are found in all three works. The concepts of the relation between geometry and music and the creation of the world are found in Cafer Efendi's and Alberti's works. The concepts of information on the cosmos, the relation between the cosmos and music, and information on the four elements are found in Cafer Efendi's and Vitruvius' works. The concepts of the relation between the cosmos and architecture and information on geometry occur only in Alberti's work.

In the texts of Alberti and Vitruvius, the concepts are emphasized in relation to the beauty, proportions, and harmony of architectural structures, and to the education and virtues of an architect. Although Cafer Efendi uses the same concepts, he refers to harmony only for music, and discusses the education and virtues of an architect specifically in connection with Sedefkar Mehmed Aga. This difference is probably due to the professions of the different authors. Vitruvius and Alberti were architects themselves, and they refer mainly to the harmony and proportions that exist in the cosmic order as well as in music, relating these to the beauty to be found in architecture. In fact, Alberti had studied Vitruvius' book, as well as works by other ancient writers, and had surveyed the ruins of ancient Rome. Both authors thus had knowledge of the ancient concepts of beauty, proportion, and harmony. Cafer Efendi, on the other hand, was not an architect. Little is known about his life, education, and identity: all we have is what he himself says in his treatise; namely, that he was a poet and that he was in the service of Sedefkar Mehmed Aga. He also states that he had written down the things that he had heard when certain subjects concerning the science of geometry were being discussed (Cafer Efendi 1987: 23). This information makes one think that he may also have written down the things that he had heard concerning the science of music and the cosmos when those topics were being discussed. Moreover, the information given by Cafer Efendi suggests the possibility that Sedefkar Mehmed Aga had read Alberti's book, which as mentioned had been published in several editions throughout the 16th century, as well as an edition of Vitruvius' book, which he then may have discussed with friends or colleagues.

Necipoğlu mentions the presence of Vitruvius' book at the Topkapı Palace Library and points out the likelihood that books of the Renaissance architects could have been found in the office of the royal architects in the 16th century (Necipoğlu 2013: 131).

In relation to the cosmic, musical, and geometric concepts discussed, the name of Pythagoras is mentioned in the *Risale-i Mimariyye* several times, as also in Vitruvius' work. Pythagoras' philosophy presented a cosmos structured according to moral principles and significant numerical relationships that governed the concordant musical intervals and served as the foundation for all arts and sciences through harmony and proportion, which were the keys to beauty (Kranz 1984: 45, 128). Pythagoras' ideas were written down in later centuries by Plato, Aristotle, and the successors of the Pythagorean school. Medieval Islamic philosophers, such as Al-Farabi (Hançerlioğlu 1970: 102) and Ibn al-Arabi (Ögel 1994: 96, 100), synthesized the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle with Muslim belief, in the process introducing Pythagoras into Islamic culture as "Fisagor". It is certain that Sedefkar Mehmed Aga and his friends or colleagues would have had some knowledge of Pythagoras' ideas via such Islamic philosophers as these. But in addition to this, the way in which Cafer Efendi's *Risale-i Mimariyye* relates music, the cosmos, and geometry to architecture in a manner somewhat similar to that seen in Vitruvius' and Alberti's texts makes one think that these works on architecture were also known by Ottoman architects, or at least by Sedefkar Mehmed Aga and his friends or colleagues.

	Cafer Efendi	Alberti	Vitruvius
INFORMATION ON MUSIC	✓ Similar	✓ Similar	✓ Similar
MUSIC-ARCHITECTURE	✓ Related to the sounds at the construction site	✓ Similar	✓ Similar
INFORMATION ON COSMOS	✓ Similar		✓ Similar
COSMOS-ARCHITECTURE		✓	
COSMOS-MUSIC	✓ Number of the planets, etc., are related to the number of musical modes		✓ Related since both have harmony
INFORMATION ON GEOMETRY		✓	
GEOMETRY-ARCHITECTURE	✓ Similar	✓ Similar	✓ Similar
GEOMETRY-MUSIC	✓ Related to the geometric form of the musical instruments	✓ Related since both have harmony	
FOUR ELEMENTS	✓ Related to musical modes		✓ Information on them
CREATION OF WORLD	✓ Similar	✓ Similar	
VIRTUES OF AN ARCHITECT	✓ Virtues of Sedefkar Mehmed Aga	✓ Similar	✓ Similar

Table 1 – Information in the texts of Cafer Efendi, Alberti, and Vitruvius

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Turkish Abstract

17. yüzyıl Osmanlı yazma eseri *Risale-i Mimariye* hassa mimar başı ve Sultanahmet Camiinin mimarı Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa'nın hayatı ve mimarlığı hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Eserde ayrıca bir de dönemine ait üç dilde mimarlık sözlüğü bulunmaktadır. Yazma eserin yazarı Cafer Efendi metin içinde kendisini Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa'nın himayesinde bir şair olarak tanıtmaktadır. *Risale-i Mimariye*'nin ilk bölümümde müzik, güneş sistemi ile gezegenler, Zodyak takımyıldızları ve dünyanın kendi etrafında dönüşü gibi kozmik kavramlarla ilgilendirilmiştir. Bu bölümde aynı zamanda geometrik biçimler detaylı olarak tartışılmıştır. Bu kavramlar çokça övülerek Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa'nın bunları mimar olarak uygulamakta çok başarılı olduğu belirtilmiştir. Altıncı bölümde Cafer Efendi Sultanahmet Camiinin inşaat sürecini anlatırken müzikal ve kozmik terimler kullanmıştır. İnşaat alanında çalışan taş ustalarının yonttukları 12 farklı mermer türünün çıkardığı sesleri tanımlarken de Osmanlı müzik terimlerini kullanmıştır. Bu müzik, kozmik ve geometrik kavramlar Osmanlı kültürü için sıra dışı ise de Vitruvius'un İ.Ö. 1. yüzyıl sonlarında yazdığı *De Architectura* libri decem ve Vitruvius'un bu kitabını 15. yüzyılda İtalyancaya çeviren, daha sonra kendisi de mimarlık kitabı yazan Alberti'nin *De re aedificatoria* adlı eserlerinde de karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Her iki kitapta da bu kavramlar mimari eserlerin estetik ve uyum (harmoni) açısından değerini daha da arttırmak amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Bu müzik, kozmik ve geometrik kavramların ve fikirlerin kökeni Antik Döneme dayanır, özellikle de Pythagoras felsefesine. Pythagoras felsefesinin sunduğu kozmos kavramı, aynı zamanda güzelliğin anahtarı olan ve bütün sanatların ve bilimlerin temelini oluşturan harmoni ile oranın, ahenkli müzikal araları oluşturan ahlaki ilkeler ve belirli sayısal ilişkilerle yapılandırılmış olmasıdır. Pythagoras'ın fikirleri daha sonraki yüz yıllarda Plato, Aristotle ve Pythagoras ekolünün ardılları tarafından kaleme alınmıştır. Al-Farabi ve Ibn-Arabi gibi Ortaçağ İslam filozofları Plato ve Aristotle'ın felsefesini İslami değerlerle sentezleyerek Pythagoras'ı Fisagor olarak İslam kültürüne katmışlardır. Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa İslam filozofları yolu ile Pythagoras'un görüşlerini biliyor olabilir. Fakat müzik, kozmos ve geometri kavramlarının Vitruvius ve Alberti'nin metinleri ile benzerliği bu kitapların Osmanlı mimarları veya en azından Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa ve çevresi tarafından biliniyor olduğunu düşündürmektedir.

Biographical Note

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LUIGI PICCINATO IN TURKEY

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One of the most important architects and urbanists of the 20th century, Luigi Piccinato (Legnano-Milano, 30 October 1899-Rome, 29 July 1983) spent a part of his career in the 1950s and 1960s in Turkey, having been invited there by the Turkish government.

Piccinato played an important role in establishing the cultural and technical base of urbanism and regional planning in Turkey, which were modern disciplines at the beginning of the 1930s and 1940s (Malusardi 1995, 97). There were three main sources for his theoretical and practical approach to these disciplines:

- Giovannoni's theorisation, proposing the themes, historic centres and conservation of these centres ("*Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova*", 1931)
- The Organic City theory of Patrick Geddes, originally a biologist and theoretician of city and regional planning (Malusardi 1995: 101)
- The regional planning experience of the Germans (accompanied by the observation and study of the medieval city) (Malusardi 1995: 101)

This study aims to identify Luigi Piccinato's place in Turkish architectural history based on news items in the Turkish press (the newspapers *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam*, *Ulus* and *Barış*) and architectural journals (*Arkitekt* and *Mimarlık*), as well as by using documents in found in the State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey.

The name 'Piccinato'

Piccinato's name is seen for the first time in an article on the Association for Italian Organic Architecture (Associazione per l'Architettura Organica, APAO) written by Şevki Vanlı and published in 1950 in *Arkitekt* magazine. In his article, Vanlı writes that Piccinato is one of the most important members of the association (other members were Bruno Zevi, Mario Ridolfi and Pier Luigi Nervi), which was active in Italy in the second half of 1945. He points out that all these architects adored the practice of organic architecture, even if they did not create works like those of Wright, whom they considered to be like God (Vanlı 1950).

The first appearance of Piccinato's name in the Turkish press occurred in 1954, when Piccinato was 55 years old. In the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* of 7 August 1954, there was an announcement for the "International Project Competition for the City Development Plan of Ankara" (*Cumhuriyet* 1954: 7). In the announcement, the name 'Prof. Luigi Piccinato' is listed as a main jury member, after Prof. Sir Patrick Abercrombie and Prof. Gustave Oelsner. The same announcement was first published inthe March-June (03-06) 1954 issue of *Arkitekt* (*Arkitekt* 1954: 108),

Luigi Piccinato came to Turkey for the first time in 1955, in order to serve as a member of this jury. The same year he was also a fellow jury member with Paul Bonatz in the Antalya National Architectural Project Competition held by *İller Bankası* (the Bank of the Provinces, a state-owned development and investment bank). In a 1956 interview given to the newspaper *Havadis*, he stated the following about Istanbul (*Arkitekt* 1956: 03, 158):

> I came to Istanbul in 1955. It reminded me of a sleeping city. In this arrival I saw the awakening of Istanbul. Istanbul is a historic city. This point is considered in the development of the city. Istanbul's wooden structures don't exist in Rome. That's why the development of Rome is difficult. Istanbul is lucky for this reason. It will be developed quickly. Your expropriation law is good. You have three lucky factors:

one of these is the geographical situation, the second one is this regulation, and the third one is Adnan Menderes.

Baruthane

The 7 January 1957 *Cumhuriyet* wrote that an Italian expert in urbanism was coming for a new site of 10,000 houses and 50,000 inhabitants that would be built at Baruthane in Istanbul (*Cumhuriyet* 1957: 1 and 5). The news explained who Piccinato was, as he was not well known in Turkey, using these words:

> Prof. Piccinato, at the request of the Argentinian government, prepared the plans for the city of Buenos Aires, and has thus far supervised the construction of six modern cities. He has been to Turkey twice, and was a jury member in the Antalya and Ankara city plan competitions. Now he is a professor at the University of Venice. He is also a member of the development plan committees of Rome and Venice.

The 5 March 1957 issue of the newspaper *Milliyet* announced that Piccinato, who had been invited by the Real Estate Credit Bank, had arrived in the city the previous day (*Milliyet* 1957: 3). The newspaper emphasized Piccinato's international fame and reported his opinions about the Baruthane development as follows:

> In 4.5 months, we finished the plans for a modern city of 60,000 inhabitants and 14,000 houses. If the plans, already in the municipal council, are approved, construction will start immediately and the first flats will go on sale at the beginning of 1959. This summer, according to the development plan, a beach with a 10,000-person capacity will be at the service of the citizens of Istanbul.

The news item declared that Piccinato would stay two weeks in Istanbul and meet Prime Minister Adnan Menderes.

Letter to Menderes

In the General Directorate of the State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey, there is a letter from Piccinato dated 19 January 1957 (Archive document No: 1). The letter was sent to the architect Ertuğrul Menteşe. Piccinato thanks him for his hospitality during his visit to Turkey. He also sends his thanks to the director of the Real Estate Credit Bank and greets his friends in Baruthane. The main goal of the letter, however, is the translation and delivery of an additional letter, written in French, to Prime Minister Menderes. The letter from Piccinato to Menderes concerns his opinions about Istanbul's urban problems, which he discovered after his site survey. Piccinato added a drawing to his letter. His opinions can be summarized as follows:

> Istanbul's problem has to be solved with a new linear and open urbanistic organism, not like today's introverted one. The spine of the new organism has to be a state highway constructed on the back of the city, with one end at the Black Sea and the other end on the far side of Kadıköy. Roads will branch out from this spine, reaching the existing quarters, the old city, Beyoğlu, all the organic cities along the Bosphorus coast, the Marmara Sea, Florya, the airport and the end of the industrial zone. Entrance points to the settled districts must be placed on both sides of the Golden Horn. The heart of the city can be reached from the Eyüp region along the Golden Horn. If this organism can be constructed, all the inner problems of old Istanbul, beyond Beyoğlu and Taksim, will become simpler, clearer and less expensive to solve. Except for some new arterial roads, it will be possible to bring order to and sanitize the city by creating gardens and alleys connecting the monuments and works of art in a proportional ambiance.

Bursa

Between 1958 and 1960, Piccinato also contributed to the planning of Bursa, which had been devastated by a fire in the Khans district. This plan, with its organic concept, aimed to protect the historical quarters of Bursa and foresaw a linear development of the city along an east-west axis. In the end, however, local lobbies and groups with stakes in real estate profit did not allow the plan to be implemented.

It was the 1 March 1958 issue of the newspaper *Akşam* that first announced that the development plan of Bursa would be prepared and put into effect by Prof. Piccinato, expert in urbanism, in person (*Akşam* 1958).

In a press conference, Piccinato mentioned the following principles:

> During the development of a city, it is necessary to create the modern city based on its past. In the organism, besides the things which were good in the past, the addition of new things has to be in harmony with this and the city has to be created from the peripheries toward the center. During the development of the city, its economy, housing situation, commercial development and traffic have to match with the soul of the city. When the actual organism is being reorganized, these principles have to be noted, and the states of housing and commerce have to be proportional. Basically, it is the most difficult part of development. The plan of the city is never a regime, but a covenant for the inhabitants.

The 25 April 1958 issue of *Milliyet*, concerning the reorganisation of the fire zone and headlined "In Bursa, development activities are beginning", stated that an urban expert would come on 1 May 1, and after a week of work by Piccinato, the activities would begin (*Milliyet* 1958: 5).

A news item in the 6 September 1958 issue of *Cumhuriyet*, headlined "In Bursa, new markets and shops are being established", outlined the visit to Bursa of Medeni Berk, Minister of Development and the director of the Real Estate Credit Bank. The news points out that Berk had met Piccinato and made him explain the project (*Cumhuriyet* 1958: 5).

Competition jury member for the third time

In 1958, the Cooperative Society of the Istanbul Drapery and Haberdashery Market held a competition on the advice of the municipality, in order to define the urban form of their land on the slopes of Süleymaniye (Tekeli et al. 1960: 122-132). In the stages of revising the results of the competition and arriving at the new principles, Piccinato provided his advice alongside that of the personnel of the *İller Bankası* Planning Department.

Competition jury member for the fourth time

In an advertisement published in the 28 April 1959 issue of *Cumhuriyet* (and repeated on 2 May), Piccinato was listed as a jury member in a competition for the fourth time.

The advertisement was produced by the Ministry of Defense. It concerned the reorganisation of an area that included the barracks of Harbiye and its surroundings in Istanbul, with the competition being open to members of the Turkish Union of Chambers of Architects and Engineers. The single foreign name in the jury was Istanbul's development plan consultant, Luigi Piccinato.

Competition jury member for the fifth time

In an issue of *Arkitekt* dating from 1959, Piccinato and Rolf Gutbrod are cited as foreign experts among the jury members for the competition of a tourist hotel to be constructed in

Taksim by Vakıflar (the Directorate of Foundations) (*Arkitekt* 1959: 88-93). This was an international competition restricted to five foreign agencies as well as Turkish architectural groups. The winner of the competition was the AHE group (K. Ahmet Arû, Tekin Aydın, Hande Çağlar, Yalçın Emiroğlu, Altay Erol, and M. Ali Handan). This news item was published with a photograph on the first page of *Akşam* on 22 January 1959 (*Akşam* 1959: 1).

Conference

In the 15 May 1959 issue of *Cumhuriyet* is an advertisement relating to a convention held in Istanbul by the Committee of Urbanism of Architectural Association and organized by the Chamber of Architects (*Cumhuriyet* 1959b: 5). The advertisement points out that Piccinato would give a conference about the development plan of the city of Rome on 22 May 1959. The architect Turgut Cansever tells *Arkitekt* that Piccinato's comments at the conference were important for Istanbul to take under advisement (Cansever 1959: 30-32).

Piccinato mentioned that the population of Rome was increasing by 40,000 every year due to migration of the poor from the countryside. The measures taken on regional and urban scales to solve the problems created by this influx should also serve as an example to Turkish cities, especially Istanbul, whose population was increasing by 80,000 every year.

Piccinato was anxious about the dangers to Rome if the development in the south caused by migrants from the south also occurred in the north of the city. He explains, as a precaution, that a peripheral and symmetrical development of the city must be avoided. To achieve this result, decisions needed to be taken that would halt migration into the city and involve the whole region. Cansever pointed out that this comment of Piccinato's was critical for a country such as Turkey, where it was encouraged for city plans to have symmetrical and peripheral developments around the historical core of the city and where historical areas would be transformed by city plans.

Piccinato's presentation proved the legitimacy of the criticism concerning contemporary plans that encouraged development in the east, north and west sides of the historical city in Istanbul. The most important aspect of his description, according to Cansever, was how it pointed toward the measures that were needed in order to avoid similar errors in future initiatives, and also how it paved the way for actions and a spirit that required courage and sacrifice for the proper development of Turkish cities, which had been damaged over the past century because of a state of chaos caused by a lack of order and discipline.

This conference also underlined the importance of the unity of housing and working areas in urban planning. Developing centers for housing and work, and thus potentially stopping people who came to find jobs in urban areas, was presented as the basic solution to the problems of the city.

Edirne

On the first page of *Akşam* dated 16 December 1959, it is written that Piccinato would be preparing Edirne's development plan (*Akşam* 1959b: 1). However, after he had climbed the minaret of Selimiye Mosque to see the general layout of the city, he was unable to see anything because of fog, and so he returned to Tekirdağ without making any studies.

Plan in 1/100,000 scale

On the first page of *Akşam* dated 6 April 1960, it is written that Piccinato, who was in Italy, and Högg, who was in Germany, had been summoned urgently by telegraph to implement a new plan in 1/100,000 scale completed by the Planning Office of the Ministry of Public Works and Development (*Akşam* 1960: 1).

Plan of Istanbul

On the first page of *Akşam* dated 12 November 1962, it is pointed out that the Istanbul development plan had been reviewed again, and the plan prepared by a foreign expert would not be altered in any case (*Akşam* 1962: 1). All the maps and information necessary for the plan to be prepared would be organised by a study office and given to the foreign expert. Among the various names for the proposed foreign expert, Piccinato's name was mentioned.

Architects' opinions

The issue of *Cumhuriyet* dated 24 December 1962 reported on a press conference organised by Aydın Boysan, Chairman of the Chamber of Architects (*Cumhuriyet* 1962: 2). The professors of urbanism who attended the meeting underlined that the plans prepared up to that time had cost the municipality 100 million lira, yet none had been sufficiently successful, and only a universal competition could save Istanbul from this chaos. They believed that a development plan for Istanbul, with all its historical monuments, could not be resolved through the decisions of one person alone, however clever he might be, and they believed that Piccinato would agree with them.

Piccinato and the columnists

First, in 1963, İlhan Selçuk wrote entitled one edition of his *Cumhuriyet* column *Pencere* (Window) "The City of Piccinato", taking Piccinato as the subject of his article (Selçuk 1963: 2).

Using Piccinato's words, Selçuk wrote about Milan, which was trying to find solutions to its urban problems; he emphasized the similarity between the country's politics and the vicious cycle of the city:

> When in Milan the number of vehicles increased and traffic became congested, we enlarged the streets by expropriating some buildings and we increased floor allowance. By adding new floors onto buildings, the city became more populated. The vehicles increased and the traffic became congested.
>
> We had to demolish some buildings again. The streets were opened up a little. But we again increased the number of floors, fearing that the city would spread out. With new floors, the population increased again and the roads became tight again […] And the vicious cycle of the city will continue.

In 1963, journalist Doğan Nadi asked in *Cumhuriyet* what all the foreign urban experts who had come to Turkey had actually done, and guessed what Piccinato would do whenever he came again (Nadi 1963: 5). He thought that none of the fragmented plans of the experts who had come before had been executed well. Topağacı was foreseen as a green area and had instead been filled with housing; Cihangir was envisaged as being gradually built up but quickly became full of skyscrapers; and in Moda not only the waterfront but the sea as well had been filled in. Nadi maintained that the development plans were done less to organize the city than to destroy its form.

Kemal Ahmet Arû, a professor in the Istanbul Technical University Faculty of Architecture, wrote an article in *Arkitekt* entitled "How to do the planning of Istanbul" (Arû 1963: 147-148),[1] where he discussed the planning process in Istanbul from Prost through 1963. In the article, Arû explains that Piccinato worked from 1958 to 1961 in the office that the Ministry of Public Works and Development had established for the planning of Istanbul, and he criticises Piccinato for the inconsistency of his reports relating to his plans. In his reports, Piccinato had said, "it is right and necessary to consider a city from the periphery to the interior, from the territories to the center", but without any territorial and regional data and

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[1] It was published in *Cumhuriyet* in 1964 with the same title (Ceyhun 1968: 1).

without completely identifying the relevant economic, social and industrial facts, he had presupposed that the population of Istanbul would reach 4 million in 20 years, and so proposed large housing areas located around the city.

In 1968, the architect-journalist Demirtaş Ceyhun, in his series in *Milliyet* entitled "Looted Istanbul", introduces some hitherto unknown aspects of Piccinato (Arû 1964: 6). He writes how, every time, Piccinato would show his sensitivity toward historical monuments with an uncompromising stance in front of the administrators; how he had convinced Menderes not to destroy the historical monuments of Bursa; and how he was against the construction of an annex to the courthouse building because of its potential harmful effects on the historical area surrounding it. Piccinato, Ceyhun points out, also defended with all his power not to have industry introduced into the Istanbul metropolitan area in the Istanbul Industrial Area Plan approved in 1966.

In a 1966 article in *Arkitekt*, the architect Ertuğrul Menteşe writes that the general development plan of the city finalized by Piccinato and the Turkish committee of urbanists in the office founded by *İller Bankası* in Istanbul, is a valuable master plan in terms of its Istanbul traffic studies, Bosphorus bridge location study, ports and railways studies and all its data concerning water and energy (Menteşe 1966). Due to the fact that the regional plan was not done before and the determinants resulting from the regional plan and its future effects on the city could not be identified, this plan was not approved.

Piccinato in Turkey again

On 10 January 1967, an agreement was signed between Piccinato and the general management of *İller Bankası*. Piccinato was going to contribute as an expert consultant to the office to be founded for the implementation of the Istanbul Development Plan. A document found in the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Archive outlines the working duration and the amount of payment. Piccinato would come seven times to Turkey, staying for at least ten days each time. Between any two arrivals, there would be a period of at least 20 days. For every visit, Piccinato would be paid 22,000 lira plus a *per diem* of 200 lira. His approved trips within Turkey would be sponsored by *İller Bankası* (Archive document No: 2).

Conference

From an issue of *Arkitekt* dating from 1973, it is understood that Piccinato gave two consecutive conferences, the first relating to Bursa and its development plan and the second to his impressions about Turkey (*Arkitekt* 1973: 59).

Conclusion

Overall, newspapers from the period after 1954 report on Piccinato's arrivals to and departures from Turkey, his relations with ministers, his works in Turkey and the competitions for which he was selected as a jury member. In these news items, Piccinato is mentioned with respect as an Italian professor and expert on urbanism, and the items are published sometimes on the first page and sometimes on later pages. The more Piccinato is seen in the country, the more he becomes the subject of articles in newspapers and architectural magazines and the more he is invited to conferences.

The reason why the Istanbul Development Plan on which he worked as an expert consultant could not be realized was the limited means at hand, as well as administrative incompetence, which caused some architects and writers to engage in criticism in subsequent years.

In the volatile political atmosphere of Turkey at the time, Piccinato, despite that fact that he was a member of the Socialist Party in Italy, managed to maintain good relations with

Turkey's administrators during the Democrat Party era as well as after the coup of 27 May 1960. He was the choice of ministers in both periods.

As a result, by consulting the press of the period, it can be understood that Piccinato occupied a special place as a foreign expert on urbanism in Turkey's city planning history both before and after 1960.

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Turkish Abstract

İtalya'nın Türk mimarisi ve şehirciliği üzerindeki etkilerini değerlendirirken Luigi Piccinato'nun Türkiye'deki çalışmalarının hatırlanması ve anlaşılması önemli bir yer tutar. Yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk çeyreğinde çoğunlukla Alman, Avusturyalı ve Fransız mimar-şehircilerle yapılan ortak çalışmalar Türkiye şehir planları için belirleyici olmuştur. 1950'lerde ilk defa Türk otoriteleri bir uzman İtalyan şehir plancısından yardım ister: Bu plancı Luigi Piccinato'dur.

XX. yüzyılın ünlü İtalyan mimar ve şehir plancısı Luigi Piccinato (Legnago, 30 Ekim 1899-Roma, 29 Temmuz 1983), hayatının bir bölümünü Türk Hükümeti'nin davetlisi olarak Türkiye'de çalışarak geçirmiştir. İlk olarak 1955'de Ankara ve Antalya şehir planı yarışmalarının jüri üyesi olur. 1956-1959 yılları arası Ataköy Uydu Kenti'ni planlar. 1957'de Emlak Kredi Bankası'nın davetlisi olarak Baruthane Kenti'ni kurar. 1958'de, XIV. Yüzyıl Osmanlı başkenti, yangın geçirmiş Bursa'nın planını yapmaya başlar. 1960'da bu planı bitirir. 1958'de İstanbul'da Atatürk Bulvarı üzerindeki Manifaturacılar Çarşısı'nın jürisine de çağrılmıştır. 1967'de İller Bankası'nın davetlisi olarak İstanbul Metropoliten Alan Planı'nda uzman olarak Türkiye'deki kariyerinin en önemli ve karmaşık işinde çalışır. 1982'de, ölümünden bir sene önce, Ataköy Projesi ile Türk yetkilileri ve Ataköy sakinleri tarafından ödüllendirilir.

Bu makale Luigi Piccinato'nun Türk Mimarlık tarihindeki yerini vurgulamayı amaçlar. Bu amaçla,

- Piccinato'nun Türkiye'deki çalışmaları esnasında Türk basınının yorumları ele alınacaktır. Bu amaçla dönemin Türkiye'sindeki gazete makaleleri incelenecektir;
- Piccinato'nun Türk Hükümeti ile ilişkileri Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivi'ndeki belgelerden faydalanılarak ortaya konacaktır;
- Dönemin Türk mimar ve şehir plancılarının Luigi Piccinato'nun çalışmaları hakkındaki düşünce ve eleştirileri ele alınacaktır, bu amaçla Türk mimarların yazılı anılarına başvurulacaktır.

Sonuç olarak Türkiye'de basının, hükümetin ve diğer mimar ve plancıların, 1955-1982 tarihleri arasında, XX. Yüzyılın önemli bir İtalyan mimar-şehir plancısı hakkındaki farklı bakış açıları değerlendirilmiş olacaktır.

Biographical Note

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OTTOMAN TOWER HOUSES (*BEG* TOWERS)
IN THE REPUBLIC OF NORTH MACEDONIA

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This paper examines tower houses (*beg* towers) in the Republic of North Macedonia, which are located in urban as well as rural settings. Several cities, towns and villages in the Republic of North Macedonia – like Skopje, Bitola/Manastır, Kavadarci, Negotino, Strumica, Kočani, Štip and especially Kratovo – have extant tower houses, which served as the residences of the local *beg*s during Ottoman rule in Macedonia.[1]

Macedonia first came under Ottoman Turkish rule in the second half of the 14th century, after the Battle of Maritsa in 1371. The history of Macedonia in the 15th and 16th centuries was characterized by the establishment of the timar-spahi system and other forms of Ottoman administration. At this point, agriculture was the basic source of livelihood, but companies of *hajduk*s (outlaws opposed to Ottoman rule) would begin plundering Ottoman feudal land in the 17th century. In 1689, part of the Macedonian population organized an uprising known by the name of its leader, Karposh (East Central... 1982: 319-320). The economic and political situation in Macedonia further deteriorated (Pǎrvev 1995: 92-94). The weakening power of the central Ottoman authorities led to the rise of the power of great landowners, who built tower houses (*beg* towers) in order to control or oversee their territories (Özer 2006: 176-177).

A tower house is a particular type of stone structure built for both defensive and residential purposes. Tower houses began to appear in the Middle Ages, especially in mountainous areas or areas with limited access, in order to command and defend strategic points with reduced forces. At the same time, they were also used as an aristocrat's residence, and a so-called "castle town" often developed around them.

Ottoman tower houses developed and were built in the Balkans after the Ottoman conquest by both Christian and Muslim communities. The building of Ottoman tower houses, however, did not begin until the decline of local Ottoman power in the 17th century, and continued to flourish until the early 20th century (Grube-Michell 1978: 204). The tower houses (*beg* towers) were typically made of stone, had three or four storeys, and were either square or rectangular in shape. They served both military (defence, surveillance) and civilian (residential) purposes in order to protect the extended family (Özer 2006: 176-177).

Bitola / Manastır

The Zindan Tower in Bitola/Manastır is a private defensive tower built in 1628/29 which originally stood beside a housing complex (whose traces can still be seen) on the large farm of the mufti of Bitola, Hadzi Muhammad Efendi (Fig. 1). The tower is a typical defensive structure built for a single family on the periphery of a large city which was a crossroads of many routes. It was built of roughly hewn stone, lime, and hydraulic mortar, and finished with flattened grooves. Its base is effectively square, and the tower is approximately 11 meters high with walls more than 1 meter thick. Brick was used on the pointed arches above some of the windows and above the entrance, as well as on the chimney and on the denticulated tiles below the roof. The interior is partitioned via mezzanine structures into five separate levels

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used for different purposes: the basement room, with no openings except for ventilation, was used for storing large quantities of provisions; the first floor, lit by a small window with a double iron grid and wooden shutters, probably served as the kitchen where food was prepared, as it has an open hearth; a mezzanine only 90 cm high, where the only openings are for ventilation, probably served as an ammunition depot; the upper floor – which is the only plastered chamber and has two larger windows with double iron grids, a chimney and two sewage spaces, probably for the lavatory and a sink – was intended for the male members of the family; and the space above the upper floor, which has loopholes and was built for defensive purposes. The narrow wooden staircase served for access between the chambers in the interior, while access to the exterior was by means of a suspension staircase, probably because the entrance itself is exceptionally small and low (about 2 meters from ground level). It should be noted that the owner of the tower was a renowned theologian and writer of religious works who owned a large library. The books were kept in the tower as late as 1863/64, when Hüseyin Pasha, the governor (*vali*) of Bitola, abused his position (Pavlov-Petkova 2008: 30-31; Mihaillovski 2012: 417-419/424-425) by seizing them.

Kavadarci

There are two *beg* towers in and around the small town of Kavadarci. One of them is located in the village of Manastirec (Fig. 2). This tower is nearly square. It was built of roughly hewn stone and lime. There are narrow loopholes on the second level of the tower. It is reasonable to think that this tower was built in the 18th century by the *bey* in charge of the area.

The other tower is in the center of Kavadarci itself. It is also nearly square, and was built with the same materials (Fig. 3). It is entered through a pointed arched gate on the ground floor. Narrow vertical loopholes are situated on the façades of the second floor. The tower's external walls have rectangular, iron barred window openings, stone consoles and smaller openings on the third floor. This tower was also built to demonstrate the power and dominance of the *bey* of Kavadarci.

Negotino

The tower in Negotino is unique because it has a hexagonal plan different from the other square or rectangular towers (Fig. 4). It was built of roughly hewn stone. The tower is located high on a hill overlooking the town. The body still stands today. Interestingly, there are no window opening on the façades of the standing body of the structure. This tower may have been used as a watchtower.

Strumica

The tower in Strumica is rectangular and has four storeys. It is entered through the narrow, segmental arched gate on the ground floor (Fig. 5). It is built of roughly hewn stone. Narrow vertical loopholes are located on the façades of the first and second floors. There are rectangular windows in the third and fourth level of the tower. Two wooden balconies were built on the exterior walls of the fourth level. This tower was probably built by the *bey* of Strumica in the 17th century.

Kočani

Three towers were built in and around the small town of Kočani. Two of these were built on the banks of the river in the town center, while the other one was located in a village called Dolni Podlok; this last one, however, is in ruins. The two towers in the town are protected by an agreement made in 1957. Later, one of the towers in the town was converted into a clock

tower, while the other one is called the Medieval Tower. The latter was restored in 1978 and is now used as a museum (Fig. 6). The Medieval Tower is on the right bank of the river among densely packed structures and positioned on higher ground overlooking the town. It is 18.5 meters high and built of roughly hewn stone and lime. The interior is partitioned into separate levels used for different purposes. The basement room, which was used as a pantry, can only be accessed by an exterior door under the stone stairs leading to the main door on the first floor; the basement is covered by a cross vault. The heating is provided by a hearth on the first floor. The wooden staircase served for access to the upper floor. The three window openings on this level provide a luminous living space. There is a massive ceiling hook in the center of the vault, which was probably used for a chandelier. The Medieval Tower and the Clock Tower are connected to each other via an underground tunnel (Dimovska Çoloviç 2012: 775-781).

Štip

The *beg* tower in Štip was built in 1650 for defensive purposes (Fig. 7). A century later, it was used as a clock tower when a pavilion with a bell was added to the structure. It is 29.65 meters high and built on a hill overlooking the city. The loopholes suggest that the building was originally used as a watchtower. It was built of roughly hewn stone and lime. The tower has a rectangular plan situated on a hillside. The entry to the tower's ground floor was via a low arched gate on the eastern façade. The narrow wooden staircase on the interior walls was required for providing access to the pavilion. A portion of the tower was demolished in 1934 and restored in 1986.

Kratovo

Kratovo is in the northeastern part of the Republic of North Macedonia. It is one of the oldest settlements in Macedonia and the Balkans. Its name derives from its location in a volcanic crater. The river Tabačka runs through the crater in which the village is situated. As a settlement named Cratiscara, Kratovo's existence is traced back to Roman times, with the reason for settlement here being largely thanks to the mineral deposits in the surrounding area. During the Byzantine period, it was known as Koriton. From the 11th to the 13th centuries, it is said to have been an important commercial center, especially for items made of gold, silver and copper. In the late 13th century, when the town fell under the control of Serbian despots (feudal rulers), experienced Saxon miners locally known as "Sasa" were brought in to resume work in the mines, which were rich in metal ore. The mines were one of the main reasons why the Ottomans made sure to take Kratovo early, which they did in the year 1390. Under the Ottomans, mining continued, as did the making of gold and silver objects and the minting of coins. In the middle of the 16th century, the Ottoman coins minted in Kratovo bore the letter "K", indicating their place or origin (Simiç 2012: 761-764).

Originally, there were twelve towers (Simičeva, Sahat, Slatkova, Krstova, Emin Begova, Hadzi Kostov, Kralova, Juzbaiska, Muzeva İzba, Mangova, Spaioskova, Doseikova), with five on the right bank of the river and seven on the left (Fig. 11). Today, only six of the towers remain, some of them partly standing and others in ruins. The towers were built from the late 14th century onward, and were used not only for protection but also as storage spaces for the local mine owners. The towers were all connected to one another via underground tunnels. No historical data has precisely pinpointed the towers' construction date. Some scholars believe that the towers were raised before the arrival of the Ottomans, but several think that they were built under the Ottomans, with the latter basing their claims on the extant architecture and decorative elements (including a rather primitive form of muqarnas decoration). The towers are square or rectangular in shape. They were built using mortar and

rubble stone, whereas hewn stone was used for the windows, doors, staircases and corners. The interior of the towers is divided into three or four storeys, with the upper floors having a single balcony and living headquarters. The windows are protected by iron bars. The loopholes are narrow and elongated in the lower part of the towers, with the windows being wider and rectangular on the upper levels. There are also observatories constructed for protection and surrounded on the outside by stone shields with small openings (Simiç 2012: 761-773).

Mustafa Bey's Tower in Kratovo was initially built as a watchtower, then converted into a clock tower in 1921 by the addition of a wooden bell tower with a bell on top (Fig. 8). It is 19.5 meters high and built of rubble, hewn stone and lime. It has four storeys. It is nearly square in shape, being 8 x 8.50 meters. The fourth floor was covered by a dome. The dome and pendentives are decorated with plaster. A rain gutter runs along the northern façade of the tower, from the fourth level to the base (Simiç 2012: 765).

The tower of Stevan Simik is better preserved than Kratovo's other towers (Fig. 9). It was held by Abidin Efendi. It had four floors, with openings and terraces on the highest floor. The first floor is three meters in height. The main door is wooden. This floor has only one room, and is the smallest owing to the thickness of the walls on this level. The second floor is connected to the first via stairs. The room on this floor is slightly larger, and the floor was paved. The third floor is brighter than the first two floors because the windows and rooms are larger. The floor is paved, and there is a hearth on the eastern wall. Wooden stairs are used for access from the third to the fourth floor. This latter floor has two rooms, and looks to have been the most convenient for providing living space (Simić 2012: 762).

Today, only the ground floor and a part of the first floor of the tower of Hadzi Kostov is preserved (Fig. 10); the other floors collapsed in 1929. The building was restored in 1978. The tower has a rectangular plan on the base, and was built of the same material as the other towers in Kratovo (Simiç 2012: 769).

Skopje

The Ottoman *beg* tower currently located in the center of Skopje was built at the end of the 17th or beginning of 18th century (Fig. 12). The tower has a square foundation (7.5 × 7.5 meters) and is 14 meters high has 1.5-meter thick walls. It was built of large stone blocks of processed limestone, and the fringe was made of bricks in the form of teeth. A single gate was opened on the north side of the tower. The windows of the tower are not done in the same manner. The northern and eastern sides of the tower have balconies, as can be ascertained from the ruins of consoles. The internal layout of the tower consisted of three floors connected by stone stairs. The stairs on the first floor are well preserved (Özer 2006: 175-177; Kumbaracı-Bogojević 2008: 422).

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

In this paper, 14 tower houses in nine different places in the Republic of North Macedonia have been mentioned. There are, however, many more that could be studied. The locations mentioned are Bitola, Kavadarci, Negotino, Strumica, Kočani, Štip, Kratovo, and Skopje. Today, the towers can be seen in areas with a range of different populations, from the village of Manastirec to the towns of Kratovo and Štip to the city of Skopje. The practice of building Ottoman tower houses began during the decline of Ottoman power in the 17th century and flourished until the early 20th century. The strategic position of these towers allowed the surrounding territory to be more easily controlled and defended. The towers can be analyzed in terms of many different aspects, including their physical and functional features.

There are three different types of tower house plan: square, rectangular and polygonal. Generally, most of the towers have a square or a rectangular (but nearly square) plan. Nonetheless, the tower in Negotino has a hexagonal plan, though this tower may have been built exclusively as a watchtower. Roughly hewn stone and lime were the main materials used to construct the tower houses. Bricks were used in the pointed arches above the windows, the entrances, and below the roofs. Wood was used primarily in the balconies, doors, shutters, stairs and beams. The tower houses have a rising vertical form, and three to four storeys as well as a basement. Apart from the entrance door on the first floor, the towers sometimes have a main exterior door on the second floor, as in the Medieval Tower in Kočani and Osman Bey's Tower in Skopje, or just one exterior entrance on the second floor, as in the Zindan Tower in Bitola. Generally, the façades of the towers have narrow vertical loopholes on the lower levels for defensive purposes and rectangular windows on the upper levels to provide a luminous living space. Wooden balconies, mostly on the exterior walls, were built on the upper storeys. The interior of the tower is usually partitioned with mezzanine structures. Wooden or stone staircases served for access between floors. The heating was mostly provided by a hearth. Ceiling hooks were used for hanging various objects, like chandeliers.

Ottoman tower houses were used for many purposes. Primarily, they were a protective residence for a landowner or *beg*. Surveillance was an another important function of the towers, allowing the local ruler to establish governance over subjects. The tower houses also demonstrated the power of the landowner. Originally, the towers were flanked by an adjacent complex of buildings, as was the case with the Zindan Tower in Bitola and Osman Bey's Tower in Skopje. Apart from their defensive and surveillance functions, the tower houses also served as residential structures, with functional spaces for living, such as a cellar, a kitchen, a lavatory, and so on. The tower houses in Kratovo were used not only for protection, but also as storage spaces for the local mineowners, and each of the towers might be connected by underground tunnels, as in Kočani. These tunnels could be used as emergency exits in situations such as warfare or riot. Later, some of the towers were converted to clock towers via the addition of pavilions and bells, as in Kočani, Štip and Kratovo. The Ottoman tower houses mentioned in this paper, and many more bsdies, can still be seen in the Republic of North Macedonia. Their importance to world cultural heritage must be expressed more effectively, and their protection and preservation for future generations should be considered.

*Appendix: GPS Coordinates of Ottoman Tower Houses (*Beg *Towers)*

Bitola, Zindan Tower	GPS: 41°01'40.1"N 21°19'35.5"E
Kavadarci, Manastirec, Tower	GPS: 41°29'21.2"N 21°56'43.9"E
Kavadarci, Tower	GPS: 41°26'13.9"N 22°00'45.3"E
Negotino, Tower	GPS: 41°29'04.0"N 22°05'34.0"E
Strumica, Tower	GPS: 41°25'48.5"N 22°38'34.3"E
Kočani, Medieval Tower	GPS: 41°55'17.8"N 22°24'33.5"E
Kočani, Clock Tower	GPS: 41°55'24.1"N 22°24'43.6"E
Štip, Beg's Tower	GPS: 41°44'18.4"N 22°11'33.8"E
Kratovo, Mustafa Beg / Clock Tower	GPS: 42°04'44.9"N 22°10'54.4"E
Kratovo, Stevan Simik Tower	GPS: 42°04'43.2"N 22°10'46.1"E
Kratovo, Hadzi Kostov Tower	GPS: 42°04'37.3"N 22°10'56.7"E
Kratovo, Slatkova Tower	GPS: 42°04'43.8"N 22°10'51.0"E
Kratovo, Krstova Tower	GPS: 42°04'36.9"N 22°10'57.4"E
Skopje, Ottoman Beg's Tower	GPS: 41°59'37.2"N 21°25'54.2"E

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Turkish Abstract

Osmanlı mimarlığı yapı tiplerinden biri savunma duvarlarıyla çevrili müstahkem çiftlik veya kırsal konakların içinde yer alan gözetleme ve savunma kulesi işlevine de sahip kule evler veya "bey kuleleri"dir. Bu çiftliklerin pek çoğunda görülen ve günümüzde genellikle bütün yapı kompleksinden geriye kalan metruk yapılar olan kuleler, konak sahibinin konutuyla bağlantılı, tehlike anında sığınılıp içinde yaşanablien, gözetleme ve gereğinde savunmaya yarayan çok işlevli yapılardır. Kule evleri genel olarak moloz taştan, üç ya da dört katlı, kare ya da dikdörtgen planlı yapılardır. İçlerinde dolap, ocak gibi donanımları, kiler ve hatta hamam gibi mekanları da barındın konutlardır. "Beylik", egemenlik ya da devlet katında görev ve ayrıcalık işaretleri olarak da anlam yüklenen bu kulelerin bazı durumlarda tek başına duran, bağımsız yapılar olarak kullanıldığı da görülür. Bu bağlamda ilk Osmanlı saraylarında; Manisa, Edirne ve İstanbul Saray'ı Amire'lerinde ilk padişah köşklerinin kule tipinde olması

da dikkat çekicidir. Osmanlılar'ın hüküm sürdüğü geniş coğrafyada bu kulelerin örneklerine Balkanlar'da, Ege'de ve hatta güney Akdeniz'de dahi takip edebilmek mümkündür. Bu çalışmada, Osmanlı Devleti'nde büyük toprak sahipliğinin tarihsel ve siyasal bir gerçeklik durumuna geldiği 18. yüzyılda yaygınlaşan bu tip kule evlerin günümüzdeki Kuzey Makedonya Cumhuriyeti sınırları içindeki konumları tespit edilerek, yapısal özellikleri araştırılıp incelenmiştir.

Biographical Note

Ali Nihat Kundak is currently employed at the Faculty of Sciences and Letters, TR Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University at the Department of History of Art as Assistant professor (2012). Before obtaining his PhD at the Institute of Social Sciences, TR Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Turkish-Islamic Art (2011), he earned a master's degree in Turkish-Islamic Art at the Institute of Social Sciences, TR Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Turkish-Islamic Art (2004). He got his Bachelor of Arts degree at the Department of History of Art from TR Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in 2001. His field of interest includes Turkish Islamic Miniature Art, Turkish Islamic Architecture and Islamic Arts.

Fig. 1 – Bitola, Zindan Tower
(©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 2 – Kavadarci, Markova Kula
(Marko's Tower) (©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 3 – Kavadarci, Markova Kula
(Marko's Tower)
(©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 5 – Strumica, Tower
(©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 4 – Negotino, Tower (©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 6 – Kočani, Medieval Tower
(©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 7 – Štip, Beg's Tower
(©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 8 – Kratovo, Mustafa Beg /
Clock Tower (©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 9 – Kratovo, Stevan Simik
Tower (©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 10 – Kratovo, Hadzi Kostov Tower
(©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 11 – Kratovo, Krstova Tower
(©Kundak, 2014)

Fig. 12 – Skopje, Osman Beg's Tower
(©Kundak, 2014)

THE 'MASTERS OF TABRIZ',
WORKSHOPS AND TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT
IN EARLY OTTOMAN TILE DECORATION

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Introduction

While Iznik ware certainly holds pride of place in the high classical period of Ottoman architectural tile its popularity and world renown should not overshadow the complex history of cross-cultural engagement that characterized early fifteenth-century Ottoman art and architecture.[1] Throughout the Establishment period (1326 to 1453), the Ottoman state was far from secure and its architectural and artistic taste ranged in influences from Seljuk to Timurid to Byzantine.[2] Early on in this period Sultan Mehmet I, grandfather of the man who was to take the Byzantine capital of Constantinople in 1453, had built a monumental tomb complex in the second city of the Ottoman empire, Bursa. The decoration both within and without the buildings in this complex introduced a new style of architectural decoration. The polychrome tile revetments executed through multiple different techniques remained popular in Anatolia for the rest of the century.

The Yeşil complex, originally included a zaviye-imaret (a multi-use teaching/retreat), a madrasa (or school), a hamam, soup kitchen and tomb for the Sultan (Fig. 1).[3] The complex was built six years after Mehmet I had successfully established himself as the successor to his father during a particularly important period in Ottoman history. Mehmet I reign followed a ten-year span of instability known as the interregnum during which time Bayezid's sons fought each other for power. Mehmet's complex, the fifth Sultan's complex in Bursa, continued the tradition of worship, service and community building in the city. These complexes dating back to the first ruler of the clan of Osman had multiple functions including, it is thought, as urban development nodes to support the fast-growing population of emerging Ottoman cities.[4] Bursa, in particular, was developed by the Ottomans from the time that the city first fell into their hands in 1326 as a key trading city essential in the growth of the fledgling empire's mercantile networks.

Although by the time Mehmet had his complex built the city was no longer the capital of the empire (that had been transferred to Edirne in 1366), Bursa continued to be an important seat and symbol of Ottoman power.[5] Mehmet's complex then must be understood as not just a significant memorial to a ruler but as a political statement regarding the stability and power of the Ottoman sultanate in relationship to its neighbors. It is therefore noteworthy that this building was decorated in a style that was distinctly Persian. It is also important that this style of decoration moved to the empire's capital city of Edirne when Mehmet's son, Murad II

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[1] This period is acknowledged as such in Necipoğlu 1990: 136-170.

[2] See Ağa-Oglu 1930: 179-195 to build the context for some historiography of the study of Ottoman architecture and its diverse influences. See also, Pancaroğlu 2007: 67-78

[3] The zawiye-imaret now functions as a mosque, the madrasa is a museum, the soup kitchen has been converted into a series of shops, likewise has the hamam, while the tomb still stands, much restored, functioning in its original purpose housing the remains of Sultan Mehmet I and members of his extended family.

[4] See Kuran 1996: 114-131

[5] Bursa maintained its role as the burial site of the Ottoman sultans until the capture of Constantinople.

began a series of buildings in that city. The Muradiye mosque was commissioned by Murad in the third decade of the fifteenth century and was originally part of a greater complex of which now only the mosque survives. Built to house dervishes of the Mevlevi order, but converted into a mosque very shortly thereafter (Fig. 2),[6] the Muradiye boasts a sophisticated decorative tile program.

As noted above, the tile programs in Bursa and Edirne have been consistently identified as Persinate, specifically Timurid, the dynasty named after Timur who ruled Persia from 1370 to 1405. The reason for this designation is primarily that in the Yeşil building the craftsmen responsible for the tile work signed their name in the right side of the mihrab "The Masters of Tabriz" (Tabriz is a city in northwestern Iran). In addition to this designation, the cut tile, incised ware and most importantly the "dry line"[7] techniques found throughout the revetments are exhibited in many earlier Iranian monuments and in no Turkish ones. Two aspects of these tiles and the history of their makers and their meaning within the Ottoman context deserve further thought and consideration. The first facet is an examination of the assimilation of this style within the workshops of the native craftsmen of Anatolia. Second is a deeper investigation into the political and social signification of the use of these tiles in key buildings of the Ottoman sultanate. The following discussion focuses on the factors of workshops in the first strand.

I. Literature Review (history of the Masters of Tabriz)

In the discussion that follows we will leave aside the history of the buildings in which these tiles are found and the multiple uses that these buildings were put to and focus on what is known about the artists and their work in Anatolia from the first commission for the decoration of the buildings in the Yeşil complex in 1419 to the completion of the decoration of the Muradiye in Edirne in c. 1435. In order to set the stage of our analysis we need to outline the current scholarly consensus on the Masters of Tabriz and the development of their workshop in Turkey. Once this framework has been established, the research questions will emerge clearly.

Although three distinct tile techniques are found in the Yeşil Cami and Türbe, the technique upon which this study focuses is the "dry line" or, as it is more commonly known in the literature, the *cuerda seca* (literally "dry cord") technique. The basic narrative that can be derived from the work of previous scholars is that artists (the Masters of Tabriz) brought the technique of dry line from Persia[8] to Turkey in the second decade of the fifteenth century. This group of artists worked with a native of Bursa who had also spent time in Central Asia (Nakkash Ali was taken to Samarqand by Timur in 1402[9]). From Bursa the Masters (or their work) moved on to Karaman where they created the mihrab for the imaret of Ibrahim Bey II

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[6] Kuban notes that Evliya [Çelebi] notes that the building was converted into a mosque "after a bloody incident took place within the building", Kuban, Mill, and Emden 2010: 111

[7] The terminology here is very important. Since the early part of the twentieth century scholars have referred to this particular type of polychrome tile work using the Spanish term *cuerda seca*. As will be explained further below this has caused some confusion in understanding the technical details of the production of these tiles. In order to clarify techniques the term "dry line" will be used here to refer to the generic polychrome glaze technique characterized by a limited palette of colors with the designs outlined in black line.

[8] Either Tabriz which is the location that the masters who worked in the Yeşil identified as their nisba, or Samarqand which is where Lisa Golombek argues they came from because at the time Tabriz would not have likely been a ceramic center. See Golombek 1996: 577-586.

[9] Golombek, 1996 and Necipoğlu 1990: 136-170.

(1432).[10] It can be hypothesized that they produced the tiles for the Karaman building in Bursa and they were shipped there rather than the entire workshop moving for this relatively small-scale commission. Next the Masters moved to Edirne, the capital of the Ottoman empire, to work for the sultan Murad II in the complex that he built on a hill just outside the city dated to c. 1435. At the Muradiye, as this building came to be known, the Masters expanded their repertoire to include underglaze blue-and-white tiles that decorate both the dados and are interspersed in the dry line polychrome tiles in the mihrab (Fig. 3).[11] Our research draws a distinction between the polychrome tiles here and those found in Bursa, as will be further elaborated below.

Upon completion of the Muradiye the Masters appear to have abandoned the various polychrome techniques found in these other sites and begun to work exclusively in underglaze technique, although with a distinctly dry-linesque aesthetic. That they abandoned these other techniques follows from the attribution to them of underglaze lunettes that adorn two of the windows in the courtyard (*sahn*) of the Üç Şerefeli mosque also in Edirne and dated to c. 1437 to 1447. There is then a hiatus in work (at least surviving work) that the Masters engage in. The next pieces that are attributed to them appear in post-conquest Istanbul in the mosque of Mehmet II Fatih. This building dates to between 1463 and 1470 and although it was mostly destroyed in a fire in the eighteenth century two underglaze lunettes survive in the courtyard. [12] It is not clear what happened to the Masters after this point, although it is thought that commissions dried up as taste turned to a different kind of underglaze tiles.[13] Some scholars continue the narrative and return the masters to Bursa where they complete their last work in the tomb of Cem Sultan, c. 1479.[14] By this point, fifty years have elapsed since the first commission said to have been carried out by these artists, it is thought that the workshop founded by the original Iranian masters had passed into the hands of the second generation.[15]

II. Technical Analysis

Having established the general outlines of the artist's narrative let us return to the tiles produced by these Masters of Tabriz and the ceramic techniques that they introduced into Turkish architectural decoration. While there has been some sustained research into these Masters and their work, the focus of most of the research has lately been on distinguishing the dry line technique found here and in Iran and that used in Spain. Therefore, distinctions between dry line techniques found within the individual Turkish sites themselves, or between one site and

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[10] Noted in O'Kane, 2011: p. 193 who notes that it is Michael Meinecke who is the first to make this assertion. Michael Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen Seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien.* Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1976

[11] The first scholar to associate the tile program in the Muradiye in Edirne with the Masters who worked in the Yesil buildings in Bursa was Rudolf Riefstahl. All subsequent scholars have taken this connection for granted although there has not ever been any comparative technical analysis that has been published that might substantiate the connection. Riefstahl 1937: 249-281, Meinecke, 1976: 107; Henderson 1989: 67and Necipoğlu 1990:136-170

[12] The Fatih Camii burned down in the eighteenth century and was rebuilt thus it is unclear if the original program included more tile decoration than these two surviving lunettes. See Raby 1989, p. 88.

[13] See Necipoğlu 1990: 136-170

[14] This tomb is problematic in the literature because it was used in the first decades of the sixteenth century as the burial site for Cem Sultan, but it was actually built during the reign of Mehmet II for his son, prince Mustafa, d. 1474. See Raby 1989: p. 88

[15] See Raby 1989: p. 89.

another, Bursa and Edirne, to be precise, has neither been discussed nor noted.[16] Our examination, however, has yielded two important distinctions between the dry line techniques found in the Bursa monuments, and more particularly between the Bursa monuments and that in Edirne.

In order to unpack this one first needs to understand the different techniques. Distinctions have already been drawn by a number of scholars between the chemical make up of tiles in Iran and Spain.[17] We would further these distinctions by noting that there are two different types of dry line found in the Yeşil buildings, and a third type found in Edirne. For simplicity's sake we will use the terms dry line, black line B (for Bursa) and black line E (for Edirne) to distinguish between these three types. The dry line found on some tiles in the Yeşil Cami and Türbe is most reminiscent of the Spanish examples and was likely produced using a similar process: the dry line was created by painting a waxy or greasy substance that included iron or manganese to the body of the clay before the colored glazes. The wax or grease then burns away during firing leaving a dark pigmented but rough surface between the colored glazes. Examples of this technique can be seen in some of the border tile in the women's prayer hall in the Yeşil Cami and in the lozenges that decorate the wall in the Yeşil Türbe (Fig. 4). The far more prevalent technique, however, is the "black line B" technique which does not result in the appearance of a "dry" line after having been fired but rather is characterized by a thinner black line that appears to share the same surface as the colored glazes that it separates (Fig. 5).[18]

This black line is quite similar to the one discussed by O'Kane in the Iranian examples including those which we have been able to examine are in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Louvre Museum. O'Kane's discussion of this line suggests that it also functions, like the dry line, as a device to keep the different pigments separate during firing.[19] This ability of black line is one of the aspects of the technical analysis that we are working to reproduce in our studio work. It should be noted that while the dry line and black line technique occur simultaneously in each of the examples in Bursa (as well as the later mosque built by Murad II in 1424-26) only the black line technique appears in Karaman and Edirne mihrabs. We will return to this below.

O'Kane's research couples his visual analysis of the Timurid material with technical analyses carried out by Michael Tite that adds two interesting pieces of technical information

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[16] The scholarship of this period has been focused almost entirely on two questions: First, did the Masters actually come from Tabriz and Second did the techniques they demonstrated in their work originate in Persia (Central Asia or Iran) or ought they be traced to Spanish precedents. Curiosity about how ideas have moved and belief that it was possible for an idea to develop at a specific site and be transferred from there throughout the Islamic world, has caused many scholars to trace the development of the dry line polychrome technique from a site of origin in Spain in the tenth century (although all these examples are found on vessels, rather than tiles. See Perez-Arantegui et al argue for the Spanish origins of the cuerda seca technique. See Perez-Arantegui et alii 1999: 935-941, to Iran in the fourteenth century. And this is the case despite the fact that the actual objects that exhibit the use of this technique differ markedly in their appearance.

[17] Bernard O'Kane has recently argued that because Iranian examples are technically different from the Spanish examples it should rather be thought that the Iranian technique developed separately. O'Kane 2011: 174-203. The same conclusion was arrived at independently by Degeorge and Porter in 2002. Degeorge and Porter: 2002

[18] It is also quite distinct from the Iranian examples discussed by O'Kane that appear all to be black line, rather than dry line. O'Kane 2011: 120

[19] "Technical analysis has shown that the particulate nature of the black and red lines between the colors would in itself have helped maintain separation between the other overglaze-painted enamels, and so the greasy waxy substance that according to most accounts accompanied them may have never been necessary". O'Kane 2011: 196.

into the development of a complete picture. The first is that the tiles tested from the Yeşil Türbe were made of stonepaste while many we examined *in situ*, were made of a rougher red earthenware clay.[20] The second is that one of the pieces exhibits the appearance of the white slip that has been applied to the tile before any pigmented glaze was used and the other does not.[21] This makes the narrative more complex since it suggests that not only were two different techniques for producing the effect of the dry line decoration at use simultaneously at the Yeşil, but two different clay bodies as well.[22] This may also indicate multiple workshops or teams of craftsmen. At this point it is essential to note that while it is not much discussed it is generally understood that the buildings in Bursa have been heavily restored. In particular many of the current sites of key importance in the early history of the Ottoman city were all but demolished in the earthquakes of the nineteenth century.[23] The extent of the original tiles to be found within the two key Yeşil buildings, the Cami and the Türbe, has not been fully investigated by researchers. We have certainly been able to distinguish a number of different types tiles, some of which exhibit more modern glaze technology than those tiles in which we have noted the appearance of the dry line technique. In addition, it is clear from the most recent restoration (2010-11) that the recreation and over-painting of a tile is accepted practice. Our on-going research will of necessity have to address the extent to which the tiles that we are working with are original fifteenth-century works. For the present, we believe that a certain portion of the tiles in both buildings are indeed original, and those are the examples that we have been focusing on.

Turning to Edirne, where the appearance of the black line technique is localized within the mihrab, the technique seems to shift. Here it is clear that the black line is not used to separate gradients of color, given the sequences of blues or purples that transition from one to the other without a distinct line [black line E] (Fig. 6). This distinction is coupled with the fact that these tiles also have a myriad of flaws in their surface (Fig. 6). The pinholes present in the glaze surface, and crawling of the colored pigments is evocative of common flaws found in majolica. To explain these changes we are theorizing that tin may have been used to a greater degree in Edirne to generate a more opaque and stable glaze compared to the glass-like quality of the white glaze present in black line B. As noted above, most scholars assume that the Masters responsible for the tiles in Bursa were the same ones who executed the work in Edirne. Both the different black line technique and the fact that the artistic development becomes mixed with the development of underglaze blue-and-white tiles should give one pause before continuing to perpetuate this conclusion, however.[24]

III. Cosmopolitanism and the possibilities of other workshops in Edirne

In sum, both the dry line technique and the development of blue-and-white underglaze have been traced back to Iran and Central Asia. Since both techniques appear in Turkey in the first half of the fifteenth century, and at one of these sites Iranian artists claim clear responsibility, it has appeared obvious to most scholars that the same group of artists was at work at both of

[20] Earlier scholars refer to this as frit. Carswell notes in the book on Iznik pottery that the body of the tiles in Bursa is red earthenware while that at Edirne is an "off-white" earthenware. See Carswell 1998: 23

[21] See O'Kane 2011: 202.

[22] This, of course, is only the case if we are talking about pieces that date to the original decoration of the building. Which one assumes we are since these are museum pieces.

[23] Kuban mentions earthquake damage in Bursa in 1835 and 1855. The French restorer Léon Parvillée was invited to the city in the later part of the century so his work must have begun after 1855. See Denny 1993: 225

[24] According to Lisa Golombek, both can be traced back to sources in Central Asia. See Golombek, 1996.

these sites, first Bursa, then Edirne. There is, however, no explanation given for why the Masters of Tabriz choose not to utilize the underglaze technique[25] when they arrive in Bursa, they instead wait to introduce this technique once they move on to Edirne and to the commission for the Muradiye. Since no previous scholars have recorded the presence of the (presumed) tin glaze technique, there is as yet, no explanation given for the Masters choice to emphasize different glaze materials to generate a different technique: black line E in Edirne. Together with the use of the blue-and-white underglaze we believe this difference is strong evidence to suggest that the Masters at work in Edirne were a different group all together.[26] This hypothetical group would certainly have included potters from Central Asia, but in the cosmopolitan environment that characterized Edirne at this time, it is possible certainly, that there were other potters from other areas of the Middle East or Europe as well. A thorough technical analysis the tiles in the mosque would certainly help to answer the question. But until that has been done, one must rely on visual analysis.

IV. Conclusion and Next Steps

To conclude, there are some important questions that have emerged for us through our research that must be articulated by way of framing the next steps in this investigation. The first question as mentioned above is the degree to which the tiles now extant in the two key Yeşil buildings: the Cami and the Türbe are original to the building, to what extent are they restorations, and can the variant tiles be dated to various periods of restoration.

The second question is specific to the Muradiye complex in Edirne and builds upon the issue raised by John Carswell in 1998[27] and that is, was the tile program currently in situ in the mosque made for the site, or was it installed later in the history of the building. And if it was moved, what are the implications for the originating history of the tiles themselves?

The third and final question is: Is there as yet unpublished documentary or material evidence of other workshops in Edirne that included artists from other parts of the world. In particular, could the members of such a workshop introduce ceramic technology that could account for the dramatic increase in the use of tin and a shift in the glazing technique appearing there in the first half of the fifteenth century?

In order to fully understand the extent to which early Ottoman ceramic workshops offered opportunities for engagement for Masters not just from Persia, but also possibly Europe, thus producing truly cosmopolitan art of the highest quality, these questions will need to be addressed. At present, it is clear, that the extant tile programs of the Muridiye in Edirne and the Yeşil buildings in Bursa tell a more complex tale of intercultural communication that we have yet to fully translate.

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[25] Except for the pieces that appear on the tomb of Siti Hatun in the Yeşil Türbe which are not necessarily contemporaneous with the first tile program in the Türbe.

[26] This interpretation however, which ought to be investigated as well.

[27] Carswell 1998: 23

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Turkish Abstract

Adları Bursa Yeşil Külliyeden bilinen Tebrizli ustaların Osmanlı mimari süslemesine tanıttığı Timurlu çini beğenisi ve yapım tekniklerinin 15. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Bursa, Karaman ve Edirne'de izlendiği kabul edilmiştir. Bu makalede Bursa ve Edirne'de kullanılan "kuru iplik" tekniği ve çeşitlemeleri tespit edilip tartışılmaktadır. Tartışılan hususlar çıplak gözle yapılan tanımlamalara dayanmaktadır, teknik analizlerle desteklenmesi gerekmektedir.

Bursa yapılarında İspanyol tarzı kuru iplik tekniği de kullanılmıştır, ancak daha çok İran örneklerini izleyen, siyah hatlarla ayrılmış renkli sır tekniği gözlenmektedir. Bu çinilerin hem beyaz hem de kırmızı hamurlu olması, hem de yapılardaki onarımlar çözümlemeyi daha karmaşık kılmaktadır. Karaman ve Edirne'de ise sadece ikinci renkli sır tekniği kullanılmıştır.

Edirne Muradiye Camisinin mihrabında kullanılan siyah hatla ayrılmış renkli sır tekniği Mayolika seramiğini hatırlatan hataları ve sırda yoğun kalay kullanımıyla Bursa örneklerinden farklıdır. Bu nedenle Bursa'da çalışan ustalarla bağlantısı sorgulanmalıdır. Ayrıca Edirne'de Bursa'da bulunmayan mavi beyaz sıraltı çinilerin varlığı da burada farklı bir grup sanatçının çalıştığını düşündürmektedir. Kozmopolit Edirne'de çalışan gruplarının Orta Asya ve İran'dan gelen Timurlu ustalar yanında diğer Orta Doğu ülkeleri ve Avrupalı sanatçıları da barındırıyor olması ihtimali göz ardı edilmemelidir.

Biographical Note

Felicity Ratté is professor of the history of Art and Architecture at Marlboro College. Felicity received her PhD from the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University. She is a specialist in Italian medieval painting, architecture and urbanism with a focus on ritual practice and the built environment. She is the author of Picturing the City in Medieval Italian Painting and

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b

Fig. 1a-b – Bursa, Yeşil Cami and Yeşil Tomb

a

b

Fig. 2a-b – Edirne, Muradiye interior and Muradiye facade.

Fig. 3 – Edirne Muradiye mihrab

a

b

Fig. 4a-b – Detail of border tile, Yeşil Cami,
(women's prayer room) and Detail of tile
Yeşil Tomb, side wall.

THOUGHTS ON OTTOMAN MOSQUES WITH A FRONT MIHRAB CELL*

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The cell that is located in front of the mihrab in a mosque and referred to as a *şehnişin* (Necipoglu 2013: 135) and "mihrab hall"[1] in archival documents and as a "mihrab extension" (Camlıbel 1998: 232) or "extended mihrab niche" in the literature is a spatial recess that is usually covered by a semi-dome and extends out from the mihrab wall (Fig. 1). Apart from the Great Mosque of Córdoba and some Moroccan mosques, there is no such space in mosques of the early Islamic period, nor is it found in Seljuk mosques. However, this cell is found in over forty Ottoman mosques of medium to large dimensions. What could be the reason for having a front mihrab cell in these buildings? Is it because of a desire to perpetuate the memories of the buildings called *imarat-zawiyah*s? Or is it to emulate the bemas of churches? Or is it merely a structural necessity?

In some mosques, the internal mihrab is characterized by an extension out from the mihrab wall. It is clear that they are reinforcing constituents built with the aim of strengthening the weakness of the wall caused by the niche. These extensions, which are constructed in various forms, have neither a spatial function nor any relation to the front mihrab cells. In fact, the weakness is compensated for by means of a discharging arch, without the construction of any extension.

However, the multifunctional *imarat-zawiyah*s, which constituted a significant group of buildings in the early Ottoman period, possess an iwan (*eyvan*) that is extended from the main structure and allocated for use as a *masjid* or space of prayer (Fig. 2). The iwan-*masjid*, which is one of the iwans located around the domed hall, has a different character than front mihrab cells. The iwan in these multifunctional buildings – which, differently from the iwans on either side of the central hall, forms an extension towards the direction of qibla and contains the mihrab – is not an annex or continuation of the place of worship, but rather a unit exclusively allocated for the congregation, although they are reminiscent of the front mihrab cell in some of their characteristics.

In later centuries, these multifunctional *imarat-zawiyah*s, with their units starting at the three sides of the domed central section from the iwan located in the middle, developed into mosques. In these buildings, the halls disappeared, becoming a central unit that formed a part of the place of worship. The mosques of Atik Ali Pasha in Çemberlitaş, Istanbul; Hadim ("the Eunuch") Süleyman Pasha in Cairo and Sultan Murad in Manisa are among the original examples of this development (Kuban 2007: 210; Necipoğlu 2013: 125). Hence, a group of mosques exhibiting a plan similar to that of Atik Ali Pasha Mosque can be considered a continuation of the *imarat-zawiyah*s, but with a different interpretation.

Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, Azapkapı Sokollu Mehmed Pasha Mosque, and Nuruosmaniye Mosque (Figs. 3-4) accommodate typical examples of the front mihrab cell in their constitution. The Hüdavendigar *imarat-zawiyah* in Bursa (see Ayverdi 1966: 231-260,

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* The text is translated by Şeref Naci Engin.

[1] Ahmet Sacit Açıkgözoğlu states in his article "*Osmanlı Camiinde Kıble Yönünde Özgün Bir Hacim*" that he prefers the term "mihrab hall" for the front mihrab section, rather than such terms as *şehnişin*, "mihrab extension", and "mihrab iwan" (see http://www.tarihtarih.com/?Syf=26&Syz=384281&). I have preferred the term "front mihrab cell", which is not mentioned in Açıkgözoğlu's paper. Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi referred to this space as a "cell" (see *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Çelebi ve II. Sultan Murad Devri 806-855 (1403-1451)* [Istanbul: Damla Offset, 1989]: 547). I would like to express my gratitude to Tolga Bozkurt, who kindly informed me about Açıkgözoğlu's paper after my presentation at the conference in Naples.

for comprehensive information on the building and a detailed plan), which is considered an early example, has a deep *masjid* section made even deeper via an elevated surface, and it is thought that the building reflects the architectural culture of the architect, who is supposed to have been a foreigner (Fig. 5). In some mosques, like Nişancı Mehmed Pasha Mosque in Istabul, the main hall is narrowed on the side of qibla via gradation into various descending levels, and a front mihrab cell is implemented (Fig. 6). This arrangement may be the natural result of this mosque's dynamic plan schematic. Most of the examples are cells extending outward from the mihrab wall that lie down in the form of a straight front. The covering of some of the cells is resolved at the first level without connecting to the top covering system of the building. What was it that inspired the front mihrab cell with these kinds of characteristics and realized in these different forms? As pointed out above, Hüdavendigar Mosque is regarded as an early example of a mosque with a front mihrab cell, and it shows Western influences. Somewhat similar in this regard is Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque, which is a kind of reinterpretation of Hagia Sophia. Both of these structures includes a front mihrab cell that brings to mind the matter of the possible emulation of the bemas of churches. The bema is set apart from the central naos, and in fact there is a hierarchical difference between the two sections. In the front mihrab cells of mosques, on the other hand, these two spaces are built one within the other: thus, they are very much combined with each other, but with the condition that a place for the imam to stand before the congregation must be provided. The fact that bemas serve an analogous function allows for the assumption that the front mihrab cells must have been built for a slightly different purpose; that is, for implicit allocation to those persons considered highly devout and deserving to stand right behind the imam.

On the other hand, the fact that some of these mosques include an elevated lodge built exclusively for the sultan (called *hunkar mahfili*) eliminates the possibility of interpreting these cells as *maqsurah*s. The principle that obligates the congregation to follow (*iqtida*) the imam (Yavuz 2000: 54-55) necessitates the congregation to see and hear the imam clearly, but the front cells block the people performing prayer on the two sides of the main hall. For this reason, the front cells in mosques should not be considered a religious requisite, but rather must have been divisions designed depending upon cultural interactions. Since the front cells include a mihrab, they are the most sacred space in the mosque, and hence they are richly decorated. Although they serve a different function than the bema in a church, ultimately it can be said that both are constructed with a similar sacred attribution.

There is no doubt that, in the central domed mosques with a front mihrab cell, the cell is also a vertical support element bearing the load of the dome and transporting the weight of the columns to the ground (Camlibel 1998: 37-43). However, the fact that some mosques of the same size and with a similar layout but no front mihrab cell reveals that these overhung niches are not a structural necessity. Therefore, it can be proposed that the front cells are more a cultural and architectural preference than a religious or structural necessity.

Now we will turn to an examination of various examples and make certain observations on the general characteristics and developments of front mihrab cells. As pointed out above, Hüdavendigar Mosque in Bursa has a front mihrab cell that is one of the earliest examples thereof. However, it should be noted that this structure, which is similar to that of the *imarat* of Green Mosque in the same city, does not possess all the features studied within the framework of this article. The cells in these two examples are of the size of the mihrab, being basically narrow niches that can only accommodate an imam and several believers performing their prayers. It would be more appropriate to regard these as prototype examples. A more appropriate early example to the definition of the front mihrab cell is the one seen in Eyüp Sultan Mosque in Istanbul. The mosque was constructed in 1459, with its restoration plan was prepared by E.H. Ayverdi, and used to have a front mihrab cell on a rectangular plan (Ayverdi, 1973: 351-354, pl. 563). The mosque was severely damaged in an earthquake and subsequently reconstructed by Selim III in 1800, with the rebuilt mosque also possessing a front

mihrab cell (Ayverdi 1973: 353, pl. 562). The front mihrab cells in the Sheikh Ebu'l-Vefa Mosque (1476) and the Davud Pasha Mosque (1499-1500) may be also counted among the early examples.

Within the framework of what was asserted above, it can be concluded that front mihrab cells originated from three main types that became popular for Ottoman mosques of the late 16th century. The first of these types were niches in the mosques with two levels, which represent a kind of small mihrab cell and allow a last movement; the second type was the front mihrab cell that developed from a new interpretation being given to the *masjid* sections of *imaret-zaviyah*s; and the last type was the spatial niche extending outward from a straight mihrab wall front or from a main block of the building. While the cells of the second type were more widespread than those of the first type, it was the cells of the third type that were the most common. In fact, cells of the third type became fashionable after their implementation in the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne, and this model came to be a characteristic feature of mosques built in and around Istanbul by the architect Sinan (see Necipoğlu 2013: 384). The fact that, after the construction of the Selimiye Mosque, nine mosques with a front mihrab cell were built for members of the Ottoman dynasty and other important persons confirms that this fashion was widely applied in this period. It remained fashionable in later periods as well, as seen in Nuruosmaniye Mosque, Laleli Mosque (Fig. 7), the reconstruction of Eyüp Sultan Mosque, Beylerbeyi Mosque (Fig. 8), and Nusretiye Mosque. When Sinan planned Selimiye, he probably designed the cell (Fig. 9) partly so as to avoid monotony beside the side faces, which were decorated, but also to help support the main dome. At the same time, he needed to richly decorate the interior, and this part has become the most significant part of the mosque (Fig. 10).

In a *ferman* that Sultan Selim II sent to Sinan in 1572, he instructed the architect to cover the walls of the niche (*şehnişin*) of Selimiye Mosque, which was then under construction, with tiles with the al-Fatiha sura inscribed on them. The original decree reads as follows:

> İmdi beher-hal pencerelerine dek kaşi olup pencerelerin üstü sure-i Fatiha kaşiyle yazılmak lazım olmağın buyurdum ki: Vusul buldukta, pencerelerine dek kaşi olup pencerelerinin üstü kaşiyle sure-i Fatiha'yı vecih ve münasib gördüğün üzre yazdırasın (Necipoğlu 2013: 135).

It seems that this decree, which was a response to Sinan's question about whether the niche should be ornamented or kept plain, paved the way for subsequent front mihrab cells to be richly decorated. As a matter of fact, in a series of mosques planned and supervised in person by Sinan, it can be seen that the wall surfaces of the front mihrab cell were covered with tiles, and sections of the Qur'an were applied on tiles above the windows (see Necipoğlu, 2013 for the context of and commentaries on these texts). The wall surfaces of the front mihrab cells in the Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque, Atik Valide Mosque (Fig. 11), and Mesih Pasha Mosque are also covered with tiles, with Qur'anic verse and calligraphic tiles being implemented.

In later periods, this tradition was continued in Beylerbeyi Mosque (Mülayim 1992: 75-77), which was built for Rabia Hatun, the mother of Abdülhamid I, in 1778 (Fig. 8).

When the front mihrab cells, which were considered the most sacred section of the mosque, did not include tiles, their wall surfaces were usually covered with marble, and the calligraphy was applied either to marble panels or on the marble window frames. Marble was generally the preferred material in, especially, the mosques of the 18th and 19th centuries. The wall surfaces of the front mihrab cells in Nuruosmaniye Mosque, Laleli Mosque, the reconstructed Eyüp Sultan Mosque, and Nusretiye Mosque are coated with marble, and the calligraphy was inscribed on the same material.

The common features of front mihrab cells can be summarized as follows. These spatial niches, extending from the main space to the direction of the qibla, are connected to the main space by a high arch. The side surfaces of the cell are structured with windows in lower and

upper rows. In some cases, the lower windows are replaced with lockers with wooden flaps. A marble mihrab – always engraved with great care and with those from the 16th and 17th centuries featuring *kavsara*s with muqarnas – Is located in the middle of the south wall of the cell. Windows lie on both sides of the mihrab, which emulates the features of the lockers in the lower row on the sides (Fig. 7). The colorful glass windows are arranged on the two upper sides of the mihrab. A passage to the semi-dome covering the cell is provided by means of pendentives or squinches. Usually, five windows with round stucco arches are lined up along the base of the dome. The base and body of the dome are decorated with hand-carved ornamentation.

The front mihrab cells repeat the rectangular and polygonal interior plans on the outside. The material matches the material of the main body walls. The windows reflect their interior forms on the outside as well. Some front mihrab cells end before reaching the level of the edge of the main block. Arched faces are built above the lower windows, while the upper windoews are stucco. Some of the windows lined up at the base of the lead-coated semi-dome have the form of an arched roof. The corners of some cells are softened by means of small columns, while some have towers located on the edge (Fig. 12). Yet despite the great care lavished on the exterior, there is no doubt that the ultimate magnificence lies inside.

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Turkish Abstract

Belgelerde "şehnişin" olarak anılan, araştırmalarda "mihrab çıkıntısı" veya "çıkma mihrab nişi" diye nitelenen camilerdeki mihrabönü hücresi, mihrab duvarından dışa taşıntı yapan, üzeri çoğunlukla bir yarım kubbe ile örtülü, içinde mihrabın yer aldığı mekansal bir niştir. Kurtuba Cami-i Kebiri veya bir grup Mağrib camiinde görülen derin mihrab nişi uygulaması dikkate alınmadığında, Erken İslam Dönemi camilerinde olduğu gibi Selçuklu camilerinde de mihrabönü hücresine rastlanmaz. Buna karşılık, büyük ve orta ölçekli otuzdan fazla Osmanlı camiinde birer mihrabönü hücresine yer verilmiştir. Bu yapılarda mihrabönü hücrelerine yer verilmesinin amili, imaret-zaviye diye anılan yapıların anılarının sürdürülmesi mi, kiliselerdeki apsislere bir öykünme mi yoksa dini veya inşai bir gereklilik midir? Bilindiği üzere, Erken Osmanlı Döneminin önemli bir yapı grubunu oluşturan, çok işlevli imaret-zaviyeler, ana kütleden dışa taşıntı yapan ve mescid olarak tahsis edilmiş bir eyvana sahiptirler. Kubbeli holün etrafındaki eyvanlardan birini oluşturan eyvan-mescid, mihrabönü hücrelerinden farklı bir mahiyet taşır. Çemberlitaş Atik Ali Paşa Camii gibi bir grup cami, imaret-zaviyelerin devamı niteliğindeki farklı bir yorumu oluşturur.

Edirne Selimiye, Azapkapı Sokollu Mehmed Paşa ve Nuruosmaniye camileri, mihrabönü hücrelerinin tipik örneklerini bünyelerinde barındırırlar. Mihrabönü hücrelerinin ilk örneklerden birini ihtiva eden ve Batı etkileri taşıyan Bursa Hüdavendigar Camii ile Ayasofyanın farklı bir yorumu olan Kılıç Ali Paşa Camiinde birer mihrabönü hücresine yer verilmesi, kiliselerdeki apsislere öykünme hususunu akla getirir. Apsislerin tamamen farklı bir işleve sahip olmaları, mihrabönü hücrelerinin farklı bir amaçla ve muhtemelen, zımni olarak, imamın arkasında durmaya ehil ve takva sahibi kimselere tahsis için yapılmış olabileceklerini kabule imkân verir. Diğer taraftan bu camilerin bir kısmının hünkâr mahfili ihtiva etmeleri, hücrelerin maksure olarak tasarlanmış olma ihtimalini bertaraf eder. İslam'daki iktida (cemaatin imama uyması) kuralı, topluca namaz kılma sırasında, cemaatin imamı veya onun hemen arkasındakileri görmelerini ve onu net bir şekilde işitmelerini zorunlu kılar. Oysa mihrabönü hücreleri, ana mekânın iki tarafında namaz kılanların imamı görmelerine engel teşkil eder. Bu nedenle camilerde yer alan mihrabönü hücreleri, dini bir gereklilikten ziyade kültürel bir etkileşime bağlı olarak tercih edilmiş ögeler olmalıdır. Mihrab ihtiva etmeleri nedeniyle camilerin en kutsal mahalleri olan ve bu nedenle zengince süslenen mihrabönü hücrelerinin, apsistekilerden farklı bir işlev için ve fakat nihai noktada ortak kutsal atıflarla yapılmış olmaları muhtemeldir.

Mihrabönü hücresi ihtiva eden merkezi kubbeli camilerde, mihrabönü hücrelerinin, aynı zamanda, kubbenin yükünü ve kemerlerin baskısını zemine yönlendiren birer düşey destek elemanları olduklarında şüphe yoktur. Bununla birlikte, eş büyüklükte ve benzer planda inşa edilmiş bazı emsallerinde, mihrabönü hücresinin bulunmaması, bu taşıntılı nişlerin, stürüktürel bir zorunluluk olmadığını ortaya kor. Yönlendiren birer düşey destek elemanları olduklarında şüphe yoktur. Bununla birlikte, eş büyüklükte ve benzer planda inşa edilmiş bazı emsallerinde, mihrabönü hücresinin bulunmaması, bu taşıntılı nişlerin, stürüktürel bir zorunluluk olmadığını ortaya kor. Buna göre mihrabönü hücrelerinin dini ve inşai bir gereklilikten ziyade kültürel ve mimari bir tercih olduğunu ileri sürmek mümkündür.

Bildirimizde, bütün bu hususlar etraflı bir şekilde tartışılacak, örnekler tanıtılacaktır.

Biographical Note

Hakkı Önkal got his PhD degree in 1977 at the Atatürk University. He was appointed as associate professor in 1983. In 1985 he moved to Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir and then promoted to professorship in 1989. Since 1987 he has been publishing papers in the Turkish Art Congresses. Furthermore, he carried out researches and investigations in many countries. He is the author of several books, among which *Anatolian Seljuks Tombs* (2015) and *Ottoman Dynasty Tombs* (2017). He is cirrently working on a monograph entitled "Tombs of the Period of Principalities".

Fig. 1 – Istanbul Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque,
front mihrab cell
(©Hakkı Önkal)

Fig. 2 – Bursa Yeşil Mosque, south *iwan*
(©Hakkı Önkal)

Fig. 3 – Istanbul Nuruosmaniye Mosque,
front mihrab cell, view from outside.
(©Hakkı Önkal)

Fig. 4 – Istanbul Nuruosmaniye Mosque,
front mihrab cell, view from inside.
(©Hakkı Önkal)

Fig. 5 – Bursa, Murad Hüdavendigar Mosque, front mihrab cell
(©Hakkı Önkal)

Fig. 6 – Istanbul Nişancı Mehmed Pasha Mosque, front mihrab cell
(©Hakkı Önkal)

Fig. 7 – Istanbul Laleli Mosque,
front mihrab cell
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Fig. 9 – Edirne Selimiye Mosque,
front mihrab cell, view from outside
(©Hakkı Önkal)

Fig. 8 – Istanbul Beylerbeyi Mosque, front mihrab cell, view from inside
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Fig. 10 – Edirne Selimiye Mosque, front mihrab cell, view from inside
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Fig. 11 – Istanbul, Atik Valide Mosque, front mihrab cell
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Fig. 12 – Istanbul, Beylerbeyi Mosque front mihrab cell, outside
(©Hakkı Önkal)

THE *NĀ'ŪRA* / WATERWHEEL:
A DEVICE, MONUMENT, IMAGE AND PHENOMENON
FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Introduction

*N*ā'ūras or norias are devices established along riverfronts in order to supply water to higher settlements and fields by means of a vertical wooden wheel turned by water power and featuring certain elements of masonry. They are a unique monumental type of construction with a particular aesthetic quality. *Nā'ūra*s have been used in the Mediterranean basin since antiquity, and were developed as water-related architecture throughout the Middle Ages in the regions of the Levant, Mesopotamia and Anatolia (Fig. 1).

This study aims to discuss the presence of *nā'ūra*s throughout the territories mentioned and to define the role and historical importance of this type in art history as a functional/technological device, an architectural monument, a literary/artistic image and a cultural phenomenon, based on the relevant literature, documents, and findings from the fieldwork that has been conducted.

The Nā'ūra *as a Device in Terms of Functional and Structural Aspects*

Devices used to lift water from a lower water source to a higher point by means of a wooden wheel (known generally as *sudolabı* in Turkish) are known as *nā'ūra*s (also used as "noria" in English; based on Andalusian Spanish), *saqīya*s, or treadwheels in accordance with certain of their features. The latter two, powered by a gear system and either animal (*saqīya*) or human (treadwheel) power, are outside of the topic here, which focuses on vertical waterwheels revolving with the power of the current (*nā'ūra*) and usually have the features of a monumental structure built by riverfronts.[1]

Various historical and contemporary examples of simple structures made of light materials and a simple extension of the waterwheel in question exist in South and East Asia; in contemporary Turkey, historical examples were found on the Yeşilırmak (ancient *Iris*), Kızılırmak (ancient Halys), Sakarya (ancient Sangarios), Porsuk, Seyhan (ancient Sarus), Büyük Menderes (ancient Maiandros), Çine Çayı (ancient Marsyas) and Tunca/Tundzha rivers (Fig. 1-2). *Nā'ūra* examples of a monumental feature and with a complex structure in which a durable and heavy wheel connects to an entire building are common in the Mediterranean and Mesopotamian basins, with intact structures or ruins located on the Orontes River, the Euphrates, the Khabur River, the Nabão River, the Segura River, the Guadalquivir River, and the Genil River.[2]

The masonry elements of a *nā'ūra* structure, which are built so as to enable the rotation of a wooden wheel lifting water from the river, consist of two piers serving as the supporting elements of the wheel and an aqueduct, which is jointed and constitutes an "L"-shaped plan with the landward pier. The pier and the tower (i.e., the landward pier) stand facing each

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[1] For extensive information about the different types, see Forbes 1965; Ewbank 1857; Oleson 2000: 217-302; Usher 1954; Wilson 2008, 337-368; Reynolds 1983; el-Cezerî [1990]; Schiøler 1973; al-Hassan & Hill 1986.

[2] For examples of these types see Miranda 2007: 32-34; Reynolds 1983: 24-84; Needham 2000; Özbay 2012.

other, 90 cm apart, with the wheel between.The underside of this space at river level is the rectangular main channel, where the wheel meets the water. A dam built for accumulating and directing the water joins to the structure as a complementary element (Fig. 3).

Inasmuch as the *nā'ūra* is a device meant to lift water, the wheel constitutes the main component. As can be understood from a 5th-century mosaic found in Apamea, the oldest known visual reference to a *nā'ūra*, the main components of the wheel have remained essentially unchanged, though they have undergone diverse variations.[3] Usually, the main components of the wheel are the axle, center beams, main beams, radial beams (or spokes), internal rim, external or compartmental rim, and the pots and paddles (Fig. 4). The wheel of a *nā'ūra* operates as follows. The river current applies pressure on the paddles of the wheel, enabling continuous rotation. When the compartments or pots mounted around the wheel are below, they fill with river water and then move upwards due to the wheel's rotation. As they turn the opposite direction one by one after reaching the top, they discharge water into a trough on the supporting piers (or tower). Water then passes through the flume on the aqueduct from the trough and is drained off wherever necessary.

Valuable information about the technical structure, development and function of waterwheels over time can be obtained from manuscripts, travel books, artwork, and historical documents.

Visiting Amasya, the medieval geographer al-Idrīsī (1100-1166) said that there were "many waterwheels supplying water to the orchards" (Tuzcu 2007: 19). In the 14th century, Ibn Battuta – who also mentions waterwheels in Niğde – describes the function of Amasya's *nā'ūra*s by stating, "The water drawn by the wheels built on the river irrigates the houses and the gardens" (İbn Battûta 2004, C.1/417).

Visiting Osmancık/Çorum in the 17th century, Evliya Çelebi states that "there is a little bath near the riverfront; its water is drawn by the waterwheel [*dollāb*] from the Kızılırmak" (Evliya Çelebi/2: 93), while for Adana he gives technical details: "The water drawn by the waterwheel [which was built by Ramazanoğlu as a charitable enterprise] from the river is distributed from aqueducts to baths, mosques and fountains […] It is such a high waterwheel […] its height is 40 ells […] with 70 *kantar* iron […][4] Its sound can be heard from an hour's distance" (Evliya Çelebi/9: 170).[5]

For Antakya, he mentions how the baths' "water is carried by means of waterwheels from the Asi [Orontes] […] the gardens are irrigated with waterwheels" (Fig. 5). Regarding the *nā'ūra* of *al-Muḥammadiyya* (Hama), he gives the following technical information:

> It is such a big waterwheel that it almost touches the sky. Its height is 55 meters […] Its wooden parts are made of pine […] There are 130-190 kgs of nails on these timbers and the wheel has many water buckets. It is a splendid foundation that carries the clean water discharged on the tower to all the mosques, lodges and palaces of the city through the aqueducts[6] (Evliya Çelebi/3: 36-37, 41, 43) (Fig.6).

The Italian traveler Domenico Sestini also mentioned the waterwheels in Osmancık in 1781, describing them as "great water wheels [*grandi rote*] revolving by means of the current" (Sestini 1786: 38.)

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[3] Some important studies evaluating the mosaic are: Foss1997: 207; Oleson 2000: 237; Miranda 2007: 53.

[4] An Ottoman weight unit *kantar* is equal to 56,449 kg.

[5] Indeed, through the 19th century in Adana, nine waterwheels are registered in the documents of the Ramazanoğlu Pîrî Pasha Foundation, and expenses (177.5) for the waterwheel of hammam in the bazaar are recorded in the 53rd court records of Adana. (Ergül 2006: 114, 177).

[6] The inscription on the *nâ'ûra al-Muḥammadiyya*, dating back to the Mamluk era, discusses its functions as well: "This great and holy *nâ'ûra* built in the time of Aydemir bin Abdullah al-Sheiyhi al-Turki (1361-62) in order to supply water to the Great Mosque" (See also: Miranda 2007: 123).

The presence of waterwheels drawing the water for the Bayezid II mosque complex in Edirne (1484-1488) is known through foundation documents dating back to 1489, which mention "a self-rotating waterwheel near the new bridge" and "two wheels alongside the Tunca and a double bath with a waterwheel near the soup kitchen" (Kazancıgil 1994: 24-25.)

Abraham Parsons mentioned the *nā'ūra*s of the Orontes and Euphrates as a "curious machine" when he arrived in Antakya (1772) and Iraq (1774):

> On the other side the Orontes are very large gardens […] watered by a curious machine […] In many places close to the [Euphrates] are fine level spots of ground, sown with wheat and barley, which are watered by machines, which work without any trouble when once fixed, by means of the current in the river. […] I have seen seven of those water machines […] two of them had each six wheels, the other five had only two each. They are constructed thus: – In the most convenient places a wall is built of hewn stone, and very substantial, on the bank, which is carried across towards the middle of the river, of a length suitable to the number of wheels intended to be fixed. Those which have six wheels are from fifty to sixty yards in length, others in proportion. In the walls are apertures corresponding to the number of wheels, and on this wall a channel of stone is built through its whole length, on the west side of the wall (the current running to the east), about eighteen inches wide, and fourteen deep; passing over every aperture by means of timber placed underneath, which is a means of strengthening the walls on the upper part, the lower part, which is under water, being one solid foundation wall. The walls, with the channels over them, are built higher or lower according to the height of the banks of the river, in general about a foot higher than the bank. On each side of every aperture is fixed a large stone, which receives the two ends of the axle of each wheel, being furnished with a niche cut in each for that purpose. The axles are inserted, lowered, or raised up occasionally. The wheels are in diameter according to the height of the bank from the water in the river; those which I examined this day were twenty-eight feet in diameter, and six in number. On the rim of each wheel are fastened earthen jugs, containing each about two quarts; on that which I examined were placed sixty. The wheel being moved by the current, each jug fills with water as it dips in, and empties itself as it comes up to the top, into the stone channel, from whence it runs to the shore, where it is received into a channel in the earth, and from thence is distributed into various other channels […] Those wheels, while in repair, are in perpetual motion; when the jugs are broke, or the wheels injured, they are easily stopped and repaired (Parsons 1808: 71, 95-96) (Fig.7).

In 1836, W.J. Hamilton provides the following information in relation to Amasya:

> The water drawn by the giant waterwheels is watering the vegetable and black mulberry gardens […] At the place where the waterwheels are built, the river is blocked by the dams. The dams enabled the wheels to collect more water by slowing down the flow of water. The radius of a waterwheel is 5-5.5 meters. They function very easy and quiet despite their vastness (Hamilton 1842: 362-373).

The Nā'ūra *as Monument*

In terms of monumental architectural features, three examples of *nā'ūra* on the Orontes, Euphrates, and Khabur rivers are especially prominent. In examples in Hama on the Orontes, the main elements of the *nā'ūra*s are the pier (a kind of bearing wall) and the tower, built reciprocally with a distance of about 90 cm between them. The pier is in the form of a stair rising gradually via mutual steps on both ends. The upper side is a smooth platform with a rectangular plan on which the pivot bearing of the wheel is placed. Around Hama, the pier is termed a triangle due to the triangular façade formed by the bilateral steps allowing access to the platform. On the upper side of the tower, rising on a massive rectangular base and

positioned parallel to the pier, is a trough into which the wheel discharges the water. The trough is the beginning of the flume, which is located on the aqueduct connected to the tower in such a way as to form an "L" shape. The arched rectangular window aperture in the center of the tower façade and containing one end of the wheel axle within is especially distinctive (Fig. 3). As for examples from Antakya, there a different kind of pier is observed, as seen in some extant ruins. With a split lateral façade view where each tower mass rises from both sides in such a way as to enable the middle part of the rectangular base to be empty, with the empty space containing the pivot bearing, the pier in Antakya performed the same function as the tower in Hama by holding a temporary wooden trough on the tower masses. This element, which I find it more appropriate to call "towered piers," possesses a monumental feature in the cut stone covering of the rubble filling. The pyramidal rising of the two tower masses constituting the forked view creates an active view breaking up the solid effect (Fig. 8-9).

The aqueduct is also a fundamental element of *nāʿūra* structures. While the aqueducts of Hama's *nāʿūra*s are elaborate and monumental in terms of their material and construction technique, in Antakya the preference was for a wooden flume in the form of a straight beam on the wooden pier, situated so as to sweep among buildings and move changing direction, or stone pillar lines, and monumental aqueducts are opted for in the open fields. On the banks of the Euphrates, generally, monumental aqueducts with brick materials were joined to irrigation channels at ground level as well (Figs. 7, 8).

The dam, an important element of the plan, is constructed with the principle aim of directing the current to the main channel at a sufficient and appropriate flow rate and maintaining the continuous, balanced rotation of the wheel. While in Hama the dam is more complex in that has drainage channels in the form of a guillotine, in other regions it is a simpler element made of straw, wood, and stone (Figs. 3, 5).[7]

In *nāʿūra*s on the Orontes, three main plan types can be identified according to the number and position of the piers, towers, and aqueducts, with six subschemes defined according to the number and dimension of the wheels.[8]

- A1: One wheel and one tower connected to one aqueduct
- A2: Double-wheeled single tower connected to one aqueduct
- B1: Double aqueduct plan with two parallel towers with one wheel each, connected to two different flumes
- B2: Double aqueduct plan with two towers, one single-wheeled and one double-wheeled, connected to two different flumes
- C1: Two towers with one wheel each, connected to one aqueduct
- C2: Two double-wheeled towers connected to one aqueduct (Fig.10)

The plan types observed in the *nāʿūra*s on the Euphrates and Khabur are variations on A2, B2 and C2. Old photographs showing *nāʿūra*s on the Quwayk River (in Aleppo) and the Tarsus River show examples of A1 or C1 (Fig. 10).

In examples from Anatolia, architectural elements are not present, but the wheels have a monumental quality with their elevation and magnificent appearance.

In fact, the wheel – the most fundamental element of *nāʿūra*s – is undoubtedly an important component of the monumental appearance. The wheels have a geometric design that directly affects the structure's perception. At first sight, the design is perceived as a complicated geometric disorder with the intersection and distribution of linear extensions through circular and tetragonal frame lines, forcing the viewer to continuously focus.

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[7] See Chesney 1850: I, 174, 427.

[8] In this study, the typology of Miranda is adopted in terms of general principles. However, she offers seven schemes according to her definitions, in which Turkey is not included, and I do not agree with her classification (See: Miranda 2007: 279; Özbay 2012: 221-223. Unfortunately, I was unable to find Delpech et al. 1997, a very important study.)

Analysis of the *nā'ūra*s of Hama in terms of geometry have found that the beams of the wheel create variations of star shapes.[9]

Certain important differences in terms of the design of the chassis, the quantity of the pieces, and the realization of the function define the characteristic features of regional wheels. Hama wheels represent a more subtle and spectacular composition owing to their two-dimensional frontal geometry. The wheels of other regions are simpler in terms of the number of pieces as well as the compositional features.

The structure of the wheel affects the function, shape and setup of the architectural elements. While in the *nā'ūra*s of Hama, the wheel has one external compartment strip placed on one side, enabling water to be discharged only to the tower, the *nā'ūra*s of Antakya have a wheel type called a "compartmental rim", in which the internal volume of the rim is arranged into compartments, with the rim being double in such a way as to discharge water to both sides (Fig. 8/2). In examples from Anatolia, the *nā'ūra*s appear to have wheels with mounted pots.

The Nā'ūra *as a Literary-Artistic Image and Cultural Phenomenon*

Literary works, anonymous oral folk productions, songs, and pictures in which *nā'ūra*s are mentioned constitute an important corpus.

The word *nā'ūra* is derived from the Syriac language and originally represented the loud sound of the friction that occurs during the rotation of the wheel with the creaking of the wood. The word is related to the Arabic root *nun-'ayn-ra*, signifiying "groaning", "grunting", or "crying out", as in the word *na'ra* meaning "din, clamor, roar". Indeed, the distinctive sound of *nā'ūra*s has inspired folkloric and literary works throughout history.[10]

Nā'ūra-type structures are described by such terms as *dolap* (wheel), *sudolabı* (waterwheel), *nā'ūra*, *nuûr*, and *'annâna* in literature and folklore, and they are often personified. In many languages and cultures, *nā'ūra* is likened to a beautiful woman or water nymph (*naure*), or to weeping wood; the sounds resulting from the friction of the wheel during rotation are associated with groaning, crying, praying, and invocation; and the rotation of the wheel itself is metaphorically likened to the passing of time, the movement of the universe, the rotation of the earth, the turning of the wheel of fate, and the recurrence of memories and thoughts.

The image of the waterwheel had such a deep and stunning impact that it gave rise to a type of poem known as a *dolapnâme* ("poem of the wheel"), which was especially common in Sufi literature.[11] The versions by Kaygusuz Abdal (d. 1444) and Ahmed Hayâlî (1485-1569) are among the finest examples of the type, though the most impressive example may be the one attributed to Yunus Emre (13th-14th centuries):

> I am the sorrowful waterwheel / My waters flow gleaming / God has ordered it so /
> I suffer and so I groan […] Why do you groan, waterwheel? / I suffer and so I groan /
> I am in love with God / And that is why I groan […] I draw my water from below /
> Wheel and spill the water high / See how I suffer / I suffer and so I groan

> (Fuat 1999: 58-59)

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[9] It is highly probable that the design was done by *Ta'âsif*, an astronomer and architect employed in Hama between 1229 and 1244 when Muzaffar Tâkuddîn II was the ruler on behalf of the Ayyubîds (Miranda 2007: 55, 130-132; Schiøler 1973: 57).

[10] For the origin and meaning of the widely used words *dūlāb* (دولاب) (Persian origin, used for any wheel mechanism in general); *sāqiya* (ساقية) (Arabic origin, "irrigation device"); *bostan / beygir dolabı* ("orchard wheel / horse wheel" in Turkish); and for the imaginative content of the *nā'ūra* (ناعورة), see: Halayqa & Ağbaht 2015: 148; Mutçalı 1995: 287, 900; Devellioğlu 2003: 810; Mağmuma 2007: 1-10.

[11] See: Güzel 2014: 390-393.

Pir Sultan Abdal**,** a minstrel in 16th-century Anatolia, also mentions the theme of the waterwheel in connection with the elements of Alevi culture and belief (Öztelli 1989, 367).

There are also poems about the *nā'ūras* of Hama in the travel account of Ibn Battuta. In these poems, quoted from others, the *nā'ūra* – which can even calm the wild river Orontes (known as *Asi* or the "Rebel" in Arabic – is compared to weeping wood as well as to a beautiful woman (*naure*). As mentioned, the river is also personified, and reference is made to the mythological figure of the giant Orontes, a river god representing the river in ancient times (İbn Battûta 2004, C.1/101-102).

Evliya Çelebi attributes the emergence of the Orontes/Asi to the al-Muḥammadiyya wheel in a legendary story about the practices of a wizard (Evliya Çelebi/3, 37).

Hibrî Çelebi (1604-1658) of Edirne mentions the waterwheels on the Meriç (Maritsa), Tunca and Arda rivers: "the gardens […] just get on with the tears of their own waterwheels" (Hibrî 1996, 23, 46, 48-49).

Miskioğlu Nâfî (b. 1887), a poet from Antakya, writes in an ode to the city, "not a meaningless voice / which is moaning (*inleyen*) / the groan and whimper (*nuûr ve enîn*) of the River Asi's wheel is invoking God!" (Türkmen 1937, 157-159).

In the basins of the Orontes and Euphrates, there are still folk songs sung about the waterwheel, thanks to which the *nā'ūra* has become a common image in these regions. This theme is still used today. For instance, a poem from the 1950s represents a variation on traditional feelings in the contemporary period: "It whines with every turn sighing […] / to prevent the green from turning into prairie one day / Prays to God, shedding tears (Salim Özmen from Amasya)" (Menç 2011). The Antakya poet Süleyman Okay (1928-1999) also refers to *nā'ūra*s, as in the lines: "wet lullabies flow all night long / through the buckets of a giant waterwheel" (Okay 2001, 130).

H.C. Lukach, who notated the sounds of the wheels in his 1913 book, summarizes the cultural phenomenon and image qualities of *nā'ūra*s as follows:

> By day and by night the town is pervaded by the presence of the *nā'ūra*. All along the curving river side you see these high, narrow, graceful wheels, which attain, sometimes, a diameter of as much as sixty feet, slowly lifting the river water in their buckets and pouring it into lofty aqueducts; and where you cannot see them, you hear the beautiful noises which they make as they revolve […] and when, after dark, the citizens have returned to their houses and are preparing for sleep, they are lulled, in whatever in part of Hama they may be, by the lovely discords of their drone. Each *nā'ūra* has its name: There is the Hamidîya, the Dervişîya […] and so forth; and each, as it creaks lazily on its axis, sings its own particular song. Their music is mournful and deep, deep as the organ tones of a 64-foot pipe, mournful as the wailing of the double bass; and although they blend wonderfully well, the ear can pick out, after a little practise, the different parts of the great choir's everlasting chant. This is the tune […] of [one of the wheels] […] easily distinguishable:

> Now booming, now moaning, now pleading, now despondent, as though they know well that theirs is the labour of Sisyphus, the *nā'ūra*s accomplish their never-ending circuits, delightful to eye and ear" (Lukach 1913: 216-218.)

As a pictorial image, there are few depictions of waterwheels in the painting of the east as detailed and impressive as that seen in the 13th-century Andalusian manuscript *Bayad and*

Riyad.[12] Waterwheels were depicted as pleasant images and as symbolic items in landscapes and riverscapes in Ottoman miniature art. The waterwheel depicted by the Porsuk River in Eskişehir (Fig. 11) in Matrakçı Nasuh's work featuring miniatures depicting the Persian expedition (1533-1536) of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (Matrakçı [1976]) and the waterwheels pictured in Amasya (Fig. 12) in a book by Osman Şakir (Bozoklu 1810) at the beginning of the 19th century are good examples of the features mentioned above.

Conclusion

Throughout much of recorded history in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and the Levant, waterwheels were important as a functional technological device used both for city life and in the agricultural economy, with their technical features showing differences by era and region. As an architectural monument, the *nā'ūra* was a type of structure composed of diverse architectural elements with complex features and multiple variations in terms of form and design. This type of structure was remarkably important in the architectural repertoire of governments, local administrations, and non-governmental organizations like foundations, as well as being an important area for engineers, architects and artists. In terms of literature, art and culture, the *nā'ūra* played a role in literature, folklore, and painting.

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[12] See: Hattestein-Delius 2000: 270.

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Turkish Abstract

Yüksekte kalan yerleşim ve tarlalara su sağlamak üzere nehir kenarına kurulan; akıntının gücüyle dönen *ahşap bir dikey çark* ile *ayak/kule*, *su kemeri* gibi *kâgir unsurlar*ın, işlevsel olduğu kadar estetik bir bütün oluşturduğu özgün ve anıtsal bir yapı türü özelliğindeki *nā'ūra*ların Antik dönemden beri kullanıldığını gösteren çeşitli yazılı ve arkeolojik bulgular vardır. Bu yapı türü, yirminci yüzyıl başlarına kadarki tarihsel süreçte çeşitli özgün-bölgesel varyasyonlarının ortaya çıktığı Suriye, Mezopotamya ve Anadolu'da gerek büyük devletlerin gerekse yerel yönetimlerin su mimarisi programında yer almıştır. *Nā'ūra*lar, peyzaj açısından da sanatsal bakımdan da yüksek estetik nitelik taşıyan ve yer yer (özellikle Asi Nehri üzerinde özel ve anıtsal niteliklerle) 20 m yüksekliklere varan anıtsal kompozisyonlar halinde inşa edilmiştir. Bu yönleriyle, salt "aygıt" niteliği taşıyan su dolaplarından ayrılırlar. Fırat, Habur ve Asi (yukarı havzası)'nin daha önce bazı araştırmacılar tarafından ele alınmış örnekleri haricinde; Asi (aşağı havzasında), Seyhan, Yeşilırmak, Sakarya, Tunca gibi nehirler üzerinde de bulunduğu anlaşılan; *İbn Battûtâ*, *Hibrî Çelebi*, *Evliya Çelebi*, *A. Parsons*, *H. C. Lukach*, *G. L. Bell* gibi birçok gezginin seyahatnamelerinde; *Yunus Emre*, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, *Ahmed Hayâlî*, *Pir Sultan Abdal*, *Şeyh Galip* ve yirminci yüzyılda E. Kızıldağlı, S. Okay gibi nice ozanların yetkin ve ünlü edebî eserlerinde, çeşitli folklorik eserlerde ve resmî yazışma-vakfiye vb tarihî arşiv belgelerinde konu olan; [Epeyce restorasyon geçirmiş Hama (Suriye) nauraları bir yana bırakılırsa] Anadolu çevresinde bugüne gelebilmiş sağlam örneği bulunmayan fakat 19. yy sonları-20. yy başlarına ait birçok fotoğraf incelenerek teşhis edilebilen bu yapı türünün, daha önce değerlendirilmemiş bazı mimari kalıntıları tarafımızdan bulunup incelenmiştir. Kalıntı bulunmayan birçok bölgede de, yöre halkı ile yapılan ve kayda alınan görüşmeler neticesinde bu yapıların bir zamanlar var oldukları anlaşılmıştır. Plan ve cephe rölövesi mümkün olan kalıntılar, mimari özellikler açısından net ve bazı özgün veriler sunmaktadır. Çalışmamız kapsamında, yapının ana elemanı olan *çark* unsuru da, eski fotoğraflara dayanılarak, mimari kalıntılardaki izler incelenerek ve bilinen tarihsel örneklerle kıyaslanarak ele alınmış; bu yapılara ilişkin üç boyutlu restitüsyon çalışmasıyla somut öneriler sunulmuştur. Çok çeşitli verilere dayanan araştırma ve saptamalarımız, *nā'ūra*ların fonksiyonel-teknolojik bir aygıt, mimari bir anıt, edebî ve sanatsal bir imge ve kültürel bir fenomen olma özellikleriyle beliren; Suriye, Mezopotamya ve Anadolu çevresinde Ortaçağdan yirminci yüzyıl başlarına kadar kültür ve sanat tarihinde önemli yeri olan özgün bir yapı türü olduğunu göstermektedir.

Biographical Note

Ender Özbay got the master's degree in 2012 from Ege University Institute of Social Sciences – Department of Turkish-Islamic Arts. He worked as an exhibition coordinator for the Ege University's 50th Anniversary Mansion Art Gallery between 2013-2016. He published contributions in several fields, as like as history of art and architecture, archaeology, cultural anthropology, folklore, literature, poetry, and music. He took part in many excavations and surveys (Milas-Beçin, Olympos [Antalya], Tire-Molla Arab Complex). While working as a research assistant at the Department of Art History at Ege University, he is preparing a doctoral thesis on: *Bridges of Turkish Era in Büyük Menderes (Maiandros), Küçük Menderes (Kaystros) and Gediz (Hermos) Basins*.

Fig. 1 – The rivers of Anatolia-Levant-Mesopotamia regions; and the dispersion of the water wheels (redpoints) detected from historical sources or as ruins (E. Özbay, based on Google Maps)

1) Amasya (Yeşilırmak River) 2) Hasanoğlan (Sakarya River) 3) Adapazarı (Çarksuyu River)

4) Adana (Seyhan River) 5) Tarsus (Tarsus River)
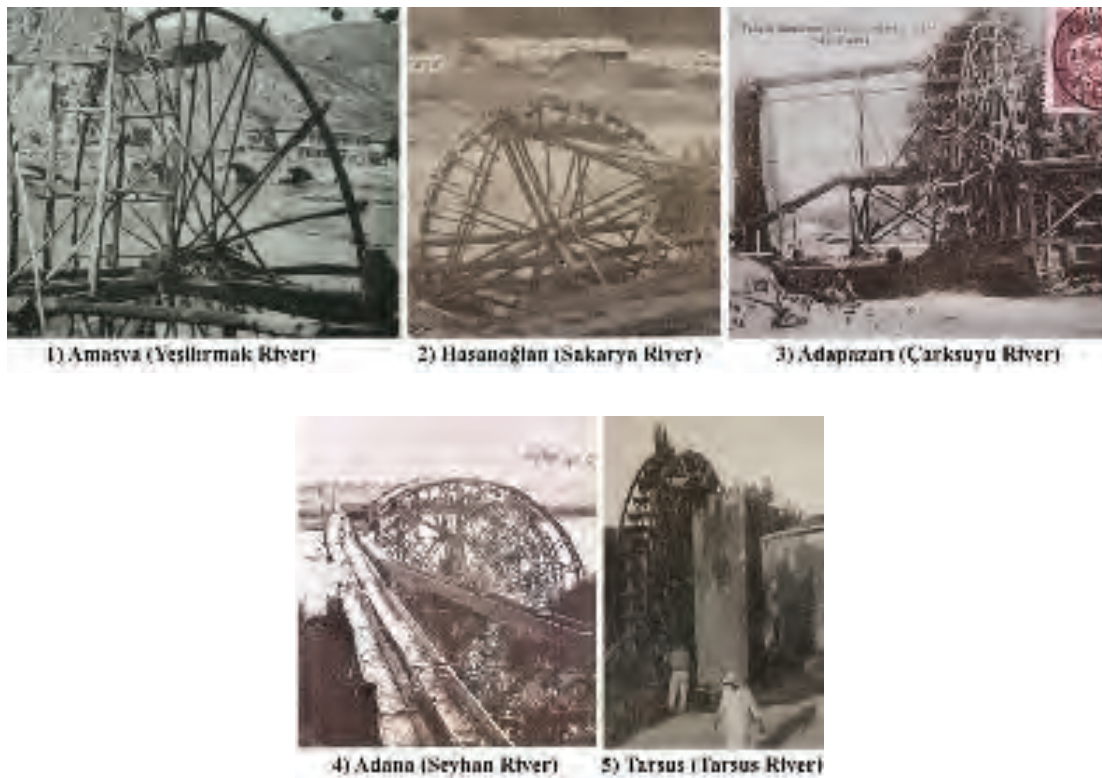
Fig. 2 – Anatolian examples, from early 20th century anonymous photographs/postcards
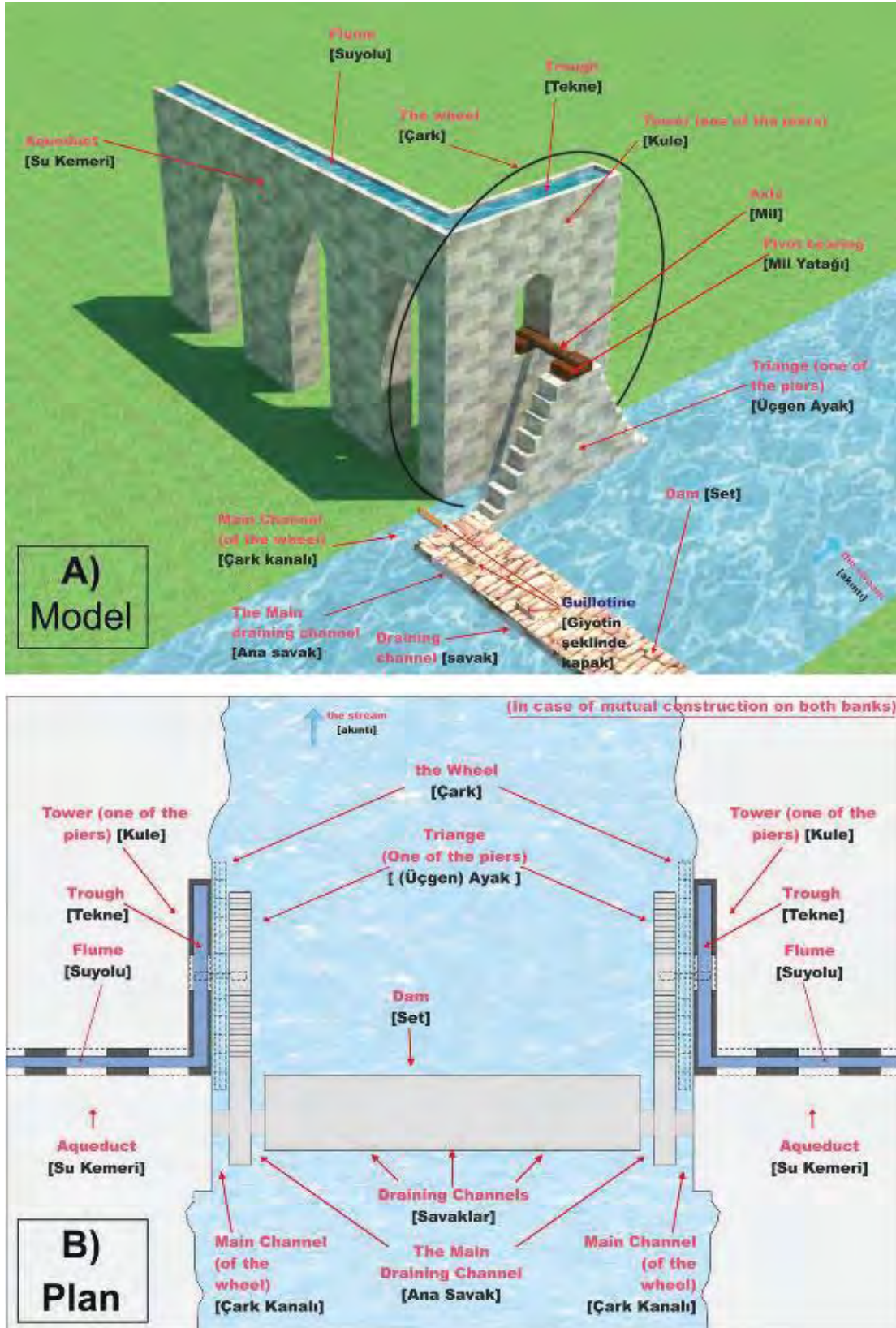
Fig. 3 – Elements of *nāʿūra* structure and planning scheme. Especially based on Hama's.
(Model: E. Özbay; plan**:** E.Özbay, based on Miranda 2007: 115)

a - Axle b - Center beams c - Main beams
d - Radial beams (secondary spokes) e - Internal rim
f - External rim g - Paddles h - Compartments strip

a - Axle b - Center beams c - Supporting beams
d - Internal rim e - Radial beams f - Decorative strip
g - Compartmented rim

1) Orontes River (Hama region)

2) Orontes River (Antakya region)

3) Euphrates River (Hit-Ajamiya)

4) Quvayq River (Aleppo)

5) Tarsus River

6) Sakarya River

7) Nabao River (Portugal)

8) Genil River (Spain)

9) Guadalquivir River (Spain)

10) Segura River (Spain)

11) Segura River (Spain)

12) Linxi River (China)

13) The wheel depicted in the mosaic of Apamea. Syria. 5th c.

14) The wheel of manuscript of Bayad & Riyad. Spain. 13th c.

Fig. 4 – The wheel. Main components and comparative table of the front views
(E. Özbay; nos. 7 to 12 based on Miranda 2007: 129-130)

Fig. 5 – Antakya, 1898-1930
(©Library of Congress: www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004007252/PP/)

Fig. 6 – Nā'ūra of al-Muḥammedîya, Hama. 1920s.
(©Library of Congress: www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004000438/PP/)

Fig. 7 – "Naoura-waterwheel on Euphrates.Ajmiyyeh-Iraq. 1909"
(photo by Gertrude Bell (http://www.gerty.ncl.ac.uk/photos_in_album.php?album_id=10&start=210)
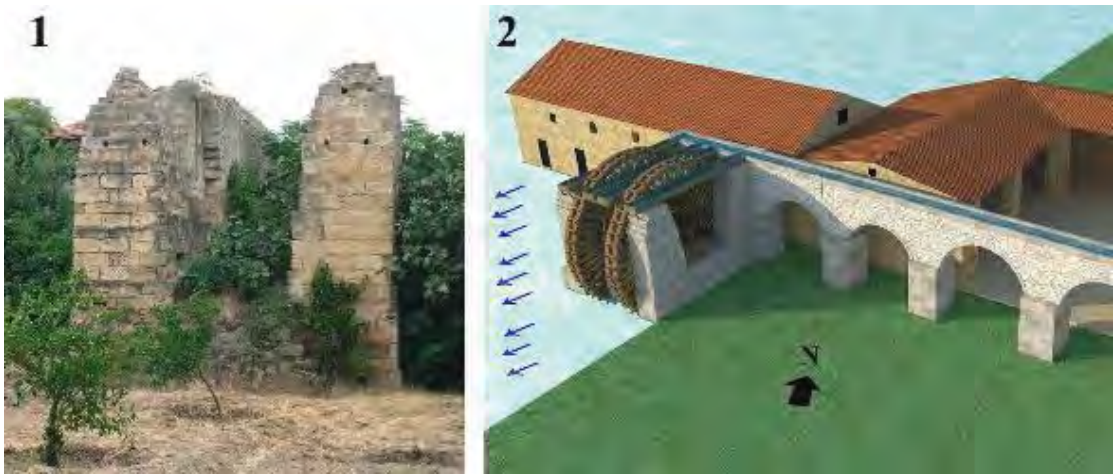
Fig. 8 – Ruins of a *nā'ūra* (1) andrestitution model of the'Alvan Nā'ūra inAntakya (2)
(after Özbay 2014)

Fig. 9 – Comparative table of the *pier* and *tower* types (E. Özbay)
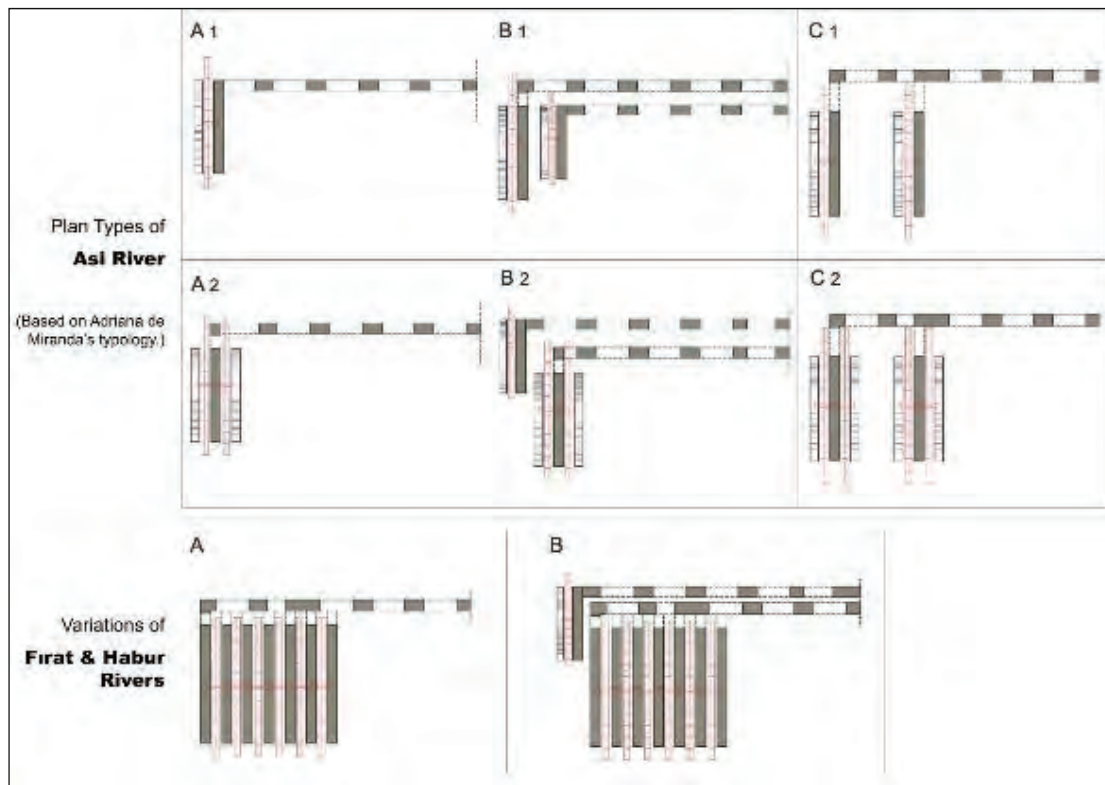
Fig. 10 – Comparative table of the *plan* types (E. Özbay)
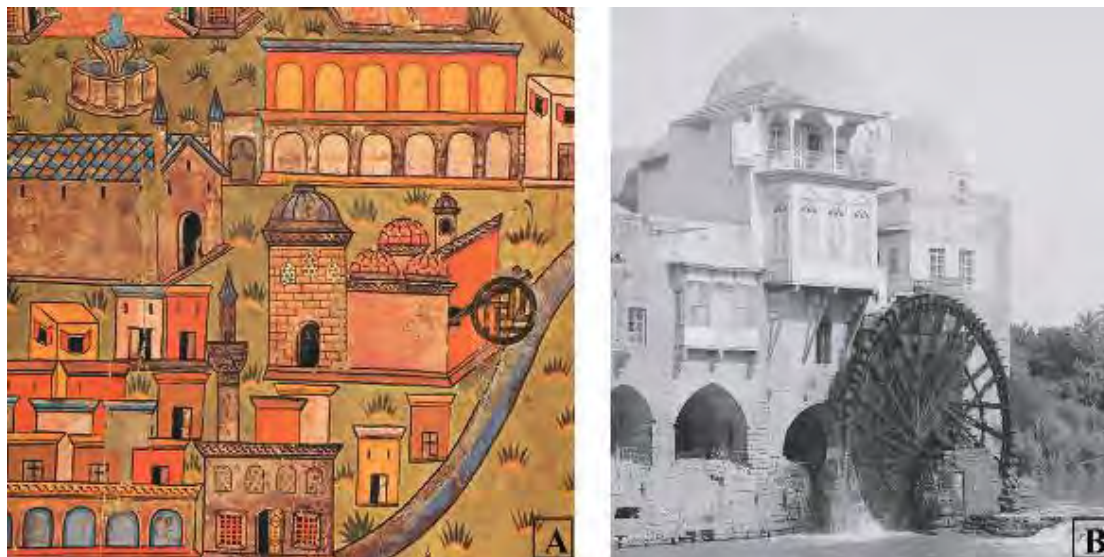
Fig. 11 – A. A waterwheel is drawing water for a bath in Eskişehir. Miniature ca. 1533-1536
by Matrakçı Nasuh (detail after Matrakçı 1976: 109b);
B. The *Nāʿūra of Keylanîya* is drawing water fort he *Gailani's* "*Tekke*", Hama, 1900-1920.
(©Library of Congress: http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/mpc2004004475/PP/)

Fig. 12 – Waterwheels by theYeşilırmak River, Amasya,
detail from a miniature by Osman Şakir(early 19th c.: Bozoklu 1810, AETarih822(52)
(courtesy: Millet Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi)

A CHANGE IN MEANING: THEATRE BUILDINGS IN THE URBAN LANDSCAPE OF ISTANBUL OVER THE LAST 50 YEARS

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The site selection of theatre buildings in a city and the architectural design of their exterior give us information about the social, cultural and political role of these buildings within the urban context. Thus, this paper aims to discuss changes in the social, political and cultural meanings of the architectural design of theatre buildings in the urban landscape of Istanbul over the last 50 years. In this regard, I will try to point out the changing definition of theatre buildings in Istanbul by examining their design, their appearance, the nature of their surroundings and their location in the city.

In order to be able to examine the relationship between public urban space and monumental theatre buildings in Istanbul, the meanings this relationship bears and how these meanings changed over the course of time, firstly we have to look at the history of theatre buildings in Western culture, where the art of theatre as it came to be practiced in Turkey was born. I will draw the framework of this overview based mainly on Marvin Carlson's (1989) approach. This will provide certain background information allowing for clearer observation of the changes in the meaning of theatre buildings in Istanbul. As the case study, I will concentrate on three monumental theatre buildings in Istanbul which are taken as representative of the theatre-centered cultural life of the city in different decades over the last 50 years.

Monumental theatre building

Marvin Carlson (1989: 6) points out that "the theatre [building] is in fact one of the most persistant [*sic*] architectural objects in the history of Western culture". At the beginning of the art of theatre, the public theatres of the Greek and Roman cultures were major civic monuments in cities, occupying prominent positions in the urban text (Carlson 1989: 68). However, in the medieval and Renaissance concepts of theatrical space, the significance of the theatre as a sort of public monument was totally absent (Carlson 1989: 68). They were often built in open spaces within the centers of urban blocks, surrounded by other buildings on all four sides, and faced toward surrounding streets. Access might well be only through a passageway between these pre-existing structures, with no opportunity offered for a distinctive façade. It was only in the eighteenth century that public theatres again became significant elements in the new urban design. Carlson (1989: 73) points out that "the rulers who had the power to effect urban changes had to begin considering the signifying possibilities of the theatre as a cultural monument rather than as a private possession." Thus, in the middle of the eighteenth century, monumental theatres gained widespread cultural approbation. Civic authorities acknowledged the building of monumental theaters as the most identifying symbol of dedication to the arts – the definition given by the high bourgeois culture of the nineteenth century. In the Western world, although one of the first monumental theatre buildings was the 1737 Real Teatro di San Carlo in Naples, and although the 1745 Berlin opera house was considered "the first monumental theatre of modern times" by Carlson (1989: 79), it was in France that the concept of the theatre as a public monument became firmly established. In 1777 André-Jacob Roubo *fils* developed in detail, in a widely read treatise on theatre construction, the ideal physical appearance of the new style of civic theatre (Carlson 1989: 79). Briefly, the features of these designs were "the physical isolation, the multiple vistas that made these buildings both landmarks and nodes in the new cities and

the formidable exterior decoration with the massive portico" (Carlson 1989: 79) at the center. The climax of this kind of design was the Paris Opera Garnier, which was located not "in a direct relationship with the court, but at the center of the one of the representative quarters of the upper bourgeoisie" (Steinhauser 1969: 157), and which was linked to the other monuments of the growth of French civilization via the boulevards.

By the second half of the nineteenth century, the opera house had become an obligatory monument for any city anywhere in the world that wished to establish its European-oriented cultural credentials, from Cairo in the east to Manaus in the Amazonian jungle (Carlson 1989: 83). In the twentieth century, examples like the Sydney Opera House and the Oslo Opera House represent the successors of this idea. Carlson (1989: 79) refers to these buildings as "public monuments" in the sense that they are architecturally notable for their physical isolation and their multiple scenery, which make them landmarks as focal points and civic symbols for the cities where they are located. He also adds that the monumental theatre suggests, with its location and isolation, an affinity with other public cultural monuments, and therefore is almost never found at or near a city's commercial center, but more often near elegant residential areas or surrounded by public parks and gardens (Carlson 1989: 98).

In the second half of the twentieth century, one common development of the theatre as a "public monument" was a transformation into an arts complex, where structures for theatre, dance, opera, and sometimes other arts as well clustered together to form a kind of supermonument, an entire artistic enclave within the city (Carlson 1989: 92). Lincoln Center in New York City and Southbank Centre in London are famous examples of this kind. Besides the public dedication to the arts, "commercial and social concerns have [also] strongly affected the situation of these complexes within their urban surroundings" (Carlson 1989: 92). Such complexes, as cultural and social symbols, were employed by urban developers as foundations for the upgrading of surrounding areas. According to Carlson (1989: 95), unlike the Southbank Centre, the Barbican Centre, also in London, "offered yet another model of urban renewal utilizing the theatre as a central element". The rise of the cost of real estate that accompanies bringing a residential population back into the city is the main aim of this kind of plan, which includes upper-income housing, schools and community buildings, and most notably an arts complex housing cultural institutions, such as the Royal Shakespeare Company (Carlson 1989: 95). However, as Carlson (1989: 96) points out, "as these major civic monuments become incorporated into clusters of other urban structures, the theatre begins to lose its architectural identity to that of the complex and the statement it makes as a whole". In fact, especially in examples like the Barbican, where the theatre is completely contained within the more significant development, it is even very difficult to find and go to the theatre.

A brief history of theatre buildings in Istanbul, their locations in the city, and their relationship with the urban fabric

Through the beginning of the twentieth century, there were just two districts in Istanbul where theatre buildings were mainly concentrated, Direklerarası and Pera. Both were on the European side of the Bosphorus, with the former a Muslim district in the old city and the latter, separated from the so-called "historical peninsula" by the Golden Horn, home to a prominent European population, commonly referred to as Levantines (And 1972, Ertuğrul 1989).

With the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, the dense urban fabric of Istanbul began to expand to the north. From the 1930s on, theatre buildings began to be constructed on the axis stretching from Taksim to Şişli on the European side of the Bosphorus and on Bahariye Avenue in Kadıköy on the Asian side.

The 1960s was a time when the art of theatre was especially popular in Istanbul. Numerous theatre groups raised their curtains and theatres were fully booked every evening

of the week (And 1983: 186-269). However, in regard to theatre buildings, they were either stuck in open spaces in the centers of urban blocks or built in the basement level of residential or commercial buildings (And 1983: 301). They had no distinctive façades indicating the presence of a theater in the block. Access to theatres was mostly from the street through a passage or shopping arcade, or else there were simple gates showing the way to the foyers of the theatres. These buildings can be classified as variations on the eighteenth-century façade theatres mentioned above.

As for the most recent 50-year period, there were implicitly only three examples of theatre buildings in Istanbul that could be called monumental theatres as defined by Carlson. These are the Palace of Culture/Atatürk Cultural Center (1946, 1969, 1977), the Istanbul Municipal Theatre Harbiye Muhsin Ertuğrul Stage (1970, 1990, 2010) and the Zorlu Performance Arts Center (2013).

The Palace of Culture / Atatürk Cultural Center

After the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the idea of a monumental opera building blossomed for the first time in 1929 through the influence of the cultural values of Western civilization. In late 1930s and early 1940s, Henri Prost proposed a new city square – namely, Taksim Republican Square – at the heart of the modern part of the city in the master plan that he prepared for Istanbul. One side of the square would be İnönü Esplanade, with a terrace opening onto it, and for its north end Prost proposed the "Grand Theater" for which Auguste Perret did the preliminary project (Bilsel 2010: 356). Prost communicated with Perret to design an opera building in Taksim; however, he then decided to transform the idea of an opera building into a theatre, thinking that an opera building would not be able to hold the events needed to revive a public square as large as Taksim Square. He thought it more appropriate to build a theater (Bilsel 2010: 372-373). In one of the photographs for the master plan study, we can see the site allocated for the "Grand Theatre" (Filhon & Raveloarisoa 2010: 206). An estimated elevation of Perret's "Grand Theater" had been drawn on the sections of Taksim's İnönü Esplanade project. However, ultimately this project could not be implemented due to the outbreak of the Second World War (152). Later, the Municipality of Istanbul charged the architects Rükneddin Güney and Feridun Kip with preparing an opera house project called "The Palace of Culture", which was inspired by Perrest's early modernist design (URL 1). Construction began on May 29, 1946. The structure consisted of a 1,566-seat theatre-opera auditorium and a 576-seat concert hall. However, the project was unable to be implemented as originally envisioned due to insufficient financial resources on the part of the municipality, and the incomplete concrete skeleton of the building was handed over to the Ministry of Public Works in 1956 (Tabanlıoğlu 1979: 11). The architect Hayati Tabanlıoğlu, who had recently finished his thesis in Germany on theatre buildings, was put in charge of the project by the ministry in 1956, and he extended the plan so as to encompass a comprehensive cultural center with a large auditorium for opera, a concert hall, a studio theatre, a children's cinema and an art gallery (Tabanlıoğlu 1979: 19).

In 1969, the building was completed. However, it burned down in 1970 and took another seven years to rebuild.[1]

From the very first moment, the distinctive site selection of Atatürk Cultural Center stressed its character as a monumental culture and art center symbolizing the new republic that embraced Western culture. We learn from the memoirs of Vasfi Rıza Zobu (1977: 626-627), who was the executive director of the Municipality Theatre in the late 1940s, that the

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[1] In 2008, it was closed for renovation, and since then has remained closed due to disagreements between the government and certain cultural NGOs, such as the Chamber of Architects and the Culture and Art Laborers Syndicate.

governor of Istanbul, Lütfi Kırdar, promised to tear down the power administration and gendarmerie office buildings in front of the site when the opera was finished, so that the building could be clearly seen from the square. Prost's initial idea, together with this statement, prove that the structure's site selection was inspired by Western examples where the monumental theatre building constitutes a dominant and ostentatious input into the urban fabric. And finally, 30 years after Prost's idea, this aim was accomplished when Tabanlıoğlu managed to complete the project (Fig. 1).

From the drawings and the model of Güney and Kip's project, we can observe that the Palace of Culture had an elaborate front façade facing Taksim Square, with monumental wide steps leading to seven large gates. The current late internationalistic design of Tabanlıoğlu also has its main façade facing the square. However, it lacks the monumental steps of the former design, being much more democratic and humane (Fig. 2). Furthermore, contrary to the solidity and massiveness of the earlier design, Tabanlıoğlu's design features transparency and an elaborated lightness. Tabanlıoğlu used glass and aluminum, typical materials of the 1950s International Style. As a result, the totally transparent façade enables a bilateral view: people in the foyers have an unobstructed view of the square, and in the evenings people on the square have a view of the interior of the shining foyers. Thus Tabanlıoğlu's design constructed a reciprocal relationship between the interior and the exterior, between the building and its adjacent urban landscape (Fig. 3).

Another feature of the building which links it to the city is the piazza in front of it (Fig. 4). Adding to the vast space and depth of Taksim Square in front of the main façade of the building and enriched with small trees, a pool, a wall and flagpoles, this piazza is 20 meters wide and approximately one meter lower than the level of the square. It was frequently used not only by theatregoers before and after events, but also by ordinary citizens as a popular meeting point.

The Istanbul Municipality Theatre Harbiye Muhsin Ertuğrul Stage

The Istanbul Municipality Theatre Harbiye Muhsin Ertuğrul Stage has a history similar to that of the Atatürk Cultural Center; it has gone through three phases since it was built. In 1958, the National Industry Expo of Turkey (*Türkiye Milli Sanayi Sergisi*) was organized on Park No. 2, which had been defined in Prost's master plan as "*espaces libres*" (Bilsel 2010: 349). Park No. 2 was the deep valley between the neighbourhoods of Maçka and Harbiye, stretching towards Dolmabahçe in a wide green strip at the heart of a new housing zone in the modern part of the city (Prost 2007: 118-119). The 70,000 m^2 general layout plan of the expo was designed by the Turkish architect Muhlis Türkmen (Anonymous 1959: 53). The expo site contained the Sports and Exhibition Hall, which was also built according to the Prost master plan in 1949 (Proust 2007: 120). On the long and narrow site on the Harbiye side (then the Military Academy and currently the Military Museum), there were a number of pavilions lined up next to one another. One of them was the pavilion of Sümerbank-Textile Goods Industry, which was built in 1950 by Fazıl Aysu (Anonymous 1950). After the expo, two of the structures were demolished, and in 1967 the Sümerbank Pavilion was converted into a theatre by Yüksel Umuter. The 750 m^2 theatre with 650 seats was handed over to the Istanbul Municipality Theatre and named the Harbiye Stage. In 1991, the building underwent an extensive transformation by the same architect. Besides raising the level of the stage tower, a chamber stage was added onto the foyer upstairs, rehearsal halls and workshops were built on the east side of the building, and the façade was totally renewed (Umuter 2015) (Fig. 5). In 2008, the building was demolished in order to be built again as a part of a large-scale convention center. This third design was by Erol Kuzubaşıoğlu and Erkan Altuğ. The theatre was reopened in 2010.

In the first design of the theatre, the architect Umuter had to conserve the existing structure of the Sümerbank Pavilion, so he put the stage and auditorium inside the pavilion building

and added two small auxiliary parts on its short sides (Umuter 2015). The annex – consisting of the entrance, ticket office and foyer – was on the side facing Taksim, in the direction of the Broadcasting House. The other one, for back-of-house facilities, was on the opposite side, facing Maçka in the direction of the Sports and Exhibition Hall. The former had a highly transparent design, not only in the entrance façade but also in the building in general, so that the wide openness and trees around the building could be incorporated into the experience of interiority in the foyer (Fig. 6). Umuter (2015) stressed that he designed the foyer of the second level to be transparent because this level has a wonderful view of the Bosphorus.

The entrance to the Sümerbank Pavilion was on the two edges of the long side of the building. Umuter (2015) stated that he located the entrance of the theatre in the direction of Taksim because, at that time, there was no other way to approach the site, and this direction had a wide, open space extending towards İnönü Esplanade in Taksim Square. Umuter (2015) added that the connection to the Maçka side did not have a clear paved road. He also stated that he never thought of locating the entrance on the long side of the building in order that the theatre could make use of the square in front of the Sports and Exhibition Hall and share this space with it because, at that time, this square was not as large as it is today, and moreover the level was slightly descending towards the Open Air Theater (Umuter 2015). After an extensive transformation in 1991, the relationship of the building with the urban fabric remained basically the same. However, the wide, open green space in front of the entrance was fenced in and guarded by the military because of the adjacent officer's club. As a result, only a small paved area remained, which was crowded by the stairs to the entrance gate, the flagpoles and a sculpture (Fig. 7).

Umuter's principle contribution to the main entrance was to strengthen its effect by designing a new façade (Fig. 8). His design was based, although in a minimal sense, on the stratification of the layers in order to stress the location of the entrance gate, thereby inviting theatregoers inside. Also, by emphasizing the design of the façade on Darülbedayi Street, he made theatregoers perceive that the building had another façade and a secondary entrance on that side. On the other hand, he blinded the existing transparent façade on the second level of the foyer in order to situate a chamber theater there. In this way, the foyer was only able to communicate with the surrounding view on the entrance level.

The third and current theatre building, dating to 2010, is no longer an architecturally independent building, but rather part of a large complex called the Istanbul Congress Center, although in the interior it functions independently. The theater is located on the back side of the long, thin, above-ground part of the congress center (Fig. 9). As a result, the theater building has lost its former connection to the Taksim direction, and instead, the gigantic entrance to the congress center was placed on that side with a huge square in front of it, which used to be the unused, fenced-in green field. On the other hand, the new entrance of the theater could have seized the chance to share the square in front of Istanbul Lütfi Kırdar International Congress and Exhibition Center (formerly the Sports and Exhibition Hall) as an open area in front of itself. However, the skylights, circulation and ventilation shafts of the underground part of the congress center, which rise from the ground and the ticket office of the theatre, break up the relationship between the theater building and the square; thus, all that is left is an area as wide as a road in front of the entrance (Fig. 10). Furthermore, the foyer of the theatre was located in such a way that it has only one façade to the outside. Thus, it has almost no connection to the outside, to its surroundings. The foyer is also very small and dense, and so it is impossible to organize events in it.

Zorlu Performing Arts Center

Zorlu Performing Arts Center is a part of Zorlu Center,[2] which is a multiple-use complex in Zincirlikuyu neighborhood, at the junction of the European connection of the Bosphorus Bridge and Büyükdere Avenue, which leads to the central business district of Levent. It was designed by Emre Arolat Architecture and Tabanlıoğlu Architecture and was opened in 2013.

The center is a four-tower, five-function structure group, including a public square, residential development and office space. On the website of Zorlu Center, the Performing Arts Center is called one of the largest performing arts centers in Europe, and it is mentioned that "at long last, Istanbul has a world-class showplace for the performing arts" (URL 3). Among the vast residential complexes with offices and shopping malls built in the last 15 years in Istanbul, Zorlu Center is the only real estate project incorporating theatre stages on a worldwide scale. In other complexes there are cinemas, convention halls or theatre stages transformed from cinemas. Therefore, with its signature piece that amounted to $300 million, the Zorlu Center Performing Arts Center has a special position among others.

The Zorlu Performing Arts Center has two stages: the main theatre, with 2,190 seats, and the drama stage, with 678 seats. There is also a high-tech sound recording studio (the largest and most advanced in Europe) that doubles as a black-box theatre for intimate performances, acoustic concerts and other, similar events. The center also houses multiple spaces for the exhibition of visual and contemporary works of art, as well as featuring the "City Stage", which presents a regular series of free public performances open to any local performer.

When we examine the position of the centre's theatres and how they communicate with the urban life outside, we draw the following conclusion: First of all, in the architectural mass of the complex the theatres cannot be read from the outside; they seem to be, in a sense, hidden. Therefore, when a person approaches the complex or looks at the complex from a distance, what he/she sees is its image in the foreground, its residences and office parts with four towers and roof gardens (Fig. 11). Thus, architecturally the theatres do not play an inviting role for theatregoers in particular; they also play no role for the citizens of Istanbul in general.

Secondly, Zincirlikuyu is an area where a jumble of highways coming from the Asian and European sides of the Bosphorus intersect, with the site of the complex being surrounded by highways on all sides; as a result, the complex – and the theatres in it – have no relationship with the adjacent urban texture, with the neighborhood (Fig. 12). There has been an attempt to connect the building to the city via a square positioned in front of it. Mehmet Even, the assistant general manager of Zorlu Real Estate, has remarked in an interview that it is important for them that the center combine all the people of Istanbul, and that they want to create an urban square like Istanbul's Taksim Square (URL 4). However, this square is not directly connected to other pedestrian routes of the city, nor even to any metro or bus stations; it only serves for the connection of people who reach the complex by taxi and for the valet service for those who come by private car. Thus, to solve this difficulty of access, the Zorlu Property Group made a statement that, working in collaboration with the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, they would construct tunnels to provide safe and convenient access to Zorlu Center for pedestrians (URL 5).

Conclusion

This examination of three examples of monumental theatre buildings in Istanbul built over the last 50-year period has looked at their design, their appearance, their connection with their

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[2] This project caused controversy because, according to the Chamber of Architects of Turkey, the public land of the Federal Highway Administration on which it was built was sold to a private enterprise by the head department of the Privatization Administration, with privileged development rights contrary to existing construction legislations (URL 2).

surroundings and their location within the city, and it provides us with information about the social, cultural and political role of theatre buildings in the urban context of Istanbul. In light of this examination, it can clearly be observed that all of the buildings studied correspond to one example or another of Western theatre architecture in the course of its evolution over time, as cited earlier in the text from Carlson.

The Atatürk Cultural Center is a typical monumental theater building of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, but done in the style of the 1950s. As a landmark with physical isolation, it is situated at the heart of the modern city; it constitutes one of the façades of the most important square of the modern city, and moreover dominates this square by having multiple vistas. Contrary to the understanding of nineteenth-century monumental theatre designs with formidable exterior decoration with a massive portico at the center, the Atatürk Cultural Center attempts to build a connection with the urban social life around it by means of transparency, which was the language of the International Style of the 1950s. The Istanbul Municipality Theatre Harbiye Muhsin Ertuğrul Stage does not have a wholly monumental quality like that of the Ataturk Cultural Center. However, as Carlson (1989: 98) describes, one sort of monumental theatre is located near elegant residential areas or surrounded by public parks and gardens, and indeed this structure is situated in one of the largest parks in Istanbul, which was designated by Henri Prost as Park No. 2, located in the heart of the new elegant housing zone of the modern part of the city (Prost 2007: 115). On the other hand, the Zorlu Performance Arts Center corresponds to theatre buildings like the Barbican from the early 1980s, which has no façade to the outside, no inviting face, and no significantly useable square in front of it; which is difficult to access, so that it can only be reached by pedestrians via long underground tunnels; and as a result it has no connection to the surrounding urban texture. Like the Barbican in London, the Zorlu Performance Arts Center is entirely contained within the more significant architecture of residences, offices or shopping malls, and is used by "real estate interests as a cultural emblem for the enhancement of surrounding commercial property" (Carlson 1989: 97).

To sum up, it can be claimed that the transformation of theatre buildings in Istanbul over the last 50 years, from public monuments to supermonuments, followed more or less the same trajectory of the evolution of Western performance spaces from the eighteenth century through the late twentieth century.

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Turkish Abstract

İstanbul'daki tiyatro binalarının son 50 yılda kentsel kamusal mekanla kurdukları ilişkileri, bu ilişki bağlamında taşıdıkları anlamları ve bu anlamların dönüşümünü irdeleyebilmek için makalede öncelikle, tiyatro sanatının doğduğu ve uzun süre boyunca geliştiği Batı kültüründe bu sanatın icra edildiği binaların kent ile olan ilişkisi kısaca ele alınmıştır. Tiyatro binası Batı kültüründe kentsel çevrenin her zaman vazgeçilmez bir anıtsal öğesi olmuştur. Tiyatro binaları, mimarileriyle çevrelerinden fiziksel olarak ayrışmaları ve kentin bir çok farklı noktasından görülebilir olmalarından dolayı "kamusal anıt" olarak tanımlanırlar. Bu anlamda tiyatro binaları kentlerin vazgeçilmez odak noktalarına ve sivil sembollerine dönüşürler. Makalenin ikinci kısmında kısaca İstanbul'da tiyatro sanatının ve mimarisinin geçmişi ele alınır ve bu tarihsel analiz sonucunda son 50 yıllık dönemde İstanbul'da üç anıtsal tiyatro binasının var olduğu saptaması yapılır. Bunlar; Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Harbiye Muhsin Ertuğrul Sahnesi ve Zorlu Performans Sanatları Merkezi'dir.

Makalenin üçüncü bölümü bu üç örneğin teker teker kent ile kurdukları ilişkileri konumlanma, iş işleyiş ve kütle/cephe tasarımı alt başlıklarında incelenmesinden oluşur. Sonuç olarak; Batı kültüründe anıtsal tiyatro mimarisinin kent ile ilişkisinde anlamsal olarak 18. yüzyıldaki "kamusal anıt"tan 20. yüzyılın sonlarındaki "süper anıt"a doğru geçirdiği değişimin bir benzeri, İstanbul'da son 50 yıl içerisinde inşa edilmiş belli basil tiyatro mimarisi ürünleriyle tekrarlanmıştır.

Biographical Note

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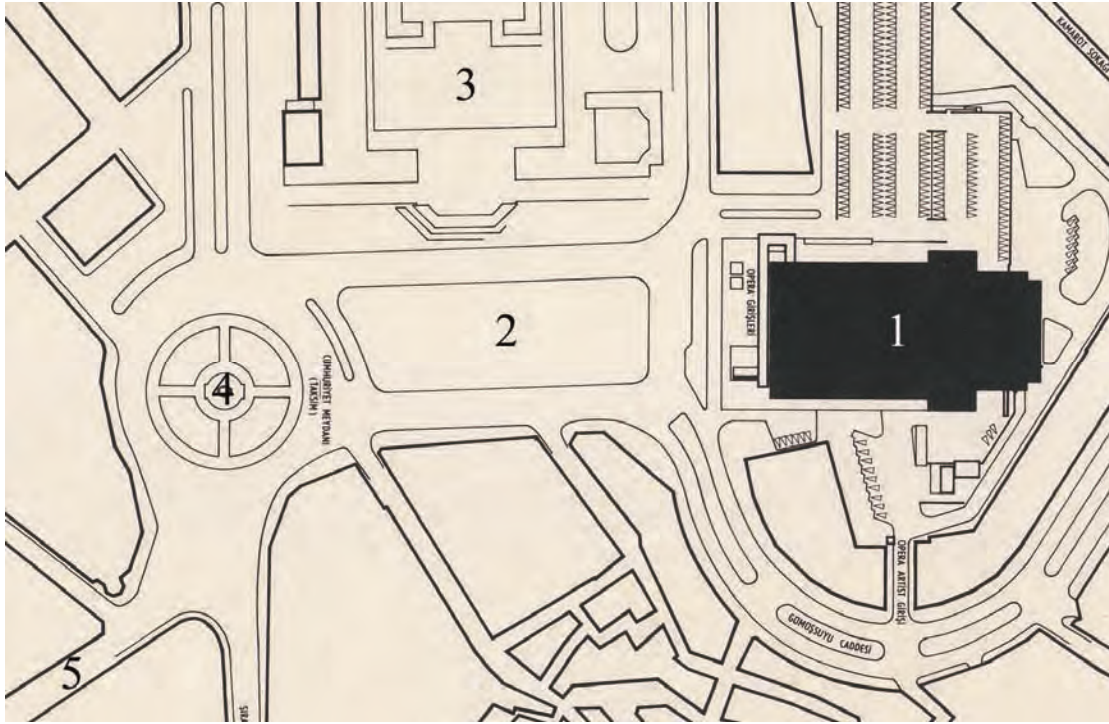
Fig. 1 – Site plan of Atatürk Cultural Center: 1. Atatürk Cultural Center; 2. Taksim Square;
3. İnönü Esplanade/Gezi Park; 4. The Republic Monument
(©Salt Research Archive)
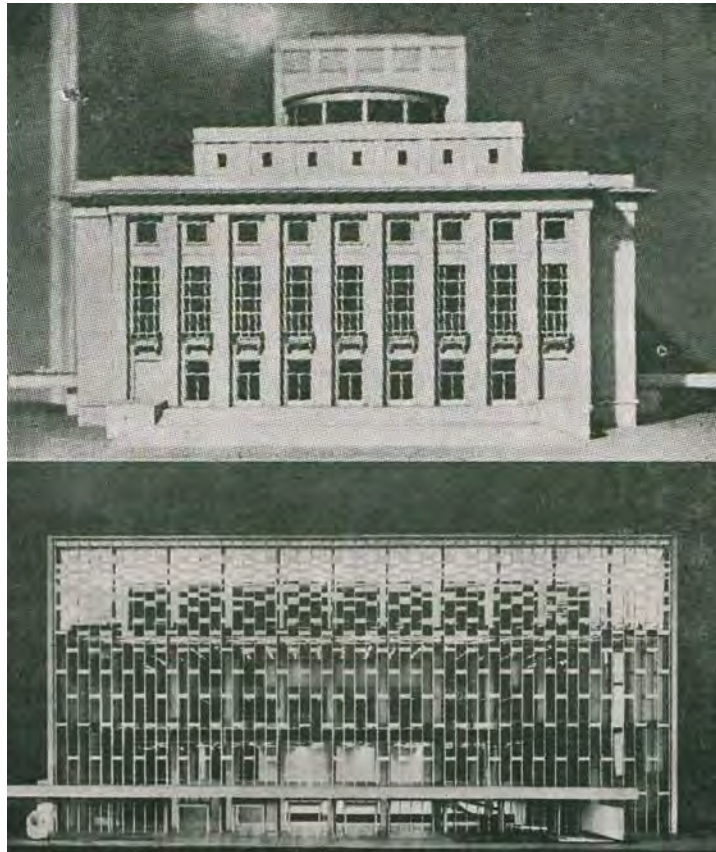
Fig. 2 – The front façades of the
models of the Palace of Culture
(above) and Atatürk Cultural
Center (below)
(©Salt Research Archive)
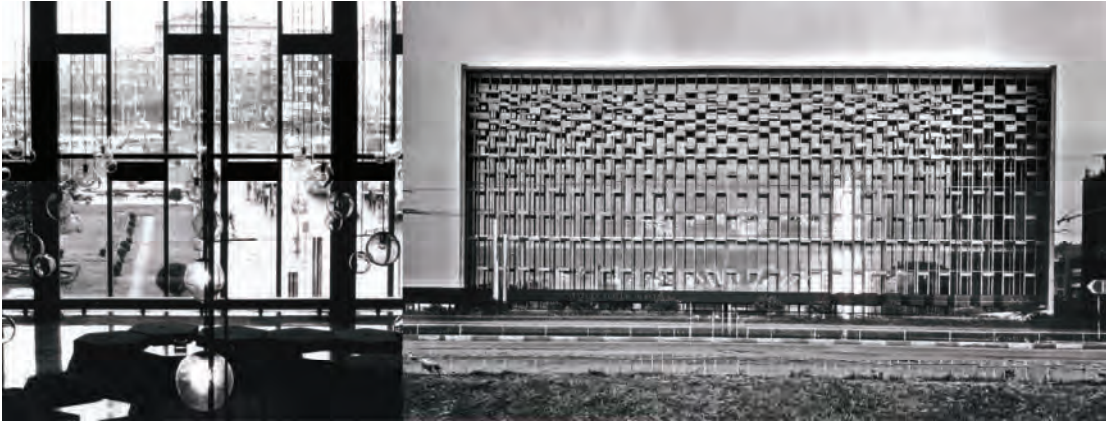
Fig. 3 – Left: View from the main foyer to the city (Photo: Gültekin Çizgen);
right: View from the square (Photo: Reha Güney) (©Salt Research Archive)
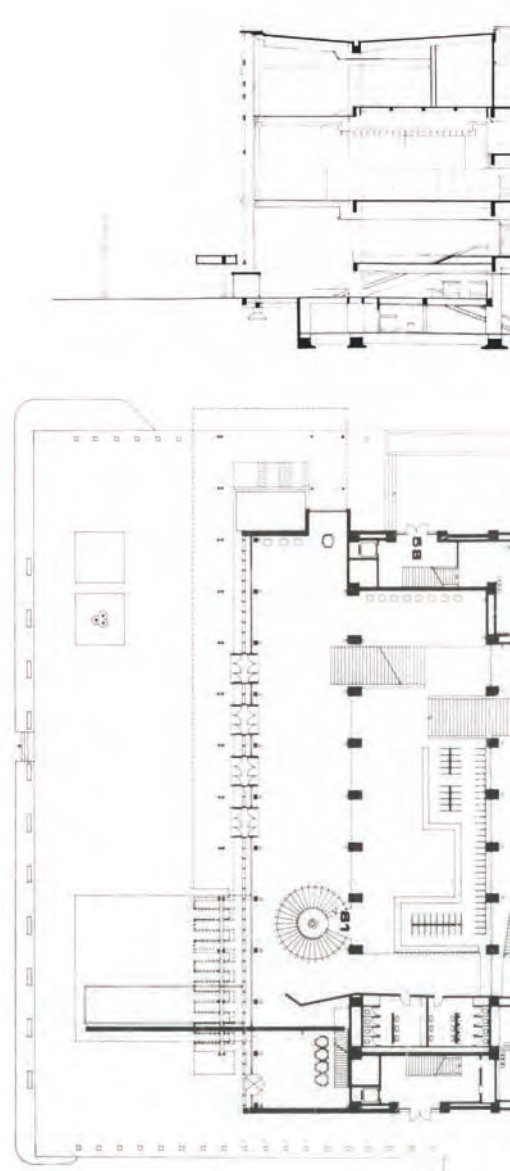
Fig. 4 – Section and plan of the small piazza
in front of the main façade
(©Salt Research Archive)
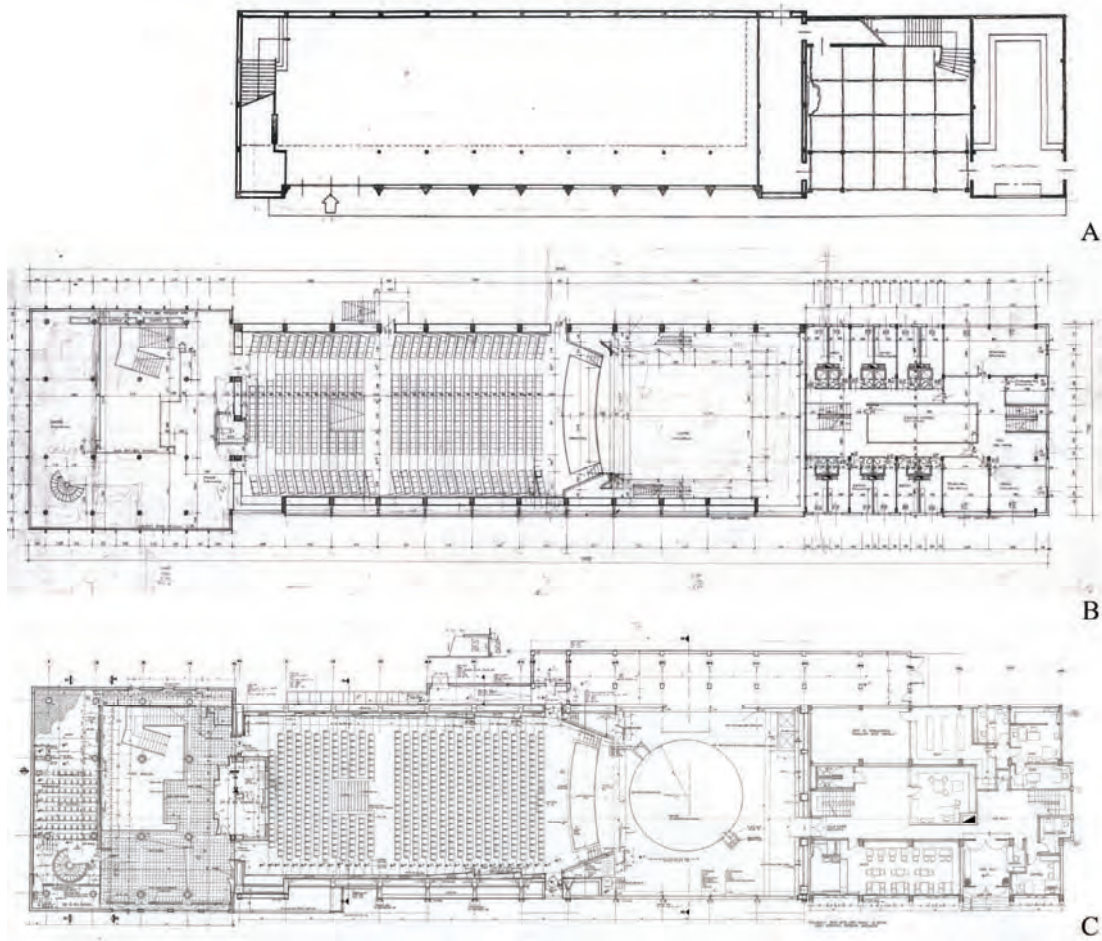
Fig. 5 – The plans of: A. Sümerbank pavilion (Anonym 1950: 5);
B. The 1967 design (Yüksel Umuter Archive);
C. The 1991 design
(©Yüksel Umuter Archive)
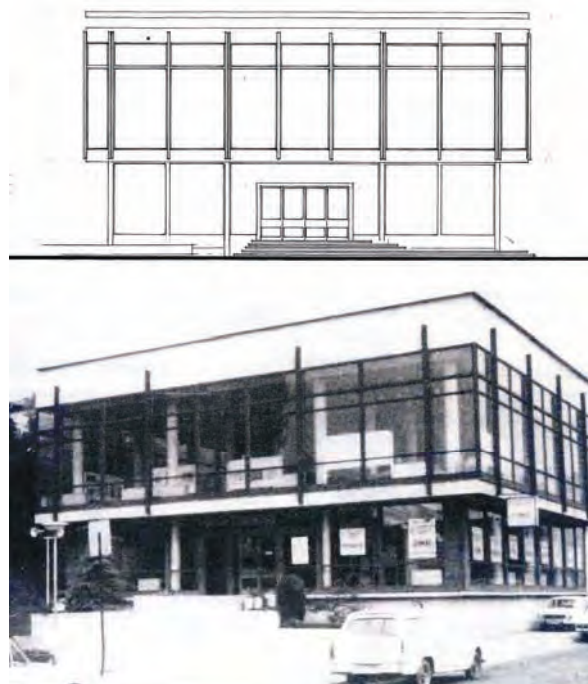
Fig. 6 – The elevation (above) and photo (below) of the entrance façade of the 1967 design (©Yüksel Umuter Archive)
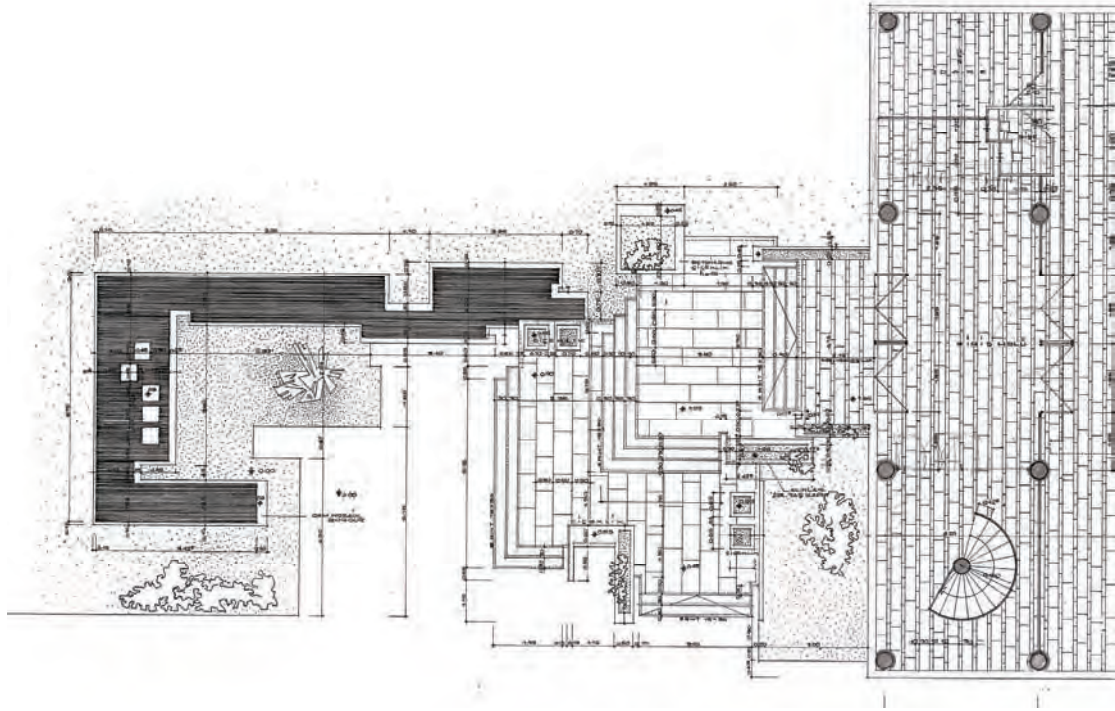
Fig. 7 – Plan of the small area in front of the theatre (©Yüksel Umuter Archive)
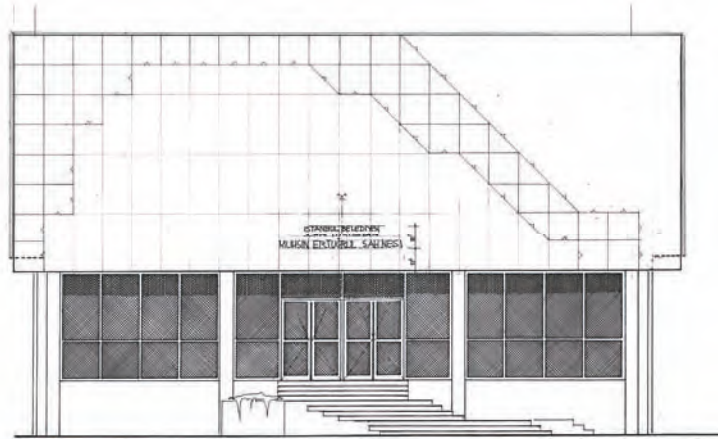
Fig. 8 – Elevation (above) and photo (below) of the entrance façade (1991) (Photo: Feridun Çetinkaya) (©Yüksel Umuter Archive)

Fig. 9 – View of İstanbul Congress Center
(http://www.taca.com.tr/sayfalar.asp?LanguageID=2&cid=119&id=134&id2=147)

Fig. 10 – View of the insufficient entrance area in front of the theatre (photo: Özel)

Fig. 11 – View of Zorlu Center (photo: Özel)

Fig. 12 – The site plan
(http://www.archdaily.com/514825/zorlu-center-emre-arolat-architects-tabanlioglu-architects
(accessed 20-06-2015)

TWO LOST CHURCHES, TWO LOST MOSQUES:
THE CONVERSION OF THE LAST LATIN CHURCHES IN CHIOS IN 1695[1]

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Today's Chios lacks many buildings that once gave it a Latin character. The medieval castle and a few buildings survive, but the churches of the periods of Genoese and Venetian control disappeared more than a century ago. However, two of them were also long forgotten, as they had been converted into sultanic mosques. In fact, these were the most important Catholic churches in the town of Chios during the first period of Ottoman control of the island, which started in 1566 and ended in September 1694, when Venetians took advantage of the turbulent period after the Battle of Vienna to seize the island. Nevertheless, Venetian control of Chios lasted only six months, and the Ottomans revenge was particularly harsh. After the Ottoman reconquest in February 1695, the Catholic community was suppressed, their leaders were hanged, and all the Catholic churches were either demolished or converted into mosques. The most important two were named after the newly enthroned Sultan Mustafa II and his mother Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan, and the two Latin churches acquired elements of Turkish art in continuing as mosques. But their lives as mosques also came to an end in the 19th century, and after that they were totally forgotten.

This paper aims to reveal the names of these two lost churches, their locations, and their appearance by using written and visual materials, as if putting together the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. The second phase of these structures' lives as mosques, the works of art they gained, the transformations that were carried out, and their fate are also revealed thanks to documents from the Ottoman archives in Istanbul and endowment deeds held in Ankara. Moreover, the paper will also try to solve the question of a third conversion, attributed to Mısırlızade Ibrahim Pasha, the second conqueror of the island. Before going into the details about these buildings, it would be useful to first explore the historical background of church conversions in Chios, in the process noting down every clue, since very little is known about the architectural history of the no longer extant churches and mosques of Chios.

Historical Background

The island of Chios, perfectly located on the sea routes from Istanbul to several eastern Mediterranean harbours, was the last outpost of the Genoese in the Aegean Sea, and it managed to preserve its self-governance thanks to the taxes it paid to the Ottoman state. However, after an unsuccessful naval campaign against Malta, Grand Admiral Piyale Pasha conquered the island in 1566, and subsequently church conversions began to take place. The first church to be converted was Hagios Georgios church in the Castro (i.e., the castle of Chios), and being the oldest and largest one it was named after Süleyman the Magnificent (Hasluck 1909: 155). Yet another one, the Franciscan church of Santa Maria della Grazie, located just outside the castle, was converted in 1566 in the name of the conqueror of the island (Argenti 1970: 222) (Fig. 1).

The Catholics had fled from Chios after the conquest, but they later resettled when their bishopric was recognized by the Ottomans (Örenç 2009: 36:8). However, their continued presence on the island was highly affected by the Ottoman relationship with Catholic

countries. For instance, after the Florentine attack of 1599, most of them were exiled from the island (Vlasto 1913: 68). One of the Catholic churches in the Castro must have been converted into a mosque following this event, as it was named after Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha, the grand admiral at the time (Evliya 2005: 9:64). Another naval defeat off Chios in 1613 may have led to a further conversion (Hammer 1990: IV, 474). The defeated grand admiral, and future grand vizier, Öküz Mehmed Pasha took revenge by converting the last Catholic church in the Castro, which was dedicated to both Santa Maria and SS Peter and Paul, and the bishop perforce made Santa Maria di Travena, located outside the castle, his new cathedral (Argenti 1970: 216-217).

NAME OF CHURCH	NAME OF MOSQUE	YEAR
Hagios Georgios church in the Castro	Mosque of Süleyman the Magnificent	1566
The Franciscan church of Santa Maria delle Grazie	Piyale Pasha mosque	1566
A Catholic church in the Castro	Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha mosque	1599
The last Catholic church in the Castro, Santa Maria and St. Peter and Paul	Öküz Mehmed Pasha mosque	1613

Table 1 – Churches converted into mosques during the first period of Ottoman control in Chios

When the Venetians invaded Chios in September 1694, the city surrendered and the Muslims, as well as the Orthodox Greeks, were forced to leave the island (Vlasto 1913: 87). During the six months of Venetian occupation, the mosques and most of the Orthodox churches were left unused while the former Latin churches regained their original function. This can be traced from the maps drawn during the short Venetian rule of Chios, where three churches are noted within the Castro and several others in surrounding neighbourhoods (Fig. 2).

The recapture of the island by the Ottomans was as unexpected as its invasion by the Venetians had been. After a naval defeat off the coast of Chios, the Venetians left the city – though not without first looting the Orthodox churches – and Ottoman forces landed on the island on 21 February 1695, just two weeks after Mustafa II's accession to the throne (Vlasto 1913: 91). Four Catholic leaders were hanged, the properties of Catholics were seized, and all the Latin churches in the town of Chios were either torn down or converted into mosques (Hofmann 1934: 24; Tournefort 2005: I, 240). Apparently, the formerly converted mosques in the castle were re-established with their original names and foundations. According to the chronicler Silahdar Mehmed Agha, three of the churches located outside the castle were named after the newly enthroned Sultan Mustafa II, the new Queen Mother Gülnuş Sultan, and the admiral of the conquering fleet, Mısırlızade İbrahim Paşa (Silahdar 1962: 17).

Identification of the buildings

None of the converted Latin churches in Chios have survived. Therefore, not even the names and locations of the buildings are clear, let alone their architectural details and history. Thus, in order to identify these buildings, we first need to identify the Latin churches that stood outside the Castro shortly before 1695.

Written accounts of contemporary travelling clergy – such as the writings of Sebastiani, who visited Chios in 1667, and Venier, the bishop of Tinos, who visited the city in 1679 – give the names of the four major Catholic churches as follows: the cathedral of La Travenna, the Dominican church of San Sebastiano, the Franciscan church of San Nicolò, and the Jesuit church of San Antonio (Hofmann 1934: 22-23).

The cathedral of Santa Maria di Travena (i.e., Santa Maria de Travis or La Travenna) was converted into a mosque after the recapture, but nothing remains of the building, which was once located to the west of the Castro, in the Frangkomahala neighbourhood (Hofmann 1934: 109; Argenti 1954: II, 827) (Fig. 3). Similarly, San Sebastiano church, which was located in

the Palaiokastro neighbourhood, remained in the possession of the Dominicans until 1695, after which it was converted into a mosque. On the other hand, the Franciscan church of San Nicolò and the Jesuit church of San Antonio were both torn down by the Turks, with their land being confiscated by the Ottoman state (Hofmann 1934: 25). Of these two churches, San Nicolò would be repaired with the sultan's permission in 1720, after which it became the common cathedral of the Latins (Argenti 1970: 305-306). There were two other Catholic churches, both of which were under the possession of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin: the church of San Rocco, located a mile away from the town of Chios on Tourloti Mountain, and the church of Santa Maria dei Disciplinati (i.e., Casaccia) in the Palaiokastro neighbourhood. The Capuchins being French in origin, these two churches stood for two more years after the Ottoman recapture of the island, but they were later destroyed after a joint attack by Turks and Greeks (Argenti 1954: I, xxxvii; Argenti 1970: 227-229). Tournefort, who had visited the island around 1700, soon after its reconquest, gives a similar account (1718: I, 279):

> Besides the Churches in the Country, the Latins had seven in Town: the Cathedral is converted into a Mosque, as also the Church of the Dominicans; the Church of the Jesuits dedicated to St. Anthony, is turn'd into an inn; those of the Capuchins and the Recolets, our Lady of Loretto and that of St. Anne, are pull'd down. The Capuchins had also within 500 paces of the Town the Church of St. Roch [i.e., San Rocco], where they used to bury the French; but it has shared the same Fate with the rest.

Therefore, in light of the aforementioned sources, it can be deduced that the churches converted into mosques in the names of Mustafa II and Gülnuş Sultan must be two prominent Latin churches; i.e., the cathedral of La Travenna and the Dominican church of San Sebastiano, respectively, according to the Ottoman custom of granting the cathedral in conquered cities to the sultan. However, the conversion of a third church, mentioned by the chronicler Silahdar Mehmed Agha, seems not to have happened according to Western sources. Instead, the mosque of Mısırlızade Ibrahim Pasha in Chios, the name of which can be traced in Ottoman archival documents (BOA[2] İE EV. 38 4342; BOA AE.SAMD.III 85 8521; BOA C. EV. 362 18372), might have replaced one of the aforementioned demolished churches, possibly the Jesuit church of Sant'Antonio.[3] However, since the available data does not permit a true identification of either the church or its location, it is also possible that the mosque of Mısırlızade Ibrahim Pasha may have been converted from a minor church which was not discussed in the aforementioned sources.[4]

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[2] BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi – Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive, Istanbul.

[3] According to 17th-century travelling clergy, this ancient church was 77 palms long, 62 palms wide; was divided into three naves with six columns; and had five richly gilded altars and two separate chapels dedicated to St. Ignatius and St. Xavier (Hofmann 1934: 15-23).

[4] Hofmann and Argenti give the names of other suburban churches, including San Tommaso, Gregorio, Madonna Incoronata and Madonna di Loreto of the Dominicans and San Giovanni or Monopetra of the Franciscans. However, they do not mention the name of a third church converted into a mosque. It should also be noted that there is uncertainty regarding the names and locations of other Latin churches not mentioned here, since most of them had been torn down, while others were converted into Orthodox churches by the Greeks, reacting against the Latins (Argenti 1970: 215).

Name of church	Location	Converted/Destroyed
The cathedral of La Travenna / Santa Maria di Travena / Santa Maria de Travis	Frangkomahala	Converted into mosque (Hofmann 1934: 109; Argenti 1954: II, 827) (mosque of Mustafa II)
San Sebastiano church	Palaiokastro	Converted into mosque (Hofmann 1934: 25) (mosque of Gülnuş Sultan)
The Franciscan church of San Nicolò	Outside Castro	Destroyed (Hofmann 1934, 25), repaired with sultan's permission in 1720 and became the common cathedral of the Latins (Argenti 1970: 305-306)
The Jesuit church of Sant'Antonio	Outside Castro	Destroyed (Hofmann 1934: 25), converted to an inn (Tournefort 1718: I, 279).
The Capuchin church of San Rocco	A mile away from the town of Chios, on Tourloti Mountain	Stood two more years, then destroyed (Argenti 1954: I, xxxvii; 1970: 227-229).
Santa Maria dei Disciplinati	Palaiokastro	Stood two more years, then destroyed (Argenti 1954: I, xxxvii; 1970: 227-229).

Table 2 – Latin churches in Chios after 1695, locations of the buildings

Historical maps and engravings of Chios are of crucial help for finding the locations of the cathedral of La Travenna and the San Sebastiano church, which became the mosques of Mustafa II and Gülnuş Sultan, respectively. An engraving dated to 1687 (Fig. 4) and the 1694 map (Fig. 5) give the names and the locations of these buildings. In the former, San Sebastiano church is labelled as 10, while La Travenna may stand beside the square, *La Piazza*, labelled as 1. In the latter, the church of the Latin cathedral is labelled as 21 and the Dominican church is labelled as 22.

A detail from another map drawn in 1694 by the Venetians (Fig. 6) shows the locations of the churches without their names but gives a more realistic topography of the town as compared to the present satellite map (Fig. 7). If these maps are superimposed, the locations of these churches can be determined, and we get some idea about their approximate position in today's Chios.

Today, the location where the former Latin cathedral of La Travenna/the mosque of Mustafa II once stood is occupied by a twentieth-century Greek Orthodox church to the north of Vounaki Square. On the other hand, the location where San Sebastiano church/the mosque of Gülnuş Sultan once stood is now mostly a green area featuring the ruins of a mill, a modern building beside it, and a road (Skaramanga Street) running in front of it. Indeed, this location, seen both on the maps from the seventeenth century and in today's Chios, is consistent with the description given in the endowment deed of Gülnuş Sultan's mosque.[5] Therefore, archaeological excavation on these locations would most likely provide invaluable insights into buildings that used to be major churches and mosques in the town of Chios.

Architecture of the buildings

Without the help of excavation, the only sources for the architectural features of these buildings are visual depictions, such as engravings, and written descriptions, such as the accounts of travelling clergy. Bishop Pietro Demarchis, who visited the island in 1623, relates that San

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[5] The relevant part of the endowment deed states that the mosque is adjacent to the main road and surrounded by a garden on one side and houses on the other side. The original reads, "*Cezire-i mezbûrede bina buyurdukları cami-i şerif karşısında vâki bir tarafı tarik-i âm ve bir tarafı İbrahim Bey bahçesi ve bir tarafı Marya menzili ve bir tarafı Azna zımmi menzili ile mahdûd bir bab mülk menzilini ve cami-i şerife muttasıl olup tarafeyni Abdurrahman Paşa mülkleri ve bir tarafı cami-i şerif ve bir tarafı tarik-i âm ile mahdûd birbirine muttasıl fevkâni ve tahtâni oda ve kenif ve sofa ve bir miktar bahçeyi müştemil beş bab mülk menzillerini…*" (VGMA, register no: 1640, 8).

Sebastiano was built before 1580 (Hofmann 1934: 15). According to another archival record, the church had been constructed in 1502, originally as a Greek chapel dedicated to St. Thomas the Apostle and jointly used by the Dominicans and the Orthodox (Argenti 1970: 219).[6] Demarchis writes that San Sebastiano church was 25 *passi* [7] in length and 12 *passi* in width (i.e., a quadrangle of 37 meters by 18 meters) and had five altars (Hofmann 1934: 15).

Demarchis also relates that Santa Maria di Travena, which was converted to the mosque Mustafa II, was 17 paces in length and 6 paces in width (i.e., a quadrangle of 25 meters by 9 meters) with three altars, and served as the cathedral and congregation church of the city (Hofmann 1934: 15). Although it was not adequate for the duty, it had been used as the cathedral of the Catholics in Chios since 1613, but was rebuilt on a larger scale in 1639 by a rich merchant, Lorenzo Giudici, with additions to the building continuing until 1643 (Argenti 1970: 217).

Another ecclesiastic, Venier, the bishop of Tinos, who visited the island in 1679, gives a similar account, describing San Sebastiano and the Latin cathedral as follows:

> The church of St. Sebastian of the Dominican fathers is divided into three aisles of modern structure and the vaults of all are made of stone. The central nave, the planks of which are painted and gilded with a star-shape pattern, is supported by twelve columns, six on each side. It contains six altars, each one framed [and flanked] by columns carved and gilded with different patterns.
>   The cathedral named La Natività, vulgarly [known as] La Travenna, is divided into three aisles of competent size, with a ceiling of [wooden] planks and cedar beams, and is supported by six pillars and contains ten altars, including a chapel where the Most Holy is kept (Hofmann 1934: 23).

With the help of the descriptions supplied by these two clergymen who visited Chios in the seventeenth century, it could be said that the rebuilt church of La Travenna had three aisles supported by six columns, a wooden ceiling with wooden beams, and contained ten altars, one of which was a chapel dedicated to "the Most Holy". On the other hand, San Sebastiano was a three-nave basilica, approximately 37 m long and 18 m wide, and the main nave was separated from the side aisles by two rows of columns, each containing six columns aligned towards the apse. The vault of the main nave was decorated like starry skies, and probably featured images of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the apostles. The aforementioned altars, which were five in number in 1623 but had increased to six by 1679, must have occupied the alcoves in the side aisles, and were flanked by ornamented columns.

Engravings, such as the one in Fig. 4, depict San Sebastiano in a manner somewhat similar to these descriptions, as a hipped-roof basilica with a bell tower adjacent to its western façade, and two auxiliary buildings to its east and west. In another engraving – possibly copied from Giacomo Rossi's 1687 original by Raffaello Savanarola in 1713 – the building was depicted exactly the same, and is in fact labelled as San Sebastiano in the legend (Fig. 8). In both of these engravings, another basilical building, which is standing in *La Piazza* (today's Vounaki Square) according to the legend, has a hipped roof and bell tower and must be Santa Maria di Travena.

In an earlier depiction of Chios, which was published by George Braun and Franz Hohenberg in 1588 (Koutsikas 1995: 46-47), the hipped-roof basilica in a large courtyard encircled by walls and filled with trees, and with two gates on each side, is the most distinguished structure outside the castle in this engraving, and probably represents the Dominican church of San Sebastiano, which was newly rebuilt in the early sixteenth century (Fig. 9). Although other buildings in the castle feature a bell tower crowned with a crescent, implying that they had been converted into mosques by this time, this particular suburban church is topped by a cross on its spire. Later versions of this engraving also show very

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[6] Argenti states that San Sebastiano in the Palaiocastro was possibly another name for the same church.

[7] 1 *passo* (English: *pace*) = 1.48 m.

similar depictions of the same building.[8] However, this sixteenth-century engraving does not show a church close to the square next to the Castro, probably due to the fact that La Travenna church was quite modest before its rebuilding in 1639, as related above.

After the recapture of the island in 1695, it can be assumed that these churches, with their physical properties as narrated by travelling clergy and depicted in the aforementioned engravings, were converted into mosques with the necessary alterations being made. All the holy images visible in the churches, as well as the bells in the towers, would have been removed. The mihrab, minbar and preacher's lectern must have been installed in the appropriate places within the building, and ablution fountains must have been built in the courtyard. They would certainly have gained a minaret or a pair of minarets, either by replacement of the bell tower or by the addition of a partial minaret on top of the tower (Fig. 10). On the other hand, the income-generating properties – such as the vineyards, gardens, fields and mills that belonged to the churches – as well as the adjoining dwellings used to house the clergy, were transferred to the waqfs of the mosques, and these properties were listed in the *waqfiyya*.[9]

According to one archival document, which can be dated to around 1698-1699 based on its content, Gülnuş Sultan's converted mosque (i.e., the former San Sebastiano church) underwent renovations (TSMA[10] E. 0101 0002 030). Gülnüş Sultan's chamberlain, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi, writes that the mosque had been slightly repaired after the conquest and was now awaiting the report of his men, who had been enrolled to make an inspection. The comprehensive repair was carried out with the mosque and ablution fountain's roofs were covered with lead, the latter being crowned with a copper finial; the mosque courtyard was cobbled; and the customs house, coffeehouse and cellars were repaired, as were other parts of the mosque (TSMA E. 79/8).

The Fate of the Buildings

These buildings, as well as many others in Chios, came to an ambiguous end in the early nineteenth century. The Chios massacre in 1822 most probably caused the destruction of these mosques, since at the time two-thirds of the city was burnt down and the religious buildings were destroyed by opposition groups (Argenti 1932: 38).[11] This is also evident from the archival sources: although documents issued before 1822 mention the mosques by name,[12] later documents only mention other properties of the waqf. In particular, two documents from 1822, soon after the massacre, concern the designation of the waqf's estates, probably those that survived the destruction (BOA HAT 872 38761/A, BOA HAT 872 38761/B). Moreover, another document dating to 1833 mentions such properties as gardens and a coffee roasting shop in Chios as being properties of the waqf of Gülnuş Sultan, omitting the name of the

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[8] See the engravings cited in Koutsikas 1995: Peeters, Jacob, *Description des principales villes, havres et isles du golfe de Venise du coté oriental...* (Antwerp, 1692); Dapper 1688.

[9] For the case of Gülnuş Sultan's mosque, see decree number 67 in Demirsoy 2001: 76. Those properties were listed in the *waqfiyya*s of Gülnuş Sultan. The first *waqfiyya* (TSMK [Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi - Topkapı Palace Museum Library] Y. 3510, 1-34) of the mosque is dated to 2 Muharrem 1109 (21 July 1697), while the second *waqfiyya* (VGMA, register no: 1640, 17-20) was issued on 29 Şevval 1110 (30 April 1699).

[10] TSMA: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi – Topkapı Palace Museum Archive.

[11] Mehmet Emin Vahit Pasha's *Tarih-i vaka-yi cezire-yi Sakız sene 1237* gives the details of the same event from an Ottoman point of view, while another archival document (BOA HAT 932 40382) also mentions that the suburb of Chios was burnt down. While the Turks had largely destroyed the churches, the mosques and the lead on their roofs were demolished by the Greeks (Argenti 1954: I, 425).

[12] For the case of Gülnuş Sultan's mosque, see, for instance, BOA İE. ML. 121 11448.

mosque (BOA, HAT 544 26896).[13] Therefore, it can be concluded that the *terminus ante quem* for the destruction or disappearance of these two sultanic mosques in Chios is 1822.

In sum, the last two Latin churches of Chios continued their lives as sultanic mosques for another century and a half after 1695. After a meticulous survey of the history and architecture of the churches in Chios, with the help of archival documents and visual sources, we can identify these churches as the cathedral of La Travenna (mosque of Mustafa II) and the San Sebastiano church (mosque of Gülnuş Valide Sultan). Consequently, two important lost and even forgotten buildings linking the Ottomans and Italians together have now been brought into the light based on the available information.

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[13] In fact, this waqf used to be called the waqf of Gülnuş Valide Sultan's mosques in Galata and Chios and fountain in Edirne. On the other hand, the latest document to mention the properties of Gülnuş Sultan's waqf in Chios dates from 1875, and it gives the revenue that the waqf acquired from the disposal of a house that once belonged to the waqf as 49 *guruş*.

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Turkish Abstract

Günümüzde Sakız şehri, ona bir zamanlar Latin karakterini veren yapılardan yoksundur. Ortaçağdan kalan kaleyi ve içindeki birkaç yapıyı bir tarafa bırakırsak, Ceneviz ve Venedik dönemlerine ait kiliseler uzun zaman önce ortadan kalkmıştır. Üstelik bu kiliselerden ikisi, Osmanlı döneminde saltanat camilerine dönüştürülmüş olsalar dahi unutulmuşlardır. Dahası bu iki kilise, adanın 1566'da Kaptan-ı Derya Piyale Paşa tarafından ele geçirilmesinden ve kale içindeki önemli kiliselerin camiye dönüştürülmesinden sonra Sakız şehrindeki en önemli Katolik kiliseleri idiler. Eylül 1694'te Venedikliler, Osmanlıların başarısız Viyana Kuşatması sonrasında içine düştükleri çalkantılı dönemi fırsat bilerek adayı ele geçirmişlerdi. Ancak Sakız'daki Venedik egemenliği yalnızca altı ay sürmüş ve Osmanlıların intikamı acımasız olmuştu. Osmanlıların adayı Şubat 1695'te yeniden ele geçirmelerinden sonra adadaki Katolik cemaati baskı altına alınmış, liderleri idam edilmiş, tüm Katolik kiliseleri ya yıkılmış ya da camiye çevrilmişti. En önemli iki kilise, tahta yeni geçen II. Mustafa ve annesi Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan adına camiye çevrilmiş ve bu iki Latin kilisesi varlıklarını cami olarak sürdürebilmeleri için şüphesiz Türk-İslam sanatının örnekleriyle donatılmışlardı. Ne var ki bu yapıların cami olarak yaşamları da 19. yüzyılda son bulmuş ve o zamandan beri tümüyle unutulmuşlardır. Bu makale bu iki yitik yapının adlarını, konumlarını ve mimari özelliklerini, yazılı ve görsel kaynakları kullanarak ve bir yapbozun parçalarını bir araya getirircesine ortaya çıkarmayı amaçlıyor. Bu kiliselerin mimarisi ve süslemesi, gezgin din adamlarının raporları ve bazı ender gravürlerin ışığında aydınlatılıyor. Bu yapıların cami olarak geçen ikinci yaşamları, söz konusu dönüşüm ve bu dönüşüm sırasında edindikleri öğeler ise İstanbul'daki Osmanlı arşivlerinden edinilen belgeler ve Ankara'da korunan vakfiyeler sayesinde ortaya koyuluyor. Sonuçta, Osmanlıları ve İtalyanları buluşturan iki yitik ve unutulmuş yapı, bu makale ile yeniden gün yüzüne çıkarılıyor.

Biographical Note

Muzaffer Özgüleş got his PhD in History of Architecture (2013) at the Istanbul Technical University with a dissertation entitled *The Building Activities of Gülnuş Emetullah Sultan*. He received the Barakat Trust Postdoctoral Research Fellowship and spent 2014-2015 academic year at the Khalili Research Centre of University of Oxford. The outcome of his postdoctoral research was the monograph entitled *The Women Who Built the Ottoman World: Female Patronage and the Architectural Legacy of Gülnuş Sultan* (I.B. Tauris, 2017). He is an Assistant Professor at Gaziantep University's Faculty of Architecture since 2016.

Fig. 1 – The Castro of Chios and the Latin churches within it that were converted into Ottoman mosques after 1566 and reconverted to Venetian churches in 1694 on an anonymous Venetian map of Chios entitled *Dell'aquisto e del ritiro de Venetia dell'isola di Scio nell'ano 1694*, published in Nurnberg in 1710 (after Koutsikas 1995: 136-137)
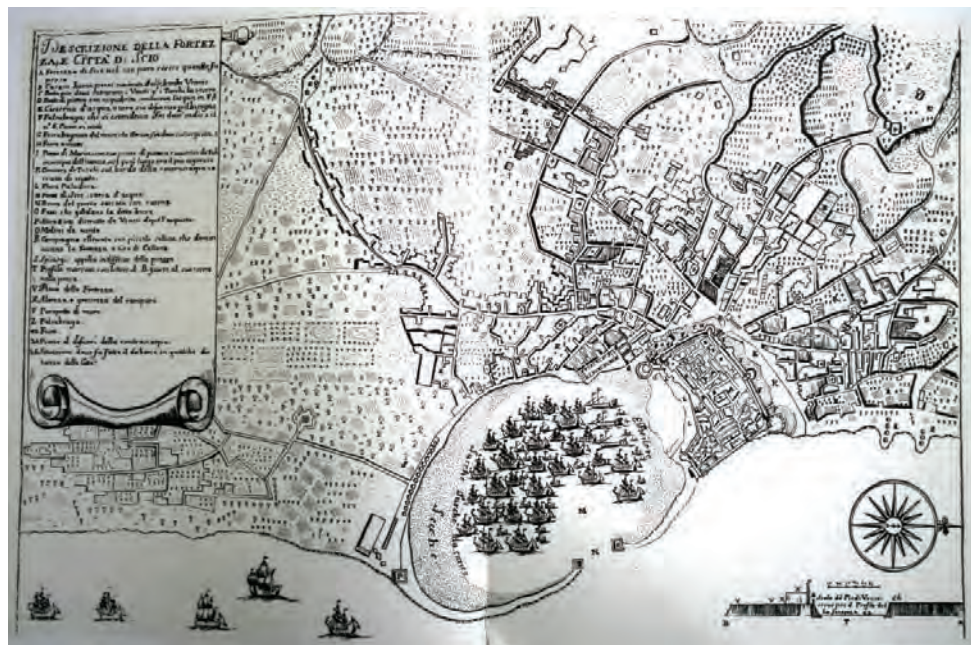
Fig. 2 – Anonymous Venetian Chios map of 1694, entitled *Dell'aquisto e del ritiro de Venetia dell'isola di Scio nell'ano 1694*, Nurnberg, 1710 (after Koutsikas 1995: 136-137).

Fig. 3 – The neighbourhoods of Chios labelled on an anonymous
sixteenth century map (Source: gallica.bnf.fr)

Fig. 4 – Giacomo Rossi's engraving of Chios in *Teatro della guerra contra il Turco* (Rome, 1687) and
a detail from the same engraving: San Sebastiano church labelled as 10 (circled in red), and possibly
Santa Maria di Travena church, sitting next to the square La Piazza labelled as 1 (circled in blue)
(after Koutsikas 1995: 88-89)

Fig. 5 – Vincenzo Coronelli's Chios map published in Venice in 1694, and a detail from it:
Latin cathedral labelled as 21 and Dominican church labelled as 22
(after Koutsikas 1995: 104-105)
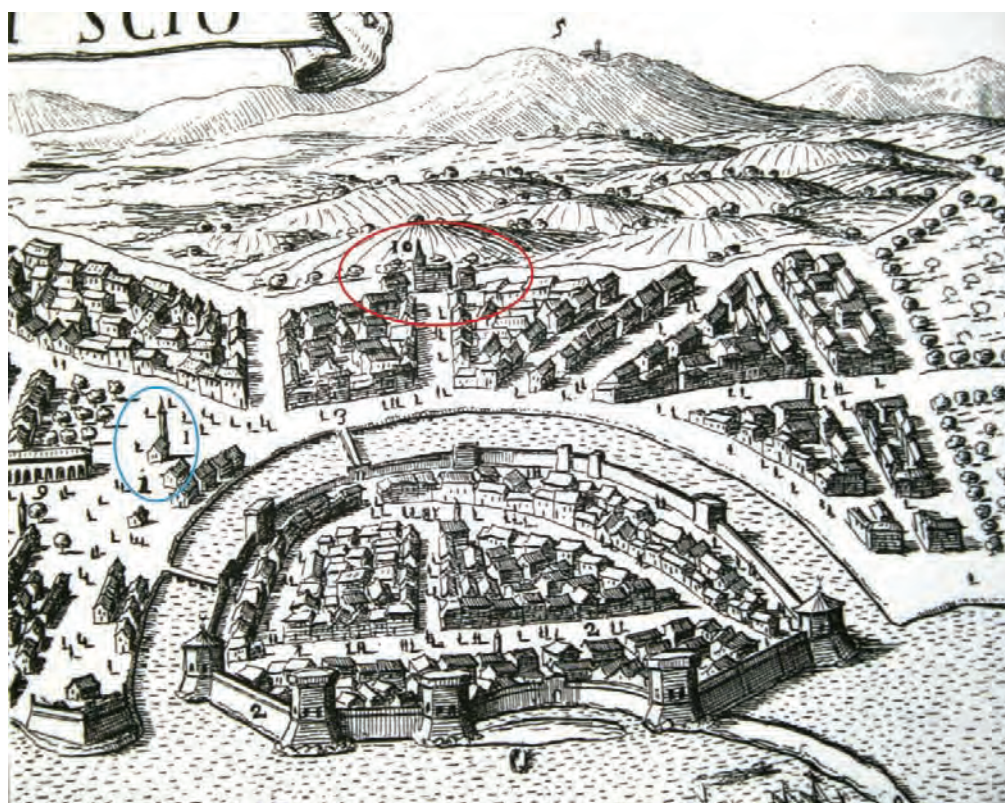
Fig. 6 – Detail from anonymous Chios map of 1694, entitled *Dell'aquisto e del ritiro de Venetia dell'isola di Scio nell'ano 1694*: Latin cathedral circled in blue and Dominican church circled in red
(after Koutsikas 1995: 136-137)

Fig. 7 – Approximate locations of Latin cathedral (circled in blue) and
Dominican church (circled in red) on today's satellite map of Chios
(Source: maps.google.com)

Fig. 8 – Raffaello Savonarola's *Universus terrarum orbis scriptorum calamo delineatus*
(Savonarola 1713: 268) depicts Chios city in 1694
(Source: archive.org)

Fig. 9 – This famous and repeatedly reproduced engraving of Chios (Braun and Hohenberg, 1588)
probably depicts San Sebastiano church outside the castle with a large courtyard filled with trees
(Source: http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/greece/chios/maps/braun_hogenberg_IV_57.html)

Fig. 10 – Thomas Mann Baynes' engraving *Scio* (London, 1835) shows the minarets of
the converted churches in Chios, where the sections of a minaret above the gallery
(including the cone and the finial) is installed on top of the present bell towers
(after Koutsikas 1995: 188-189)

ITALY AS SEEN THROUGH OTTOMAN WALL PAINTINGS

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During the Ottoman modernisation period, wall paintings emerged as a new genre and became the most significant elements of the decorative programmes on the walls of buildings, ranging from palaces to mansions and from mosques to government agencies. Throughout the 19th century, the subject matter of these wall paintings, which had initially emerged as landscapes, gradually turned into a visual medium where the important events and significant changes of the day were depicted, and thus they attained a documentary quality. It is striking that the subjects of these paintings, which were located within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, started to proliferate in connection with the prevalent issues, and they varied from scenes of Mecca and Medina to images of the holy lamb, from the first steamship to armoured corvettes, and from Bosphorus scenes to Parisian landscapes.

The aim of this article is to introduce a group of paintings from the capital Istanbul and the former capital Edirne which exemplifies wall paintings depicting Italian scenes. The reign of Abdülhamid II is the period when such paintings were most intensively applied on walls. The Italian scenery on the walls of Yıldız Palace, which was Abülhamid's preferred residence, and Dolmabahçe Palace, which was used for imperial receptions, are considered to be exceptionally interesting. In Edirne, images from Italy can be seen on the walls of houses constructed in the early 20th century in the Kaleiçi district, which was heavily populated by non-Muslims, mainly Greeks.

At the Şale Kiosk in Yıldız Palace, paintings in Room No. 5-1, which are attributed to the third stage of construction in 1898, have a striking subject matter. Three of the paintings in this room are landscapes from Italy, and they appear to have been produced from photographs by Tommaso Cuccioni. Cuccioni is mentioned in sources as a cartographer, engraver, and pioneer of photography, and he was active in Rome between 1852 and 1864. He was particularly renowned for his views of Rome. One of the paintings depicts Castel Sant'Angelo (Hadrian's Mausoleum) in Rome (Fig. 1). The photograph and the wall painting include identical details, such as the bridge over the Tiber, the cylindrical main structure, the reflection of the structure on the water, and the statue on the building. A similar example is the painting of another building, identified as Casal Rotondo, the most famous funerary structure on the Via Appia in Rome. A photograph found in the Yıldız Albums provides a close-up view of the building, whereas in the wall painting the structure is placed at the centre of a landscape that extends out into the background. In both the painting and the photograph, the wall material and technique of Casal Rotondo is easily detectacble, while small figures were added to the painting. Another depiction from Italy is the ruins of an ancient temple. There are a number of similarities between the photograph taken by Cuccioni and the painting of the semicircular structure resting on a base, like its grooved columns (Tekinalp 2010: 295).[1]

One of the most important reasons for these images' presence in Room No. 5-1 seems to be the fact that the architect was the Italian-born Raimondo D'Aronco. Moreover, though it could be mere coincidence, Castel Sant'Angelo also has a special place in Ottoman history. After the death of Sultan Mehmed II, his son Cem Sultan (1459-1495) lost the throne to his brother Bayezid, and taking refuge at a few different places, he was subsequently held as a prisoner in Italy for a long period. At first, he stayed at Vatican Palace. But in 1492, as a result of fears that the French king might come to capture Cem, he was transferred to Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, where he was held for almost six years. Considering all these factors and the readily available

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[1] For more details and photographs, see Şahin Tekinalp 2010: 291-299.

visual material at hand, it is not surprising that images from Italy were included in the decorative programme of the room (Tekinalp 2010: 295).

Examples of oil painting began to proliferate in the capital after the mid-1800s, especially in the Dolmabahçe, Beylerbeyi, and Yıldız palaces, where wall paintings were intensively applied. In the *selamlık* (men's quarters) of Dolmabahçe Palace, on the ceiling band of Room 3, there are two views of a volcano that is foreign to Ottoman geography and captures the attention (Fig. 2). The volcano is depicted behind ships and the sea, which occupy the foreground. On the evidence of its geographical and physical features, it can be identified as Vesuvius. In the painting, there is smoke rising from the volcano and lava flowing down its slopes. Vesuvius has erupted at different magnitudes from time to time over the centuries, but due to the eruptions that occurred in 1872 and 1906, the volcano was well known both in Italy and throughout the world (Tekinalp 2011: 62).

It is highly likely that the paintings on the walls of Room 3 were executed during the reign of Abdülhamid II, and especially after the eruptions of Vesuvius in 1872 and 1906. The documents found in the Prime Ministry State Archives are important in supporting this hypothesis. The volcano's eruption seems to have had considerable repercussions in the Ottoman Empire, as well as the world at large. Evidently, it represented not only shocking news of a disaster, but was also a major concern for the Ottoman administration in terms of its diplomatic relations with Italy, as demonstrated by documents concerning the money spent to evacuate Ottoman citizens from the area of Naples. Because the documents are dated to 1906, the paintings must have been done either in 1906 or in the years following the eruption (Tekinalp 2011: 61-69).

The eruption of Vesuvius twice during the lifetime of Abdülhamid II (1872 and 1906) and official concern over the evacuation of Ottoman citizens from Naples point to the significance of the wall paintings, as they effectively bear witness to the era. What is more, in the photograph albums commissioned by Abdülhamid II, there are photos taken in such countries as Germany and France by Giorgio Sommer, who had become famous for recording the eruption of Vesuvius in 1872; this provides clear evidence that the agendas of European countries were being closely followed by the Ottoman Empire. The volcanic eruption of Vesuvius in 1906 hit the headlines in the newspapers of the time together with dramatic photographs, just as had been the case in 1872[2].

The Ottoman Empire had had cultural interactions with Venice, Genoa, and Florence since the 15th century. The interactions and relations between the two countries reached their zenith during the 19th century, when, as part of the innovations introduced by Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839), foreign experts in the technical and military fields were invited to the empire. The array of foreign painters, engineers, and architects also included a number of Italian experts (Sönmez 1996: 245). Moreover, with the spread of the Orientalist movement throughout Europe from the mid-1800s onward, the empire became a centre of attraction for Europeans. In connection with this, the lands of the Ottomans acquired increasing importance for Italian artists (Bossaglia 2007). The political and economic vicissitudes of the times in Italy, along with the French and Austrian occupations, had driven many Italians from their homeland to other countries, mainly Turkish territories. A number of painters are known to have come to Istanbul and worked there during this period.

A number of Italians worked as teaching staff at the Fine Arts Academy (*Sanayi-i Nefise*), which is considered to have been an important step in institutionalising fine arts education in the empire. In examining their life stories it is interesting to note that most of them had connections with the Academy of Fine Arts in Naples (*Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli*). It can thus be claimed that some of these artists, who most probably had visual material and information about this spectacular event affecting Naples, worked on these paintings.

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[2] For more details and photographs, see Şahin Tekinalp 2011: 62-68. 2011.

The Italian landscapes in Edirne are located in two mansions in the Kaleiçi district. Along with successive historical events since the 18th century, such disasters as fires and plague outbreaks had a significant effect on Edirne's history. Although Edirne had often experienced problems, the city's real years of disaster occurred at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries.

Edirne, located in Ottoman Europe, was one of the Ottoman provinces most affected by the wars and migrations that occurred in the Balkans during the collapse of the empire. As a result, Edirne had a very active period at this time, experiencing a constant succession of changes brought on largely by war. In the late 19th century, there were seven Ottoman provinces with territory in Europe: Bosnia, Kosovo, Shkodra, Manastır (Bitola), Janina, Thessalonica, Edirne, and Istanbul (Özey 2002: 5). Being the second most important city in Rumelia (i.e., Ottoman Europe) after Istanbul, Edirne was the centre of the province of Edirne (Özey 2002: 10).

The Kaleiçi district in Edirne was a settlement consisting entirely of wooden houses, and had existed since the early 19th century. The district saw many conflagrations, with the fire in 1903 causing the most substantial damage. Between 1903 and 1907, Kaleiçi was rebuilt according to the 1882 Construction (*Ebniye*) Law. As a result, those houses that feature paintings on their walls were constructed after 1903. These generally plain-looking houses belonged to non-muslims, as the Armenian and Jewish quarters, as well as the Greek quarter that made up the majority, were located mainly in the Kaleiçi district (Balta 1998: 229-253). These houses, designed for Edirne's non-Muslims, share some similarities with the Turkish house in terms of the basic use of such units as the room and the anteroom. Just like traditional Turkish houses, the ceilings are considered an important space of decoration, depending on income level, and decorations are generally applied to the main units of the house (Onur 1990: 66, Güner 2013).
The first of the Edirne Kaleiçi houses whose wall paintings have survived is the house known as the Old Governor's Mansion (*Eski Vali Konağı*), now used by protection commitee (Ministry of Culture).

Although there are no documents concerning its construction, this house is said to have been built by Greeks. Similar to other non-Muslim houses, the entrance of the house opens directly onto the street. The room which bears the wall paintings is on the ground floor overlooking the street and has large windows (Güner 2013: 41).

In the ceiling rose, there are baby angels among the flowing fabrics. Within the large polygonal boards at the same level, there are bouquets of flowers. Circular medallions in the corners of the ceiling feature landscapes. One medallion shows the Fenerbahçe Lighthouse in Istanbul, which was a popular theme in 19th-century artwork. Apart from this medallion, the others show scenes from Italy; namely, St. Mark's Square (Fig. 3, 4), gondolas in front of the silhouette of Venice, and panoramas from Venice with fishermen, all depicted in a romantic manner (Fig. 5, 6). There are no decorations in the other rooms.

Another house with wall paintings is known as the house of İlhan Koman, a world-renowned sculptor. İlhan Koman's father bought the house, which is said to have been built by Greek architects and painters in 1903 upon the request of a Greek doctor named Dimsa (Küçükkaya 1990: 61). The rich decoration of the house, which also contains the doctor's operating room, is striking. The house is in a courtyard, and many of its rooms have ceilings with wall paintings. In the rooms opening onto the anteroom, one can see romantic depictions, ranging from Istanbul panoramas to the Fenerbahçe Lighthouse and from countryside landscapes to seascapes.

In the Koman house, Italian landscapes were preferred in two rooms. In one of the rooms, the compositions, located on the ceiling, focus on architecture and depict the ruins of ancient temples (Fig. 7). Though it could not be exactly determined which temples are depicted, the possibilities include the Parthenon in Athens with its Doric order; the Temple of Concordia or the Temple of Hephaestus in the Valley of the Temples in Sicily; or the Temple of Hera from the ancient Greek city of Paestum in southern Italy (Fig. 8, 9, 10). The building in another

painting is the Hadrian Gate at the Acropolis in Athens. In another room of the house, one of the medallions bears a painting that may depict Capri (Fig. 11, 12).

Apart from important current events, other factors that affected the growing interest in Italy in the Ottoman Empire were Orientalist painters' coming to the Ottoman Empire during the period of mutual interaction and the employment of Italian experts in government agencies. Besides Rome, Naples and ancient sites, Venice had always been the center of attention. In the 19th century, tourism was beginning to increase in importance, and tours to such cities as Alexandria, Naples, Marseilles, Munich, Vienna, Budapest, Istanbul and Damascus were conducted by travel companies, primarily by the company Thomas Cook & Son (Weber 2002: 167). Italy was one of the main actors in the area of tourism. Over the centuries, Venice and Istanbul were two important cities due to their being seaports and keeping Mediterranean trade activities under control. Venice was important because of St. Mark's Basilica, one of the most important and outstanding examples of Byzantine architecture, and the Fondaco dei Turchi, or "Turks' Inn", which served Turkish merchants for about two hundred years after its opening in 1621. Located on the Grand Canal in Venice, it must have been a part of the Ottoman agenda, because it was restored twice in the 19th century (Şakiroğlu 1989).

As for Edirne, documents reveal that the province was important in terms of export and import activities, because of both railways and the ports and harbors of Tekfurdağı, Gallipoli, Dedeağaç, and Karaağaç. The pier in Gallipoli was a stop for ships travelling to and from the Black Sea and the Aegean Sea. In the 19th century, railways provided a further connection between the Ottoman Empire and European countries (Özey 2002: 27). Thus, Edirne had an active trading life thanks to these railways and ports. According to mercantile documents, merchant ships regularly visited the ports of Tekfurdağı and Dedeağaç from such European countries as England, France, Germany, and Italy (Özey 2002: 15-19). In the 1910s, import activities were especially intense in Gümülcine, mainly with goods coming from France, England, and Italy (Berber 2005: 109). Moreover, the documents reveal that there were consulates at Dedeağaç and İnöz in Edirne province, including an Italian consulate. All this evidence shows the connection between Edirne and Italy. Furthermore, Venice, Vienna, and Odessa were all cultural centres for Greeks outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire, while inside the borders the same was true with Istanbul, Thessalonica, and the Aegean islands. It is thus only natural that Greeks who prospered through trade had relations with Italians. Moreover, classical Greek culture and early modern humanism had an impact on local Greeks in those places that were under the cultural influence of Italy and France (Toprak 2015: 2862). In this context, and considering that Greeks interpreted ancient and modern Greek culture in their own architectural designs, it is not surprising that they chose to paint significant ancient temples on their walls. Within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, in the provinces of Damascus and Aintab, scenes from different places – like Paris, Egypt, and India – can be seen in the wall painting repertoire; however, in Edirne, scenes from Italy were preferred, which could be explained as an interest in ancient culture as well as the influence and connection of Istanbul (Weber 2002).

The architects and painters of both houses mentioned above were said to be Greeks, though no documentation to this effect has been found (Berber 2005). Nevertheless, on a document dated 1911 is the name of an architect and painter working in various small towns in Edirne province. On the same document, there are the names of some architects among the artisans of Soufli (Sofulu), including Antonoğlu, Mermingas, and Mendikas; while on the list of artisans in Xanthi (İskeçe), the name of a painter called Evangelidis Mihail appears. Considering that the Kaleiçi district was restored between 1903 and 1907, some of these architects and painters actively working in the area may have taken part in the building projects of these houses (Berber 2005: 120, 124, 128).

The examples briefly introduced above can be regarded as a reflection of interaction in the fine arts, with one of the proofs of this being the wall paintings in buildings used by sultans in Istanbul and by Greeks in Edirne.

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Turkish Abstract

Osmanlı modernleşmesinin resim sanatındaki yansımaları duvar resimleriyle belirginleşmiştir. 18. Yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren ışık, gölge etkileriyle geriye doğru derinlik kavramının öncelikle kitap resimlerinde ardından duvar resimlerinde uygulanmaya başlandığı süreçte resim sanatında Osmanlı belgeleyiciliğinin izleri dikkati çeker. Başkentten Osmanlı sınırlarındaki tüm merkezlere benzer bir programı takip ederek yayılan duvar resimleri, sıva üzerine kök boyalarla tavan eteğini dolanan dar şeritlerden madalyonlar içinde büyük boyutlu yağlıboya betimlemelere ulaşmıştır.

Duvar resimleri repertuarı dikkate alındığında öncelikle manzara ağırlıklı betimlemeler dikkati çekerken dönemin önemli yapılarına odaklanan anlatımlardan dini içerikli resimlere, modern yaşamın unsurlarından ölü doğa betimlemelerine kadar farklı konular tercih edilmiştir. Belgeleme amacının devam ettiği kompozisyonlar incelendiğinde yenilikleri ve değişimleriyle dönemin yansıması takp edilebilmektedir. Yandan çarklı gemilerden buharlı gemilere ve 19. Yüzyılda zırhlı korvetlere varan modernleşme izleri ve sanayileşmenin simgeleri olan fabrikalar bize yenidünyadan haberler verirken duvar resimlerinin kimi zaman iletişim aracı gibi ele alındığını düşündürebilir.

Başkent İstanbul' da Dolmabahçe ve Yıldız Sarayları' ndaki betimlemeler dışında, özellikle Edirne'de yer alan konutlarda dikkati çeken İtalya betimlemeleri ele alınacaktır. St. Angelo Kalesi'nden Vezüv yanardağına, gondollu manzaralardan San Marco görünümlerine kadar İtalya' dan kesitler içeren duvar resimlerinin varlığı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile İtalya arasındaki yüzyıllardır süren ilişkinin derinliğini de kanıtlamaktadır.

Bu araştırmada iki devlet arasındaki ilişkilerin sonucunda, başta İstanbul ve Edirne'de tercih edilen imgeler tanıtılıp değerlendirilmiştir.

Biographical note

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Fig. 1 – Istanbul, Yıldız Palace,
Şale Kösk, ceiling. View of Castel
Sant'Angelo (Hadrian's
Mausoleum) in Rome
(©Pelin Şahin Tekinalp)

Fig. 2 – Istanbul, Dolmabahçe Palace, Selamlık, ceiling.
View of the Mount Vesuvius, Naples
(©Pelin Şahin Tekinalp)

Fig. 3 – Edirne, Kaleiçi, Old Governor's Mansion,
ceiling. View of St Mark's Square in Venice
(©Pelin Şahin Tekinalp)

Fig. 4 – Venice,
view of St Mark's Square

Fig. 5 – Edirne Kaleiçi, Old Governor's Mansion,
ceiling. A view of Venice
(©Pelin Şahin Tekinalp)

Fig. 6 – Edirne Kaleiçi, Old Governor's Mansion,
ceiling. A view of Venice
(©Pelin Şahin Tekinalp)

Fig. 7 – Edirne Kaleiçi, House of İlhan Koman, ceiling.
View of the Temple of Hera at Paestum, Salerno
(©Pelin Şahin Tekinalp)

Fig. 8 – Paestum (Salerno), Temple of Poseidon at Paestum
(after Janson 1995: fig. 167)

Fig. 9 – Edirne Kaleiçi,
House of İlhan Koman, ceiling.
View of the Temple of Juno (?) in the
Valley of the Temples at Agrigento, Sicily
(©Pelin Şahin Tekinalp)

Fig. 10 – Edirne Kaleiçi, House of İlhan Koman, ceiling.
View of the Faraglioni of Capri (?)
(©Pelin Şahin Tekinalp)

Fig. 11 – Capri (Naples). I Faraglioni
(©V. Macit Tekinalp)

Fig. 12 – Edirne Kaleiçi, House of İlhan Koman, ceiling.
View of the Gate of Hadrian and the Parthenon at Athens (©Pelin Şahin Tekinalp)

CLOCKS AND BAKSHEESH
ART PRESENTS BETWEEN FOREIGN PRINCES
AND THE OTTOMAN COURT (15TH- 17TH CENTURIES)

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Descriptions of Divan receptions including exchange of presents appear in most of the reports of diplomats sent to the Ottoman court. Presents and gifts bear a symbolic and and political meaning: they may be a sign of submission or respect to a more prestigious sovereign, a recognition of status – a tribute or *honorarium-* (Mraz 1980: 38), gifts offered on specific occasions (enthronement of the sultan, circumcision of his sons, appointment of a vizier) or exchanges of 'civilities' between sovereigns considering themselves of equal ranking; in some cases emergency gifts were distributed to excuse a mistake or an incident (Fabris 1990).

Bertrandon de La Broquière, in 1433, accompanying an ambassador of Milan to the Ottoman sultan in Edirne noted that the Turks don't speak to ambassadors who don't bring presents (Bertrandon de La Broquière 1892: 192). Luigi Bassano, a merchant in Constantinople in the years 1532-1540, who also played a role of informant, wrote: "if the friendly ambassadors were not bringing very rich presents to the Grand Turk and to the Pashas, they would never have been granted an audience, nor a good reception, nor even be allowed to kiss the hand of the Grand Turk" (Bassano 1963: 54).

Ambassadors on their leave were also receiving grants symbolizing good relations with their country (Wicquefort 1690). Gifts were not framed in a regulated structure and were mainly customs, the frontier between ransoms, presents, bribes and purchases are sometimes difficult to fix (Raby 2007), but they were necessary to maintain good relations as points Cristoforo Valier, *bailo* at Constantinople in 1615, in his report to the Venetian Senate.

The catalogues of presents of the Topkapı seraglio include presents brought after mid 17th century. We have to refer to western reports for earlier periods.

1. *Gifts between Princes*

Following the disastrous battle of Nicopolis (1396), the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, to redeem his son, John the Fearless, imprisoned in Bursa, had to pawn his golden crockery and his diamonds to gather 200.000 florins from bankers; he sent hawks and gyrfalcons, carried on gauntlets covered of pearls and gems, fine cloths of Reims, saddles inlaid with ivory and gold, tapestries made in Arras depicting the conquests of Alexander. For a while the king of Hungary, Sigismund of Luxemburg, halted the convoy, considering the presents too prestigious for a Muslim rulers, except the hawks," who can lightly fly from a country to another: they are early given and early lost" (Froissard 1867: 274-282).

In the first half of the 16th century, the Venetians appear the most lavish regarding making presents of the marvels of their production of luxury crafts for the Padishah and his viziers-generally materials and silk and golden fabrics, velvet, purple cloth, silver, hawks and birds of prey, fashionable small dogs, sweets of any kind, luxury wax, games and gallantries (Baschet 1862: xv). Thus, in April 1530, the Venetian Senate decided to give 2000 ducats in golden and silk fabrics for the circumcision of Süleyman's sons. The ambassadors should bring to Süleyman a portable chair that the Venetian merchants made in 1532, covered with pearls and golden cloth, with a helmet of gold and gems (Postel: 4; Necipoğlu 1989).

Turkish interest for the representation of the world appears in requests: in 1520, a planisphere is sent to Grand Vizier Piri Mehmet at his request; another one is specially

manufactured for Süleyman's son, Beyazıt in 1554 (Fabris 1991: 56). When starting diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire, the French envoys follow the Venetians: in 1529, the envoy offers a small crystal casket with ten "very beautiful" rosaries offered to Ibrahim pasha (Kretschmayr 1896: 86). In 1540, the French envoy Rincon brings to Rüstem pasha a very beautiful and rich globe (*mappamondo*), specially made in Venice, with an explanation booklet (Charrière 1848: I). In 1547 the French Ambassador Aramon, brought to Süleyman a huge clock made in Lyon, including a fountain which would pour water for 12 hours, inlayed with numerous gemstones, worth fifteen thousand ducats, as well as cloth of gold and silver, sheets from the Low Countries, velvet, satin, damasks, scarlet cloth from Paris (Chesneau 1887: 17). In 1564, the French Ambassador Petremol wrote to French King Charles IX that he should send presents to the new Sultan, following his enthronement, and with a new ambassador to replace him, clocks, hunting dogs, golden cloths, silver dishes without human representation (Charrière: II, 466-467). In 1533, the ambassador of Sigismund of Poland, André Tęczyński, brings to Süleyman, in present, two cups of vermeil and a clepsydra (Von Gevay 1841: II, 119).

On the contrary, when Emperor Charles V sends envoys in 1533-34 and again in 1545-1547, he is concerned that presents would take the meaning of political tribute, which indirectly would place him in an inferior situation vis-à-vis Süleyman (Gachard & Piot 1881: 489). When his envoy Cornelius de Schepper reaches Istanbul in 1534, the *çavuş* who meets him immediately asks whether he brings presents on behalf of the Emperor, but as instructed Cornelius declares that he was not sent by the Emperor but by Ferdinand, who had to provide presents as needed (Von Gevay 1841: II). Charles' brother, Ferdinand, quite keen to reach a compromise on Hungary, sends ambassadors who will have to show an increased generosity. In 1533, Hieronimo de Zara offers to Ibrahim pasha a golden ring, with a huge diamond, a robin and a pearl in the shape of pear, a gift which softens Ibrahim's mood (De Schepper 1856). In 1540, Laski suggests to Ferdinand's advisors, to give presents of sables to the pashas publicly and some money secretly; but Ferdinand would limit himself to visible presents: hawks, hunting dogs, golden and silk cloths - but the last ones should not be proposed (Von Gevay, 1841:, 70). In May 1545, Gioanmaria Malvezzi, envoy of Ferdinand, suggests that no money should be offered to the Sultan, but well to grand vizier Rüstem pasha, as well as golden jewels with gems to Rüstem pasha's wife, daughter of Süleyman and to Hürrem Sultan (*Austro-Turcica,* 1995: 56-58).

Years passing, pashas and dragomans were pressing for more presents. In 1529-1533, Ibrahim pasha repeatedly asked the Venetian *bailo* Piero Zen diamonds, cheese of Piacenza, muscatel wine, sweets, candles, an iron cassette and a lectern for the mufti, and strongly insisted to get one of the horns of unicorns of Venice (Sanudo 1529, 1530 and 1533) . Later, Grand Vizier Sokullu Mehmet pasha also comes back requesting clocks in 1567, 1573, and 1576, from the Habsburg. In 1569, the Venetian *bailo* Marcantonio Barbaro presses the Signoria to send 900 glass lamps of Murano asked by Sokullu Mehmet pasha, an organ asked by Piyale Ali Pasha, Murano stained-glass windows for the summerhouse of the Janissary agha at Eaux-Douces, embossed leather for the dragoman Ibrahim bey. In 1578, Sokullu Mehmet asks again window glasses, golden fabrics, the portraits of the Ottoman emperors from the Venetians. In 1586, the Venetian *bailo* Lorenzo Bernardo offers stained-glass windows and sand clocks for a mosque funded by the Grand Vizier Siyavuş pasha (Fabris 1991: 53; Raby 2007: 104; Yriarte 1874: 85).

In 1580, the German envoys bring silver crockery worth 3-4000 crowns, i.e. 4 clocks, a fountain, 2 flower vases, a casket, 18 cups, - not included secrete gifts for the pashas, esteemed at least 1000 crowns (Charrière: III, 861). To congratulate Lala Mustafa pasha for his appointment as Grand Vizier, in May 1580, the Spanish envoy, Mariglian, offers him two cups in rock-crystal, inlayed with gold, one representing a tortoise, the other one a slug, and golden fabrics, worth 10.000 crowns (Charrière: III, 912).

In 1582, for the solemn circumcision of the *shehzade* Mehmet, foreign princes were invited to attend or to be represented. According to the French traveler Palerne, the Venetians offered silver and vermeil crockery and clothes; the Poles, a sword inlayed with gems; the Ragusans, silver cups and wax candles; the Persians, two Korans bound with in leather pearls and carpets; the Tartars, sable furs, etc. The French king, Henry III, wrote to his Ambassador that he did not find "decent" to offer presents as a tributary nor to send a representative to an event contrary to his religion and to God's law. The lodge prepared for the French Ambassador for the feast on the Hippodrome remained empty; nevertheless the French king sent a clock with 28 silver bells, playing four pieces of music which the Sultan did not find suitable from a king who "claimed to be so great a sovereign" (Charrière 1848: IV, 7 ; Palerne 1991: 278-282; Kurz 1975: 26).

Presents from Iran or India are more composed of animals and gems. In 1505, an ambassador of Shah Ismail sent to Istanbul brings presents including four elephants, but the sultan Beyazıt refused the hand-kissing, under the pretext that the Shah had served pork to the Turkish ambassador (Sanudo: VI, 221). When the Gujarat Sultan Bahadur Shah pressed for Turkish assistance against the Portuguese, his envoy brought to Süleyman a jacket of golden thread, inlayed of pearls and buttons of diamonds; a belt of gold and gems, an imperial crown of gold and gems (De Barros 1615: 356). In 1547, an ambassador of the Indian rajah Alâeddin brought to Süleyman colourful parrots, spices and perfumes, balms, eunuchs and black slaves – among them a cannibal who was given afterward to the head executioner, who fed him with offal of the condemned persons and let him drink their blood (*sic*, Engin 1998: 101).

In return, horses are frequently given by the Turks to their allies. In 1553, Süleyman, to obtain the extradition of his son and his grandsons refugee in Iran, sent to Shah Tahmasp: two swords and ten belts inlayed with gold, ruby and turquoise, a kaftan inlayed with buttons of ruby, seven golden trays, six golden decanters, 46 cups of vermeil, 30 silver trays, a number of velvet pieces and other fabrics from Bursa and Europe (Turan 1998; Uzunçarşılı 1960). In 1530 Süleyman sends to François I: "a naturalized beast in the skin of a crocodile, with seven heads, [and] three beautiful Turkish horses harnessed according to the fashion of the country, of which one was bay like deer hair, the biggest of its race which man had ever seen" (Bourrilly 1913: 271). In 1532, Barbarossa sends an envoy to Francis I, with a superb lion and freed Christian slaves, while Virginio Orsini, a commander on the French fleet was giving Barbarossa silver plates and silk (Bourilly 1913: 279; Sánchez García 2014: 20). At the end of 1534, Serafin de Gozo, a Ragusan acting as a messenger, brings to the French king three Turkish horses offered by Ibrahim pasha (Bourrilly 1913: 280). In 1538, on his way to France, he is arrested and sent to Naples: he was bringing an unusual big turquoise among other presents for the French king (Bourrilly 1901: 307). In 1547, the Shah's brother, refugee in Istanbul, gets nineteen horses with saddles inlayed with gold and gems (*Austro-Turcica* 1995: 159-160).

A century later, the British diplomat Ricaut notes that, after receiving the presents of the Imperial ambassador, the Sultan sends back presents of an "equal value" to the Emperor, but the Sultan would consider "his right" to receive presents from the envoys of England, France and Netherlands, but not to give back presents, as the commercial capitulations were already granting privileges to the merchants of these countries (Ricaut 1670: 270). A hundred years later, in 1777, the gifts brought to the Polish King Stanisław August Poniatowski by the Ottoman envoy Numan Bey, were considered rather cheap by the Polish courtiers: harnesses, gears and saddle-bows for horses; blankets for saddles; three stallions[1]; two bottles of aloes oil; 60 bales of Istanbul and Halep fabrics; 10 Algerian carpets.

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[1] Kind communication of Prof. Tadeusz Majda.

The visit of the Ottoman Ambassador, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi, to France, in 1721, led to an unequal exchange of gifts, reflecting the differences in economic and artistic evolution. Mehmed Efendi gave to the young king Louis XV two small Arab horses, a quiver, muslin and golden fabrics and bottles of Mecca balsam (which became fashionable for Marquess of Pompadour). When Mehmed Efendi left, he was proposed a portrait of the king decorated with diamonds, but refused arguing that "we [the Turks] are not allowed to have portraits", and got instead a clip of diamonds and emeralds, two big mirrors, four carpets made at the Savonnerie factory, three chests, two desks and book shelves inlayed with bronze, a gun and a couple of pistols inlayed with gold, a copper casket, two china vases for ice and sugar, two big clocks, watches and tobacco boxes. Mehmed Efendi's son, Sait, who later came back to Paris as an Ottoman ambassador, also got a clock and pistols. In his official report to the Grand Vizier, Mehmet Efendi reduced the number of items, as he wanted to keep some of them for himself (Mehmet Efendi 1981: 100, 161, 212, 218 and 235).

In 1728, the new French Ambassador, marquis de Villeneuve, left Marseilles with two vessels, full of presents: furniture in exotic timbers with bronze engravings, chandeliers, clocks, silver weapons, china and Japanese porcelains, watches, tobacco boxes, spectacles, jewels, knives, clothes of all kinds (Vandal 1887: 76). In 1816, the French Ambassador presents to Mahmud II weapons made in Versailles, Sevres china, big mirrors, crystals, precious cloths (Marcellus 1839: I, 75).

It seems that, since the 15th century, there is a kind of incremental not to say inflationary process in bringing presents to the Ottoman administration, starting with the most expensive presents to the Sultan but up to a quantity of cheaper gifts for people lower in the hierarchy. Of course, the presents these latter got were not registered in official Topkapı notebooks. To a certain extent, these presents were used as commercial promotions of products which could find a market in the Ottoman Empire.

Special mention should be made of the presents brought to the mother or the wife of the Sultan, from mid-16th century. Requests by Nûr Banû, mother of Murad III, to the Venetians, and of Safiye Sultan, his wife, to Queen Elizabeth, are known. Nûr Banû, as she was of Venetian origin, got a special treatment from Venice: in 1583, the Senate decided to offer her 2000 ducats for her good services to the Republic, and satisfied most of her requests for silk, satin, and golden fabrics (Pierce 1993: 220-228; Raby 2007: 99-100). In 1579, Catherine of Medicis, curious of the power of women in Turkey, offered fans with golden mirrors made in Paris for the "Sultane" and for the wife of Sokullu Mehmet pasha (Charrière 1848: t. 3, 841). Later she sent a clock to Nur-Banu, but when the present reached Istanbul, the latter had died; the French Ambassador, Germigny, decided to give the clock to the Grand Vizier, as it was a German clock of lesser repute including human figures; other clocks were foreseen for the *haseki*. In return Catherine of Medicis asked Germigny to send her one or two small dwarves "*bien formés*" (well shaped) (Charrière 1848: IV, 275).

2. *Clocks as Symbol of Political Power: the control of time*

In October 1535, Yunus bey, Süleyman's dragoman, travels to Esztergom meeting Nogarole, Ferdinand's envoy, and immediately claims 1000 ducats that the earlier envoys Schepper and Zara had promised to him on behalf of Ferdinand. He suggests that after the return of Süleyman to Istanbul, Ferdinand sends other ambassadors with some present, not of gold or silver, because he had enough, but something somewhat gracious or something new and well worked.[2] We can understand from these discussions that the interest in Constantinople was

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[2] "Qualche presente ma non de oro ne argento perche lui ne ha assai mai de qualche gentileza o qualche cosa nova ben lavorata". Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, SEA 768 f° 116-123.

for newly developed clocks. Yunus bey himself got clocks: in 1540, one of his clocks was sent or brought by the French ambassador Rincon to Venice, where the French envoy Pellicier, took care of the repair and sent it back in a better condition that it was before (Zeller 1887, 167). In November 1546, Veltwijck observes that the fugitive Rogendorff gave to Yunus bey a clock which is worth hundred guilders" (*Austro-Turcica* 1995). What Yunus bey hinted to Nogarole is clearly the taste for clocks and globes.

According to Kurz and Vernet, until the 12-13th centuries, water clocks and mechanical technologies were exported from Byzantium and from the Muslim world to Western Europe, which in the 15-16th centuries turned a manufacturer and exporter of clocks and watches to the Middle East. After Constantinople's conquest, Mehmet II asked the Venetians a painter, a glassmaker and a clockmaker (Kurz 1975: 7, 11, 20).

The scarcity of clocks in the Ottoman Empire is noted by travelers, like Ferdinand's envoy Ghislain of Busbecq. Busbecq, who carries watches and clocks he sets up to awake at a proper time, at the surprise of the Turkish soldiers he meets, writes that Turks, although interested in inventions of foreigners, as cannons and mortars, "cannot, however, be induced as yet to use printing, or to establish public clocks, because they think that the Scriptures, that is their printed books would no longer be scriptures if they were printed, and that, if public clocks were introduced, the authority of their muezzins and their ancient rites would be impaired". However, in 1559, the gifts he brought to Süleyman included "a clock of skilful workmanship, which was mounted like a tower on the back of an elephant"; other clocks were offered to Ali pasha in 1561 (Busbecq 1646: 48, 200 and 432; Charrière 1848: II, 666).

The Venetians offered Süleyman a ring containing in its bezel a miniaturized watch, attributed to the watchmaker Giovan Giorgio Capobianco of Chios (Sanudo: LV; Brusa 1990). In 1541, Nicolas de Salm and Sigmund von Herberstein, Ferdinand's ambassadors, amaze Süleyman with a golden clock inlayed with gems, having all motions of spheres or globes with a prodigious very minute engineering (Giovio 1570: II, 486; Garzoni 1638; Centorio degli Hortensii 1566). In 1558, the French Ambassador de La Vigne asks his colleague in Venice for ringing watches to be carried by Süleyman while hunting. The Venetian *bailo* had also ordered some watches from Paris, the only ones Süleyman liked. King Henry II agreed to send seven small watches, but warned La Vigne, that watches were not so easily made (Charrière 1848: t. 2, 432 and 444).

In 1540, the French sent a clock maker, Master Guillaume, who became very familiar to Süleyman who granted him wages; he also served as messenger, carrying urgent diplomatic mail to Venice or France. He died in Venice on duty (Zeller 1880: 168; *Austro-Turcica ,* 160-163, Chesneau:19 and 215-218; Ronchini 1848: 208; Charrière 1848: I, 615-616). In 1564, Süleyman let the clockmaker Jean Le Coustançois visit his family in France but urged his return to Constantinople, or that the French king send another clockmaker, as there was none other in Istanbul (Charrière: II, 766). At the end of his first stay in Istanbul, in 1545, Rüstem pasha told the imperial envoy Veltwijck: "Return fast and bring me clocks, so that everything will well proceed". Rüstem reiterated to Justo de Argento, who was accompanying Veltwijck, that Ferdinand send him two or three small clocks, as well as a very good watch-maker master for the sultan because the one appointed by the Venetians had died (*Austro-Turcica* 1995: 184-190). Back from his mission with a peace agreement, at the end of 1547, Veltwijck wrote to Ferdinand: "About the appointment of a master clockmaker for the prince of Turks, we could examine with H.M. the Emperor if he likes that he is sent on behalf of the emperor or on behalf of V.M. It would be very useful that he understands Italian because of the others were Italians trained by the first clockmaker. The Turk indeed takes an enormous pleasure in the mechanical arts, in which the Germans are very experts." (*Austro-Turcica* 1995: 192-196) However, the emperor did not agree to commit in presents, considered as a tribute of vassal (*Austro-Turcica* 1995, 209). In 1548, Ferdinand sent Justin de Argento for confirmation of the peace concluded the year before, bringing, besides the instruments of ratification, according

to the wishes of Rüstem, four clocks and a watch-maker master, all costing 40.440 gold ducats. Of the four clocks brought, two were delivered to Rüstem pasha, one to Yunus bey, another one to the kapıağa. The first watchmaker who joined Justin did not want to stay, and another one had to be urgently sent, who, besides his professional know-how, should have some additional knowledge rendering him more useful (*Austro-Turcica* 1995: 230-236). Malvezzi, the new envoy of Ferdinand, wrote that Süleyman isolated himself with the watchmaker. In December 1550, Haydar pasha asked Malvezzi for a small clock which beats the hours. He was satisfied (*Austro-Turcica* 1995: 535, 539, 571).

Crystal clocks were brought by Gerlach in 1573, Schweigger in 1578; in 1590, a clock like a tower with singing birds was brought. In 1592, Wenceslas Wratislaw, accompanying Rudolph II's ambassador, Herr von Kregwitz, lists twelve clocks brought for presents, of which five for the Sultan he describes; the diplomatic mission had to wait that clocks were completed and brought from Augsburg before leaving (Wratislaw 1862: 51-52 and 63-64). Kurz notes that clocks were sent every year from Vienna's court, mainly manufactured at Augsburg, becoming more and more sophisticated over the time, each one of a new design including astronomical data, sometimes hunted and hunters, lions, sometimes with crescents, once representing a galleon, but representation of human beings or even animals were prohibited (Kurz 1975: 30-42; Mraz 1980: 43).

In 1579, the French Ambassador Germigny, along various clothes, brought a clock with planetarium for the sultan ringing every quarter, another one representing a tower for the grand vizier Sokullu Mehmet pasha, a watch with rubies and emeralds for Mehmed's son, another clock for the first dragoman, Oram bey, and a big one for Rabbi Salomon, first doctor of the sultan (Germigny 1622: 1048-1049). The Captan pasha, Uluç Ali, got a "beautiful and big clock", worth more than 500 crowns. Sokullu Mehmet Pasha, ten days later, asked Germigny an "*horloge en forme sférique*" (a globe) for the Sultan. Ibrahim, Agha of the Janissaries, requested small oval ringing watches, which could be hung as a brooch on a turban, for the sultan's heir, Mehmet (future Mehmet III), and for himself. In 1580, Germigny offered the new Grand Vizier Mustafa pasha a "beautiful and big clock showing the months, the days, the hours and the zodiac, which he accepted with a show of affection" (Charrière 1848: t. 3, 907). In 1584, when Germigny was called back to France, he waited to pay his last visit to the Grand Vizier that the spherical clock brought to Istanbul by the son of the King's clockmaker be repaired to be presented.

England followed the fashion: in 1583, the first British ambassador in Constantinople, William Harborne, gave a clock, which "*was a forest with trees of silver, among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horseback following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine ore on barrows; on the toppe of the clock stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these were of silver. And the clocke was round beset with jewels*" (Kurz 1975: 42). In 1595, Sir Edward Barton, the *chargé*, suggested that Queen Elizabeth send a clock in form of a cock (Kurz 1975: 43; Yıldız 2006). Queen Elizabeth, wishing to strengthen the alliance with the Turks against the Spaniards but also favour British merchants, decided to send an organ decorated with a mechanical clock. In September 1599, the factor, Thomas Dallam, reached Istanbul and built the organ in a kiosk of Topkapı seraglio, which had seen the strangulation of nineteen brothers of Mehmet III. The Ambassador delivered a present for the Sultana, a coach of 600 pounds value. When the organ was inaugurated in front of Mehmet III, in attendance of British diplomats and merchants, the sultan, accompanied by a crowd of hundreds of courtiers, janissaries, dumb dwarves, "being seated in his chair of estate, commanded silence. All being quiet, and no noise at all, the present began to salute the Grand Sinyor… first the clock stroke 22; then the chime of 16 bells went off and played a song of 4 parts. That being done, two personages which stood upon to corners of the second storey, holding two silver trumpets in their hands, did lift them to their heads, and sounded a *tantarra*. Than the music went of, and the organ played a song of 5 parts twice over. In the

top of the organ, being 16 feet high, did stand a holy bush full of black birds and thrushes, which at the end of the music did sign and shake their wings." Dallam got 45 gold coins from the Sultan (Bent 1893; Mayes 1956).

Mustafa Safi, the imam of Sultan Ahmet I, son and successor of Mehmet III, wrote that Ahmet found that the instrument was contrary to the sharia and to reason, and because it was an invention of the infidels, he ordered it to be chopped by axes and the pieces burnt (Yıldız 2006: 929). This reaction can be compared to the attitude taken vis-à-vis the efforts of Takiyeddin, who, aware of Western developments in astronomy and supported by Grand Vizier Sokullu Mehmet Pasha, developed an astronomic clock (*bengâm-ı rasad*), and also tried to manufacture pocket watches. But such interference did not please the religious class who was mastering the religious calendar, nor the *müneccim başı* or chief astrologer, who was a high official of the seraglio. After Sokullu's murder (1579), the ulema class obtained that Takiyeddin's observatory and instruments were destroyed (Ünver 1969; Adıvar 1982: 100-109; Tekeli 1966).

This reaction may explain why the Ottomans waited till the 19th century, the Tanzimat period, to build clock-towers in Dolmabahçe (Yıldız 2006: 931) or in Izmir and Cairo. This let show that clocks were reserved for private use of the sovereign or rich officials, while the calculation of time for prayers was reserved to religious officials.

If no more organ appears to have been offered, clocks continued to be fashionable until the 19th century: eleven offered by Venice in 1670, to favour peace discussions after the end of the Cretan war (Fabris, 53); "a very curious clock which marked hours, minutes, the moon's moves, temperature and seasons' variations » brought by French Ambassador Nointel in 1692, along with a big mirror (La Motraye 1727: t. 1. 222, 270). The registers of gifts of the Topkapı seraglio mention clocks given by the khan of Crimea as well as by the French ambassador in 1710, along with binoculars, mirrors and cloths[3].

In 1587-89, the German traveller Reinhold Lubenau noted the presence of Western clockmakers and jewelers in Galata, "for the most part young people who return to Europe as soon as they have made some money". Mid 17th century, Evliya Çelebi distinguishes the manufacturers of minutes glasses – *esnâf-ı kum saatçıyân*, whose shops are close to the shops of the cartographers and of the compass makers, from the proper clockmakers; the latter's' 45 shops employed 1000 people, "who need to know 12 scientific books to be able to make *German*, *Spanish*, *French*, *Janpetro*, *Kasper*, *Bülbül* ("nightingale") and *Yusuf Çelebi* clocks (Evliya Çelebi 1996: 163 a 15 and 186 b15). At the same period, in 1648 in Istanbul, the French Monconys, joined by the Genevan clockmaker Violier, attends the manufacturing of a very strange chemical clock made with saltpetre of lead, vitriol and alum (Monconys 1665). Most of the watchmakers were Calvinist Genevan and French Huguenots; Jean-Jacques Rousseau's father worked for a while in Istanbul. Voltaire, around 1760, supported a small clock- and watchmaker workshop in his castle of Ferney, exporting to the Ottoman Empire. The British manufacturers started to compete with them from 1640 onwards through the Levant Company; the success of English watches and clocks was such that Genevan clockmakers started to counterfeit them and dump the prices (Babel 1927 ; David 2002; Kurz 1975: 47-49, 71; Yıldız 2006: 933-942). The presence of clockmakers in other Ottoman cities like Sofia, Tripoli (of Lebanon) or Cairo is mentioned (Kurz 1975, 47-49; Gradeva). In 1699, La Motraye accompanies a clockmaker to repair clocks in Topkapı Harem; they are guided by a black eunuch while women are hiding. English clocks; clocks incrusted of nacre, pearls, gold and silver, the presents of western Ambassadors (La Motraye 1727: I, 220-224). Around 1750 Flachat, a French merchant, gets acquainted with the Kızlar ağası who owned several marvelous English pendulums; he makes a special clock for him, showing days, months,

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[3] TSMA.D . Defter No 2353, Defter Seri No 103, 1122 (1710)

movements of the moon and planets. He adds that Turks prefer that clock dials bear Arab numbers and don't include human representations (Flachat 1766: 261-270).

3. *Grants, Baksheesh , "Mangeries"*

By the end of the 17th century, the interest for clock seems to have diminished: in 1680, the kâhya (secretary general of the Divan) refuses "a rare pendulum, an excellent gold watch, and a long Perspective glasse" offered by the British Ambassador Finch; he would prefer cash money (Abbott1920, 318).

In the 15th century, the Venetian ambassador in Constantinople was authorized to disburse 500 ducats in favour of the officials with whom he would handle peace discussions. In the same period, the Venetian envoys could spend 400 ducats for the chancellor of the duke of Burgundy, 100 for that of the duke of Milan, up to 10.000 ducats for the Pope or with the Emperor's officials (Queller 1967: 94). Inflation across the years hit their contribution. The defterdar Mahmud Çelebi, during the 1532 Hungarian campaign, asks the Venetian *bailo* jackets of purple cloth of London worth ducats 200 and glass, authorising in exchange the Venetian orders of saltpetre (Sanudo: t. 56, 402). In 1541, the Venetians gave Lûtfi bey 10.000 ducats or maybe more to help the conclusion of a peace with the Republic (Charrière 1848: t. 1, 471-472). French Ambassador Petremol, in 1564, esteems that Ambassadors of Venice and of the Emperor were spending 25-30.000 crowns per year in presents to the Sultan and his pashas (Charrière 1848: t. 2, 767). Back from Constantinople, the Venetian *bailo* Lorenzo Bernardo stated in 1587: "Money is like the wine: the doctors recommend both to men in good health and to sick persons: you must give the Turk presents while the relations with him are good; it is still necessary to give presents when they are very bad". In 1619, the ambassador of Spain in Venice Bedmar esteemed at 400.000 ducats the sums annually distributed in Constantinople, which gives an indication on the inflation rate (Nys 1884). In 1680, Finch reports that the British, Venetian and Dutch merchants decided to stop trading with Istanbul and Izmir, due to the inflated amount of bribes asked by officials (Abbott 319).

Similarly, the instructions of the Ragusan ambassadors also contain details on the amount of the bonuses to be granted to the pashas up to the smallest secretary, who may be presented with a cup (Biegman 1967: 38).

In 1540, the French envoy Rincon spends 1190 crowns in presents, gifts and baksheesh to viziers and pashas, cloth and dresses in carmine velvet, silk, damask or satin – "in order to refresh the affection of high Turkish official for the service and the business of the French king and to calm them about the passage of the Emperor through France", a gold chain for the first doctor of Süleyman, dresses of black velvet and green satin for the Yunus bey, as well as 500 crowns on the 1000 which had been promised to him for each year, and also for his secretary- translator; money for *çavuş* and *kapıcı*, *saki*, musicians, janissaries, at the time of *bayram,* for their wedding or their son's circumcision- to Lutfi pasha, Mehmed pasha, Süleyman pasha, (Charrière 1848, t. I, 474-485; Bourrilly 1901: 299, 302-303).

Schepper in 1533 writes: "our *çavuş* came to towards us, saying that çavuş pasha, the captain of the çavus, had told him he would be happy if we would send him some present. We were marveled by the shamelessness of these people, and nevertheless sent him hundred ducats". Veltwijck, Ambassador of Charles V, in the report on the expenses he made during his mission in 1545, complains about *"mangeries* (extraordinary expenses) which proceed of bad customs and exorbitant corruption which are so big in Turkey", and which indeed represent up to 45 % of the cost of the mission: "As far as it concerns the money, I spared the best I could. But none would believe the bad customs of this country, and other corruptions carried by others, who happened to be in trouble, as they don't know how to fulfil their promises, nor to follow the train they have started."

In his expense statement he adds that Yunus bey first dragoman of Turk, says that each Ambassador to the Porte should give him five hundred crowns, plus silk and velvet cloth. Kasım Bey, the second dragoman of the Turk says that he is entitled to two hundred ducats from each Ambassador, plus silk and velvet clothes. "Yunus bey did not fail to complain and press me to write letters in which that I should make recommendations to the emperor touching his right."[4] When the successor of Yunus bey as first dragoman, in 1551, the Polish *mahometised* Joachim Strasz alias Ibrahim bey. Started his job, he visited the Venetian *bailo*, Bernardo Navagero, and told him he had found the notebook where Yunus bey had written all the grants he was getting from the foreign princes envoys, and none was paying as much as the Venetians; Ibrahim wished it would continue (Alberi 1842).

Bribes of course were not unknown in Western Europe - Cardinal Wolsey, in London, subsidised both by Charles V and Francis I (14.500 pounds a year from the latter); advisors of Charles V by the dukes of Bavaria (Salinas 1903: 558 and 608). The corruption and the "purchase" of Secretaries are considered normal by Wicquefort in his treaty on diplomacy. Bistra Cvetkova considers that gifts by foreign envoys to officials in the Ottoman Empire may have been a survival of a Byzantine tradition, the μειλίγματα (Cvetkova 1962: 254).

4. *Farewell gifts*

The ambassadors received presents of departure a dolman or caftan and a grant, during a public solemn reception where he would receive official letters for his lord (Dilger 1967: 96-100): Caftan also given by the Persian court (see Petis de La Croix 1810: 46-47). In 1546, the French ambassador, Aramon, left incognito in 1546, Veltwijck writes, not to be pursued by his creditors of Pera.

On 3rd January 1534, Vespasiano de Zara, gets a caftan worth dix florins et and 2000 aspers (40 ducats). (Von Gevay: II, 108). On 22th June 1533, Schepper receives a çavuş bringing a leather bag with 10.000 aspers (=2000 crowns or 200 ducats), silver cups and a velvet caftan inlayed of gold; similar caftans were given to the assistants of Schepper (De Schepper). In 1534, although the negotiation failed, Schepper received nevertheless two dresses of golden cloth, a silver ewer three silver cups, weighing together three marks (he esteems the value 200 ducats). In 1541, at the end of a short and unsuccessful negotiation, count Salm and Herberstein were sent back, with two kaftans, silk cloth and 6000 aspers (100 ducats) (Von Hammer: V, 170).

The Venetian Ambassadors were obliged to turn back the gifts they had received to the Signoria which had adopted tough laws on the issue, considering that gifts were a kind of corruption ((Perret, 1896: II, 289 ; Reumont 1857: 224).

On the reverse, presents were given to the Turkish ambassadors by the Seigneury: in 1484, present of a dress of golden fabrics of 200 ducats to the Turkish envoy and a scarlet dress to his servant. However Venetian hospitality towards foreign agents disappears in the first half of the 16th century, with the multiplication of these agents (Adair 1929: 256).

In the defrayal of the outbound ambassadors the Turkish practice looks very similar to the European (Anderson 1993: 32-34).

[4] Bruxelles, AGR Secrétairerie allemande 781, f° 99-106.

Conclusion

We can observe across the centuries the trends of an evolution:
   – 1395-1540: Fabrics, cloths, clepsydra, silver & vermeil crockery, hunting dogs, hawks (till the beginning of 17th century like in the mission of French Ambassador Gontaud-Biron (Dangus 1888).
   – 1540-1700: glass, windows, crystal, clocks, jewels for women
   – 1700-1830: Tapestries, carpets, furniture, mirrors, telescopes.
   Iran would send religious items (Korans bound with gems) or animals (horses, elephants). Prevention of gifts with human representation (in clocks, or tapestries, or even portraits).

   In the forbidden city of Beijing a special pavilion exposes the clocks brought by western Ambassadors to the Chinese emperors in the 17-18th centuries. Kurz observes that, at our knowledge, none of the Renaissance clocks described by the diplomats can now be found in Istanbul. As the German traveller Salomon Sweigger who was in Istanbul in 1578-1581, probably old clocks, spoiled by rust, lacking specialists to repair them, although pages in the palace had been specially schooled to repair clocks, were piling in remote places of the Topkapı palace, and ultimately melted (Kurz 1975: 44-45; Yıldız 2006: 919 and 942). The catalogues of presents of the Topkapı seraglio don't include presents brought before mid 17th century. The religious opposition to human representation may explain also the attitude to artifacts without an attractive aspect.

   On the reverse, the presents offered by the Turks until the 19th century (to Bonaparte first consul or by Abdulaziz during his visit in Europe 1867) would be limited to horses & horse equipment, quivers, fabrics including carpets, perfumes.

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Turkish Abstract

15. yüzyıldan itibaren hem Avrupa hem de Doğu hükümdarlarından Osmanlı sultanları, hanedan üyeleri ve devlet görevlilerine çok sayıda hediye yollandığı bilinmektedir.

Özellikle 16. yüzyılın başlarından itibaren İstanbul'da ilgi toplayan çeşitli saatler bu hediyeler arasında önemli bir yer tutmaya başlar. Bunlar arasında Sultan Süleyman'a Avrupalı liderler tarafından gönderilen saatlerle ilgili veriler bolca yayınlanmıştır. Bu ilgi daha sonra da sürer. İngiltere'den 1599'da yollanan bir org-mekanik saatin, sultan III. Mehmed'in izlediği bir törende çalıştırıldığı, daha sonra oğlu I. Ahmed tarafından dinî endişelerle kırıldığı Avrupa ve Osmanlı kaynaklarından bilinmektedir. 17. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru saat hediyelerine ilgi azalmakla birlikte bu yüzyılda İstanbul'da Avrupa kökenli saat ustalarının çalıştığı da görülmektedir.

Birçok Avrupa kaynağı Osmanlı dünyasında bağış-bahşiş kabulünün yaygınlığından da bahseder. Bu yazıda kaynaklardan hareketle karşılıklı hediye ve bağış mekanizmalarının nasıl çalıştığı, sürekliliği ve zaman içindeki değişimi tartışılmaktadır.

Biographical Note

Alain Servantie, graduated in law, political sciences and sociology at Bordeaux University. He joined the European Commission in 1971, worked in various departments dealing mainly with external relations, spent seven years in Turkey in 1974-1981, as deputy at the delegation of the European Commission in Ankara: he was also head of the Turkish desk at the European Commission in 2000-2011. He is the author of numerous articles on relations between the Ottoman Empire/ Turkey in Europe, included: "Ambassadeurs de Charles Quint auprès de Soliman le Magnifique", *Anatolia Moderna*, IX, Paris, 2001; *L'Empire ottoman dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*: El Imperio Otomano en la Europa renacentista Avisos de Flandes - volume 11, Leuven Universiteit Pers, 2005 - édition, introduction et article suivant: "L'information de Charles Quint sur les Turcs, ou les éléments pour décider de la guerre ou de la paix: du rêve de Croisade aux réalités", dans L'Empire ottoman dans l'Europe de la Renaissance ; Louis Sicking-Alain Servantie. "L'origine de la Diplomatie Impériale à la Cour Ottomane. Les missions de Cornelius de Schepper, Ambassadeur Habsbourgeois à Constantinople, 1533-1534", *Publication du Centre Européen d'Études bourguignonnes,* n°

Fig. 1 – Representation of the audience ceremony where a clock is given as a present in 1573 by Lambert de Vos, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim sermone gallico*, ONB Cod. 3325

CONFLICTUAL ALLEGORIES.
THE IMAGE OF THE TURK AS THE ENEMY
IN ITALIAN RENAISSANCE ART

Francesco Sorce
independent scholar

This contribution provides an overview of the representation of the Turk as an enemy in 15th- and 16th-century Italian art. In this perspective, we will present a non-exhaustive survey of the most common figurative choices in the context of the so-called "culture of antagonism".[1] It should be mentioned that, in the period under consideration, the image of Muslims in the West was not only derogatory, as was shown in numerous recent studies which can be classified into the epistemological tendency James Harper called the "Global Village model".[2] However, conflictual representations are still present in significant numbers. Also, in spite of the large body of research on alterity available today, those representations have not yet been analyzed systematically, especially as regards the links to, analogies with and differences from the coeval literary world. The main focus of attention has usually been on the literary world itself. Many studies within the area of text production have looked into the systems of polemical construction of the Other and reviewed the main tropes in the "hate speech" that marked anti-Turk propaganda in the early modern age. In this context, the limits of the "rhetoric of barbarism" were defined. In the period under consideration, the rhetoric of barbarism reworked forms of discourse that had been created in previous centuries to promote the Crusade. It is worth specifying that this concept generally refers to the complex of derogatory expressions intended to demonize an enemy and useful for creating hostility towards them.[3] In the domain of image, too, a similar type of rhetoric can be identified, consisting of figures, narrative structures and symbolic tools codified in a widespread repertoire. Within our limits, we will discuss a number of figurative cases which are paradigmatic for different reasons. Our aim will be to show their semiotic characteristics and their analogies with the universe of speech.[4]

One common aspect shared, albeit to very different degrees, by texts and images is the phenomenon of dehumanization, typical of offensive representations. In literature, for example, abusive metaphors and similes comparing Turks to animals generally considered dangerous or ignoble, were regularly used. The most common formulaic epithet – "dog" – was used systematically, both in elevated and more popular writing, as an indication of the "low" nature of the targets of polemical attacks[5]. In the visual context, on the other hand, the metaphor of the monster, typically depicted as a dragon, is practically exclusive. That *topos*

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*Translated from Italian by Giorgio Testa.

[1] See, on this idea, Poumarède (2009: chapter I). The term "Turk" is used here in its Renaissance meaning, where no distinction is made, for example, between Ottomans and Mamluks.

[2] Harper (2011: 5-6).

[3] Hankins (1995), Bisaha (2004: 60-78), Meserve (2008), Ricci (2009), Weber (2014). Studies within an imagology perspective, originating in comparative literature, tend to consider the verbal part of representation almost exclusively: see, among others, Çirakman (2002), Soykut (2003).

[4] To get a bird's eye view of the topic, we will propose a summary classification of the main iconographic types. Due to space constraints, the analysis of contextual reasons for the use of the Turkish danger as a theme in the different cases cannot be dealt with here. The results of the broader research which this paper forms part of will be discussed elsewhere.

[5] Cardini (2008). On dehumanization in general, see: Haslam (2014).

had a centuries-old tradition in European imagery, including at a textual level. It emblematically embodied the negative qualities of the antagonists, highlighting their brutality, aggressiveness and ability to instill fear. As a symbol, it had for a long time been customarily linked to Satan and the Antichrist, i.e. figures consistently associated with Islam. That is why the dragon becomes, in quite a few cases, some sort of heraldic beast of the Ottoman empire.[6] In this regard, one enlightening example is the drawing appearing on the fol. 96v. of the ms.Typ 157 (Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, 1470ca), written by Felice Feliciano (Fig. 1).[7] The leaf shows an allegory of the conflict between the Turk and some European powers, identified through their distinctive signs as well as captions ("Rex siculus", "dux mediol[anensis]", "Rex francorum"): the dragon, on which the crescent appears, is referred to as "magnus teucrus" and tellingly holds in its jaws the pastoral symbolizing the "ecclesia dei", as indicated in the inscription in the top part of the papal emblem. The image, attributed to Feliciano himself, accompanies the poem in tercets titled *Pronostico overo prophetia de la venvta del tvrcho* ("Prognostication or prophecy of the arrival of the Turk"), one of the many prophecies written after the fall of Constantinople (1453), which predicts the future defeat of Ottomans after a period of suffering for Christian Europe.[8]

In the epideictic system leaning towards criticism which governs the conflictual representation, another choice is far more common than dehumanization: having the Turk play the part of the "villain" in the stories presented. This mechanism is mostly based on the metaphorical identification of the enemy in the narrative with the Ottomans, on whom the negative traits of the former are projected[9]. The semantics of action is therefore a crucial framework for interpreting the meaning and function of characters which are marked by a more or less conspicuous alterity in the artistic context of the period under discussion[10]. This artifice was also codified in sixteenth-century art theory. For instance, in considering the nature of the image of the enemy, Gabriele Paleotti included in that category «Satan's hirelings» («stipendiarii di Satana»), i.e. «Roman emperors and other Saracens, Moors, Vandals, Goths and, currently, Turks and Muslims who are filled with rage and anger towards Christ and its holy law» («imperatori romani, et altri saraceni, mori, vandali, goti et oggi turchi e maumetani pieni di rabbia e sdegno contro di Cristo e della sua sacra legge»). For works of art to represent those «enemies of the Christian name» with «ignominy and contempt», the Cardinal recommended that they depict those people as committing acts or presenting indications which revealed their malice[11]. The process by which current opponents

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[6] See on this: Sorce (2013).

[7] The image is mentioned, among others, in Castiglioni (1988: 28).

[8] One of the tercets of the prediction reads: «Verrà quel drago colmo di nequitia/E roderà con denti el pastorale,/Tenendo fra le graffe ogni iustitia». («That dragon will come, full of wickedness/It will gnaw the pastoral with its teeth,/Holding all justice in its claws». The prediction, which appears in cc. 95r-99r of the ms., was published in Mazzi (1901/2: 55-68).

[9] On visual metaphor, see Sorce (2011).

[10] This assumption conflicts with the common hermeneutical tendency where the oriental presence in Renaissance paintings is considered, too nonchalantly in some cases, as a mere reflection of a cultural and anthropological interest by artists and clients in the Islamic world and its fascinating diversity, whereas little to no attention is paid to the narrative contexts in which those paintings are placed. It is always worth noting that the subject of a painting, especially with a religious theme, is enough to polarize the status of the characters, attributing value connotations even to secondary or "side" roles. This is not tantamount to saying that the figures of Turks are always negative, but presents an epistemological warning that cannot easily be ignored.

[11] Paleotti (1582, ed. 1961: 304). This was aptly pointed out by Mancini (2013: 91).

can be identified in past ones mainly relies on the tool of anachronism.[12] Clothes, flags, weapons or monuments inconsistent with the narrative, for example, spell the collapse of the internal temporality of the image, thus revealing the allegorical substance of the representation. All those elements function as time shifters and contribute, in the cases considered here, to making the events in the painting relevant to the present time. Those pictorial signs of presentness provide the viewer with a set of "user instructions" needed to start thinking about analogies between history and topical events. Anachronistic mechanisms guarantee virtually unlimited applicability. However, stories derived from biblical and hagiographic sources are a particularly fertile ground for such mechanisms, which are effective in portraying the aggressive, incredulous or indifferent alterity of eastern enemies towards Christian faith. A small number of examples should be enough to document the flexibility of the model.

Herod is portrayed in clearly oriental clothes by Matteo di Giovanni in two Sienese *Massacre of the innocents* paintings (S. Agostino, 1482; S. Maria dei Servi, 1491): the Judean "*rex iniustus*", as the Church's great persecutor, thus perfectly embodies the torment caused by the Turks to Christendom. This was felt particularly strongly in Italy, especially after the conquest of Otranto and the massacres in Apulia (Fig. 2).[13] Conversely, in the *Crucifixion* (Paris, Louvre) by Andrea Solario, signed and dated 1503, Longinus, the Roman knight who pierced Christ's side with a spear, is portrayed as a character with typical Turkish features (Fig. 3): he wears a turban and a pointed beard as Ottomans often did in stories and paintings from that time. Also, Solario placed the persecutor beside another knight, identifiable as the Jewish high priest according to David Alan Brown; the knight seems to be showing Longinus the action he must perform. Through an elementary compositional structure, the painter made distinctly perceivable the idea of the association between Turks and Jews as "infidels" and *persecutors crucis*, which had long been established in the culture of Christian Europe.[14] The same fundamental construction is used to refer to the Oriental issue in the *Stories of Saint Barbara* by Lorenzo Lotto, which is displayed in the Oratorio Suardi in Trescore Balneario (1524): Dioscurus, the virgin's father, responsible for her martyrdom, is characterized by a turban and scimitar, distinctive marks of the Ottoman image in the West. Also, several crescents appear in the places where the life of the Saint unfolds. One is particularly noteworthy, as it is placed on top of the canopy under which the judge sentences Barbara to horrible torture for not recanting her faith in Christ (Fig. 4). The event, according to the *Legenda Aurea*, took place in Nicomedia; the Oriental setting is therefore entirely relevant. It is hardly conceivable, however, that the properly Turkish elements disseminated on the stage set were not used to evoke the main modern persecutors of Christians. Also, as demonstrated

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[12] On anachronism in painting, in this particular perspective, see the analyses by Horváth (2010, 2011).

[13] The Turkish connotation of Herod in paintings by Matteo di Giovanni was noted, in particular, by Cardini (2006: 88-89). In some late-medieval mystery plays, it was also common to represent Herod as ordering the massacre while swearing by Muhammad's name. See on this point Conklin Akbari (2009: 16).

[14] On the painting, see Brown (1987: 79-85, 141). He does not, however, discuss the iconographic issues presented here. It is worth mentioning that, for centuries, anti-Muslim rhetoric had adapted verbal and figurative expressions from Anti-Judaism, lumping Saracens and, later, Turks together with Jews. As regards the practice of polemically associating Jews and Muslims in art - a topic worthy of more research - see, among others, Higgs Strickland (2003: 157-209) e Capriotti (2014: 89-91). Recently, Arjana (2015: in part. 41-43) returned to this topic; various parts of her study, however, are questionable from a bibliographical point of view and as regards the philological analysis of images. On the beard as a characteristic element of Turkish and Jew alterity in Italian imagery (at least until the end of the 15th century), see Biow (2015: 183-185).

by Francesca Cortesi Bosco, Lotto's frescoes have clear anti-Lutheran implications[15]. It is therefore interesting to note how, in the absence of a standard iconography, German heresy is alluded to through the character of the infidel par excellence, i.e. the Muslim, in an overlap full of semantic reflections[16].

The three cases examined here consider identifications and comparisons which are mainly performed on a visual level. A variant of this system, well-established both in literary and in figurative rhetoric, consists in comparing Turks and the figures of enemies who, along history, have engaged in military conflicts with the West, jeopardizing its political or religious set-up. The spectrum of "historical" enemies is, of course, extremely rich and includes standards ranging from opponents of Jews in the Old Testament to enemies of ancient Greece and Rome, to barbarians. We will take into consideration only a few examples of the representation of the Other as a barbarian – a term that had rather flexible geographical and historical borders between the 15th and 16th centuries – which qualifies the anti-Ottoman stereotype. Persians, Carthaginians, Huns, Goths, Vandals were the preferred terms for comparison in a catalog of defamatory similes. Especially after the fall of Constantinople, the use of such similes appeared to be virtually inevitable among intellectuals engaging in a "war of words" with the feared invaders[17]. In this sense, the writings by cardinal Bessarion are paradigmatic, partly because of the lasting influence they exerted later on the rhetoric of the Crusade. For Bessarion, the Turk was, among other things, a «horrible Barbarian, born cruel», as well as a «beastly monster»; the sultan was compared to Hannibal, Attila and Totila, whereas his subjects were like Gauls and Goths[18]. The offensive strategy we just sketched was developed and prospered in a cultural context dominated by the idea of history as *magistra vitae*. In that context, history was conceived as a repertoire of (both positive and negative) *exempla*, useful as a tool to learn norms of behavior, while finding inspiration in the actions of predecessors. The knowledge of the past was a filter through which present events could be observed. That knowledge was therefore useful for learning how to face the enemy, it helped prepare for the future and could even provide consolation after a defeat, as ancient models of virtue were a source of comfort in misfortune[19]. This principle was magnificently summarized in the words of Polybius, the ancient historian who, along with Livy, exerted the strongest influence on the Renaissance historiographic theory. In the *Histories* (XII, 25b, 1-3), Polybius wrote:

[15] Cortesi Bosco (1980: 98). The researcher refers only in passing to possible anti-Turkish implications of the frescoes.

[16] As is well-known, Protestants were assimilated to Turks especially in Catholic propaganda prints; conversely, Lutherans held an exactly opposite view, associating the Roman Church and the Ottoman empire as enemies of the faith. Scribner (1981) is still influential on this topic.

[17] On the representation of Huns as Turks in the *Storie di S. Orsola* by Vittore Carpaccio (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia), see Gentili (1996: 27-46). In general, this book is still one of the best attempts to analyze the negative image of Ottomans. In the German context, West published an excellent essay in 2007.

[18] The quotation is taken from the Venetian edition, published by the printer Comin de Trino (Bessarione 1573: 11v-12r). Comparable similes are found in writings by Antonio Cornazzano, Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, Niccolò Tignosi, Donato Acciaiuoli, Benedetto Accolti, among others. The rhetoric of these authors is discussed in Bisaha (2004: 60-78).

[19] There is a vast bibliography on the Renaissance concept of history. On the topics mentioned here, see, among others, Ianziti (2012: in part. 10, 110-111), Koselleck (2004: 26-42). On the "classical" precedents of Renaissance historiography, Nadel (1964) is still fundamental. As regards the instrumental use of history in the Middle Ages, an excellent overview is presented in Innes (2004). As for the idea of exemplarity, see at least Lyons (1989) and Hampton (1990); a summary of the main topics is found in Burke (2011).

«For it is the mental transference of similar circumstances to our own times that gives us the means of forming presentiments of what is about to happen, and enables us at certain times to take precautions and at others by reproducing former conditions to face with more confidence the difficulties that menace us»[20].

The literary comparison with barbarians has a clear equivalent in the context of images. In the figurative field, however, as we have seen in the works mentioned, the comparison is created using metaphorical forms and is often made explicit through the cooperation of the viewer, conveniently prompted. This scheme can be applied, for instance, to a painting attributed to Biagio d'Antonio Tucci (Fig. 5).[21] The painting, very possibly decorating the front of a chest, can be dated between 1470 and 1475 and represents a battle between Romans and barbarians. Although the event has not been identified unequivocally, it is highly likely to be one of the battles of the Punic Wars. The role of the enemy in the visual narration is therefore presumably played by Carthaginians, as confirmed by the presence of elephants, which were often associated with Rome's old-time enemies. The image, however, betrays an allegorical intent, aiming to compare the past and the present. The crescent appears on the standard opposite the Roman ensign, as well as on the flags on top of the tents in the Carthaginian camp. The single most distinctive sign used in the West to refer to the Ottoman Empire could thus be used to transpose the time of the representation to the present. This made it possible to identify the Punic army with the Ottoman army, which was at the time the military opponent *par excellence*. The mechanism we have just described is found in a pair of lunettes from the famous cycle of frescoes by Luca Signorelli e Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (also known as "il Sodoma") in the cloister of Monteoliveto Maggiore. Far from the frontlines most exposed to the advances of the new Saracens, hints at the Turkish threat emerge in so-called *Totila's Pretence*, painted by Signorelli probably between 1497 and 1498, and in the fresco *Benedict Predicting the Destruction of Monte Cassino*, made by Sodoma between 1505 and 1508.[22] In Signorelli's image (Figs. 6, 7), a flag waving above the Goth camp features a crescent, which is, however, eccentric as compared to the other cases previously mentioned. The modern-time oppressors are therefore contrasted with the fearsome ancient enemy by re-working one of the favorite clichés in the polemical imagery of humanists. The miraculous behavior of Benedict, who can expose the deception against him and induce Totila to be less cruel, shows the viewer the ethical and moral model that should be applied towards the Muslim threat. In Sodoma's lunette, on the other hand, the reference to Muslims is more explicit (Fig. 8). Some of the Nordic invaders on the left – Longobards, in this case – are unequivocally represented in Ottoman (and Mamluk) costumes; even a Moor appears among them. Again, the moustaches, beards and hats worn by the characters reveal the allegorical scheme and the meaning of "presentification" conveyed by the painting. Another blatant anachronism shows that the image in fact refers to "new" barbarians: the two figures on the right, in the immediate foreground, are fighting over a flag, whose pole is severed. A scorpion, a well-known negative symbol, appears on the flag, surrounded by two crescents (Fig. 9). In the Renaissance symbolic repertoire, the scorpion is usually a derogatory attribute used for Jews; it is also used, if seldom, for Muslims with the same offensive function.[23] The

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[20] Polybius (ed. 2011: 413).

[21] On the painting and its meanings, see Bartoli (2010). The researcher aptly noted the presence of the crescent, which she linked to the Turkish threat.

[22] On the frescoes, see Alessi (2007) among others. Despite the presence of anachronisms, the reference to the Ottoman enemy has, to the best of my knowledge, never been detected by art historians.

[23] On the scorpion as an anti-Jewish sign, see: Capriotti (2014: in part. 17); in general: Cohen (2008: 263-290, in part. 271-286).

animal shows up, for example, on the shield of one of the two characters beside Bayezid II's portrait in the so-called *Petancius Scroll*, made by Felix Petancius around 1496 and now in Budapest (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod Lat. 378).[24] Several decades later, the scorpion appears, along with the usual crescents, on the flags of the Turkish navy in a print by Antonio Lafréry depicting the Battle of Lepanto.

The allegorical use of the Punic Wars, mentioned in the earlier discussion of the painting by Biagio d'Antonio, emerged again around the same time as the paintings from Monteoliveto, on a monumental scale, in the frescoes with *Roman stories* painted in 1507-1508 by Jacopo Ripanda and his atelier in the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitoline Hill[25]. In the so-called Hannibal Room, in particular, a scene stands out, showing *Hannibal in Italy*, with the African general portrayed at the head of his army in front of the walls of a city. After 1453, this theme was often used in reference to the contemporary situation; with that function, it frequently appeared in Western propaganda writings. In the Palace of the Conservators, it is used to graphically show the fear of a siege of the papal city by the Ottomans, a very real fear in writings from the late 15th century. Accounts of the battles, homilies, comments on international policy, *ottava-rima* poems and prophetical and astrological texts contained references to the passage of the Turks in Italy. According to Sigismondo de'Conti, for example, that fear was heightened after the conquest of Otranto, to the extent that is almost fest as if the Turks were about to set up camp right outside the city walls of Rome[26]. The recurring fear of the Turkish enemy at the gates is found in the story of the Carthaginians "*ante portas*". In the imagery of the early modern age, the comparison between Hannibal and Scipio - the former a model of barbarism, the latter one of virtue - was not infrequently used to create a system of equivalence with the main actors in the contemporary world (e.g. Muhammad II-Alfonso of Aragon)[27]. The Ripanda fresco seems to be aligned with these characteristics. Hannibal's "Ottoman" character is defined by the turban; his alterity is underlined by a conspicuous pearl earring, a sign through which he is associated with the Moors, gypsy women, Jewish women, prostitutes and heretics (Fig. 10).[28] The clearest link with the contemporary situation, however, is found at the far right end of the painting, where the group of soldiers in the background carries a banner with a crescent. The usual time shift emerges, introduced by the calculated anachronism. The image shows what is very likely to be its non-literal meaning, i.e. the theme of the Turkish enemy (Fig. 11).[29]

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[24] On the image, see Majer (2000), Saviello (2015). I thank prof. Majer for pointing this out.

[25] For the philological issues related to the Capitolium frescoes, see at least Ebert-Schifferer (1988), Farinella (1992), Guarino (2008: 52-56). Interestingly, while the painting was made subsequently, the iconographic program was probably written around 1500, the Jubilee year in which Pope Alexander VI made an attempt to promote the crusade.

[26] As Sigismondo wrote in *Historiarum sui temporis libri XVII* (ed. in Gualdo Rosa, Nuovo, De Filippis 1984: 225):«...and in Rome there was such dismay, as if the Turkish army was right at its walls or its gates, so great and dreadful was the name of these fierce people [...] known for their outstanding bravery, experienced in war, terribly brutal and cruel».

[27] In 1453, for example, Niccolò Tignosi compared Maometto II to the Carthaginian in the *Expugnatio Constantinopolitana* (ed. in Pertusi 1983: 102). Marco Probo da Sulmona, in his *Triumphus Hydruntinus*, explicitly referred to Hannibal's retreat from Italy as a comparison to Alfonso's victory over Turks in Otranto. See, on this matter, Tateo (1984: 37).

[28] On the earring as a sign of alterity, see: Owen Hugues (1986), Howell Jolly (2002). One of the most telling examples of heretics wearing earrings is Eutyches, portrayed in a turban by Filippino Lippi in the *Triumph of Saint Thomas* (Rome, Church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Carafa chapel).

[29] The anti-Turkish connotation of the frescoes was underlined, albeit in passing, by Knauer (2006/2007: 258).

The Capitolium paintings conclude this brief anthology of conflictual allegories. Many others still need to be studied in depth. A more thorough analysis is also needed for the cases considered here, as to the specific reasons why clients and painters chose to use the theme of the Turkish issue with such emphasis. Nevertheless, this overview should suffice to outline a few basic traits of the image of the enemy, a rather vague category in the scientific literature dealing with the West-East relations in the early modern age. An optimal definition of the concept could also contribute to rebalancing the studies on polemical representation, which are too often biased towards the textual component.

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Turkish Abstract

15. ve 16. yüzyıllar batı dünyası hakkında yapılan metin çalışmalarında barbar tanımlamasının ve retoriğinin düşmanı şeytanlaştırarak nefretin arttırılmasında kullanıldığı ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Görsel imgeler dünyasında da benzer bir eğilimin izlendiği gözlenmektedir. Metinlerde düşmanın (Türklerin) tanımı hayvanlara benzetilerek yapılır. İmgelerde bu hayvan geleneksel olarak Şeytan ve Deccal'le özdeş görülen ejder olarak karşımıza çıkar. Bunun dışında daha yaygın olarak görülen temsillerde Türkler resmedilen hikâyenin kötü-zalim karakteri olarak belirir. Bu yıllarda bazı etkili kilise liderlerinin sanat eserlerinde Türk/Müslümanların İsa'ya karşı kin ve nefretlerini ve kötülüklerini yansıtacak şekilde betimlenmesini tavsiye ettikleri bilinmektedir. Birçok örnekte gözlenebildiği gibi, kötü adam-zalim tiplemelerinde Osmanlı figürler sadece Müslümanları temsil etmezler, kâfir olarak Yahudiler veya Protestanları da imlerler. Aynı çelişkili tutum tarihsellik açısından da izlenir. İmgelerde çeşitli ayrıntılar tarihsellik göz ardı edilerek resmin yapıldığı zamanı temsil eder. Bu anakronizm, izleyiciye ulaşmada etkin olur. Bu makalede, bazı 15 ve 16. yüzyıl İtalyan resmi örnekleri çözümlenerek, tasvir edilen olayın gerçekleştiği tarihi bağlamdan ve zalimlerin kimliğinden bağımsız şekilde düşmanın Osmanlı (bazen Memluk) kıyafetleri giyen Türkler olarak temsil edildiği tartışılmaktadır.

Biographical Note

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Fig. 1 – Felice Feliciano, Allegory of the conflict between the Turk and some European powers,
Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Ms Typ 157, fol. 96v, 1470ca.

Fig. 2 – Matteo di Giovanni, *Massacre of the Innocents*, Siena, S. Agostino, 1482

Fig. 3 – Andrea Solario, Crucifixion, Paris, Louvre, 1503 (detail)

Fig. 4 – Lorenzo Lotto, *Legend of St. Barbara*,
Trescore Balneario (Bergamo), Oratorio Suardi, 1523-24 (detail)

Fig. 5 – Biagio d'Antonio Tucci, *Battle scene*, Private collection, 1470-1475ca.

Fig. 6 – Luca Signorelli, *Life of St Benedict*: *Benedict Discovers Totila's Deceit*,
Abbey of Monteoliveto Maggiore, 1497-98 ca

Fig. 7 – Luca Signorelli, *Life of St Benedict*: *Benedict Discovers Totila's Deceit*,
Abbey of Monteoliveto Maggiore, 1497-98 ca (detail)

Fig. 8 – Giovanni Antonio Bazzi called Sodoma, *Life of St. Benedict*:
Benedict Foretells the Destruction of Montecassino,
Abbey of Monteoliveto Maggiore, 1505-1508 ca.

Fig. 9 – Giovanni Antonio Bazzi called Sodoma, *Life of St. Benedict*:
Benedict Foretells the Destruction of Montecassino,
Abbey of Monteoliveto Maggiore, 1505-1508 ca. (detail)

Fig. 10 – Jacopo Ripanda (attr.), *Hannibal in Italy*, Rome,
Palazzo dei Conservatori, 1507-1508 ca (detail)

Fig. 11 – Jacopo Ripanda (attr.), *Hannibal in Italy*, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, 1507-1508 ca (detail)

CARTOGRAPHY OF THE MISSING FORTRESSES IN DOBROGEA: A CASE STUDY OF THE TURKISH FORTIFICATIONS

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Introduction

E vents in the second half of the 14th century, occurring against the background of the decline of central power in the Byzantine Empire, established the superiority of the Ottoman state over the small political factions of the Balkan Peninsula (İnalcık 1996: 50-60; Decei 1978: 33-35). The creation of an Ottoman bridgehead in this region, potentially allowing for unlimited extension into the west, opened the gates of Europe to the Ottomans.

Ottoman Turkish control over Dobrogea at the beginning of the 15th century led to the gradual transformation of the territory between the Danube River and the Black Sea, as well as of the entire Balkan region for a period of more than four centuries, into a "mirror of Anatolia" via the material and spiritual culture that was brought into the region from the east (Mehmed 2013: 12).

The relevant documentary information for this period and region includes mosques and madrasas; dervish lodges (*tekke*s and *zaviye*s); inns (caravanserais); Turkish baths (hammams); bridges; public water fountains; various religious orders (*tarikat*s); holders of timar, *ziamet*, or *hass* lands; and the fortresses along the Danube River line. All of these are the direct testimony of a cultural heritage that lasted from the 15th to the 19th century, when Dobrogea formed an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. We do not, however, have at our disposal all the instruments of documentation that would be required to reconstruct at least part of the period of Ottoman Dobrogea and to understand the cultural values lost. Nevertheless, it is possible to make some evaluations on the basis of information found in Ottoman documents and in the accounts of travellers who visited the region.

In realising the documentation for several historical studies aimed at updating the general urban plans (GUP) for territorial administrative units in Tulcea County, we encountered the problem of the localisation of the fortresses and fortifications that had been built by the Ottomans. In order to investigate this aspect of the subject, we initiated an extensive documentation whose main aim was identifying historical documents and cartographic sources where the plans of the Turkish fortresses in Dobrogea are either described or depicted. At first, the inconsistency of the relevant documentary sources and the lack of detailed information made us question the success of our approach. However, despite these drawbacks, through the utilization of modern cartographic techniques, we achieved remarkable results that can serve as a starting point for further research.

The conquest of Dobrogea and the presence of the Ottoman Turks in Europe

Ottoman expansion into the Balkans effectively began in the second half of the 14th century, after the recovery of the fortress of Gallipoli (1376-1377) and Sultan Murad I's subsequent entrance into Adrianople (Edirne). This was followed by the systematic conquest of a vast geographical area covered by a mosaic of political entities and Byzantine, Bulgarian or Romanian "dependencies" (Gemil 1991: 88-91; Ghiaţă 1974: 75 and Ghiaţă 1986: 49).

As the Ottomans advanced into Europe, they encountered different types of fortified structures, which represented a true challenge for the Ottoman armies, who were only able to conquer such structures after long sieges and considerable effort. The Ottomans' main tactics for advancing involved regular raids and pitched battles, and these also served as an effective

means to establish control over vast territories. It was also at the end of the 14th century that the Ottomans reached the line of the Danube, directly threatening Romanian territory.

The territory between the Danube and the Black Sea – *Dobruca-eli* or the "Land of Dobrogea" – was part of the medieval state of Wallachia and would have been occupied by the Ottomans following the campaign in AH 819 (March 23, 1416-February 17, 1417 CE). Some Romanian researchers who have addressed this subject consider the year 1416 as the year of the beginning of Ottoman control of Dobrogea, while others incline toward 1417.

According to another viewpoint, however, it was only during the reign of Mihail I, the successor of Mircea I, in 1419 or the spring of 1420 (Pervain 1976: 55-79; Popescu 2013: 41-42) that the Ottomans managed to take effective control of Dobrogea, with the empire's frontier being established on the line formed by the fortresses of Enisala (*Yeni-Sal*) and Isaccea (*İsakçi*), which thus become *serhad* (border fortresses) and were, according to the chroniclers Şükrüllah b. Şehebeddin Ahmed and İdris Bidlisi, repaired and fortified by order of Sultan Mehmed I Çelebi (*Cronici turceşti*: 32, 163, 341-342; Guboglu 1966: 32, 163; Ghiaţă 1974: 81; Ciocîltan 1985: 1058-1074; Ciocîltan 1982: 1201; Pervain 1976, 73; Vergatti 1978: 87-90; Andreescu 1998: 115-116; Coman 2005: 263-267).

One feature that defined the Ottoman state from the its very inception was political pragmatism, which was also reflected in the legal and administrative system. In connection with newly conquered territories, such pragmatism was represented by the notion of *istimâlet*, by means of which ethnic, professional or military groups in conquered lands retained their former legal status. This was done with the aim of attracting the sympathy of the local population, but also with the pragmatic aim of not disturbing extant socio-economic structures in the newly conquered territories. Beginning with such realities as these, after 1419/20 the Ottomans initiated a system of internal organization in Dobrogea, which underwent complete integration in the following centuries, ultimately being standardized with the Ottoman administrative and economic system (Popescu 2013: 10).

The fact that historical documents show that the Ottoman Turks rebuilt the fortresses of Enisala and Isaccea reveals the preliminary stage in terms of the administrative organization of Dobrogea, highlighting the attention the Ottomans paid to local specificities.

Regarding the administrative systematization of the entirety of the conquests of the Istro-Pontic-Balkan area, the historical sources reveal nothing very clear until the reign of Sultan Mehmed II (1451-1481) (Popescu 2013: 43-46). It is possible that the complete inclusion of Dobrogea into the Ottoman administrative system was only finalized after the conquest of the major ports of Chilia and Cetatea Albă in 1484.

Organised as a border province (*uc*), Dobrogea was placed under the rule of the border beys (*uc-bey*), who resided in the border fortresses. Initially, Dobrogea was part of the sanjak of Silistra (Popescu 2013, 46), but in subsequent centuries, the residence of the pashas moved to Babadag, a town located near Isaccea, which was the area's key defense point and, at the same time, a stepping stone for troops and traders thanks to the ford from Obluciţa (Isaccea). By building bridges here, the Ottomans were able to move their armies more easily, as they did, for example, in 1621, when on the eve of the Osman II's expedition against Poland a quadrangular fortress was built at Isaccea on a hill dominating the surrounding area (a portion of the walls of this fortress, located in the northeastern area of the town of Isaccea, were destroyed by a quarry that was active in 1992-1994). Apart from Isaccea, the other two Kazal residences, Babadag (*Călători străini* V: 221) and Tulcea (*Cronici turceşti* 2: Guboglu 1974: 119; *Călători străini* V: 404), were also equipped with fortresses in the 18th century. Also built in the 17th century "on a pretty high cliff a little inclined towards the Danube", was the fortress in Măcin (*Călători străini* X/2: 395).

Ultimately, all the fortresses constructed by the Ottomans met the same tragic fate, being destroyed in 1829.

The Ottoman advance into Europe: The conquest of Hungary and the consolidation of the new frontiers

Wishing to understand the mode of action and the organization of the territories conquered by the Ottomans, we have appealed to the example of Hungary, which has received the attention of specialists and thus a subject better documented, due in large part to the large number of published documents. In order to understand the reason for the construction of fortifications of the tabia (*palanka*) in Dobrogea, we used the model applied by the Turks in Hungary, which is much better known in the specialised literature.

After entering and establishing a foothold in Europe, the Ottoman Empire developed its reputation as a significant European power step by step, owing its status as one of the most important political actors on the continent to its impressive territorial expansion. The Ottoman advance occurred gradually, in line with a well-established scenario. In the 15th century, the Balkans and Dobrogea came under Ottoman authority, but there was still an obstacle to the empire's advance into the centre of the continent. For many years, the Kingdom of Hungary opposed Ottoman encroachment into southeastern Europe, but the fall of the fortress of Belgrade in 1521 created a breach in its system of defence. At the Battle of Mohács in 1526, Hungarian forces were defeated by the numerically superior forces of the Ottoman Empire, led by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent.

Prior to 1521, Hungary had already developed a unified defence system that consisted of two chains of border fortifications placed along the Danube River and its tributaries, beginning at the southern part of the Árpáds kingdom (Ágoston 1998: 129). After the Battle of Mohacs, numerous forts, castles, and fortresses located near the western border, in proximity to the Austrian-Hungarian border, came under Ottoman control. Finally, after the conquest of Buda in 1541, Süleyman chose the city as the centre of the first Ottoman *vilayet* in the region, assigning a governor (*beylerbeyi*) for the province (Ágoston 2000: 196).

The fortifications that had been conquered were quickly repaired, a local commander (*dizdar*) was appointed, and troops were allocated to maintain the castle as a point of defence that could be integrated into the overall Ottoman defensive system (Turhal 2009: 3). Rather than building new, modern castles of stone over the vast geographical area between the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea, the Ottomans opted instead to build wooden fortresses with ditches and mounds of earth, which in effect represented a low-cost version of stone fortresses.

Fortifications of wood and earth were of course not an invention of the Ottomans, as such palisades with moats and earth mounds date all the way back to the Bronze Age (Özgüven 1999: 1-2). It was the Romans who perfected this type of fortification (called a *castrum*) in border areas, meant to defend the empire's territory, to sound the immediate alarm when bands of barbarians were approaching the border, and especially to monitor circulation at the border; some of these fortifications also played a role as customs buildings (Özgüven 1999: 1-2; Sakul 2013: 189).

The Ottomans took over and adapted the Roman fortification model, transposing it into new realities. Easy to build, forts of wood and earth could be raised quickly at every strategic location – fords, border areas, passes, trade routes, and so on – across the whole of the vast geographical area from the Adriatic Sea to the Black Sea. These forts, known as *palanka*, became the cornerstone of the Ottoman defence in the region. Since enemies could easily conquer single, isolated forts of this type, the Ottomans built *palanka* networks that could help each other in case of danger and eliminate this vulnerability.

Sketches made in the 16th and 17th centuries provide information about the size, dimension and shape of *palanka*s. Count Luigi Fernando Marsigli published a description of a typical *palanka* in his book *Stato militare dell'Imperio Ottomano* (Table XXXVII) (Turhal 2009: 9). For *palanka*s located along the fluvial routes between Buda and Belgrade we have information left by the traveller Evliya Çelebi, who visited the area between 1660 and 1664:

visiting the *vilayet* of Buda (Hungary), for instance, he recorded 1,061 villages as well as 360 castles and *palanka*s of various sizes (Özgüven 1999, 3). Another source for the Ottoman forts situated along the Danube River and the Drava-Sava line is Heinrich Ottendorf, who discussed them in his 1665 work *Der Weg von Ofen auf griechisch Weissenburg* (Turhal 2009: 9). Such documentary information is supplemented by data provided by the archaeological research conducted into Ottoman *palanka*s on the territory of Hungary.

In Romanian territory – specifically in the Banat area that was under Ottoman control at the time – the *palanka* fortification type was described as follows: "an infantry post raised at the border or on large roads, usually close to a borough or village, it is a square surrounded by a moat and a very high palisade covered with earth. Almost always in the centre of the square there stands a tower of masonry or wood […] to serve as the last point of withdrawal and for the guards to be able to see far in the distance" (*Istoria Militară* 3: 377).

Such a fort was the *palanka* in Timișoara, a fortress with a palisade made of tree trunks or solid beams stuck in the ground and held together with iron clamps, thus reinforcing the mound, before which was placed the moat (*Istoria Militară* 3: 377; Feneșan 2006: 166-177). The only *palanka* in Romania that has been the object of archaeological research is the one located in the locality of Vârfurile in Arad County (Căpățână 1976: 78).

Recent research from Timișoara and Ciacova has, in its turn, brought a good deal of clarification concerning residential elements and fortifications of the Ottoman period in the Banat area (Diaconescu 2015: 16; Micle 2015: 24; Ghindele, Gașpar 2015: 38-39; Ghindele, Marta, Gașpar 2015: 28; Hamat 2015: 539-554; Micle, Crînguș, Timoc 2015: 555-573).

For the area of Dobrogea, the period between the 15th and 19th centuries has been highlighted by archaeological investigations in Babadag (Vasiliu 1996: 195-224; Jugănaru, Ailincăi, Stănică 2005: 61), Tulcea (Paraschiv, Nuțu 2007: 383; original research A. Stanică, 2007 (str. Gloriei), 2012 (str. Gloriei; Iuliana Costea 2012 (str. Dobrogea), Isaccea (Vasiliu 1995: 374-377; original research A. Stănică 2012, 2014 and 2016), Luncavița (Comșa 1962: 222; Micu et alii 2008: 331-338), Niculițel (Bătrâna, Bătrâna 1977: 540), Enisala (Mănucu-Adameșteanu 1984: 355-362; Jugănaru, Ailincăi 2005: 144-145; Stănică et alii 2005-2006: 319-321 and n. 23), Sarichioi (Vasiliu 1996: 225-242; Lungu, Mănucu-Adameșteanu 1995: 349, n. 5), Nufăru (Damian et alii 2007-2008: 307-311, 317-320), Hârșova (Nicolae 1993: 220; Nicolae et alii 2008: 313-327; Nicolae 2014: 375-399), Vadu (Iosipescu 2004: 59-63), Ester (Custurea 1983: 300-304; Custurea 1986: 545-550; Custurea 1997: 32-33; Custurea 1999: 150), Mangalia (Constantin et alii 2007: 241-296; Radu 2013: 235-237) and Cheia-*Pazvant* (Voinea et alii 2015: 509-529).

Despite the considerable number of excavations targeting residential structures (Custurea 1983: 300-304; Vasiliu 1996: 195-224; Voinea et alii 2015: 515-517), cemeteries, and religious monuments (Iosipescu & Iosipescu 2004: 317-322), as well as some time-related concerns for certain categories of archaeological materials (pipes, Ottoman ceramics, belt elements, ornaments, etc.) (Dinu 2009: 323-345; Dinu 2010: 303-320; Costea, Stănică, Ignat 2007: 335-362; Costea 2013: 255-290; Iorguș, Radu, Ionescu 2013: 239-254), overall the results are far from providing a detailed picture about the communities of Ottoman Dobrogea. Moreover, in only two cases, at Isaccea (original research, 2012 and 2016) and Hârsova (Nicolae 2014: 375-399), were there investigations into the fortification elements of Ottoman fortresses.

As a result, the archaeology of this time and place remain in their infancy, though in recent years there has been a rise in the number of studies capitalizing on newer or older research.

The palanka: A key element in the defence of the Ottoman border

While Ottoman architecture is known especially for its religious and civil monuments, owing to the vast territories conquered, the Ottoman military also needed to rapidly expand and

consolidate its network of fortifications. The Ottomans preferred the *palanka* forts due to their lower cost and building time (Özgüven 1999: 1).

The palisade had long been widely used as a structure of defence systems and was taken up and adapted by the Ottoman military. For the Ottomans, the palisade represented an excellent option for small forts or fortifications that needed to be hastily built. Being made of wood, they could be raised easily with materials at hand. The same materials, however, also meant that they were at risk from fire and siege engines. Placed near terrestrial roads or river routes, the *palanka*s formed a network that defended both border areas and main strategic areas.

The type of *palanka* used in the defence of the Ottoman borders had its origins in the Roman period. Initially, for long sieges, the Ottomans left garrisons in forts called *havale* (Özgüven 1999: 1-2), outside the fortresses that were being besieged. Another aim of this practice was to keep machines of war in secure places and maintain the order of the troops for the success of the siege mission. *Palanka*s were inspired by these constructions of the *havale* type and feature similar characteristics. The first description of the *palanka* is found in Western sources, and was produced by Adam Werner of Crailsheim in 1622: "Such *palanka*s are built partly from wood (stuck in the ground), with other parts being made of wooden layers (planks) of double or triple thickness; these were joined and filled in with mortar (trod earth); this was a strong fortification, as a bastion […]" (Özgüven 1999: 2). The name *palanca* used for this type of fort stems from the Latin *palanca* ("board, plank") and the German *Plankenzaun* ("board fence") (Özgüven 1999: 2). Another hypothesis notes that the word *tabia* is derived from the Arabic *tabiyya*, referring to a military structure or wall of compressed mud or earth (Ostapchuk, Bilyaeva 2009: 158). In his writings, Evliya Çelebi describes the *palanka* as a fortress, a small settlement surrounded by a wooden enclosure (Özgüven 1999: 2). Another term used is *parkan*, which represented a type of fortification erected in border areas (Özgüven 1999: 1). From documentary sources providing information on Ottoman fortifications, it can be concluded that the *havale* was a type of fortification used during sieges in the early Ottoman era, the *parkan* a type of fort used in border areas, and the wooden *palanka* a fort particularly characteristic of the military routes and areas bordering the Danube River.

Unlike the European fascination with building castles that were highly advanced technologically, Ottoman fortifications were comparatively simple. Ottoman strategists took a different view based on networks of *palanka*s, but the Ottomans also had a very well organised intelligence service. This strategic package was an efficient one, and it was organized enough to ensure the supervision of a long and difficult defensible border. In terms of efficiency and cost as well, Ottoman engineers made a good choice: the walls of a *palanka* could be raised extremely quickly, and unlike castles, the tons of earth and the wooden palisades could resist gunshots. The *palanka* networks constituted an impassable line of defence, and the loss of one *palanka* was not a great loss for the Ottomans, who could answer in a short time, sending troops garrisoned in nearby *palanka*s to assist.

There was, however, a major weakness in these types of fortification. Being made of wood, they could very easily ignite and burn. Even so, given the large number of soldiers inside and easy access to water sources, this was an assumed risk and could be easily managed.

Turkish fortresses and fortifications in Dobrogea: Cartography, materials and methods

As stated above, in the absence of documents, the political, economic and administrative situation of the territory between the Danube River and the Black Sea between the 15th and 19th centuries cannot be fully known. The subject of Turkish fortifications in the area is also far from clear, as it has not been frequently discussed in the specialized literature.

In the 15th century, along with the strengthening of the fortresses along the line from Isaccea to Enisala, the priority for the administrative integration of the new province was the creation of a full system of fortification. There is, however, no documentary information from between the

time of the conquest of Dobrogea, which included the restoration of the two fortresses mentioned above, and the 17th century, when a comprehensive process involving the development of complex fortified structures at Isaccea, Tulcea, Macin, and Babadag was begun.

The relevant Turkish documentation has a lack of information and a certain inconsistency, with the few extant data being accompanied by inaccurate descriptions of the elements of fortification and construction techniques. In addition, the Turkish documentary sources do not provide plans of either the fortresses themselves or of the complex system of fortifications around them.

There have also been scholars, diplomats, clergy, historians and traders who visited Dobrogea and left extremely valuable documentary information, including descriptions of some fortresses. Unfortunately, however, the presentations differ from author to author, making it difficult to clearly identify the elements of topography, fortification, etc. Moreover, these records lack references concerning the fortification system around the main centers of Dobrogea.

Overall, then, the documentary corpus, which contains over 1,200 documents and 50 fragments from Ottoman chroniclers, does not provide true clarification on the Ottoman forts. The fortifications surrounding the fortresses can be presumed based on the example of Isaccea, where three *tabia*s are known to have been placed in strategic locations. Given this absence of documentary sources, we have here focused on cartographic sources, which represent a good starting point for identifying the Ottoman fortifications in Dobrogea. Cartographic documents indeed represent our only chance to locate the missing *tabia*s and fortresses, such as through the use of a GIS system.

In its evolution throughout history, cartography has proven a veritable "image factory" processing and transmitting models and visions of hunting and cultivated spaces, but it has also represented a form of the primary management of landscape, nature, social relations, etc. While the basis of any study of the fortresses of Dobrogea should of course be represented by contemporary documentary information, the relevant information in this regard, especially in the Ottoman archives, offers little in the way of clarification of certain fundamental aspects that are much needed to recompose, even partially, the contemporary topography. Though such a recomposition must begin with each of the fortifications mentioned in the documents, we do not find them situated on current maps, nor with the lowest relativity.

Here, we have not sought to provide a complete evolutionary picture of the Turkish fortifications of the area, as the main objective is to raise interest in this field. Ultimately, a better knowledge of the historical geography may result from this initial effort, with, eventually, final identification of objectives which currently can only be labeled "missing".

Except for the fortress of Isaccea, the data drawn from published documents lack details about the founders of the fortresses; fail to provide detailed and accurate descriptions of the fortification elements and internal topography; and make no explicit mention or discussion of the fortresses' internal "life", the activity of governors, the military events in which they were involved, administrative issues, and so on. All that is known is very general data, which does not help much in understanding either the internal structure of or the way in which the Turkish fortresses of Macin, Isaccea, Tulcea and Babadag were administered.

What is known is the tragic end that these fortresses met: after the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, they were dynamited, and thus over time they disappeared from the memory of the communities. In terms of the plans of the fortresses, both before and after their destruction, we can mention the plans of General Wisman in 1771, of General Brognard in 1786, of Freiherr von Moltke in 1828-1829, the Russian maps from the beginning of the 19th century, the maps made by the geologist Carl F. Peters in 1867, the map of the Danube route produced by the European Commission of the Danube, the sketches published by M.D. Ionescu, and the boundary plans of localities and topographic maps dating to the Communist period.

Corroboration via satellite images and aerial photographs of all the information provided by such sources contributes to the reconstruction of the landscape of the fortresses and forts from the Ottoman period, which have now disappeared.

Materials and methods

Though some general information is known concerning the fortresses of the main centers in Dobrogea, the chains of earth fortifications (*tabia*s) extending around them have been lost in the thickets of history. The only way to locate these forts is through appeal to cartographic sources, a lengthy process of documentation that has already begun. The fortifications lose their contours from year to year, and thus the recording of them needs to be accelerated so that the historical dossier of Dobrogea can be completed together with the vanished fortresses.

The spectacular and rapid evolution of new applied methods in archaeological research through intensive use of non-invasive investigations involving aerial photographs, geomagnetic prospecting, georadar, electrical resistivity, and the study of satellite imagery have given rise to the concept of "landscape archeology". This interdisciplinary approach involves high costs and special equipment, as a result of which this stage of our documentation has forced us to use methods that do not involve high costs. To locate and identify the structures thought to represent fortifications, we have resorted to the support of aerial archaeology. Satellite images useful in studies of landscape analysis and easily accessible offer important data for the identification and location of fortified Ottoman sites.

The lack of aerial images led us to turn our attention to low-altitude aerial photography achieved via the use of drones (unmanned aerial vehicles, UAV). The only fortress for which we have an aerial image is Tulcea, and this image highlights a much different plan than the one reproduced on the maps from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. Thus, aerial photography will certainly lead to a more accurate reassessment of the plans of certain fortifications. If different scales of aerial photographs from the 1959-1980 period were made available, consulting them would open new perspectives for the mapping of the Turkish fortifications and for the study of the local habitat, communications routes, possible changes of the landscape, etc.

Another compulsory starting point – one as yet unfulfilled in the case of Dobrogea – is the topography of the field objectives. Remote sensing techniques used in the non-intrusive investigation of the relevant archaeological sites through the acquisition of information regarding buried structures has confirmed their usefulness in the case of this approach as well.

Satellite prospecting or remote sensing is another and more advanced means of utilizing aerial photography, one that involves taking pictures or photos from space via orbiting or stationary satellites. Remote sensing is the method used for large areas. By using such modern means to identify and map the missing fortifications, an experimental model that can be applied at other archaeological sites becomes possible. The data obtained will be integrated into a database containing the mapping, documentary, and topographic information together with the areas assessed and the sites identified, which will constitute an important step toward their being graded and placed in the list of historical monuments. Our main objective is to demarcate the sites and the establishment of protection zones in accordance with current legislation on the protection of archaeological heritage.

A further objective in the case of upgrading the urban plans is to integrate a less known historical period which has received little attention from specialists. Thus, by implementing modern technologies without high costs, we offer local communities a useful tool for the identification of archaeological sites. Data sets reporting new realities can be added to such operations, incorporating changes of settlement names, toponyms, communications routes, and the intensive cooperative agriculture of the Communist period, when deep ploughing affected historical and archaeological structures at ground level or below. In addition, surface

quarries, the expansion of urban areas, and the emergence of large industrial platforms also represent interventions that have affected some fortifications.

In the case of available maps, we proceeded to a scan and georeferencing. Then we went to the field for archaeological prospecting and to collect information about the locations where elements of fortification or archaeological heritage had been highlighted. We compared the information provided by the historical sources with the available plans, satellite images and aerial photographs, and then, in the field, we checked the presence of the Ottoman fortifications and their state of preservation.

We have certainly not exhausted the cartographic sources, but our approach nonetheless remains a first step in utilizing the obtainable information. Although we found significant differences in representations of the Turkish fortifications, the maps are ultimately the only documents that can help to accurately identify and map these vanished structures.

In consulting the cartographic sources, we found that the term *tabia* is used to designate the Ottoman fortifications, but at the same time, some forts are shown as a drawing without a name being specified. At Enisala, we used the toponym *palanka*, but field research and the cartographic sources have not confirmed the existence of a fort from the Ottoman period. Pamfil Polonic (1858-1943), who investigated the village of Enisala and the surrounding area, provides a detailed description of the identified sites, thus giving us a starting point for locating the Ottoman fortification.

Although it is an alternative technology, we also made use of drones for mapping the identified fortifications, making ortho-photograms, the digital model of the terrain, after which the topographic plan was obtained through the use of special software. The flexibility and maneuverability with which drones can be guided through difficult to access and sometimes otherwise inaccessible environments makes them especially suitable for the successful achievement of objectives. The cartographic materials are efficient in the evaluation of a microzone over several periods, and provide information additional to the visual information. Differences in scale, representation, projection or reproduction of the toponyms, and military structures resulted in certain gaps in our investigation.

All these results in history, archaeology and cartography have been integrated into a system of information management by the processing of data in the GIS system.

Maps used

1. Freiherr von Moltke, *Der russisch-türkische Feldzug in der europäischen Türkei 1828 und 1829* (Berlin: Reimer, 1845)
2. The Drawing master plans (1917-1953) – topographic maps, 1:20,000; 1:100,000; 1:200,000
3. Austrian maps (1910) – topographical maps, 1:200,000, made during the third campaign of the military's topographical survey of the Habsburg Empire
4. Hărțile topografice România – 1:25,000 and 1:50,000
5. The delimitation plan of the urban commune of Isaccea, 1883

The plans of General Wisman in 1771, of General Brognard in 1786, of Freiherr von Moltke in 1828-1829, the Russian maps from the beginning of the 19th century, the maps made by the geologist Carl F. Peters in 1867, the maps of the Danube route made by the European Commission of the Danube, and the sketches published by M.D. Ionescu are the cartographic documents that also record plans of Ottoman fortresses.

Through the corroboration of all the information provided by these sources, with satellite images and aerial photographs, we can reconstitute the landscape of the fortresses and forts from the Ottoman period that are no longer extant.

Results

Regarding the Ottoman fortifications, the documentary sources – that is, the chronicles and reports of foreign travelers – have some limitations: they are either too few or their information is truncated or incomplete.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the fortresses on the Danube line – Silistra, Hârşova, Macin, Isaccea, Tulcea, Ismail, Chilia, and Babadag, and later Constanţa – were endowed with the very complex elements of fortifications. Except for the fortress of Isaccea, the data extracted from contemporary documents contain no details about the founders of fortresses; no detailed and accurate descriptions of the fortification elements and internal topography; and no explicit mention or discussion of the fortresses' internal "life", the activity of governors, the military events in which they were involved, administrative issues, and so on.

What is known is the tragic end that these places – Macin, Isaccea, Tulcea, Babadag and Hârsova – met: after the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, they were dynamited, and thus over time they disappeared from the memory of the communities. The maps and plans executed by Western military personnel serving in the Russian army or by engineers and geologists who passed through Dobrogea in the second half of the 18th century and in the 19th century are not very numerous, and they refer mainly to areas around the Danube that have long been theaters of war. We hope that the Ottoman maps provide more consistent information and clarify some aspects related to the military system in the region.

In this endeavor of mapping vanished fortresses, the cartographic sources helped us to make plans and overlay them onto orthophotoplans or satellite images, but also to identify the *tabia*s, which constituted a true defensive system developed by the Ottomans to defend the borders of the territory between the Danube and the Black Sea.

The fortress of Tulcea was situated on a height which dominated the right bank of the Danube River, had a hexagonal shape and controlled an ancient ford crossing the river that linked the coastal road of the Pontic Moldavia with the routes that crossed Dobrogea from north to south, towards the Balkans and Istanbul.

Situated on the northwest outskirts of the municipality of Tulcea, Taberei Hill was so called due to the Ottoman fortress located there. Although the fortress and "Starî Tulcea" are located in this area, the cartographic sources indicate the area was only inhabited in the 19th century. The cartographic material gave us the opportunity to identify four *palanka*s in the territory of Tulcea. These were part of a large defensive system that ensured the defence of the settlement from the gates of the delta. Thus, a *tabia* was identified at the northwestern extremity of Taberei Hill. A second *tabia* in the area was destroyed by work done for the preparation of a slurry dump. The *tabia* in the town's southwest, in the area today occupied by the installations of a wine factory, is no longer extant. A fourth *tabia*, which is labeled on maps as a redoubt, was destroyed by the industrial platforms on the western part of the town.

In the area of Babadag, little is known of the *tabia*s mentioned on the maps consulted, apart from the garrison illustrated in some old lithographs. Surface quarries, agricultural activities and an industrial platform affect these three *tabia*s. It is possible that the Ottomans used the structure of the Roman fort at Topraichioi, which was located at the end of the bridge and ensured the crossing of the pond with the same name in the system of fortifications in the area. The maps consulted also feature other polygons that could be considered fortifications, but these could not be located on the ground land due to expansion of urban areas and the development of industrial platforms. Isaccea is the only locality in northern Dobrogea where the locations of five *tabia*s are known, two of which were destroyed in the 1970s.

The large *tabia* from the Noviodunum fortress is by far the largest Ottoman *palanka* in Dobrogea. Placed at a strategic point at the most important crossing of the lower course of the Danube, the Noviodunum *tabia* guarded one of the most sensitive spots on the Turkish border. The *tabia* has a trapezoidal shape, with the long side being 90 m and the short side

from the north being 60 m, entering from the south. The *tabia* located north of Movila Mare (Kurgan Vizir), and a second one located on the spot where SNTGN Transgaz Isaccea is today, have disappeared, as they were destroyed in the 1970s, when an orchard and the construction of the station were both carried out. In both cases, cartographic sources have helped us in locating the *tabia*s.

Using remote sensing, we were able to identify the exact location of the *tabia* situated in the proximity of the Grand Mound (Kurgan Vizier). The fortresses and fortifications mentioned in the documentary sources are as follows:

Tulcea	Constanţa
Isaccea	Hârşova
Măcin	Mangalia
Babadag	Karaharman
Sulina	---

The land fortifications of land (*tabia*/*palanka*) identified in the cartographic sources are as follows:

Tulcea	Constanţa
Isaccea	Hârşova
Babadag	Medgidia

Conclusions

The main objective of our research was to identify and map the vanished fortresses in Dobrogea, especially the earth fortifications. These latter lose their contours from year to year, and so recording of them needs to be accelerated and the historical dossier of these "lost" cities completed.

The research had two main phases: a cabinet stage (analysis of topographic and cadastral maps, historical maps, documentary sources, satellite images, and GIS analysis) and a field stage (archaeological field research, archaeological topography, and the realization of low altitude aerial photography with a UAV).

The analysis and interpretation of aerial photographs and satellite images was the most intense activity, with the results being integrated into a GIS; this was the working methodology considered most effective for achievement of the objectives. Part of the project of mapping the vanished fortresses in the area between the Danube and the Black Sea was the production of a listed of the earth fortifications. *Tabia*s are the only evidence of a system of fortifications made by the Ottomans, and work in this area focused on mapping the structures identified in the neighborhood of the settlements of Tulcea, Isaccea, Babadag, Hârşova and Medgidia.

In the case of fortresses (Hârşova, Măcin, Isaccea, Tulcea, and Babadag), the available plans were digitized and overlaid onto orthophotoplans or satellite images, with the possible structures then being checked on the ground. Beginning with the cartographic sources, the Ottoman *tabia*s centering around the main centers in Dobrogea were identified and localized, which led to the identification of five *tabia*s in the area of Isaccea, six *tabia*s in the Babadag area, five *tabia*s in the Tulcea area, two *tabia*s in the Hârsova area and three forts in the territory of the town of Medgidia.

The methodological approach with which we mapped in detail the archaeological structures of the Ottoman era opens new perspectives in the used of extended archaeological landscape mapping by studying the effect of the Ottoman conquest and control of Dobrogea. The interest in the study of the fortification system built by the Ottomans in Dobrogea must be maintained so that a better understanding of the historical geography can be achieved via the identification of targets which currently can only be considered "missing".

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Fig. 1 – Ottoman fortifications in the administrative territory of the town of Isaccea town.
Level curves extracted from SRTM and Aster, superposed on the orthophotoplan;
1. *Tabia*; 2. *Tabia*; 3. *Tabia*; 4. *Tabia*; 5. *Tabia*; 6. The stone fortification of Hârşova

Fig. 2 – The stone fortification of Hârşova (orthophotoplan, August 2016;
superimposed on ortophotoplan taken in 2010)

Fig. 3 – Ottoman fortifications in the administrative territory of the town of Isaccea. Level curves extracted from SRTM and Aster, superimposed on orthophotoplan; 1. Isaccea-Suhat; 2. The bastionary stone fortification of Isaccea; 3. *Tabia* (Kurgan Vizir/ Movila Mare); 4. Large *tabia*-Noviodunum Fortress; 5. *Tabia* or star fort? (Pamfil Polonic); 6. *Tabia*? 7. *Tabia*-Groapa cailor; 8. *Tabia*
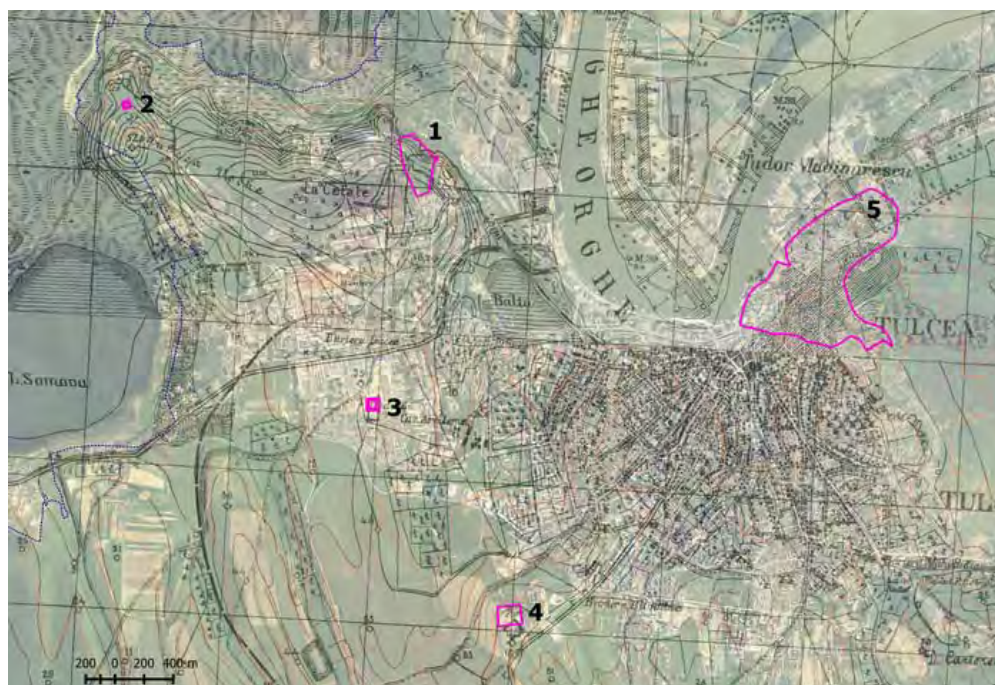
Fig. 4 – Ottoman fortifications in the administrative territory of the municipality of Tulcea, located on the base of the cartographic resources. Drawing master plan superimposed on orthophotoplan; 1. The bastionary stone fortification (partially destroyed); 2. *Tabia*; 3. *Tabia* (vanished); 4. Fort; 5. Medieval settlement (11th; 13th-18th centuries)

Fig. 5 – Bastionary stone fortification, Tulcea, aerial photo, 1960s (after Iosipescu 1990: 34)
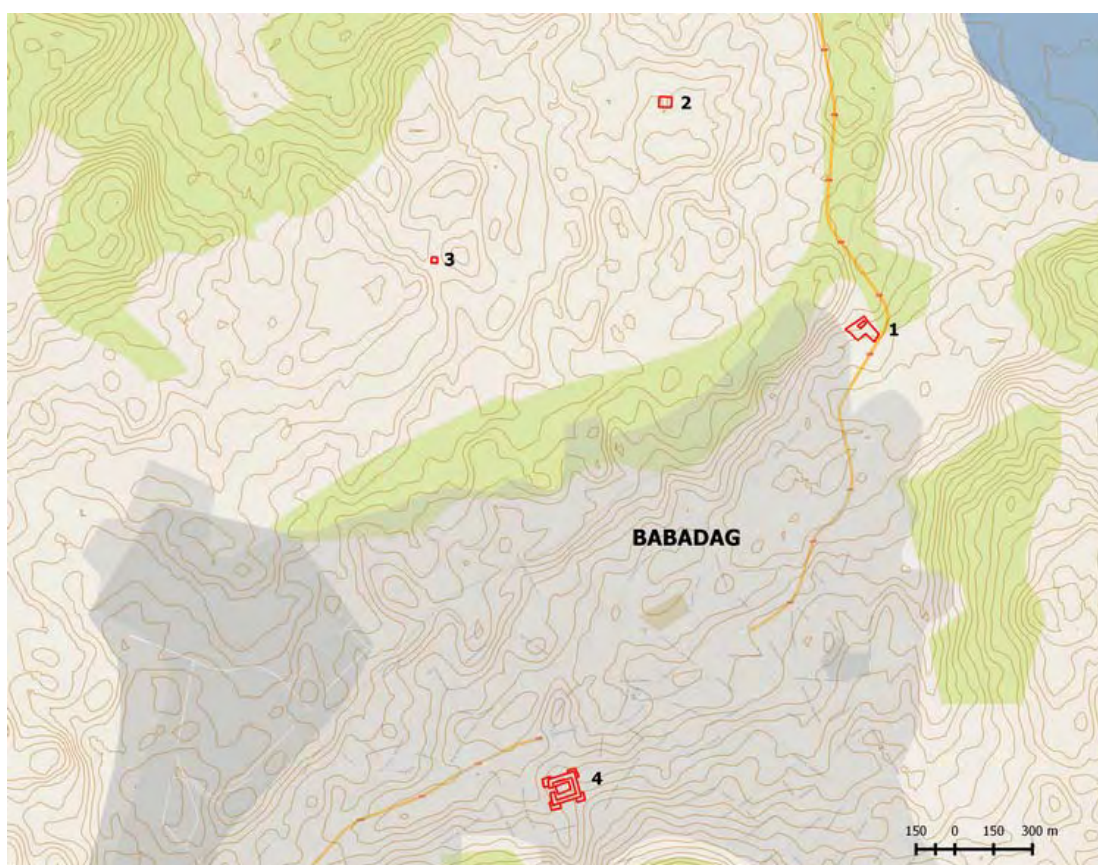
Fig. 6 – Ottoman fortifications in the administrative territory of the town of Babadag,
based on the cartographic sources;
1. *Tabia*; 2. Arap *Tabia*; 3. Little *Tabia*; 4. Garrison

Fig. 7 – Babadag, Little *Tabia*, July 2016, orthophotography
based on images taken by using a drone, detail
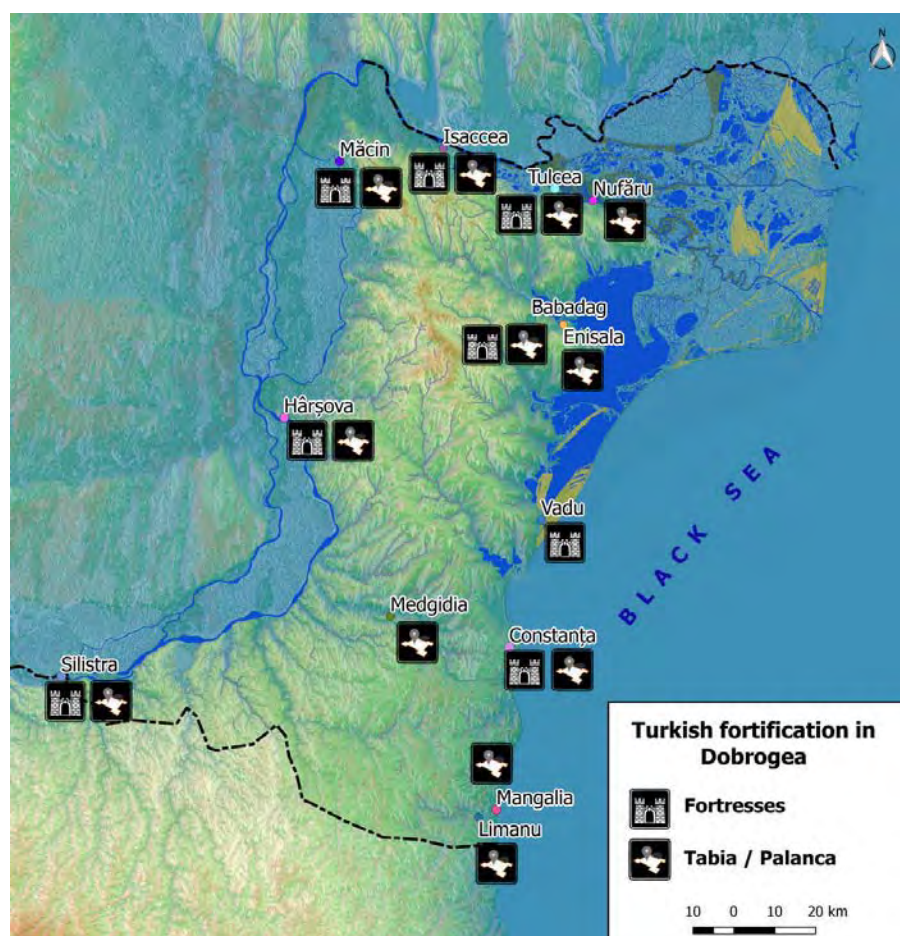
Fig. 8 – The Ottoman fortifications in Dobrogea

READING TOMB STRUCTURES AS FUNERARY ART:
THE LATIN CATHOLIC CEMETERY IN FERIKÖY, ISTANBUL

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This study is about the Pangaltı Roman Catholic or Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery in Istanbul and is part of an ongoing research within my doctoral studies focusing on the tomb structures from an art historical viewpoint. I am going to read these monuments as pieces of funerary art, architecture, and sculpture, discussing their stylistic and symbolic characteristics.

The Latin Catholic Cemetery in Feriköy was established in the 19th century that witnessed a series of reforms in the Ottoman Empire. Diverse ethnic communities were granted equality, security, and economic rights regardless of religion (Quataert 2000: 65-67). It is through these reforms that Latins started migrating in masses and joined the already settled Venetian and Genovese residents of the city. Hence, we can say that the Levantine community in Istanbul reached its apogee around 1850's (Marmara 2001: 9). These people, mostly Italian and French, were populated around Pera and Galata making this area the most European district of the city.

Prior to Feriköy there were two burial grounds in Istanbul used by the non-Muslims. The first one was the Petit Champs-des-Morts, which was located in the upper part of Galata, overlooking the Golden Horn. The other, Grand Champs-des-Morts was established in mid-sixteenth century and became the official Christian cemetery after 1615 (Belin 1894: 509).[1] It was a vast necropolis starting from Taksim and extending over Ayaspaşa, reaching the shores of the Bosphorus in Fındıklı (Akın 2011: 148-149). The Grand Champs was rather unique in the sense that it was used for the followers of both Islam and Christianity. The lower slopes were reserved for the Muslims, whereas in the northern area, toward Harbiye, lay the tombs of Christian communities.

None of these cemeteries have survived to date and they now endure only as memories in travellers' accounts. Around 1840's, as the area of Istanbul stretching from Taksim to Şişli started to transform into a densely inhabited residential area, it was no longer possible to keep these vast burial grounds. Hence, the Latin Catholic Cemetery in Feriköy was established on a piece of land granted by the Sultan, after the declaration by the Ottoman government in 1852 that both the Petit and Grand Champs-des-Morts should no longer be used as burial grounds (Belin 1894: 509) (Fig. 1).[2] Besides the intense building activity in the area, the other main reason was that the cemetery was posing a threat to the health of the residents (Johnson 2005).

Mgr. Brunoni, the vicar apostolic in Istanbul at that time, formed a committee after his arrival in Péra, and in 1859 a program was set up for the transporting of the remains to the new cemetery in Feriköy (Belin 1894: 512). The committee continued to meet regularly and

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[1] Alphonse Belin, who was the General Consul of the French Embassy in Istanbul during the second half of the nineteenth century, stated that after the fall of St François in Galata in 1697, the human remains inhumed in this church were also brought to the Grand-Champs.

[2] In the beginning Mgr Hillereau was in search of a piece of land for the new cemetery finally in 1852 the Ottoman government offered the terrain "outside the city and in the heights of Feriköy" (Belin 1894: 509). The news also appeared in the Journal de Constantinople, 9 Avril 1859, that the cemetery of the Grand-Champs would, as soon as possible, be transferred to the new piece of land conceded by the government. On 27 April 1859, episcopal authorities prohibited all inhumation in the Grands-Champs and stated that exhumation from the Grand-Champs should proceed within 5 years from that date(Belin 1894: 523).

started work by first building a wall surrounding the new burial site (Belin 1894, 513; Journal de Constantinople, 29 Avril 1861).

Exhuming of the human remains in the Grand Champs started in February 1864 (Belin 1894, 523). Alphonse Belin stated that the weight of the bones disinterred was at least 28 tons and 307 tombstones were collected. Sacred objects, such as rosaries and medals were also unearthed (Marmara 2001: 64).[3]

While the exhuming was going on, the committee decided to build a monumental ossuary in a simple but solemn style. This monument is in the form of a huge sarcophagus, a square-shaped structure with four stepped columns rising from the corners and was completed in 1870. 178 tombstones were brought from the cemetery in Taksim and were cut to fit one another. The stones were then put together to cover all four sides of the monument as well as the columns (Belin 1894: 523-529; Marmara 2001: 65). The stone placed above the door dates from the 14th century and is engraved in beautiful Gothic characters (Fig. 2a). Coming from the non-extant church St François it was found during the exhuming of the Grand Champs (Belin 1894: 524). This ossuary is the first and foremost piece of funerary art in the cemetery, a unique monument; it is an epitome of *collective memory* for the Catholic community of Istanbul.

As Belin rightly remarks:

> This monument is a touching symbol of Catholicism, at the same time an interesting page in the Latin History of Constantinople from the 14th century until the middle of the 19th. In fact, a most heterogeneous vocabulary, such as Albanian, German, English, Arab, Armenian, Croatian, French, Greek, Italian, Latin, Russian, Turkish are represented around this vast sarcophagus; as well as the most diverse professions: clergy, diplomacy, consular magistrate, science, commerce, etc […] Nationalities and careers all blended in the terrible equality of death and reunited in the safe and lasting unity of faith.[4]

Another ossuary was built in 1871 for the remains that had to be taken out of the common graves every five years. This second ossuary was used as a charnel house and was composed of eight underground cells on top of which an octagonal monument was built in neo-roman-gothic style with an octagonal pointed dome (fig 2b). Twenty years later a similar ossuary was built next to the previous two. These monuments were the symbols of the Committee's devotion to their pious task, such that the remains of the poor would also be preserved with reverence and respect (Belin 1894: 529).

The Latin Cemetery in Feriköy is currently the largest Catholic burial ground in Istanbul and is a conspicuous representation of the multi-cultural mosaic of the city. It is also a prominent *lieu de mémoire* and an important part of the cultural heritage of Catholic and Levantine Istanbulites.

Most of the tombs in Feriköy belong to important Levantine families of Istanbul, as well as some other prominent Catholic personage like high-rank government officials, artists, architects, and their families. Besides Levantines, there are also families from other ethnic

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[3] Belin also gives examples of the inscriptions on two tombstones transported to the crypt of St-Esprit (Belin 1894: 498).

[4] "Ce monument offre, par le fait, un touchant symbole de la catholicité, en même temps qu'une page intéressante de l'histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople, du XIVe siècle à la moitié du XIXe. En effet, les idiomes les plus hétérogènes, tels que l'albanais, l'allemand, l'anglais, l'arabe, l'arménien, le croate, le français, le grec, l'italien, le latin, le russe et le turc, sont représentés sur ce vaste sarcophage; aussi bien que les professions les plus diverses: clergé, diplomatie, magistrature consulaire, science, commerce etc… Nationalités et carrières se trouvent ainsi confondues dans la terrible égalité de la mort, et réunies dans la douce unité de la foi! [...]" (Belin 1894: 524-525). Belin refers to some of the inscriptions on the tombstones covering this monument. Among the Armenian names, there is the stone of a parent of Comidas de Carbognano (Belin 1894: 526-527).

groups such as Greek and Armenian Catholics, Syrian, Chaldean, and Melkite communities. According to the Lausanne Treaty, the cemetery in Feriköy is under the official protection of the Turkish state.

The Feriköy cemetery is partitioned into six sections, called *"carrées"* or "squares". These are: *Carrée Sts Pierre et Paul, Carrée St Joseph, Carrée St Albert, Carrée St Laurent, Carrée Sts Anges Gardiens, Carrée St Jean Chrysostome.* The northwest wall of the cemetery is lined with the mausolea of prominent Levantine families of Istanbul.

The remains of the Italian and French soldiers who took part in the Crimean War (1854-1856)[5] and the first WW were exhumed from several cemeteries around Istanbul and were later buried in separate grounds within the cemetery (Belin 1894: 517). There is a monument erected in the memory of the French soldiers and another pyramidal one for the Sardinian soldiers died during the Eastern campaign in 1855 (Figs. 3a, 3b). It is interesting to note here that the Feriköy Latin Catholic cemetery is the only non-Muslim burial ground around Şişli where graves of civilian individuals share the same space with memorials for victims of war (Şarlak 2005: 54).

The construction of the funerary chapel in the cemetery started in 1863, when Mgr. Brunoni formally set the first stone, but could not be completed before 1872 due to financial problems (Belin 1894: 513-514). It is built in the form of a rotunda covered by a lead dome. The painting hanging above the altar, a replica of the *Assomption* by Murillo, was a gift from the French emperor Napoléon III (Belin 1894: 513; Marmara 2006: 115).

A typological analysis of the tombs in Feriköy reveals a spectrum of some distinct forms such as stele or slab, rectangular or square monument or *cippus* type, column or pillar, obelisk, *aedicule* or tomb in the form of a shrine, sarcophagus, and monumental mausoleums. Some tombs have conventional sculpted figures or bas-reliefs, such as angels or mourning women. Others have busts or photographs as a tribute to the deceased person.

Let us know take a short stroll through the *carrées* or squares of the Feriköy cemetery and visit some of the most impressive funerary structures.

Demarchi, Durand & Bragiotti tombs are stone slabs with surface decorations in the neo-gothic style. Galiberti tomb is more articulated with four steps going up to the neo-gothic framework (Figs. 4a, 4b, 4c).

Jean Brindesi tomb is a marble block in the form of asquare shaped funerary monument with inverted torches and a garland of roses (Fig. 5a). The inverted torch is a frequently used element, originating from Roman sarcophagi and symbolizes life extinguished (Şarlak 2005: 48; Vandervelde 1991: 55). The acroter placed on top of the monument is an urn with a wreath hanging on it. Jean Brindesi (1826-1888) was an Istanbul-born watercolor artist, an orientalist. Two albums of lithographs were produced after his drawings of picturesque views of Istanbul, on the daily life and sartorial patterns of contemporary Ottomans. The originals of the drawings are kept at the Topkapı Museum.

Gianetti tomb is a white marble monument set on a curvilinear neo-baroque plinth with laurel branches, we have an eclectic design here (Fig. 5b). The laurel was the emblem of glory for the Greeks and Romans and since it is an evergreen plant it also symbolizes immortality. The Gianettis were linked to the Canzuch family through marriage and they subsequently ran the renowned *Pharmacie Britannique*, or as later called the *Kanzuk Eczanesi*, on rue de Péra. [6]

Scarpello tomb is a monument of white marble replete with symbols. Besides garland and ribbons, there is a stylized cross, inverted torches, and an hourglass with wings, which is the

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[5] The remains of French soldiers were exhumed from several cemeteries around Istanbul. Belin also gives a list of the names of soldiers and doctors whose remains were brought here (Belin 1894: 517-522).

[6] H. Tekiner, "Osmanlı Eczacılığında Bir Kilometre Taşı: İngiliz Eczanesi", http://www.journals.istanbul. edu.tr/iuoba/article/view/1023009024

symbol of time flying away or the spirit going up the sky (Fig. 5c). The two compartments of the hourglass represent the Earth & Sky (Vandervelde 1991: 63; Rheims 2014: 24). The acroter is an urn beneath a shroud. Originally a repository for the ashes of the dead, the urn came to represent mourning, death of the body, and its inevitable return to dust. The flame on the other hand, is also a reference to resurrection. This tomb also displays eclectic characteristics.

Some of the tombs are designed as sarcophagi, such as the Marinitsch-Mirza tomb that is a sarcophagus with lions' feet, a band of egg-and-dart molding and six stylized floral rosettes. The lions' feet and neo-classical elements of the tomb point to the empire style.

Maghamez tomb is an interesting sarcophagus designed like a gable-top coffin (Fig. 6a). The inscriptions are in both Ottoman and Latin script.[7] There is a stylized cross on top of the "coffin" with A and Ω combined with the Chi Rho symbol (Fig. 6b). Alpha and Omega represent the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet and together they symbolize "beginning and the end". The Chi Rho symbol on the other hand represents the first two letters of the Greek word Χριστός or Christ.[8]

Another type are the baldachin tombs built under canopies. Among the examples of this type, we can refer to Boccardo and Lemmi that are both built under domed canopies (figs. 7a, 7b), the Lemmi tomb is designed in the form of a rotunda. There is the statue of an angel under the Boccardo canopy and a sarcophagus placed on lion's feet and a curvilinear base, in the Lemmi tomb. Although the rotunda as the main structure recalls the neo-classical, decorative elements on the sarcophagus refer to the empire and neo-baroque style, hence an eclectic design.

Urbach tomb is an elevated sarcophagus under a high-pointed neo-gothic baldachin with trefoil arches and supported by four short columns with composite capitals. The baldachin has crockets on the sloping edges and the acroter is a stylized cross. This is a tomb designed in the neo-gothic style (Fig. 7c).

Aleksandr Suht tomb is a white marble monument with a floral decorative band and egg-and-dart molding. The most striking feature is a rich array of flags, cannon, cannon balls, drum, trumpet, and mace that are characteristic elements of the empire style. This decorative vocabulary concurs with the inscription in Cyrillic script, which states that Aleksandr Suht was a major general (Fig. 8).

Coppens tomb is built in stone and has a majestically imposing appearance displaying features such as a wreath, garland, and triglyphs. Albeit neo-classical elements, there are references to neo-baroque in the form of the triglyphs and the details on the base (Fig. 9a). Wreaths as classical motifs are associated with the ancient symbols of victory but are also connected with the mourning or funerary wreaths that were placed on the doors of the house where death has occurred. The Chi Rho symbol and inverted torches are displayed on both sides of the tomb (Fig. 9b).

Art Nouveau Style, or the Stile Floreale came to Istanbul at the end of the 19th century with the arrival of the Italian architect Raimondo d'Aronco.

The most striking example of this style at the Feriköy Cemetery is the Famiglia Michele Ferri tomb. The white marble obelisk is half-covered by a draped cloth. Other decorations on the obelisk are ivy leaves and a cross inside a circle formed by a snake biting its own end. This is the symbol of eternal renaissance with the form as well as the reference to the snake's shedding its skin. The whiplash motifs on the two-tier base and the characters in the inscription are typical of the Art Nouveau style (Fig. 10).

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[7] Zeki Maghamez was a wealthy merchant born in Aleppo and was a close friend of French novelist Pierre Loti. When Loti wanted to communicate in private with his *grand amour* Aziyade, he took lessons from Zeki Maghamez to improve his Turkish: http://ekitap.kulturturizm.gov.tr/TR,80387/orhan-kologlu.html.

[8] A and Ω have a Biblical reference to Christ in Revelation and they are often used in combination with a cross or the Chi Rho symbol.

Carlo Amancich family tomb on the other hand, is designed in the art déco style, out of stone & marble. In the center of the cross there is a capital A and Ω engraved within the Chi Rho symbol, just like the neighboring Maghamez tomb. The names are also inscribed in art déco script (Figs. 11a, 11b). Carlo Amancich was an architect in Istanbul and he built the Amancich Residence, his own house in Galata as well as the Yacht Club on Büyükada.

The last three examples I would like to include are built as mausoleums, the name derived from the tomb of Mausolus, the magnificent funerary monument in Halicarnassus, Turkey. These are in the form of "family houses" elaborately designed and constructed, with many fine architectural and sculptural details, as if the occupants are still in the process of displaying their status and wealth.

Capoleone family tomb is a neo-classical mausoleum with fluted pilasters, wreaths and ribbons. Acroter is an urn draped in a shroud and placed on the triangular pediment (Fig. 12a). Edoardo de Nari is also buried here, since his mother-in-law is from the Capoleone family. De Nari was a constructor of Italian origin, who designed a number of buildings in Istanbul, such as the Church Complex of Sant'Antonio (with Mongeri), the non-extant Park Hotel, and he also worked in the renovation of Casa d'Italia, Società Operaia Italiana, and the Church Complex of Santa Maria Draperis (Uras 2012).

Mratovitch tomb is a white marble mausoleum that is a pure Greek- revival structure built in the form of a temple with an angular pediment, triglyphs, and metopes (Fig. 12b).

The neo-gothic mausoleum of the Deveaux family (Fig. 12c) has pointed arches and a quatrefoil oculus. Verticality is highly emphasized with crockets on the sloping edges. The name of the family is written on a scroll in Gothic characters. The iron door displays lancet openings in line with the gothic style.

Conclusion

We have seen that the tombs in Feriköy were built in various forms and artistic styles ranging from simple slabs to neo-classical or Greek revival temple-like structures, as well as mausoleums displaying neo-gothic characteristics. Some are elaborately designed and constructed with exquisite details while a great number of them tend to display eclectic characteristics, featuring a hybrid stylistic vocabulary. This repertoire also makes reference to the multi-ethnic, multi-cultural context of the cemetery.

In terms of funerary symbolism, the motifs displayed are religious or secular or hybrid and they owe much to the decorum surrounding grief and mourning. There are not many tombs that exhibit symbols related to profession albeit a few exceptions. However, we do encounter an abundant use of vegetal motifs, such as garlands, wreaths, laurel leaves, olives, roses, lilies, and other floral ornamentation; a trend that flourished in Europe in the 19th century. Since these people had strong ties with Europe, it is not surprising that there are borrowings from and references to European funerary architecture, symbols, and motifs.

The eclectic and revivalist idiom is also commensurate with the nineteenth-century readiness in the Ottoman capital to experiment with various styles and the rise of eclecticism as a colorful architectural vocabulary. New styles started to appear, and the city's skyline began to display a rather pluralistic environment that was also reflected in the funerary architecture of the Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery.

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Turkish Abstract

Feriköy Latin Katolik Mezarlığı halen İstanbul'daki en büyük Katolik mezarlığı olup kentin çok kültürlü mozaiğinin dikkat çekici bir simgesidir.

1860'larda Osmanlı hükümetinin Taksim'deki Büyük mezarlığa gömü yapılmasını yasaklamasından sonra bağışlanan bir arazi üzerinde kurulmuştur. Daha sonra Büyük Mezarlık'tan çıkarılan kemikler Feriköy'e nakledilerek, Taksim'deki mezarlığın taşları ile inşa edilen bir anıt kemikliğe yerleştirilmiştir. Feriköy'de bulunan mezarların çoğunluğu İstanbul'un önemli Levanten ailelerine aittir. Bunlar arasında üst düzey hükümet görevlileri, sanatçılar, mimarlar ve onların aileleri de bulunmaktadır. Feriköy'de Levantenlerin yanı sıra farklı etnik gruplardan ailelere de rastlanır. 1854-56 Kırım Savaşı ile I. Dünya Savaşı sırasında ölen İtalyan ve Fransız askerleri de bu mezarlıkta kendilerine ayrılan bölümlerde yatmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Feriköy'de bulunan mezar yapıları sanat tarihi açısından ele alınarak onların mimari ve üslup özellikleri kıyaslamalı olarak tartışılmaktadır. Sanatsal üsluplar incelenirken, özellikle bezeme unsurlarına, sembollere ve süsleme diline ağırlık verilmekte, bazı mezar yapılarından görseller de sunulmaktadır.

Biographical Note

Selva Suman got her MA at the History Department of Boğaziçi University in Istanbul, majoring in the History of Art and Architecture program. She is currently a PhD candidate at the History of Art Department of Istanbul Technical University. Her studies focus on 18th to early 20th-century Ottoman art and architecture; she explores multi-cultural interactions, westernization, and artistic styles in late Ottoman Istanbul. She has published several scientific contributions. Among these, her article "Questioning an Icon of Change: The Nuruosmaniye Complex and the Writing of Ottoman Architectural History" (based on her MA thesis) was published in the METU *Journal of Faculty of Architecture* (2011).

Fig. 1 – Feriköy Latin Catholic Cemetery in the 19th Century

Fig. 2a – Monumental ossuary; 2b – Second ossuary (©Selva Suman)

Fig. 3a – Monument for the French soldiers; 3b – Monument for the Sardinian soldiers (©Selva Suman)

Fig. 4a – Domenico Demarchi tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 4b – Durand-Bragiotti tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 4c – Galiberti tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 5a – Brindesi tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 5b – Giannetti tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 5c – Scarpello tomb
(©Selva Suman)
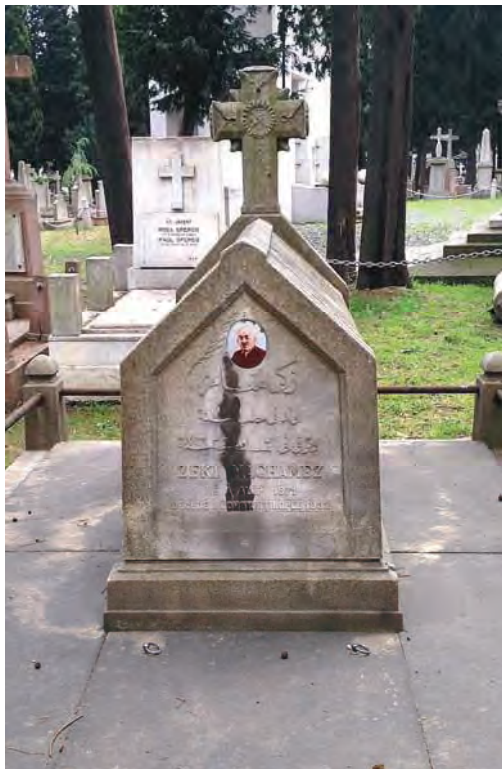
Fig. 6a-b – Maghamez sarcophagus and detail of the cross
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Fig. 7a – Boccardo tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 7b – Lemmi tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 7c – Urbach tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 8 – Aleksandr Suht's tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 9a – Coppens tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 9b – Coppens tomb, detail
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 10 – Michele Ferri's family tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 11a – Carlo Amancich's
family tomb
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 11b – Carlo Amancich's family tomb,
detail of the cross
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 12a – Mausoleum of the family Capoleone
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 12b – Tomb of the family Mratovich
(©Selva Suman)

Fig. 12c – Tomb of the family Deveaux
(©Selva Suman)

THE CLOUD COLLAR AS A COMMON TREND
IN TURKIC RULERS' PALACES
IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC WORLD

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In the late Middle Ages, at the palaces of such Turkic Islamic states as the Timurid, Ottoman, and Mughal empires, it became fashionable to wear over the caftan large, attached, layered collars that were diamond-shaped and had deeply carved edges. In Chinese these collars, made in China, were called *yun jian*. Western scholars have translated this as "cloud collar" (*bulut yaka* in Turkish). The layered lobes of the collars came to be used in decorating porcelains, metals, and other materials. In this way, the pattern has survived to the present as a name of both the collar and the motif (Fig. 1).

Origin of the Cloud Collar

The very first studies on cloud collars were conducted in the 1950s, when it was put forward that the origin of the cloud collar pattern had evolved from Buddhist mandalas.[1] Mandalas are symbolic shapes that appear on the ceiling decorations of Buddhist sanctuaries or on fabrics hung on walls.

The mandalas of Tibet are usually composed of a main diagram emerging from a circle in the center, which is surrounded by a wider ring, a square enclosing these, and smaller squares inside circles. Grant Ellis interprets the shape inside the circle situated at the center as a palace standing in the walls of a sacred city, and speculates that the ruler of the universe, God, might be envisioned here. When the mandala is a ceiling decoration, the central medallion may represent the metaphysical sun, which could be the "door of the sun" or "heaven's door", through which a spirit can pass to arrive in heaven.[2] Ellis subsequently compares the different compositions found in mandalas' central medallions with 13th- and 14th-century Mamluk carpets, attempting to explain the similarity between these carpets and mandalas.

This paper will elaborate on the similarity between the cloud collar and the mandala. Cammann says that the circle in the center of the ceiling of Buddhist sanctuaries in Tibet and western China represents the door of the sun, while the shape around it opening on four sides and surrounded by a cloud collar represents a minimised model of the universe. The best example of the mandala's cloud collar pattern is the so-called "Lama" mandala (Fig. 2).[3] Cammann explains the relationship between the cloud collar shape around the door symbolising the universe and its application on cloth as follows. During the Song Dynasty, the human body was considered a mast of the universe, rising from the earth to the door of the sky. It was believed that the body would penetrate the door of the sky with the hole created by the neck representing the door. This motif, symbolising the frame of the door of the sky (in other words, the shape of the cloth's collar on top of the costume), would match the cosmic meaning. This symbolism in the collar of the dress would serve to separate substance (the body) and spirituality (the soul) from each other.[4] Subsequent findings confirmed the cosmic signs of the cloud collar during the Jin Dynasty (1115-1260 CE). At this time, the emperor's costume was

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[1] Cammann 1951: 1-9.

[2] Ellis 1974: 30-50.

[3] Canada, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, 910.45.1. For the mandala mentioned, see Cammann 1951: fig. 6.

[4] Cammann 1951: 5.

yellow and decorated with dragon patterns, and had a cloud collar with motifs of the moon and the sun. The phrase "cloud collar" was first used in reference to this.

The Mongols, a great power in Central Asia, subsequently captured China and established the Yuan Dynasty, ruling China for nearly a century (1279-1368). There are figures with cloud collars on wall paintings from this period. A wall painting from the Shanxi region of China held in the Royal Ontario Museum features a figure with a four-lobed cloud collar attached to his coat; the figure represents a member of a hierarchical Buddhist community.[5]

In Yuan history, when describing the *yun jiyan* dress, Chinese authorities mention the collar as an ornament or a costume that is colorful and made up of gold-decorated four-piece cloud motifs, and is worn by women. Research has shown that no actual cloud collar remains from the Yuan period, with the earliest known example dating to the Ming dynasty (1368-1644); specifically, a costume with lobes and gold-decorated patterns found covering the tomb of the Ming prince Zhu Tan (d. 1389).[6] Cloud collars are also encountered as part of the costume seen on a group of wood-carved figures dating to the Ming period (Fig. 3).[7]

Porcelain had begun to be exported to western Asia about a century before the establishment of the Yuan dynasty, and the Mongols continued this practice. Porcelains for export were manufactured in a powerful style using refined Chinese patterns in such a way as to be acceptable for palaces. The most important clients were Muslim countries, with the most significant collections remaining from Yuan porcelains being found in Delhi in India, Ardabil in Iran, and the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, Turkey.[8]

In a published catalogue of Topkapı Palace, there are about 40 blue-white underglaze porcelains dating to the Yuan period, and most of them are decorated in cloud collar patterns. The most outstanding examples of this pattern are seen on a large plate, a meiping vase, and a water bottle (Fig. 4).[9]

Shamanism is also considered to have had an effect on the transmission of cloud collar forms to Buddhist mandalas. Buddhism began to be seen in Tibet from the 5th century CE and became common in the 7th century. Michael Harner, an anthropologist who studied the Conibo people in Peru between 1960 and 1961, drew attention to the circle seen in the center of Tibetan mandalas, noting that it might represent the entrance to the tunnel to the world of gods and souls, which are portrayed around the center. Being a shaman himself and organising sessions to teach others shamanistic practices, Harner claims that he and his students experienced passing through just such a narrow, round door.[10] He states that esoteric Buddhism, such as that found in Tibet, is essentially a more sophisticated and regulated form of shamanism.

When the Turks were in Central Asia and before they had adopted Buddhism, they would dance en masse and play drums with swords and masks in order to repel evil demons and bad spirits. An indispensable part of their costume were attached collars, called *dodog/dodogadi*. Even after they had adopted esoteric Buddhism, they maintained this ritual in collective dances, called *çam* in Mongolian and *cham* in Tibetan and performed at monasteries in Mongolia and Tibet.[11]

The Chinese and Turks were neighbours when the Turks were still in Central Asia. Though they fought periodically, there was also cultural exchange between them. Cloud collars can be seen in Chinese sources, particularly after the spread of Buddhism there. The earliest examples

[5] Ellis 1974: 46, fig. 25.

[6] Rawson 1984: 133, notes 20-22.

[7] Rawson 1984: 133, fig. 119.

[8] Krahl 1986.

[9] Krahl 1986: 387, cat. 552 (TSM.15/1480, plate); 397, cat. 575 (TSM.15/1398, meiping vase); 405, cat. 588 (TSM.15/1391, water bottle).

[10] Harner 1999: 56-57.

[11] Cenghis Khan and Heirs, Great Mongol Empire 2006: 568-69, cat. 417.

date to the Tang Dynasty (618-907 CE).[12] According to Chinese records of the Turks in Central Asia, the attached collars used by the Turks in shamanistic dances were in accord with the cosmic philosophy of Buddhism, and as Buddhism became increasingly common in China, it was here that the most outstanding examples of cloud collars were produced. Subsequently, they were conveyed to the Middle East through Mongol raids.

Appearance of Cloud Collars in the Middle East and Islamic World

Mongol raids into the Middle East started with Genghis Khan and continued with Hulagu Khan and the Timurids. The Mongols settled in Iran and the vicinity in the 14th century, benefitting from the culture of the region and embracing its famed artists. But they also transferred Chinese culture and art, with which they had grown familiar when they were under Chinese rule, to the territories they conquered. The influence of Chinese art is first seen in the region in Ilkhanid paintings. One example of this is one-page figurations *kalem-i siyahî* (black pen), which are drawn on paper with ink and brush and include some gold foil. The "black pen" technique continued with the Jalayirids, who ruled the region afterwards. However, after Timur captured Tabriz and Baghdad in 1386, not only political supremacy but also patronage of culture and the arts shifted to the Timurs. Timur made Samarkand his capital and it became a celebrated artistic and cultural center. Western research indicates that the Mongol incursion destroyed much of Iranian culture, as well as showing that numerous examples of Chinese ornamentation began to be seen in Russian Turkistan, northern and eastern Iran, and Afghanistan.[13]

Seven high reliefs from the façade of a building were found in the rubble when a house was demolished in Kubachi in Dagestan, and these were later scattered to museums and special collections in Europe and the United States. These works were featured in an exhibition on Iran held in London in 1931. The reliefs are placed in special lotus frames and portray figures seated cross-legged and wearing costumes with cloud collars attached. These reliefs, whose costumes and postures indicate that they are meant to depict Turks, date to the 12th-14th centuries.[14]

In 1398, Timur crossed the Indus River into northern India, where he encountered and defeated the army of Mahmud Shah Tughluq. After capturing the capital city of Delhi, he seized not only elephants, but also the most renowned masters of the city, taking them with him to Samarkand when he returned there.[15] Timur in fact took artists to Samarkand from many of the places he conquered. For instance, after capturing Baghdad in 1386, he took with him Abdulhay, who worked for the Jalayirid palace, and Abdulhay remained in Samarkand for the rest of his life. After defeating the Ottomans near Ankara in 1402, Timur took the artist Ali b. Ilyas Ali, who worked for the Ottoman palace, and this artist stayed in Tabriz for some time training further in art before returning to his country.[16] Ali is said to have been the first artist to introduce the art of Timurid painting to the Ottomans.[17] In this way, Timur gathered together the artists of the countries he captured in his capital, thereby forming the repertoire of the Timur era via the enrichment of Sassanian/Persian culture with patterns from China. This repertoire would much later influence the art of *chinoiserie* in the West, and had an international influence extending from Europe to India, including in Samarkand, Herat, Tabriz, Damascus, Cairo and the Ottoman world, in each case mixing in local characteristics. Timurid art influenced Ottoman art for some time (1400-1530). The Ottomans' commercial and cultural relations increases as a result of the conquest of Constantinople by Sultan Mehmed II in 1453. This accelerated the

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[12] Rawson 1984: 132, fig. 118.

[13] Camman 1972: 23-41, 23

[14] Salmony 1943: 153-164.

[15] Berinstain 2002: 17-18.

[16] Taşköprülüzade (15th century) 1985: 437.

[17] Necipoğlu 1990: 136-169, 136-137.

transmission of Timurid culture into the West. During this period, manuscripts with miniatures produced in centers such as Baghdad, Tabriz, Shiraz, and Herat show scenes of palaces with figures in costumes drawn with gilt on cloud collars.

The Role of Sultan Mehmed II in Transfering Eastern Culture to the West

Sultan Mehmed II is known to have invited the Italian Gentile Bellini, one of the famous painters of the time, to his palace in Istanbul, where he had a portrait of himself produced. Bellini also painted a portrait of an officer in the palace during his two-year (1479-1481) residence in the Ottoman capital. This painting, known as *Seated Scribe*, was an example of the exchange of art between East and West. In fact, it was Bellini who introduced Eastern painting into the West via gilt and the drawing technique he used when coloring in his sketch. In turn, *Seated Scribe* would go on to serve as a model for at least two Eastern artists (Fig. 5).[18] One of the most renowned paintings done on this model was completed in the era of the Timurid ruler Husayn Bayqara (r. 1470-1506) by the artist Behzad (d. 1535 or 1536), Herat's master of the black pen technique. This work depicts Husayn Bayqara sitting on his knees. It is said that the work was found in an album numbered H. 2154 in the library of the Topkapı Palace Museum; the album was prepared by "Dost Muhammed" between 1544 and 1545 for Behram Mirza, the youngest son of the Persian shah Ismail, and had been sent to the Akkoyunlu palace in Tabriz in the 15th century.[19]

The reason for mentioning these portraits and their stories here is the fact that each of the figures involved is shown wearing a large cloud collar with lobes, which was in fashion at the end of the 15th and beginning of the 16th century. The portrait in black pen technique, consisting of a ink drawing on paper patterned with gilt and watercolor, is shown with a short-sleeved caftan and a layered cloud collar with small red flowers on spirally curving twigs (a pattern called *haliç işi* in Ottoman art).

Another portrait depicted in accordance with the model of Bellini's *Seated Scribe* was pictured with thick needlework and a cloud collar on a blue background with surrounding layers, sewn onto a red caftan. The underlining of the collar is in blue on a red background, forming a contrast and indicating special emphasis.[20] This portrait, said to be of Husayn Bayqara, is found in the album numbered TSMK H. 2154.

Besides the direct depictions of cloud collars seen in these figures, there are also drawings of collars produced by artists in albums for the sultans, also using the black pen technique. One collar drawing, dating to the period between 1450 and 1500, was said to be one of the patterns produced in the libraries of the sultans' palaces during the Timurid and Turkmen periods in Iran, and was converted into textile and prepared for needlework.[21]

The name *al-Rahman* (the All-Compassionate) is inscribed in Kufic calligraphy on a huge *hatai* found on a single cloud collar lobe drawing. This drawing shows a pattern designed in China taking on an Islamic character (Fig. 6).

Current Collars

Despite the abundance of the collar illustrations in the albums prepared for the sultans and the depictions of cloud collars worn by the sultans, actual extant collars are very few. The earliest

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[18] Bellini and the East 2005: 122, cat.32.

[19] The portrait, in the M. Sackler Museum at Harvard University today, was previously in the Louis J. Cartier collection (No. 1958.59), see Bellini and the East 2005: 123, fig. 46.

[20] Bellini and the East 2005: 123, cat.33 (Quwait National Museum reg. LNS 57 MS inv. no.LNS 57 MS)

[21] Lentz & Lowry 1989: 216, 352, cat. 114; the collar drawing is in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (No. 14. 452).

collar is the only one dating to Timurid Iran, and is presently held in the Kremlin Palace Museum in Moscow; it dates to between 1400 and 1450 (Fig. 7).[22] The four-lobed collar is a spectacular sample of brocade, embroidered with silk yarn in pastel blue and shades thereof on a background padded with gold thread on a silk background. One lobe of the collar would fall on the back and two on the shoulders. The fourth lobe, meant to fall on the front, is divided in two from the neck hole to form the front space and extending down to the hemline at a length of 185 cm. The pattern in the lobes consists of figures of four angels with open wings facing one another, in *hatai*s and centerpieces on twigs. There is a flowing *rumi* border on the long, narrow parts forming the front space. The usage of angel figures in this composition, which indicates the influence of Chinese art, signals a new understanding. The composition resembles a depiction of angels flying among flowers in the Garden of Eden. The tough and violent motifs of China soften in Timurid art, being replaced with elegance and beauty.

Chinese sources demonstrate that the relations between the Timurids and China continued at a high level for some time. Accordingly, Timur's son Shah Rukh (r. 1409-1447) was given a palace robe and collar. It is said that his cloud collar was embroidered with gold in a tiger-stripe pattern and enriched with flowers and embedded jewels.[23]

Today, an inscribed shirt found in tomb of the Ottoman dynasty has been preserved in the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum (TİEM) (Figs. 8-9, No. 538).[24] The shirt was brought to the museum from the tomb of Bayezid I (r. 1389-1402) in Bursa. Besides the layered collar, which was drawn on, the inscription style and tailoring reflect the fashion of the Timurid period at the beginning of the 15th century. In fact, the shirt, inscribed and illustrated with ink on a simple cotton fabric, is significant with respect to the wide, layered collar drawing and sleeve caps. The shape of the layered collar, which was drawn in red ink, extends down to the chest in front, to the waist in back, and also covers the shoulders.

These attached collars are seen on outer caftans, usually half-sleeved, in the illustrations of the time. However, there are also miniatures showing examples with long sleeves and embroidered wristbands (Fig. 10).[25]

The cloud collar model is not extant among the costumes of the Ottoman sultans. Yet gold thread bands on the collar, front, and hemline of the red satin ceremonial caftan of Mehmed (d. 1543), the son of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent by Hurrem Sultan, is considered an extension of this trend. In fact, these bands have been defined as "cloudbands" by researchers.[26] The difference between cloudbands and 15th-century cloud collars is that the former surround the caftan and the hems of the collar are slightly layered. The background of the band, which was embroidered with gold threads by *zerduzan*s in the palace, is elaborately padded with gold thread. On this background, one of the examples has *rumi*, *hatai*, and Chinese clouds embroidered with blue, pink, and violet threads, on curving twigs (TSM. 13/739). On the other example, there are three moon-shaped spots among the tiger stripes embroidered in blue silk diagonally and parallel to each other, in addition to pink, blue, and yellow spring flowers (Fig. 11, TSM. 13/738). The collar is also surrounded by a layered series of palmettes as a border, an element that can still be seen in ceremonial Buddhist collars, as will be understood from the example mentioned below.

The Khalili collection in London has a Persian upper garment dating to 1640-1660 that constitutes a late sample of this collar form. The front of this violet velvet caftan has a gold

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[22] Kremlin State Armory Museum, collar, no. TK.3117: see Lentz & Lowry 1989: 216, cat. 116; 352-353.

[23] Roxburgh 2005: 417, cat. 163.

[24] Tezcan 2009: 53, fig. 12; Tezcan 2011: 68-69, cat. 9.

[25] TİEM, no. 1978, *Şahname-i Firdevsi*, Turkmen Period, Iran, Shiraz, 1475-1500: see *Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum* 2002: 227.

[26] Tezcan & Delibaş 1986: 168, cat. 86 (TSM.13/739); cat. 87 (TSM 13/738).

band, while the front space, with a wide stripe circling the skirt, indicates that it was worn by the shah himself.[27]

18th- and 19th-century versions of these collars that were used in China are housed in the Washington Textile Museum. One of these collars dates to the 18th century (1973.7.3) and is identical to the Timur collar in Moscow. It was embroidered in pastel blue shades on a white satin background and surrounded by black piping. The pattern of the embroidery represents a praying mantis amidst blue mushrooms, magnolias, begonias, grass, orchids and peonies.

In the Beijing Palace Museum is a sleeveless vest tailored in velvet that was also used to make four-lobed attached collars; this dates to the 19th century.[28] Each lobe of the cloud collar is on the side vents at the hems and at the end of the closing band in the shape of an "L" on the front. This type of garment was worn by both women and men in China. A seated woman was depicted with a cloud collar, painted in watercolor on silk and dating to the 20th century (Fig. 12).

The Turks of Central Asia, as they adopted Islam from the 9th century onwards, continued their collective ceremonies as a routine in daily life, rather than as a religious duty. Although the Ilkhanid Ghazan Khan adopted Islam around 1295 and destroyed everything pertaining to his former beliefs, and even though some of the traces of these beliefs lost their shape and meaning for centuries, these older beliefs nevertheless continued to exist among the Turks. In terms of clothing, attached collars are one of the remnants of the old beliefs.

When Clavijo described the clothing of Pir Muhammad, the grandson of Timur, in the 14th century, he stated that Pir Muhammad wore a blue silk cloth with Tatar figures. In his description, he also said that the robe's "back and front covered his chest and shoulders and passed down the material of the sleeves"; this led Sims to infer that the costume is "recognizable as the 'cloud collar'".[29]

In the present day, these collars are still used by the Mongols in certain ceremonies. In a catalogue[30] prepared for a Genghis Khan exhibition held in Bonn in 2005, there was an attached collar among the items representing ceremonial costume. This layered collar, almost square and measuring 75 x 68 cm, is red. Its contours are layered with a thick, dark blue line arranged in such a way as to form palmettes in each corner. Significantly, the shape of the palmette is identical to that seen on the edge of the embroidered cloudband on Mehmed's robe (13/739), mentioned above. There are lotuses and two dragons in each corner of the palmettes on the four corners, all of which are elements of Chinese art (cf. Fig.1).

Research shows that the tradition of the embroidered and attached collar still continues.[31] The noble woman (Dondogdulam), portrayed as a queen by painter Şarav in 1911 sitting on his throne, has an attached collar on his dress in blue, white and red, with layered contours and a beige background. Finally, a photograph of dancing figures wearing masks and ceremonial outfits with the same attached collars is particularly interesting.[32] The dancers – in Leh, Ladakh, near Tibet – wear the same colored collars on their yellow costumes. The photo, taken in the last quarter of the 20th century, shows that the attached collars have maintained the same form, though they have lost their original meaning and become simpler, continuing simply as a part of a costume.

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[27] Piotrovsky & Vrieze 1999: 139, cat.84, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, no.TXT 65.

[28] Imperial Chinese Robes 2010, 86, sleeveless, civilian man jacket (jinshen), late Qing period (1862-1908) subtitled and inventory-numbered Gu 48092.

[29] Sims 1992.

[30] Sagaster 2005: 348-352 and in cat. 417 the collar is stated to be registered as the Erdene Zuu Monastry Museum, Övörchangaj province (Mongolia).

[31] Barkmann 2005: 414-418, cat. 442, Zanabazar Fine Arts Museum, Ulaanbaatar, inv. no. 193-695.

[32] Bechertand-Gombrich 1984: 25.

Conclusion

While still in Central Asia, the shamanistic Turks were neighbors to the Chinese, and they celebrated the coming of spring together. Later, by the time they had adopted the variety of esoteric Buddhism common in the regions around Tibet, shamanistic rituals had penetrated into Buddhism, and collective ceremonies continued to be held. The shamanistic Turks would once dance with masks and swords to bring abundance and repel evil demons. They continued to wear attached collars called *dodog/dodogadi* during the dances – called *çam* in Mongolian – that they would perform at collective ceremonies. Tibetan Buddhism became common in China as well, and so the cloud collars, an indispensable part of the costumes worn at religious ceremonies, came to be used by the Chinese.

When they migrated from Central Asia and settled in Iran and the surrounding areas, the Turks maintained their old traditions despite their adoption of Islam during the time of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan Khan. They also promoted Chinese art in Iran and surrounding regions. During the Timurid period, the ruling Timurids adopted Persian culture, spoke Persian and were influenced by Persian art, and in the process they created outstanding Timurid art in which cloud collars can be found. The figures of sultans depicted with these collars in 15th-century paintings demonstrate that Timurid art became a common trend adopted in the Iranian, Mughal, and Ottoman palaces.

Gentile Bellini, the Italian painter invited to the Ottoman palace by Sultan Mehmed II between 1479 and 1481, produced a portrait of an officer in the palace during his stay. This painting, known as the *Seated Scribe*, was an example of the exchange of art between East and West. In fact, it was Bellini who introduced Eastern painting into the West via gilt and the drawing technique he used when coloring in his sketch. In turn, *Seated Scribe* would go on to serve as a model for at least two Eastern artists.

Worn by the sultans, the cloud collars had lost their religious meaning over time, but eventually reached an artistic peak thanks to the craftsmanship of palace embroiders working with gold thread on valuable fabrics in a manner suitable for wearing in palaces.

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Turkish Abstract

Ortaçağ'da Timur, Osmanlı, Hint Babür gibi Türk İslâm Devletlerinin saraylarında, kaftanların üstüne, baklava şeklinde, kenarları derin oyulmuş, dilimli, büyük takma yakalar takmak moda olmuştu. Bu yakalar Batılı araştırmacıların verdiği isimle "*cloud collar* "Türkçe "*bulut yaka*" olarak literatüre geçmiştir.

Araştırmalar, *bulut yakalar*ın menşeini Çin olarak göstermiş ve Tang Hanedanı (M.S.618 – 907) zamanına kadar geriye gittiğini ortaya koymuştur. Türkler 'in de Orta Asya'dayken komşuları Çin'den etkilenerek bu yakaları kullandıkları bilinmektedir. Araştırmalardan bu yakaların Budist Mandela'larından kaynaklandığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bulut yakalar ilk Cengiz Hanla başlayan, Hulâgu ve Timur'la devam eden akınlarla Orta Doğu'ya inmiştir. Timur, Hint Babür ve Osmanlı Saraylarında giyim kuşamda ortak bir moda oluşmuştur. Bu modanın en göze çarpan parçası ise zemini altınlı telle işlenmiş araları mücevherlerle bezenmiş *bulut*

yakaydı. Bulut yakalar giderek eski anlamını kaybetse de günümüze kadar aksesuar olarak kullanımını sürdürmüştür.

Bulut yakaların eser olarak mevcut erken örnekleri çok nadirdir. Bu bildiride; bu nadir yakalarla Topkapı Sarayındaki *bulut yaka*lı kaftanla betimlenmiş resimler ve kalem-i siyahi tekniğinde çizilmiş desenlere yer verilmiştir.

Biographical Note

She graduated from the Department of Archaeology and Art History, the Faculty of Literature in Istanbul University. She received her Ph. D. degree with the thesis entitled "Byzantine archaeology of Topkapi Palace and its surroundings". She started to work at Topkapı Palace Museum in 1971 and she was appointed as Curator of the Sultans Costumes Section. She retired from the museum in 2006. While she wrote many books and articles on Ottoman textiles, carpet, costumes history, tailors, fashion. She participated in various international projects as well. She is currently teaching at the Department of Textile and Fashion Design, the Faculty of Art and Design in Nişantaşı University.

Fig. 1 – Collar, Museum of the Monastery of Erdene Zuu, Övörchangaj (Mongolia)
(after Sagaster 2005)
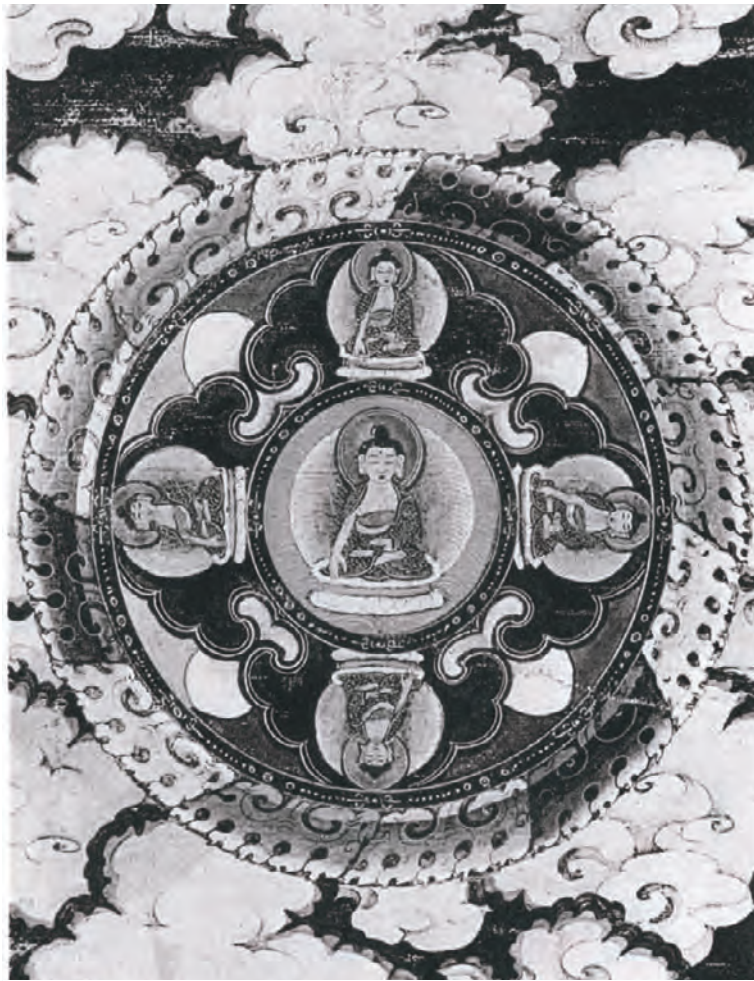
Fig. 2 – Mandala cloud collar diagram ("Lama" mandala)
Canada, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 910.45.1. (after Camann)

Fig. 3 – Cloud collar as a part of the dress of a
wood carved figure from the Ming period
(after Rawson 1984)

Fig. 4 – Cloud collar pattern on a water bottle
from the Ming era (after Krahl 1986)

Fig. 5 – Gentile Bellini (1429-1507), *Seated Scribe*, gouache and pen with ink on paper, 1479-80
Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, 18.2 × 14 cm.
(after Bellini and the East 2005)

Fig. 6 – Inscription "Er-Rahman" on a single cloud collar lobe drawing
Kufi Calligraphy in the shape of *hatai*, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 14.452.
(after Lentz & Lowry 1989)

Fig. 7 – Cloud collar from Iran, Timurid era (circa 1400-1450)
Moscow, Kremlin State Armory Museum, inv. no. TK.3117
(after Lentz & Lowry 1989)

Fig. 8 – Talismanic shirt from the tomb of Bayezid I (1389-1402) in Bursa
Istanbul, TİEM, inv. no. 538 (front side)
(after Tezcan 2009 and Tezcan 2011)

Fig. 9 – Talismanic shirt from the tomb of Bayezid I (1389-1402) in Bursa
Istanbul, TİEM, inv. no. 538 (rear side)
(after Tezcan 2009 and Tezcan 2011)
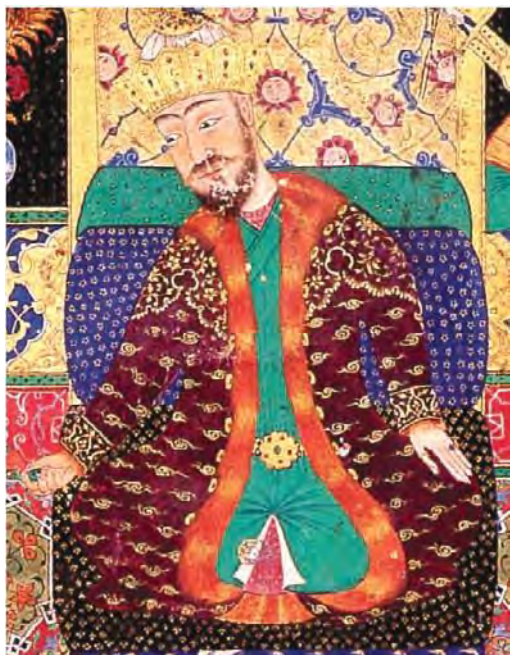
Fig. 10 – Istanbul, TİEM, inv. no. 1978,
Şahname-i Firdevsi, Turkmen Period, Iran,
Shiraz, 1475-1500
(after Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum 2002)

Fig. 11 – Ceremonial caftan of the Prince
Mehmed with emboidered collarband
(Topkapı Saray Museum, inv. no. 13/738)
(after Tezcan & Delibaş 1986)

Fig. 12 – A sitting woman depicted with a cloud collar, watercolour on silk, 20th century, Zanabazar Art
Museum, Inv. No. 193-695, Ulan Bator, Mongolia (Udo B. Barkmann 2006)

THE CITADEL OF ŞANLIURFA AND THE EVOLUTION
OF MUSLIM MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

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This paper presents a summary of the results of a new project involving archaeological investigations carried out at the citadel of Şanlıurfa since Autumn 2014. This project is designed to provide new evidence on the history of fortifications in the Near East focusing on the citadel of Şanlıurfa, in south-eastern Turkey. On the basis of a stratigraphic analysis of the archaeological remains preserved above ground at the citadel, together with the study of historical photos and a re-examination of the written sources, it aims to establish a sequence of the building history of the citadel. This research will contribute to an understanding of the evolution process that led to the development of a mature military architecture in the area and of the building techniques that were employed in this context.[1]

The project fits into a specific stream of research – the origin and evolution of fortification in the Mediaeval Near East – which has experienced a period of renewal and intense activity in the last two decades. Within this main stream investigations are also exploring the contextual development of building techniques.

The fortification of settlements, in this region as elsewhere, is undoubtedly a complex process that developed over a long period of time, generated by a number of different concerns that varied significantly over time and involved a number of different actors. A general, comprehensive work on the Near East has not yet been written, although some attempts have been made; if some periods seem to be better known than others, the general history of fortification in the region remains insufficiently defined.

Field projects dedicated to fortifications have concentrated especially on present-day Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Israel, while research on this topic in present-day Turkey seems to have attracted the attention of scholars less frequently, and often in relation to very specific aspects, such as the fortifications of Armenian Cilicia (Edwards 1987) or those of the Crusaders (Hellenkemper 1976).

The building of a fortification is primarily an expression of power, serving the purpose of establishing control over a given settlement or territory and defending it. The fragmentation of power and the rapid change of political organisation that for decades characterised the territories located in present-day south-eastern Turkey produced a complex network of fortifications. This region can therefore be regarded as having extraordinary potential for investigating the subject of fortifications; it constituted a disputed area over a long period of time, and therefore experienced confrontation, contact and exchange between the various political actors, their cultures and traditions. The extraordinary development of fortifications in the area certainly derives from its fragmented political character, which on the one hand created the need to fortify settlements; on the other, it is the interaction of a number of

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[1] This project is being carried out by a multi-disciplinary team, with the present writer as scientific director. *Archaeological and architectural survey and analysis*: E. Reali, L. Tarducci, C. Tavernari, V. Vezzoli. *Building material*: J. Cl. Bessac. *Written sources and inscriptions*: R. Contini (Syriac sources and inscriptions), R. Giunta (inscriptions in Arabic), S. Heidemann (Arabic sources), P. Lucca (Armenian sources and inscriptions), N. Zorzi (Greek and Latin sources and inscriptions). In the field the team was joined by R. Baylan (2014) and B. Üçdağ, Şanılurfa Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu Müdürlüğü. The project benefitted from funds allocated by the University Ca' Foscari, Venice, and by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAAEE). The first phase of the project will be completed at the end of 2016.

different traditions that stimulated the formulation of a complex military architecture and spurred its continuous evolution.

The major components that are believed to have played a significant role in the development of military architecture, such as the Byzantine, the Armenian, the Muslim, the Crusader and the Mongol traditions were all active in this area.

The Citadel of Şanlıurfa

The written documentation available for Şanlıurfa clearly indicates that the city can be regarded as an extraordinary observatory for the development of a number of research themes, including those related to the history of fortifications and to the evolution of building techniques. As for the history of fortification, it should be possible at Şanlıurfa to detect the transformation of military architecture from the Classical to the Mediaeval period on the one hand; and on the other, since most of the leading actors that contributed to the formation of military architecture in the Near East seem to have had a role in the process of fortification of Şanlıurfa, the site may offer the possibility of singling out the various components and examining their interaction. Then, if we consider the technique of building in stone, Şanlıurfa appears to have played an exceptional role in the preservation and dissemination of this tradition.[2] It is especially when we come to the process of fortification of buildings in the Near East that we often find reference to Armenian builders/architects/masons from Edessa, the most famous and best-documented case being that of the 11th century gates of al-Qahira (Dadoyan 1997; Pringle 2014). Therefore, the opportunity to study first-hand evidence from the actual source of dissemination of this tradition may allow us to develop this topic from a new angle and acquire new documentation.

The written documentation concerning Şanlıurfa is quite abundant (for a survey: Amouroux-Mourad 1988, 1-13; Honigmann & Bosworth 1985; Faroqhi 1985), but it should be noted that very little of it is concerned with the citadel; the same can be said for the architecture of the town in general. It is especially the sources in Greek, Latin and Syriac that give us some topographic indications, while those in Arabic only occasionally mention its celebrated churches (Amouroux-Mourad 1988: 41-43).

However, it must be said that the written sources have not so far been investigated for the purpose of acquiring specific information on the fortification works, and hopefully the review of the written documentation that constitutes an essential part of this project will shed new light on this point and in general on the urban form of this important settlement.

At present it is not known in which period the hill where the citadel is located, north-west of the town, began to be fortified;[3] however, it is hard to imagine that a project of fortification of the town would not have been concerned with defensive measures to be taken on the hill overlooking it from the north-west. The earliest reference to the use of the hill guarding the town concerns the winter palace of the famous King Abgar (end of the 2nd-beginning of the 3rd

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[2] Study of the architecture in the neighboring regions controlled by the Muslims has revealed a gap in the cycle of production of new building material in stone, from approximately the 8th up to the mid-11th centuries. A similar situation seems to have occurred in Europe, over a wider span of time. By contrast, study of the architecture in Armenia shows a pattern of continuity. The westward migration of Armenians, and the establishment of the Armenian Kingdoms in Anatolia are a well-known phenomenon. However, significant differences in the building techniques of Armenia and those in use in Armenian Cilicia have already been identified and discussed; the same can be said for the fortifications built by the Armenians from Edessa in the Near East, where the interaction of the Armenian with the Byzantine and Northern-Syrian traditions very probably gave birth to something new, and it is this new tradition that the builders from Edessa seem to have disseminated.

[3] For a general topographical sketch that shows the walled city and the citadel, see for example Sinclair 1987-1990: IV, pls. 1-2, redrawn from earlier plans.

century), apparently located in the area that later became the citadel; the two columns that still mark the horizon of the citadel today may well be the only remains of this palace (Figs. 1, 3).

The fortification of the town and presumably of the hill of the citadel may already have been carried out before the year 525: in this year a devastating flood caused considerable damage to the town and a major restoration project was launched by Justinian. To prevent the occurrence of similar disasters in the future, a dam was built, together with a ditch that flanked the northern and eastern parts of the city walls. It is within this project that the western city wall was extended as far as the hill, possibly to join other defensive works that were already in place (Hellenkemper 1976; Segal 1970: 187-188; Sinclair 1987-1990: IV, 8-12). What corresponds today to the southern curtain of the citadel may already have existed at this time, constituting the southern defense of the town itself, but there is no textual evidence that can confirm it.

Information about the citadel in the following period is equally scanty. That the city had a ditch and a wall when the Arab army conquered it is confirmed in the chronicles of this episode. Şanlıurfa became the theatre of the conflict between the future Abbasid caliph al-Mansur and the Umayyads; al-Mansur is reported to have destroyed the city wall in the year 754; other episodes of destruction took place in the year 812, and finally the written sources report that the city walls were rebuilt by the Abbasid governor in 814 (Segal 1970: 195). Some scholars assume that the citadel was built or rebuilt in this same year, but it must be said that although this can be regarded as a plausible hypothesis, there is no evidence to support it at present; Sinclair even ventures to suggest that the carved ditch that surrounds the citadel from the east, south, west and partly from the north was cut in this period (Sinclair 1987-1990: IV, 8-12). It must be admitted that we do not know much about the military architecture of the period, but to attribute such a major defensive device, cut into the rock, to this specific period would require the support of some more substantial evidence.

Only from the 11th century do the sources provide more information about the citadel, confirming without any possible doubt that by this time it had become an important strategic element. Interestingly, the sources make it clear that control of the citadel did not guarantee control of the town and vice-versa. Until about 1025 Şanlıurfa belonged to the Banu Numayr. As a consequence of a conflict between the inhabitants and the Banu Numayr governor of the town, Utayr, help was sought from the Marwanid prince of Mayafariqin; it seems that for some years the government of the city was shared between these two powers, one in control of the citadel (Banu Numayr), the other in control of what was referred to as the 'lower citadel', identified with what is today known as Bey Kapısı, by the eastern gate. The Byzantine *protospatharios* Maniakes, who was at that time the ruler of Samsat, took advantage of this apparent lack of a strong power, and negotiated the acquisition of the town, gaining control of the citadel first. Once he had managed to consolidate his power over the whole town, repelling the various attempts of the Banu Numayr to recover Şanlıurfa, he refortified the citadel in the year 1037 (Heidemann 2002: 85-97; Segal 1970: 217-218).

The sources tell us (Segal 1970: 220-221) that the fortifications resisted the Seljuk assaults of Alp Arslan, who attacked the town from the east and tried to fill in the ditch along the city walls; the Seljuks did not manage to conquer Şanlıurfa until the year 1087. A Turkish commander was appointed at the citadel, while an Armenian, Thoros, was in charge of the town and of the territory; Thoros is said to have carried out fortification works at the citadel (Hellenkemper 1976). It is Thoros who opened the town to Baldwin of Bouillon, who very quickly managed to get rid of him and establish the County of Edessa in 1098.

The period of the Crusader County and its Muslim Hinterland has been extensively investigated, especially in relation to the written sources (Amouroux-Mourad 1988; Heidemann 2002: 145-197), but again very little is known of the fortification. Apparently, the citadel served as a refuge for the Count in the context of open conflicts with the population; in general, however, the Count preferred to reside at the much safer citadels of Tell Bichr

(*Turbessel*) and Ravanda (*Ravandel*). The building known today as Bey Kapısı, by the eastern gate, is the only piece of fortification work than can be attributed to the Crusader period at present, confirmed by an inscription still *in situ* (Segal 1970: 236 and note 1). Hellenkemper attributes the cutting of the ditch to this period because of the similarity between this and that of Sayhun (Qalʿat Salah al-Din), but again more evidence is necessary in this respect (Hellenkemper 1976: 36).

That the defensive works of the city, however, must have been well kept or even strengthened is implicit in the chronicle that refers of the conquest of the town by Imad al-Din Zangi, in 1144; Ibn al-Athir describes the city conquered by Imad al-Din Zangi as "the eye of Mesopotamia and the strongest fortress in the Muslim lands" (quote in Segal 1970: 247). The sources also indicate that at the arrival of Imad al-Din Zangi the city had few troops stationed there and was therefore lightly defended (Segal 1970: 244ff.).

Restoration work was carried out immediately after the conquest and was commemorated by inscriptions that are now lost; the restoration seems to have concerned the fortification of the city, but it is not clear if it also involved the citadel; building material recovered from pre-existing buildings was used in the new construction (Segal 1970: 249; Guidetti 2009: 13ff.). A topographic description of the city in 1165 is provided by a Latin source and constitutes an exceptional document: the fortifications of the city are reported to be in excellent condition (Röhricht 1887: 195-199).

The use of *spolia* is also reported in the following period, when the city passed under the control of the Ayyubid family: building material from the cathedral was used for works at the citadel (Sinclair 1987-1990: IV, 6).

Very little is known about the following decades, from the time Şanlıurfa surrendered to Hülegü in 1258, and was spared destruction. The Mamluks probably gained control over the city only in the first half of the 14th century; we are told that they repaired and garrisoned the citadel.

It is from this period that the architectural remains in the curtain walls of the citadel confirm the indications of the written sources: substantial fragments of masonry that can be attributed to this Mamluk phase have been identified in the curtain walls but also in the inner buildings (Sinclair 1987-1990: IV, 8-12; Tonghini 2014); a still unpublished monumental inscription probably commemorating this intervention, currently under study as part of our project, is preserved in the southern curtain wall.

In the early 15th century Şanlıurfa passed to the Ak Koyonlu and then to the Ottomans. Major building works were carried out at the citadel in the following centuries, especially in the northern part; these can be clearly identified today and are commemorated by inscriptions, most of them, unfortunately, moved from their original position.

From the Mamluk period, therefore, the archaeological remains preserved above ground at the citadel today can make a significant contribution to the re-composition of its building history and to an understanding of its architectural forms and building characters.

The new project: First results

In spite of the importance of Şanlıurfa for the history of the material culture of the area, the analysis of its mediaeval archaeological and architectural remains has not been addressed by specific studies. This is also true for the citadel.[4]

Our study of the citadel therefore started with an in-depth analysis of the remains that are preserved above ground; on the basis of the results, future research will then consider the buried deposit. In the course of the 2014 and 2015 seasons some parts of the citadel were subjected to

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[4] The most complete overall assessments of its archaeological evidence can be found in a monograph on the Crusader period by Hellenkemper (Hellenkemper 1976) and in the four-volume studies of Eastern Anatolia by Sinclair (Sinclair 1987-1990: IV, 8-12).

stratigraphic analysis. The major difficulty in accomplishing this study at the citadel of Şanlıurfa was the poor legibility of the remains because of the heavy restoration carried out in recent decades. However, parts of the curtain are still untouched, as are the remains of a number of buildings inside the curtain walls (Fig. 2). Combining a preliminary analysis of these with the examination of restored masonry it proved possible to establish a hypothetical sequence of the building history, with the identification of five major periods, a summary of which is offered here.

The remains of Period 1 are very fragmentary today, and they were only identified in parts C and H of the curtain walls (Fig. 2). They are characterised by the use of re-employed blocks that were not subjected to further re-working. Walls of this type also appear in the earliest phases of Complex N (Fig. 3); here the presence of re-employed decorative elements, such as capitals, enables a post-II century date to be established for this early building. It is probable that the fortified area in Period 1 was much smaller than that visible today or had a different lay-out; it is therefore possible that the evidence related to these earlier phases is better preserved in the buildings inside the present-day curtains. The excavations of the buried deposit will hopefully provide more substantial evidence on these earlier periods.

In Period 2 a complex defensive programme was carried out: a ditch and a curtain wall provided with projecting buttresses (Fig. 2, structures 8 and 9, Fig. 4). The ditch was cut in the natural bedrock around the citadel (Fig. 5); only part of the northern side of the citadel, adjacent to the lower town, was left without the ditch: here its presence would have isolated the citadel from the walled town. The extension of the ditch and the distribution of the remains ascribed to this period suggests that the citadel of Period 2 had already reached the dimension of the citadel as we see it today.

The masonry type associated with Period 2 is characterised by the presence of blocks obtained from re-worked, re-employed ashlars. To be noted is the presence of L-shaped joints (Fig. 4), a feature of walls made with re-employed material; they appear in the masonry of various other areas, including Greater Syria, in buildings that are ascribed to the 5th and 6th centuries, but they seem to continue for at least another two centuries (Brogiolo and Cagnana 2012: 147; Gilento and Parenti 2013: 32).

As for the morphology of the curtain, with its square buttresses, it should be noted that these appear in a number of fortifications in relation to a wide span of time, starting from the early Byzantine period, if not before (Northedge 2008); they are still present in the fortification phases of Qal'at Sam'an, in northern Syria, ascribed to the 10th century (Biscop 2006). The polygonal structure located in the western side of the citadel shows similar masonry in its earliest phase of construction (Fig. 6); this structure has been attributed in the past to the Byzantine period (for example Lawrence 1936, 51).

The best-preserved evidence so far identified at the citadel concerns the later Periods 3-5, when major reconstructions of the earlier citadel took place.

Period 3 features a massive reconstruction of the curtain walls. The interfaces of destruction prior to this rebuilding clearly indicate that the citadel was in a ruinous state at this point; hopefully the analysis of the buried deposit and the study of the written documentation will clarify this point and make it possible to understand the dynamics that led to such an important destruction of the citadel.

The re-building of Period 3 can be seen in long stretches of the curtain, provided with arrow-loops, and in projecting elements that can be defined as towers. It should be remembered that the presence of the ditch around most of the citadel did not allow the construction of the massive defensive towers that characterise this period elsewhere. Room to build these towers would have been available only on the northern side, where the ditch is not present (Fig. 2, G, H, P), but on these parts the reconstructions of later periods have covered the remains of Period 3. The reconstruction of Period 3 is also clearly present in a complex identified within the curtain wall, Complex M (Fig. 2).

Three types of masonry appear in the construction of Period 3: one is characterised by the use of ashlar with flat rustication, one using ashlar with a perfectly flat face, and a third type where both types appear (Fig. 7). The internal face of the walls only features ashlar with a flat face.

A long inscription is partly preserved in a stretch of curtain of area D, between buttresses 11 and 12 (Fig. 2); it is severely damaged and heavily restored. It is referred to as Mamluk (Sinclair 1987-1990: IV), but so far it has not been fully published; a study of this important inscription is currently in progress.

In Period 4 long portions of the curtain were rebuilt, following the layout of previous periods (Fig. 8). The masonry of this period is set a few centimetres further back than the remains of the previous periods. As it is the case for Period 3, there are no data that allow speculation on the events that once again led to a significant destruction of the citadel. The reconstruction of Period 4 in most cases employed ashlar blocks with a flat face, and only occasionally rusticated blocks. The finish of the face may vary: the whole face was sometimes dressed with a toothed tool, a *chahuta* in the cases that were examined;[5] or, alternatively, the finish was ornamental, with the central part of the block treated with a pointed tool; in some cases this central part is slightly raised by comparison with the margins of the block (Fig. 8). The tool employed in all of the previous periods, a bladed hammer, seems to have fallen out of use from Period 4 onwards. This constitutes an important technological change that the continuation of our research will hopefully help to clarify. On the other hand, the type of stone used in all periods does not vary, so it can be stated that the change of tools is not related to a change of the lithotype.

The presence of three different inscriptions still *in situ* provides a dating for this important period of restoration; the inscriptions mention a ruler of the Ak Koyonlu, *Abu al-Nasr Hasan Bahadir 'Ali Khan;* one of the inscriptions also reports a *hijri,* 865 (1460-61 AD).[6]

Period 5 corresponds to the long Ottoman period, in the course of which many building activities were accomplished. Various stretches of the curtain were rebuilt, in various phases; Ottoman period arrow-loops occasionally survive in these curtains, though they have been considerably altered by modern restoration. the circuit in the northern part of the citadel, where the ditch is absent, was transformed with the building of massive, projecting towers (Figs. 1, 9). The system of access to the citadel was also completely re-designed in this period, with the enlargement of a strong tower (Fig. 2, tower 4 and Fig. 9); the system in use in the previous periods is entirely concealed by these new constructions.

One of the major difficulties concerning the evidence related to this period is to establish a sequence for the various activities that have been identified: collapse and modern restoration have cancelled the stratigraphic relationship between the various components. Only the exploration of the buried deposit may in future provide some evidence to link the various phases. The masonry typology already provides some indications in this respect and allows us to ascribe the construction of certain parts of the curtain to the same phase. The face of the ashlar blocks is generally flat and features various types of finish, as in the case of the previous period; the blocks seem to be smaller than in earlier periods. Towards the end of Period 5 masonry types characterised by the use of small blocks with an unfinished rustication (quarry faced) make their appearance.

As to absolute chronology, the two inscriptions visible today in the walls of this period have been repositioned in the course of modern restoration works and they have therefore lost

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[5] Jean-Claude Bessac examined the masonry typology established for the citadel on the basis of detailed photographs and identified the tools that were used for the final dressing. For the project he will carry out a complete study of the stone building material.

[6] A transcription of these inscriptions is available in Karakaş 1987: 74-76, but they still await a complete edition.

their documentary value;[7] they are at present being studied. It is perhaps the research on the rich textual documentation that will in future provide more information about the fortification work of this period. The completion of the research on the structures preserved above ground, and the exploration of the buried deposit will hopefully enable us to complete the sequence sketched here, and to illustrate the various periods in further detail.

As to the character of the settlement at the citadel, only archaeological excavations and study of the written texts may in the future provide some data in this respect. The sources seem to suggest that the citadel may have been a residential area for the urban élite in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, and it may have acquired its military character only with the fortification carried out by Justinian in the 6th century. In its long history it served several times as a headquarters for the authority currently in power, as it is often the case with medieval citadels in the area, but more evidence is required to put together a more comprehensive picture.

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[7] The case of tower 3 is a good example. This tower has been entirely rebuilt in very recent times, although the team found no record of this important operation. One can compare the photo of the tower taken by Creswell in 1919 (Creswell archives, ICR0555_N: http://creswell.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/), or in Hellenkemper 1976: pl. 3B, with fig. 10, which illustrates the present state of the tower. The tower is not the same as it was, but the inscription has been remounted in a similar position, although one course lower. Study of the inscription, nevertheless, may provide some information about the original tower. This case stresses the importance of studying the historical photos of the citadel. Another important inscription that bears the date 955/1548-1549 (Karakaş 1987: 75) has been removed from its original position in the course of a restoration and is now set in the eastern curtain; it originally belonged to yet another inscription that is today preserved in a wall on the northern side of the citadel, west of the present-day entrance. This inscription is currently being studied.

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Turkish Abstract

Bu yazıda 2014 Sonbaharından itibaren sürdürülen Şanlıurfa Kalesi arkeolojik araştırmasının sonuçları özetlenmektedir. Çalışmaların amacı yapıların stratigrafik analizlerin, tarihî fotoğrafların ve yazılı kaynakların yeniden irdelenmesiyle kalenin yapım tarihin kronolojisini belirlemektir. Yazılı kaynaklar kalenin yerinde 2-3. yüzyıllarda bir sarayın var olduğunu, askerî koruma amaçlı surların ise 6. yüzyılda Justinian tarafından yaptırıldığını gösterir. Uzun tarihi boyunca çeşitli devletlerin yönetim merkezi olarak kullanılan kaleye dair ilk güvenilir bilgiler 11. yüzyıldan ulaşmıştır. Şehrin bu yüzyıldan itibaren Selçuklular, Haçlılar, Zengiler, Eyyubiler, İlhanlılar, Memlukler, Akkoyunlular ve Osmanlılar hakimiyetine girdiği bilinir. Memlukler döneminde, 14. yüzyılın ilk yarısında onarım gördüğü ve bir garnizon yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Günümüzde halen toprak üstünde bulunan yapıların morfolojik incelemelerine ve bugüne ulaşmış kitabelerine dayanarak yaptığımız araştırmanın ilk sonuçları doğrultusunda kalede birbirini izleyen 5 ayrı yapım-onarım dönemi saptanmıştır. Modern onarımlarda yerleri değiştirilerek belgesel değerini kaybetmiş Osmanlı dönemi kitabeleri gibi verilerin çözümlenmesi, yüzey araştırması ve kazı gibi diğer arkeolojik çalışmaların ilerlemesi burada sunulan kronoloji taslağının tamamlanmasını ve çeşitli dönemlerin daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlayacaktır.

Biographical Note

Cristina Tonghini (Ph.D. 1994, Islamic Archaeology, SOAS, London) is a specialist of the archaeology of the Near East in the Islamic period. She teaches Islamic Art and Archaeology at the University Ca' Foscari of Venice. Her research focuses on the fortification of settlements in the Near East and on the history of pottery production in the Islamic Mediterranean.

Fig. 1 – General view of the citadel, from the North (©L. Tarducci)
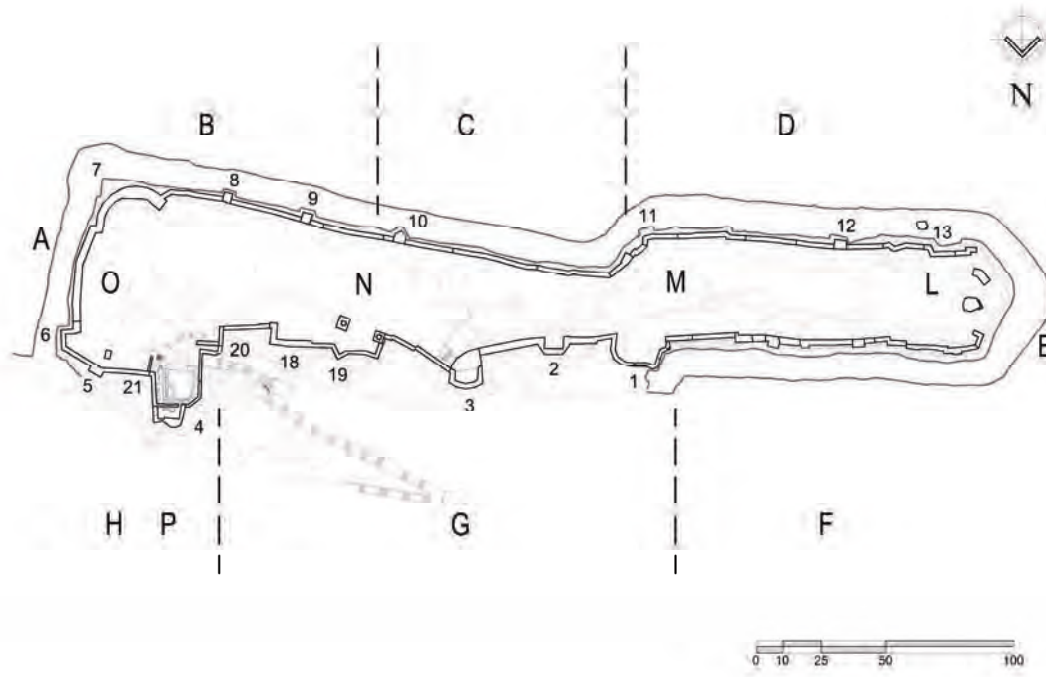
Fig. 2 – General plan of the citadel (redrawn by E. Reali on the basis of a CAD file provided by
Şanılurfa Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu Müdürlüğü)

Fig. 3 – Complex N (Period 1), from the West
(©C. Tonghini)

Fig. 4 – Buttress T8, from the South. The lower part belongs to Period 2
(©C. Tonghini)

Fig. 5 – The ditch on the eastern side, from the South (©C. Tonghini)

Fig. 6 – Complex L, from the West. On the left a tower with an early phase, possibly Byzantine
(©C. Tonghini)

Fig. 7 – A stretch of the northern curtain (Period 3; see curtain 21 in Fig. 2 (©V. Vezzoli)

Fig. 8 – Eastern curtain rebuilt in Period 4; view from the East (©C. Tonghini)

Fig. 9 – Rebuilding of the access system, from the North (Period 5, tower 4)
(©C. Tonghini)

Fig. 10 – Tower 3, completely rebuilt in recent years; from the West
(©C. Tonghini)

QUEEN MARIE'S BALCHIK PALACE:
AN EXAMPLE OF ECLECTICISM
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

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Queen Marie

Queen Marie was born in 1875, the eldest daughter of Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, and Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna of Russia. Marie's father was the second-eldest son of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. Her mother was the only surviving daughter of Alexander II of Russia and Maria Alexandrovna of Hesse. Her father Alfred was serving in the British Navy. When Marie was 11 years old her father was posted to the Mediterranean and the whole family went to Malta. After a failed attempt to marry her first cousin, Prince George of Wales, later King George V of the United Kingdom, Marie married Ferdinand of Romania, nephew of the King Carol I of Romania and nephew of Kaiser Wilhelm II. The bride was 17 years old and the groom was 10 years her senior. As her letters to a close friend show her marriage was a disaster. However, she gave birth to three daughters and three sons. After the First World War started, Marie became a Romanian patriot, and her influence in the country was large. During the war, she volunteered as a Red Cross nurse. Her forms of expression as an artist were multiple. She wrote fairy tales and stories for children, many articles, fictional short stories and novels, her memoirs. She made paintings, especially watercolours; she took photos, designed furniture and interiors (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 52). In June 1933, Queen Marie wrote her last will, in which she asked her heart to be kept inside the Stella Maris Chapel which she had constructed in the garden of the Balchik Palace:

My body will rest at Curtea de Arges next to my beloved husband and King Ferdinand, but I wish my heart were placed under the plates of the church I had built […] I want to rest there, in the middle of the beauties I created, among the flowers I planted. So many have already reached my heart that, although dead, I wish they might keep on coming to it. It should not be a place of grief; those who come should walk on the lilies alley and recall my blessing. (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 49)

When Queen Marie died on July 18, 1938, at one of her *dream houses*, the castle Pelisor in Sinaia, in accordance with her last will, her heart was extracted and placed in Stella Maris chapel (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 49). In 1940, when this area became Bulgarian territory, Queen Marie's heart was brought back to the country. Today, the queen Marie's heart is at the Romanian National Museum of History, in Bucharest (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 50). But in the garden of the Balchik palace, there is a symbolical Queen Marie's tomb; it is empty, but it is touched with an enormous stone cross (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 51) (Fig. 1).

Balchik Palace

The Queen had been at Balchik before the Great War. The visit was described by her in the book *My Country*; she was influenced by the Turks living in this small town, from the places where they lived, and from their interest that they showed. The Queen had discovered the beauty of the place due to the painter Alexandru Satmari, in 1924, visiting the place a second time together with her son Nicolae. On October 9th, 1924, Marie marked in her daily notes, where she mentioned how she was influenced from the orientalist landscape, the nature of Balchik, the scenic appearances of the Turks and Tatarians:

On a scorching summer day I came to a little town inhabited almost exclusively by Turks. I was offering coins to the poor and helpless and wandering here there. It was the Muslim

population's turn and that was why I was searching the most miserable places with my hands filled with coins. So great was their joy about my coming that, the real purpose of my visit had almost been forgotten. I found myself surrounded by a swarm of excited women, strangely dressed, twittering an unknown language to me. They called me Sultana. (...) (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 39)

On her writings following this second visit, she had talked about the Turkish baths, Tatarian houses, rose jams of the Bulgarians, with admiration also stating that while walking from the seaside towards the hills they had passed through vineyards and stone houses and they were very happy and fascinated:

Two friends – painters, enthusiastic admirers of Balcic, show us around all the picturesque corners […] We admired the Turkish baths, glanced into Tatar cottages, visited some important Turkish households and tasted rose jam in a Bulgarian house. Nicolae and I had grown happier and happier and our happiness became limitless (...) (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 39). The Queen also described the place as picturesque:

> [...] A charming oriental little place, very picturesque [...]. There is a special charm everywhere as Balcic perches above emptiness, having white, limy abrupt slopes on which all houses seem to hang dangerously. The Turkish and Tatar outskirts are erected one above the other in a matchless picturesque. The painters also showed exaltation as this was their paradise and everyone's wish was that I had a place somewhere there where to come from time to time to join them (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 39).

And so the Queen would like to create her last dream house here:

> […] by the song of the sea. I was mesmerized. This spot was charming! I had felt as if I had been looking for it my entire life and that I found it, at last. It was a dream place guarded by this old tree. I sat down in its shade and I looked into the water as it probably had also been doing for longer than a century. I kept silent for a long time. The charm of this beauty entered deeper and deeper my heart. Then, turning to Nicolae, I said, Oh! Nicky, this place must become mine! I feel as if I came back to something that had always belonged to me. This dream place became really mine (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 39-40).

Queen Marie had bought the land in 1924 from the banker Jean Chrissoveloni. Later, the estate extended by the purchasing of several lands from the natives measuring a total surface of 24 hectares of land until 1938. The house was built between 1925 and 1927. The following names can be mentioned for their efforts in building this complex: Alexandru Satmari, Emil Gunesh and Henriette Delavrancea Gibory; Fabro Agostino, Giovanni Tomasini, Gaetan Denize and Eugen Zwiedineck, Anghel Popescu and S. Mitoseriu; Jules Jeannie and Bergeman, etc. Different species of flowers were from the companies Sutton & Sons, Max Schling and Fratelli Sgaravatti Piante (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 36, 40, 46, 47). In the garden of the palace there exists 14 building with Tenha Juvah.

> My strange little house at the Black Sea coast will offer me the opportunity to let my imagination frisk about [...] I will name my little strangeness, Tenha Juvah, "Solitary Nest", because all names here are Turkish (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 41).

The entrance from the land side of the garden is provided through the watching tower (Fig. 2). The well at the left side of the tower is called, "Ak Pınar" (Ak Bunar/White spring) (Fig. 3). From the place where the well is located, one can reach to "Allah Bahçe" (Allah Bahche/ God's garden). The house which belonged to Carol Gutman who has assumed responsibility on the caring of the garden for four consequent years, was named by the Queen as the "Sabır Yeri" (Sabur Yeri/ patience place). The side of the garden, which is closer to the sea, the Nimphaeum covered by pillars, "Suliman Lei" (Peace Water), and the chapel "Stella Maris" (Sea Star) attract the attentions (Fig. 4). Water coming out of the Holy spring passes through a

channel and verges to the Getsemani garden. The building at the upper side of the garden "Mavi Dalga" (Blue Wave) is destined to the guests. (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 42). When turned back from this point to earlier sides it is possible to reach to the old stone bridge called (The Bridge of the Sighs). If further approached towards the west the Queen's house with three storeys and a minaret, i.e. Tenha Juvah (Tenha Yuva/ Quiet Nest) can be seen (Figs. 5-8).

Tenha Juvah was built after the design of a painter, Alexandru Satmari. But the "[...] minaret does not appear in Satmari's sketches and was probably an addition suggested by the Queen" (Lowe 1999: 29).

> It will be a perfect dwelling […] I could make of my large room a dream. It will be a nice room and the balcony in front of it is everything my heart might wish. It will have view over one of my small gardens [...]. From the dining room as big as a living room, a covered balcony opens, suspended in front of the minaret, allowing the sight over the other gardens (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 41).

> I stayed in the tower, I climbed up my minaret to look at the sea, I walked through each room, paper and pen in hand to put down those needed: tables, cupboards, chests of drawers, chairs, book shelves, beds, curtains, pictures etc [...]. I have already seen everything arranged in my imagination (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 42).

Minaret perfectly harmonizes with the whole complex. At the corner of the building the woman's statue holding a ship at hand is the Queen's daughter İliyana. While at the entrance there is a library and a reception room. The upper storey belongs to the Queen herself, and it is thought to have the living room and the bedroom in conjunction with each other (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 41). Next to it there is a bathroom which designed as a hammam. Beneath the dome of the "Hammam" both the bath basin and the bathtub together takes place (Fig. 9). At the back side of the house, there are stairs and nature protected passages from which climbing up is possible.

Evaluation and Conclusion

Tenha Juvah as well as the entire ensemble is perhaps the most powerful example of Queen Marie's talent for combining the different elements of Turkish, Romanian, Greek, Bulgarian, Mediterranean, and eastern influences. It is especially in the Dobrudja that these different nationalities jostle together: besides Rumanians, Bulgarians, Turks, Tartars (or Tatars), Russians, Germans, live peacefully side by side. On the other hand, as an Anglican Queen, married to a Catholic King, whose children were being brought up in the Orthodox faith of a country which was also home to Hungarian Catholics, Saxon Protestants and Turkish Muslims. Therefore, we can say that the Balchik Palace Complex is the reflection of various cultures and religions. The inventory records taken after the Queen's death show us the variety and association of these cultures; for example: Greek and Byzantine clay vases, some of Egyptian others of Italian form; stone vases of different forms and sizes (Cavarna stone, Spanish etc.), marble pedestals in Florence style, Dalmatian white stone columns; Turkish marble steles, stone crosses with Cyrillic inscriptions; etc. (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 44, 46).

It is true that the Queen knew different cultures not only because of her family roots, but as well as the places she had visited or lived, her knowledge and experiences have increased, and her pleasure of art has improved. For example the first dream house she had was a wooden tree house which was inspired from the Maori houses. As much as she was familiar to the far eastern cultures, she was close to the island and sea cultures. Her affection to the nature and the flowers can be observed in all areas of her life. This affection shows itself as creating a botanical garden, having flowers always available inside the house, having lots of flower decorations and photographs with flowers. Among them is the white lily which attracts most of the attention; because in the Art Nouveau style artworks and the pictures of the Pre-

Raphaelite group of painters we come across them symbolizing purity and chastity when looked up from an iconographic point of view. It is also known that the title of one of the books that the Queen had written was *The Lily of Life*. In addition, on her flower paintings she had white lilies as much as she had religious symbols.

At Queen Marie's environment, her life, her selectivity and her sense of art apart from the Art Nouveau and Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood influences there were also the effects of The Arts and Crafts Movement, Romanticism, Aestheticism, Symbolism, Romanian Revivalism, East and Far Eastern arts. Behind all of these is the reaction to academism, industrial revolution and mechanization, and escape from the pessimistic environment of the wars at the turn of the century and afterwards. At these periods the intellectuals were in the effort of creating plain places where they would live peacefully with pleasure. The Queen tried to make this in Balchik and according to her happiness can be found everywhere even at the simplest thing: "Happiness! It can be found anywhere, everywhere, in the simplest thing, in the simplest act".[1] In addition to all these above influences, in her having such a world perspective and even during the arrangements made at Balchik Palace, there is also the influence of the Bahai belief which the Queen discovered and adopted from Martha Root with whom she had dialogues in between 1923-36 (Lowe 1999: 29). Since "Bahaism teaches the oneness of God, the unity of all faiths, the inevitable unification of humankind, the harmony of all people [...]" (Goring 1995: 54). "Love, the mainspring of every energy, tolerance toward each other, desire of understanding each other, knowing each other, helping each other, forgiving each other."[2] (Bahai appreciations). And, Queen Marie also writes this: "I find God in nature, beauty, art, love, empathy." (Rotarescu, Hortopan 2013: 57). The various crosses (Fig. 10), Ottoman tombstones (Fig. 11) and even the reliefs from antique periods at the garden are the other elements of this togetherness and harmony. Use of sun-moon- star symbols at the wooden doors and cupboards not only reflects this but also are the elements seen in the neo-Romanian architecture. Queen Marie's below words are the explanations of this:

By that time I had learned all about the architecture of the country. I had unravelled the different styles and had been perfectly able to make up my mind what I liked or did not like, from then onwards began my desire to adapt the old Romanian style to our modern uses, to redevelop a national art that was being forgotten and buried beneath innovations come from Occidental countries. This became a real passion and I can truthfully say that I was the instigator of quite a new epoch of architecture and style in my adopted country. It needed the eye of the princess come from far to bring before their eyes the beauty of their national art. (Lowe 1999: 25).

As can be understood from this, in fact the Queen was in the position of "the other" in Romania, observing things from the outside. We can depict the "other" position from her writings published at the first issue of *Coasta de Argint* (Silver Coast) newspaper which had Romanian, Bulgarian and Ottoman Turkish pages, and published by Free University in Balchik during 1928-1929. She narrated that those people who would like to build up in Balchik should protect the natural beauties, the buildings to be constructed should be inn harmony with the landscape, people should avoid to use imitation or different architectural styles, before starting a construction at these steeply grounds, she was hoping that her opinion would be taken because she had an artist's spirit and she would be thankful if she was consulted indicating that the eastern atmosphere in the area should be reserved. She finished

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[1] http://www.tkinter.smig.net/QueenMarie/ProblemOfHappiness/index.htm (from Queen Marie of Rumania, "The Problem of Happiness", *The Quiver*, LX [1925]: 650-655).

[2] http://www.tkinter.smig.net/QueenMarie/BahaiFaith/index.htm (from Queen Marie of Rumania, *Appreciations of the Bahá'í Faith*, Reprinted from *The Bahá'í World*, VIII, Wilmette, Illinois: Bahá'í Publishing Committee, 1941).

her words by saying: "For this reason please give me permission to work together with you".[3] Even though these words reflect respect and politeness, here we can also see her wish to become "one of them" or "with them" rather than being "the other".

Queen Marie is familiar with the Turks and Turkish culture not only because of the Balchik, for example she must have known her grandmother Queen Victoria's portrait in Turkish costume; the Turkish room in the winter palace owned by a relative of her mother's and also Turkish salon in Peles Castle. But, on the other hand Tenha Juvah, neither resembles a Turkish house nor to the examples of orientalist architecture found in the 19th century. Some people compare Balchik Palace to Elhamra Palace; Topkapı or Yıldız Palaces, or even the palaces at Iran. When compared with their size, plans, arrangements and stateliness, it is not possible to find any similarity. Apart from all this sample palaces, it is possible to find more common points about the houses and even their owners, when Tenha Juvah is compared with the house of Tevfik Fikret in Istanbul which is called *Aşiyan*: the years they lived at, construction dates of the houses, their living periods in the houses, resemblance of the names of the houses, their wills, the way they presented their creativity, sense of art, their selectivity; architectural harmony with nature; having their houses by the seashore, suitable to the land, having three storeys and plain, taking role at the start of the project; generating a reclusion corner for themselves and affection towards flowers; emotional personalities, their interest in painting and writing, adopting Art Nouveau ve Arts and Crafts movement styles, having identical furniture in the house, etc. Queen Marie, had visited Istanbul several times. She had been friends with Elizabeth Dodge Huntington Clarke and her husband George Herbert Huntington working at Robert College. Tevfik Fikret also worked at the college, even he had his house constructed at the field there. It is not possible for the Queen to meet Tevfik Fikret during her visits to College at 1917 – the poet had died then- but she might have seen his house.

On the other hand, it is mentioned in most of the resources that Tenha Juvah resembles a Turkish house. When looked at from the outside, Tenha Juvah does not resemble a Turkish house apart from its second floor accession. The plaster windows, hand carved ornaments, niches, figures, built in cupboards with wooden covers, etc. found in most Turkish houses can not be seen in Tenha Juvah. The existence of the minaret gives another magnitude to the building. Even though there are mosques with step roofs, the plan existing here and the fact that the building had two storeys, detract the building from the typology of a mosque. Besides both the minaret and the building have no religious function. The appearance of the roof and the minaret is in harmony with the Balchik's silhouette and comply to the piece of land where it is located. On the other hand, the part where there is a conical roof on top of a hexagonal frame resembles the religious architecture examples of the Christian religion. In fact, an example similar to this can be seen at the Stella Maris chapel inside the garden. Beneath the conical roof of Tenha Juvah the hammam takes place. Everywhere in the palace complex we are confronted with the unity of the cultures and the religions: The Allah Bahche and the Getsemani garden, Christian crosses, Ottoman tombstones, reliefs from the antique periods, Virgin Mary – Jesus reliefs, Moroccan pots and Turkish bronze pots, Art Nouveau tiles and eastern ceramics, a female statue holding a ship on hand (the Queen's daughter) and Saint Martin (the protector of the Romanian Kings), a Transylvania styled well and Beserabia styled crosses, Antique column head and a marble armchair from Florance etc. This diversity can also be seen in Queen Marie's life and personality; her photographs are proofs of this: from her working at Red Cross to her adopting Bahaism, from her being a theatre player to her being an author, from her being a painter to her being a designer, from her white dresses to black dresses, from her luxurious clothes to local traditional clothes, from being western to being an eastern etc. All of these features have been embodied in Queen Marie. Did she seek the the peace and happiness she could not find in her private life in Balchik and Tenha Juvah?

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[3] Queen Marie of Rumania, "Balçık Hakkında Birkaç Söz", *Coasta de Argint*, no. 8, 1 Ağustos 1928.

Is this the dream house that she generated in the world for herself or is this a place from heaven? Is this a place of reclusion or the place where she had her artworks produced in peace and tranquility? Her will stating that her heart to be protected in the chapel, lead us to think that she had set all her heart to this place.

At the 19th Century when Hegel and Burckhardt, proposed that each historical era would constitute their own spirit (*zeitgeist*), Heidegger suggested that the most influential things on the constitution of personality are the birthplace, the geographical area he/she belongs, environment and time. On the other hand H.Wölfflin adopting this to architecture states that architecture reflects its own period (Roth 2002: 604). Balchik Palace, not only reflects the art styles of the period, but as well reflects the Queen Marie's sense of art, character and taste. These cannot be separated from the time, environment and geography she had lived. Therefore, Balchik Palace is a unique building where all of these have been materialised and the "swan song" of Queen Marie in her "Maria Regina style" who is also characterized as "the last romantic" or "the queen of flowers".

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Turkish Abstract

Baba tarafından İngiliz Kraliçe Victoria'nın ve anne tarafından Rus imparatoru II. Alexander'ın torunu olan Marie, daha sonra Rumen prensiyle evlenerek Romanya kraliçesi olacaktır. Romanya'ya ve Rumen halkına gönülden bağlanan Marie, bunu, yazdığı anılarında ve Romanya'ya adadığı kitaplarında dile getirdiği gibi giyim ve yaşam tarzına yansıtmıştır. Rumen halkıyla içiçe yaşayan, savaş zamanında gönüllü olarak hemşirelik yapmış olan Marie, yazı ve resim yeteneğine sahiptir. Marie, Dobruca bölgesindeki Balçık kasabasından etkilenerek burada, 1924-34 yılları arasında İtalyan mimarlara bir saray kompleksi yaptırmıştır. Bugün Balkanlar'ın en büyük botanik bahçesi olarak kabul edilen bahçe içinde şapel ve çeşitli küçük yapılar mevcuttur. Bunlar içinde kendisinin yaşadığı ve Tenha Yuva olarak adlandırdığı ev, Karadeniz'in kıyısında beyaz rengi, sade görünümüyle ve minaresiyle dikkat çekmektedir. Bu pitoresk sahne, daha sonra ressamların tablolarına da konu olacaktır. Bahçe ve yapıların düzeninde rol oynayan Marie, burada kendi ilgi ve beğenisini sergilemiş, çeşitli kültürlerden etkilenerek eklektik bir görünümün oluşmasına neden olmuştur. Bunlar arasında yaşadığı bölge itibarıyla Türk kültüründen etkilendiği görülmesinin yanı sıra kendisinin Bahai mezhebine üye olması, oluşturduğu bu komplekse ruhani bir hava vermiştir. Çeşitli mezartaşları, haçlar ve dini sembollerle karşılaşılan bu ortam, tüm eklektisizmine rağmen belli bir estetik ve uyumu, huzur ve barışı yakalamış, Marie'nin de amaçladığı doğrultuda doğayla bütünleşmiştir. Yaşadığı coğrafya, mensubu olduğu aile, kişilik özellikleri ve dine yaklaşımı, tüm bunlarda etkili olmuştur. Bugün Bulgaristan sınırları içinde olan Balçık'ta böyle bir yapı topluluğunun oluşumu, yazılanlar paralelinde ilginçtir. Marie'nin, Türkçe isimler kullanması (Tenha Yuva, Akpınar, Allah Bahçesi, Sabır Yeri vb), Türk ve İran sanatından etkilenmesi, Hristiyan ve Müslümanlığa ait öğelere yer vermesi, Avrupa ve Rumen kültüründen esinlenmesi, Yunan ve Roma kaynaklı öğelerin karşımıza çıkması, evindeki minare ve hamam bölümü, çeşitli ülkelerden topladığı objeler, ailesi ve kişisel yaklaşımları, bu ilginçliği daha da arttırmaktadır. Bunların hepsinin ve hayatının yansımasını, yazdığı eserlerde ve fotoğraflarında görmek mümkündür. Bu çok bileşenli/etkileşimli çerçeve içinde, Kraliçe Marie ve adeta bir inziva yeri ya da cennetten bir köşe olarak Balçık'ta yarattığı saray, bu bildirinin konusunu oluşturacaktır.

Biographical Note

Elvan Topallı got her MA and PhD Degrees in Istanbul University – Department of Art History. Since 2000, she teaches European and Turkish art at the Department of Art History of the Uludağ University. Her interests are focussed on European and Turkish painting, especially that of the late 19th and early 20th century. She participated either in national and international congresses and published several contributions about her research subject. She is also a member of many scientific councils.

Fig. 1 – Stone cross of Queen Mary's symbolical tomb (©E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 2 – The watching tower at the entrance of the garden's land side (©E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 3 – "Ak Pınar" (Ak Bunar/White Spring) (©E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 4 – "Stella Maris" chapel (©E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 5 – Tenha Juvah (Tenha Yuva/Quiet Nest) (©E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 6 – Tenha Juvah
(Tenha Yuva/Quiet Nest)
(©E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 7 – Tenha Juvah (Tenha Yuva/Quiet Nest) (©photo by E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 8 – Tenha Juvah (Tenha Yuva/Quiet Nest) (©E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 9 – Hammam-shaped bathroom (©E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 10 – One among the several stone crosses (©E. Topallı, 2014)

Fig. 11 – Ottoman tombstone (©E. Topallı, 2014)

THE USE OF WATER IN *SOHBET* SPACES IN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE FROM PAST TO PRESENT

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It is well known that in traditional Turkish culture, knowledge was transmitted from one generation to the next, often orally rather than in writing. The practice in question was the reason behind the great importance accorded to the concept of *sohbet*, in the art of living. Therefore, far from being an informal source of entertainment, *sohbet* was regarded both as the fundamental means through which secular culture was transmitted and shared in domestic buildings, coffee houses, *hamam*s, and also as a method of mystical education in *tekke*s (Sufi lodges). Meanwhile it is noteworthy to witness that the water was an important element in these *sohbet* spaces. Because in Turkish culture -as in all others- water was considered as the source of life. In addition, a pool with its jet emitting murmurs was seen as the provider of serenity. Of course, one should not forget the coolness it spreads around during hot seasons.

This article will offer a review of the use of the water in *sohbet* spaces in Turkish architecture, excluding religious buildings. I must underline that my main objective is to discuss the survival of this tradition within the architecture of the Republican era, and how they were integrated by different architects into their contemporary designs. By the way, although the term *sohbet* can be translated as "causerie" or "conversation", I would prefer to use the original term, due to its rich cultural connotations.

If we take a look at this architectural tradition, we witness the omnipresence of water, running through a jet pool or a *selsebil* – which is a kind of an artificial cascade – (Tanman 2005: 169-194). in the reception halls and *sohbet* spaces of palaces, pavilions and wealthy mansions from the early period of Anatolian Turkish architecture onwards until the last quarter of 19th century (Fig. 1).

Before examining contemporary designs, I would like to point out to a group of exceptional constructions that we encounter in Safranbolu. These are rather small rooms built in the gardens of some late Ottoman mansions, independent from the main house, adorned with a jet pool, and designed exclusively for *sohbet*. They are called also "selamlık" by local inhabitants, which means "men's reception room" (Günay 2005).

One of the earliest examples of the Republican period is the Ahmet Ali Rıza Bey House in Adana, designed by Abdullah Ziya (d. 1966) in 1931. Abdullah Ziya's article, published in the journal *Arkitekt*, is noteworthy, because it reflects the changing preferences in the art of living during that period (Abdullah Ziya 1931: 290-295). He confesses that they "removed" in this project the traditional central hall (*sofa*), due to its high cost. In fact, the pool which should traditionally be in the central hall was moved to the terrace (Fig. 2). Meanwhile, it is impossible not to remember the novel titled *Kiralık Konak* (Mansion for Rent) by Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu (d. 1974), one of the eminent writers of that era, in which he relates how an old wooden mansion with huge central halls was regarded as useless and decrepit by younger generations, eager for a modern life (Karaosmanoğlu 1999).

However, in a villa designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem (d. 1988) also in 1931, we observe the transformation of the traditional central hall into a living room, with a semi-circular pool in it (Eldem 1931: 301-302).

Another summer mansion project by Eldem in Istanbul-Heybeliada, dated to 1932, shows us the reflection of the traditional pavilion scheme on the reception hall placed at the extremity of the house (Fig. 3) (Eldem 1932: 141-143).

On the other hand, in the same year (1932), in the design of a residence by Abdullah Ziya for Mithat Bey, mayor of Mersin, the pool was transferred from the interior to the terrace, just as in his previous project in Adana (Fig. 4) (Abdullah Ziya 1932: 75-76).

In another villa project by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, dated to 1933, the large pool adjoining the terrace on the ground floor enables the survival of the visual contact with the *sohbet* space on the first floor. The jet at its centre is another element recalling the tradition (Fig. 5) (Eldem 1933: 50-52).

Seyfi Arkan (d. 1966) developed in the years 1935-1936 three villa projects in Ankara similar to each other. In all of them, we can observe the presence of a patio with a tiny central pool, opening to the *sohbet* spaces, as well as oblong pools under or just in front of the entrance units (Fig. 6) (Arkan 1935a: 114-115; Arkan 1935b: 167-169; Arkan 1936: 179-186).

Villa Maral in Istanbul-Göztepe designed by Emin Onat (d. 1961) in 1939 recalls by its exclusion the previous villa project by Eldem (Onat 1941-1942: 127-128, 145-150).

Bozok Villa in Istanbul-Suadiye, designed by Seyfi Arkan in 1940, displays a new interpretation of the traditional plan with a central hall. Here, the nucleus of the villa with a pool recalls a covered patio connected both with the living room and the dining room. But the direct contact of the water element with these spaces is no more existent (Fig. 7) (Arkan 1940: 101-104, 113-114).

One of the most unusual interpretations in this field is Raif Meto House in Adana, designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem in 1941. Using the traditional house typology of this exceptionally hot region, with an open hall (*hayat*) limited by huge wooden columns and overlooking the inner garden, Eldem placed the pool in the garden, on the axis of this open hall used as a lounge (*Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi 100. Yıl Armağanı: Sedad Hakkı Eldem. 50 Yıllık Meslek Jübilesi* 1983: 48-49; Bozdoğan, Özkan, and Yenal 2005: 149).

Mesud Cemil Bey Villa in Istanbul-Erenköy was designed in 1954 by Mehmet Ali Handan (d. 1990). One axis of the oval central space was overlapped with the pool situated in the garden, and in this way, the visual contact between the water and the entrance hall of the villa, as well as with its *sohbet* space was established (Handan 1954: 55, 76-78, 153, 275).

Filipucci Villa built in 1959 in Buca, a Levantine suburb of İzmir, is the work of a local architect named Fahri Nişli (b. 1919). Here, under the first floor raised on columns, a large multi-functional space was achieved around a pool, both for *sohbet* and dining (Fig. 8) (Anon. 1966: 66-69; Birol Akkurt & Avcı Özkaban 2010: 74).

In two houses in Istanbul, designed respectively in 1959 and 1964, by Utarit İzgi (d. 2003) and Firuzan Baytop (b. 1922), the pools are arranged in front of the living rooms (İzgi 1959: 94-98, 296; Baytop 1964: 4-5).

The Barlas *Yalı* in Istanbul-Yeniköy, designed by United Architects in 1966, attract attention with a pool which is like an extension of the Bosporus integrated into the summer living space, giving an independent entrance and a fountain on its rear wall (Fig. 9) (Birleşmiş Mimarlar 1966: 66-69, 322). Such an interaction with the sea recalls the very exceptional design of Ismail Pasha *Yalı* in Istanbul-Istinye, published by Eldem (Eldem 1994: I, 226-227).

We can also take a look at three different projects for the Turkish Embassy in the capital of Brasil, presented in a contest in 1967. The vast living spaces are surrounded by huge pools with irregular shapes (Anon. 1967: 33-39).

In a villa built in Istanbul-Feneryolu in 1968, the architect İrfan Bayhan (d. 1922) placed the pool in an extension of the garden, in front of the office's window, but in the same time it is visible from the *sohbet* space and from the entrance hall (Bayhan 1968: 53-57).

A tiny pool is adjoining the terrace in Şevket Saatçioğlu Villa, designed by Halûk Baysal (d. 2002) and Melih Birsel (d. 2003) in 1970 in Istanbul; while in a villa by Yılmaz Sanlı (d. 2005) and Güner Acar in Istanbul-Suadiye dated to 1973, a "bubble-looking" pool accompanies the entrance (Baysal & Birsel 1970: 173).

The last three examples I want to deal with are from the end of 1970s, and they display different approaches concerning the relation between the water elements and the *sohbet* spaces: In one of them, a villa on the Bosphorus designed by Emin Necip Uzman (d. 1997) in 1974, an oblong pool is neighbouring both the living room and the terrace (Uzman 1974: 53-57, 354).

In a villa he built in Istanbul-Tuzla in 1979, Yalçın Sağlıkova (d. 1941) preferred to place the small pool at the centre of the patio surrounded by different units of the house, including the bedroom (Fig. 10) (Sağlıkova 1979: 88-89, 375).

Kamhi *Yalı* in Istanbul-Beylerbeyi designed by Utarit İzgi, Ali Muslubaş and Mustafa Demirkan in the same year, has two water elements: One of them is a pool connected to the Bosphorus and extends to the living room. The other is a big swimming pool situated between two buildings, and visible from the living room. So, the *sohbet* space is flanked by two water elements (Fig. 11) (Küçükerman 1994: 48; Tanyeli 1997: 65).

As told at the beginning, the hammams were, within the Ottoman social life, besides their well-known main function, one of the limited public spaces, where people could meet and talk in an intimate environment. Especially the dressing rooms, called *soyunmalık*, *soğukluk* or *câmekân*, were used with this purpose during the long resting time. Among the fundamental architectural elements of these spaces, we can mention jet pools situated at the centre. People were sitting on the sofas running all along the walls. In parallel to the evolution of the daily life habits, particularly in big towns, and especially from mid-20th century onwards, most of the hammams lost their function. Therefore, it is almost impossible to speak about a contemporary hammam architecture in Turkey.

Following the introduction of coffee to the Ottoman world by mid-16th century, coffee houses rapidly became the main social meeting point of the male society. A jet pool placed at the centre was among the essential elements of these spaces, even in the open-air coffee houses.

We can examine in this field three coffee house projects. Two of them, designed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem in 1941-1942, exhibit traditional features, such as two jet pools connected with a cascade, and a patio adorned with a pool at its centre (Eldem 1941-1942: 8-11, 121-122). In the design of the third, dated to 1964, the architects Muhlis Türkmen (d. 2014), Hamdi Şensoy (b. 1921) and Orhan Şahinler (b. 1928) preferred a moving façade recalling Aalto's style with traditional schemes, and they placed the pool behind the large terrace (Türkmen, Şensoy, and Şahinler 1964: 315).

The Taşlık Coffee House, built in 1948 in Istanbul-Maçka is a renowned work of Sedad Hakkı Eldem (Figs. 12a-12b) (Eldem 1950: 207-210, 227-228). Its popularity was due both to its privileged location, and its compact inner space, inspired from the beautiful *selamlık* room of the Amcazade *Yalı* in Anadoluhisarı (Fig. 1) (Eldem 1933b: 36; Eldem 1986: II, 190-191; Eldem 1986: III, 119; Eldem 1996: II, 82-87; Kuban 2001: 48-49).

I would like to summarize my article in a few points:

1. The most essential feature, which differentiates the traditional *sohbet* spaces from the European style living rooms, and the Turkish coffee houses from their Western counterparts, is the jet pool which was always placed at the centre of the space.

2. This distinguishing characteristic was able to survive until 1980s within contemporary Turkish architecture, especially in some houses and in a limited number of coffee houses. Meanwhile, because the traditional way of sitting in the coffee house was no more fashionable, the character of its inner space also vanished accordingly. In fact, the Taşlık Coffee House, which was a successful example, could not be a "model" for future designs.

3. Within domestic architecture, we can observe two main tendencies: One of them is the "historicist" tendency, represented by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, and which can be summarized as "to contemporize the tradition", while the other is the "modernist" tendency, initiated by Abdullah Ziya, and followed by Seyfi Arkan and other architects, which is "to re-interpret the water element in a contemporary context" (Figs. 3-4).

4. In the works of this category, we can observe a rupture from the compactness of the traditional *sohbet* spaces with water elements, and a certain dispersed setting. In the meantime, the traditional protocol of the *sohbet* led by a single person was already abandoned, and the customers preferred -as in the West- to sit in separate groups and talk between them. Together with the rapid change in the social taste influenced from the Western world, we witness that the water elements are gradually moving from the *sohbet* spaces, at first to the terraces, and finally to the gardens.

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Turkish Abstract

Türk kültüründe kuşaklararası bilgi aktarımının yazılıdan çok sözlü olarak gerçekleşe geldiği bilinir. Söz konusu yaklaşım yaşam kültüründe sohbet olgusuna büyük önem verilmesine neden olmuş, bu nedenle sohbet, sıradan bir eğlence olmanın ötesinde gerek konut, kahvehane ve hamam gibi yapılarda dünyevi kültür birikiminin aktarımında, gerekse de dini yapılarda dini veya tasavvufi eğitimin başlıca aracı olarak görülmüştür. Söz konusu sohbet mekânlarının önemli bir kısmında suyla ilintili bir mimari öğenin var olması dikkat çekicidir. Cumhuriyet döneminde, geleneği çağdaş biçimler içinde yeniden yorumlamayı amaçlayan bazı mimarların, tasarladıkları kimi kamu yapılarında ve konutlarda su öğesini sohbet mekânlarında farklı biçimlerde kullandıklarını görülür. Makalede, Cumhuriyet dönemi Türk mimarlığının söz konusu örnekleri incelenmekte, bunlarda gözlenen gelenek-yenilik/özgünlük ilişkisi sorgulanmaktadır.

Biographical Note

After being graduated from the Mimar Sinan University of Fine Arts Department of Architecture in 1987, he accomplished in 2000 his Phd thesis titled *Objective and Subjective Factors on the Formation of the Architectural Identity in the Port Cities of Western Anatolia* at the Institute of Sciences of the same institution. He participated to several research projects in Turkey, Egypt, Israel-Palestine and Bulgaria, as well as to national and international congresses and symposia about architecture and urban texture. His fields of research are theories and techniques of architectural design, the impact of the sociocultural milieu on architecture, the formation of the identity on urban and structural spaces, urban planning, the relation between city and port, the architecture of Ottoman and Republican eras.

Fig. 1 – The *selamlık* room of Amcazade *Yalı* in Istanbul-Anadoluhisarı
(after Hakkı Eldem)
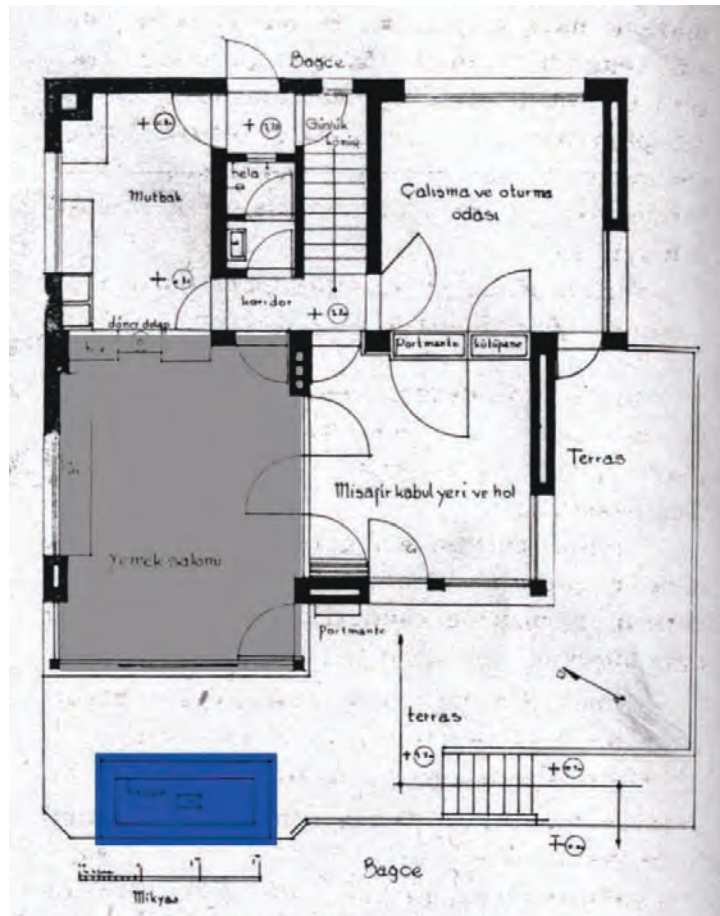
Fig. 2 – Plan of Ahmet Ali Rıza Bey House in Adana
(after Abdullah Ziya 1931)
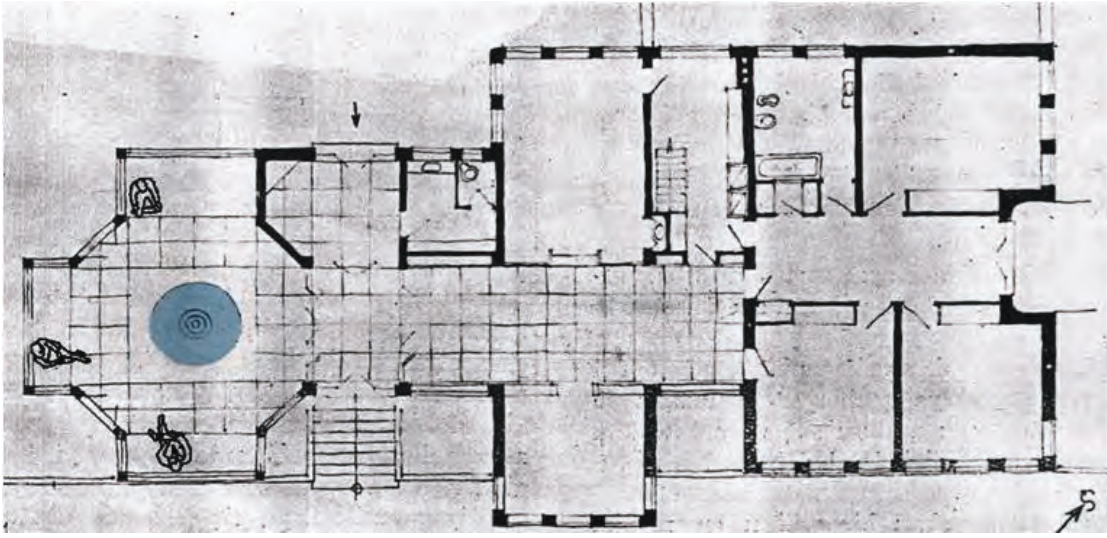
Fig. 3 – A summer mansion project in Istanbul-Heybeliada (after Hakkı Eldem 1932)
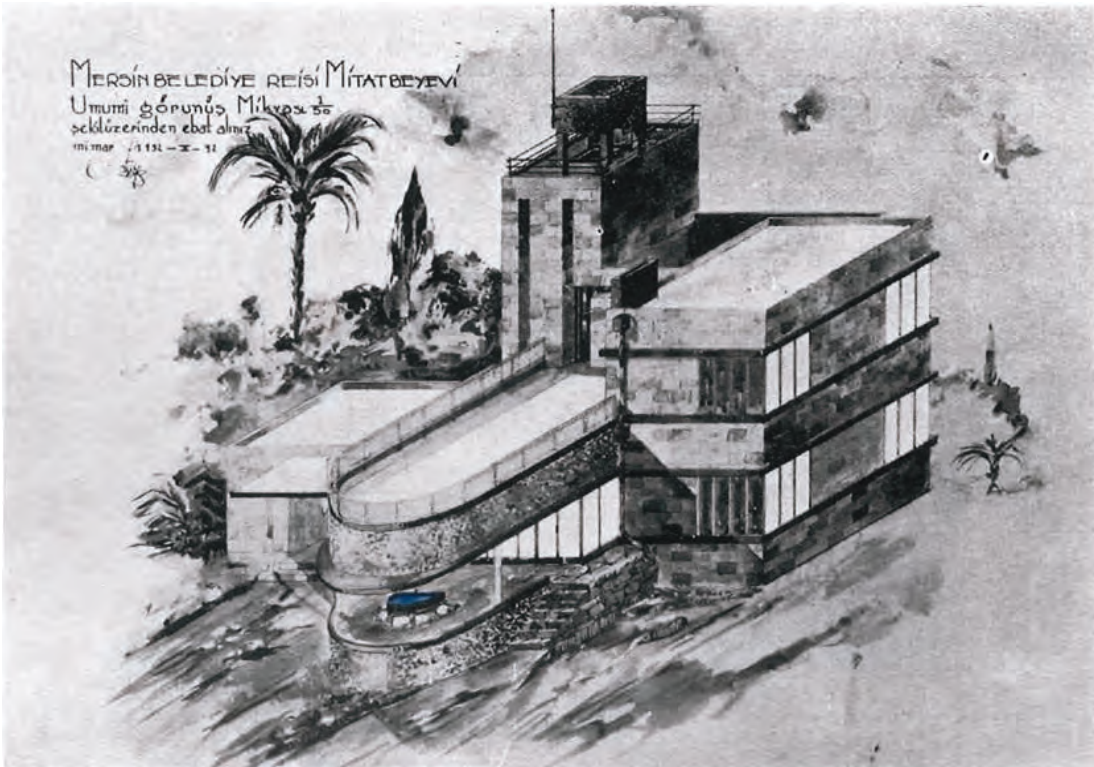
Fig. 4 – Plan of the residence for Mithat Bey in Mersin
(after Abdullah Ziya 1932)
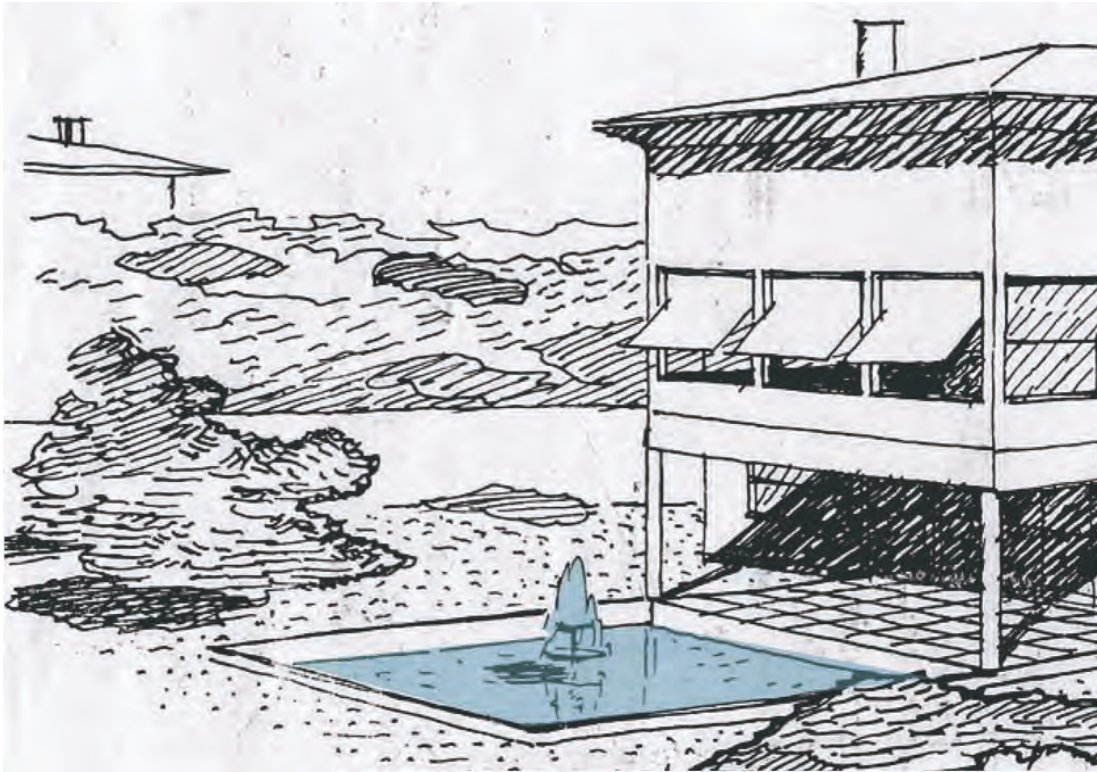
Fig. 5 – A villa project
(after Hakkı Eldem 1933)
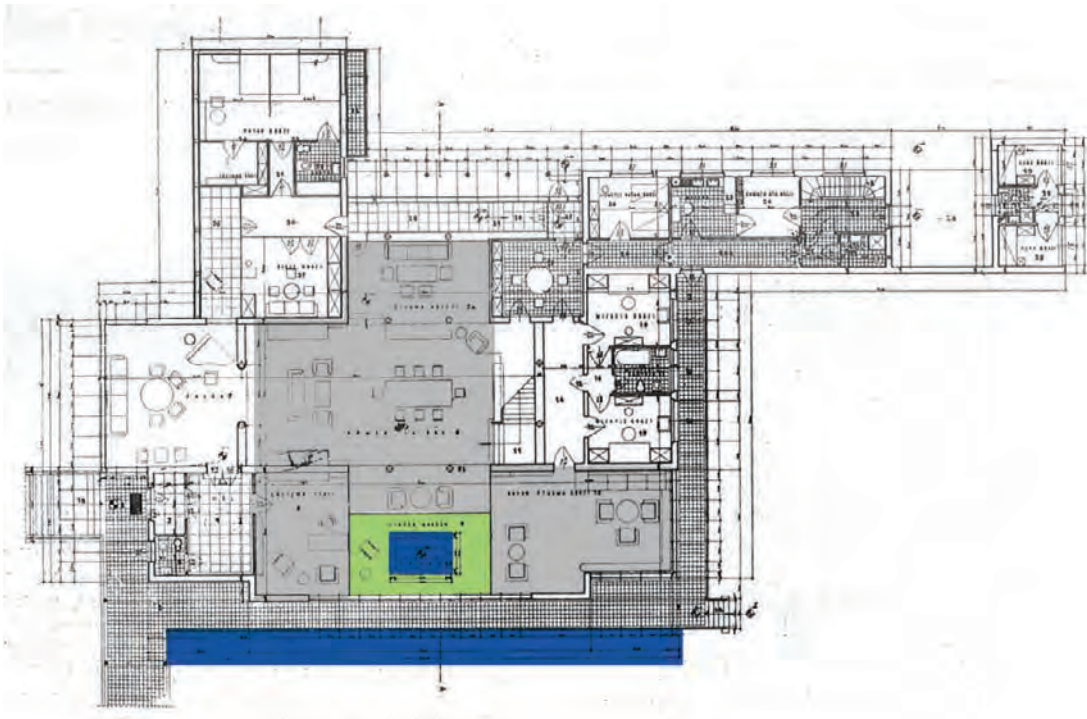
Fig. 6 – A villa project in Ankara
(after Seyfi Arkan 1935a)
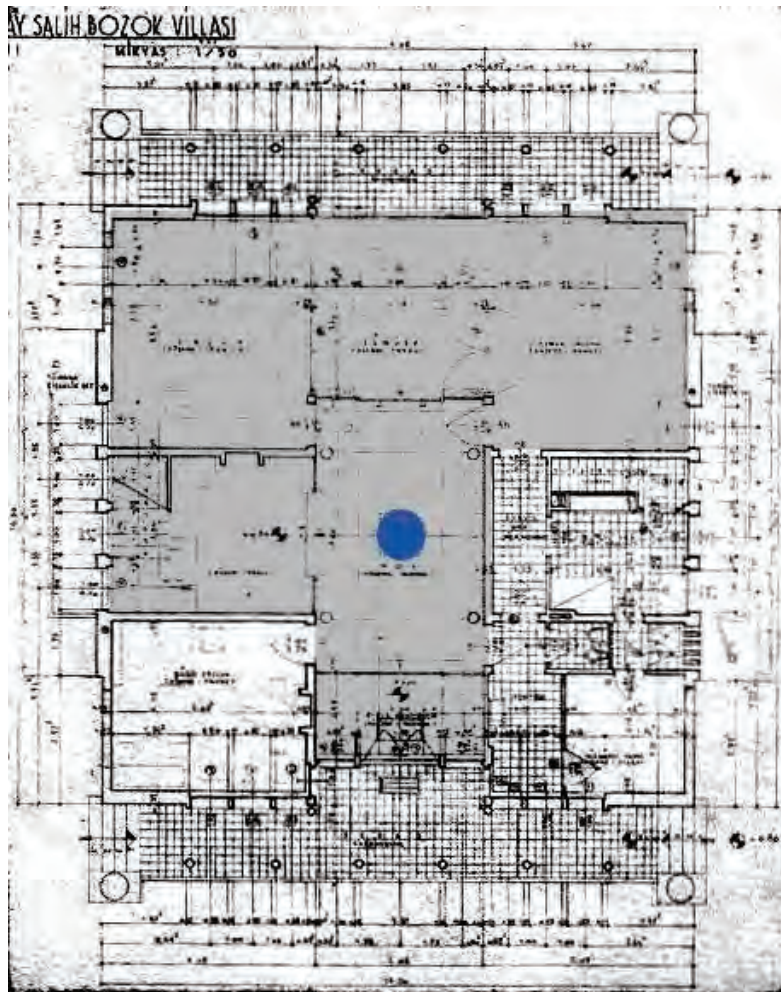
Fig. 7 – Plan of Bozok
Villa in Istanbul-Suadiye
(after Seyfi Arkan 1940)
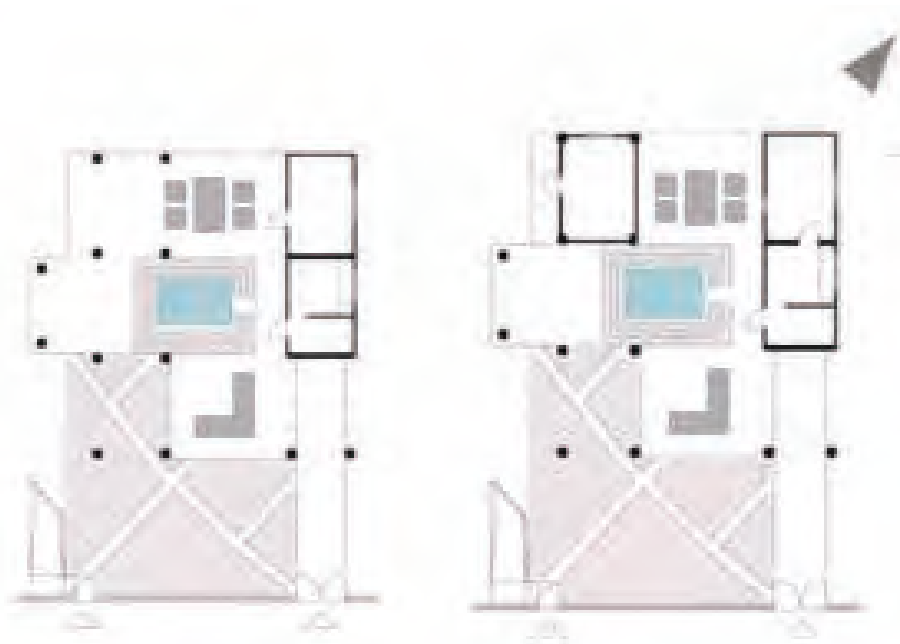
Fig. 8 – Plan of Filipucci Villa Izmir-Buca (Fahri Nişli)
(after *Arkitekt* 1966)
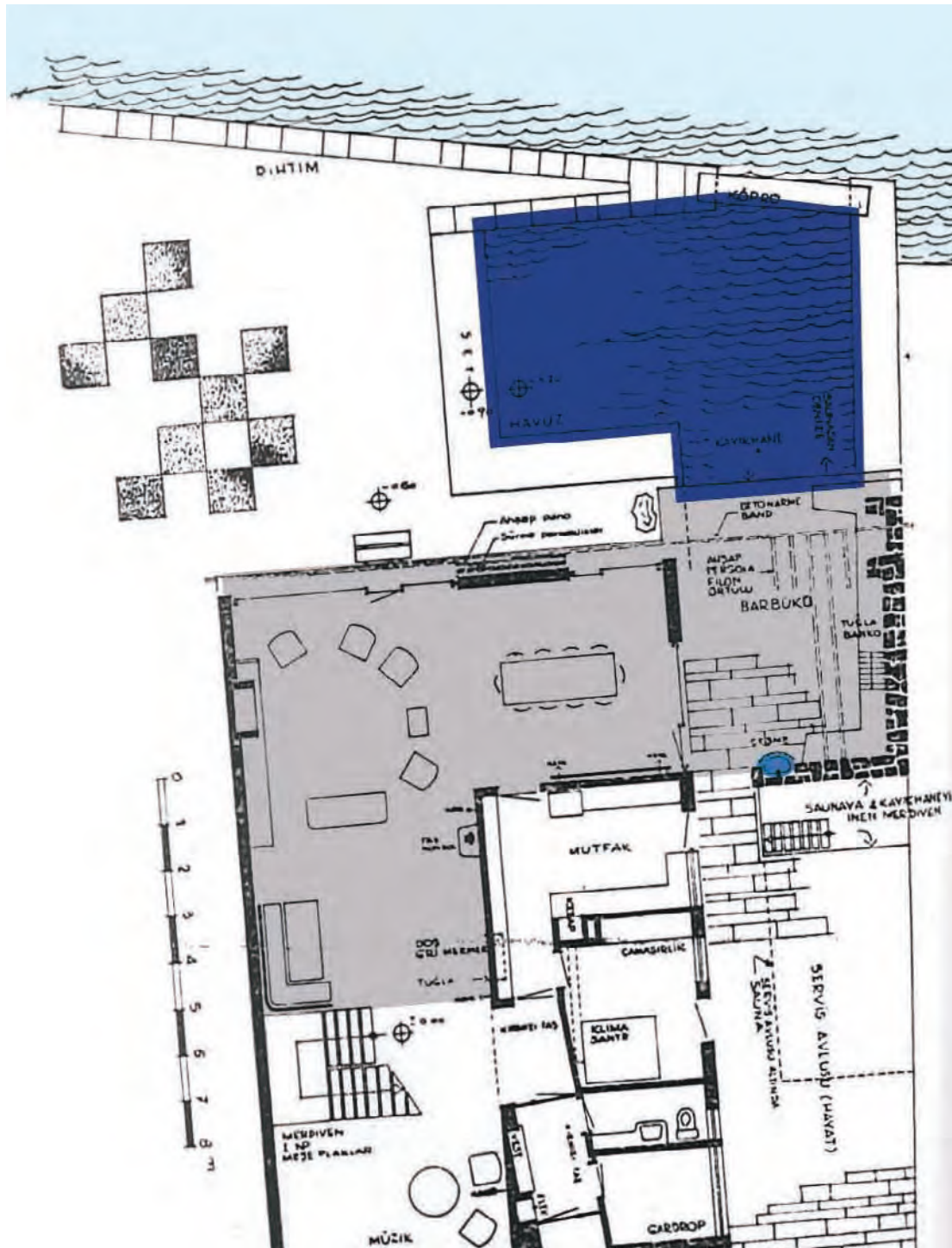
Fig. 9 – Plan of Barlas *Yalı* in Istanbul-Yeniköy (United Architects)
(after Arkitekt 1966)
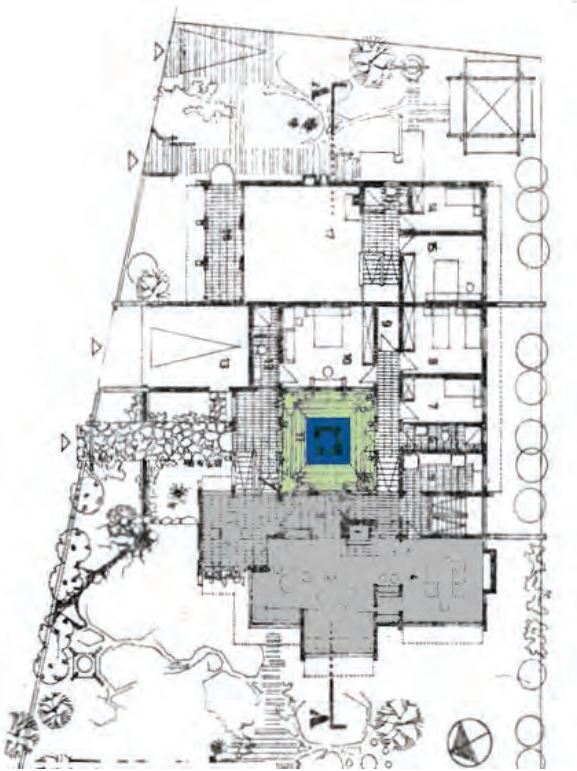
Fig. 10 – Plan of a villa Istanbul-Tuzla
(Yalçın Sağlıkova) (after Sağlıkova 1979)
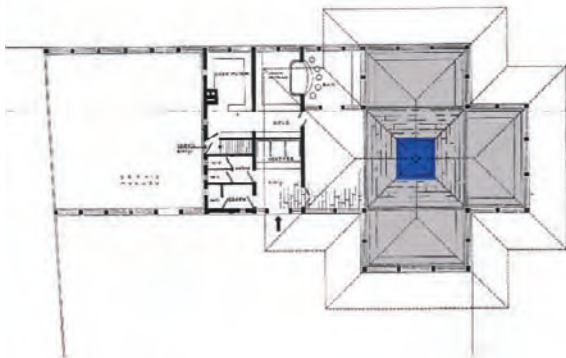
Fig. 12a – Plan of Taşlık Coffee House
in Istanbul-Maçka (S. Hakkı Eldem)
(after *Arkitekt* 1950)

Fig. 11 – Plan of Kamhi *Yalı*
in Istanbul-Beylerbeyi
(Utarit İzgi, Ali Muslubaş
and Mustafa Demirkan)
(after Tasarım, issue 41,
January-February 1994)

Fig. 12b – Inner space
of Taşlık Coffee House
in Istanbul-Maçka
(S. Hakkı Eldem)
(after *Arkitekt* 1950)

DECORATION FOR THE EMPIRE:
THE ART OF THE PAINTER-DECORATOR
BEDROS SIRABYAN (1833-1898)

Büke Uras
Independent researcher

My fourteen-piece collection of Bedros Sirabyan's drawings has been instrumental in evaluating this painter-decorator whose signature has been on many of the decorations of late Ottoman period and also in understanding the decoration idea of the Tanzimat era. Sirabyan is a forgotten figure of Ottoman architecture and these drawings are the only remaining documents of his long and fruitful career and rare pieces of Ottoman decoration history.

What we know of Sirabyan's life comes primarily from his biography, published in 1928, and compiled by the writer and publisher Teodik[1] through the accounts of Sirabyan's wife (Fig.1).[2] Bedros Sirabyan, also known as "Monsieur Pierre", was born in the Ortaköy neighbourhood of Istanbul in 1833. Like many of his contemporary prominent Armenian peers, he completed his education at the Cemaran, a school founded in the neighbourhood of Üsküdar by the financial sponsorship of the architects Garabed Amira Balyan and Hovhannes Amira Serveryan. In 1849, while still a student at the school, his talent for painting became obvious. With his classmates he began publishing the bimonthly illustrated magazine "Tsaggots" (Fig. 2).[3] In the 1850s, after his education at Cemaran, Sirabyan travelled to Rome to study painting.[4] During his years in Rome he easily identified with the city through the help of his Catholic background and quickly became acquainted with Western European artistic styles.

In the academic environment of Rome, he witnessed the emphasis on intellectualism which distinguished the artist from the craftsman. The acceptance of the artist as an influential and respected individual was quite different than the general view of painters in Istanbul in the same years. With his Roman academic upbringing, Bedros diverged from the anonymous craftman production setting of Ottoman Empire and became an individualistic painter-decorator with an artistic consideration. As a young and talented Armenian intellectual, upon his return to Istanbul Bedros successfully integrated into the cosmopolitan cultural and urban structuring of the Tanzimat era and quickly established his reputation.

Apart from his canvas paintings, by collaborating with many local architects, especially the important Balyan family, his wall and ceiling frescoes began to appear in many of the important palaces and civil buildings of the capital.

Aside from his artistic production, Sirabyan was also an educator. He began teaching painting at Berberyan in Üsküdar and at the American Robert College, where he established ties with the American expat community of Istanbul (Fig.3).

Other than teaching at school, he also gave private lessons to prominent local figures.[5] His clients included architect Krikor Nersesyan, the general contractor in the construction of

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[1] Teodik or Teodoros Lapcinciyan (Istanbul 1873-Paris 1929) was one of the most influential and productive Ottoman intellectuals of his period. In 1905 he rose to eminence when he published "Bolso Hayevari" (Istanbul-Bolis Armenian dialect of Constantinople). But he is remembered mostly with the annuals *Amenun Daretsuytsi* (Everyone's Yearbook) he published in Armenian from 1907 until his death. He was arrested in 1915 but managed to return back to Istanbul the following year. He moved to Western Europe in 1923. He continued to publish his yearbooks in 1924 in Paris, in 1925 in Vienna, in 1926 in Venice and between 1927-1929 again in Paris. He died in 1929 in Paris: see Yarman 2012: 55-58.

[2] Teodik 1928: 528-535.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Bedros Sirabyan most probably attended the "Accademia di San Luca" of Rome.

[5] *Annuaire Oriental*, XII (1893-1894): 589.

Çırağan Palace during Sultan Abdülaziz's reign (1861-1876) and his children. Nersesyan had collaborated with the architect Sarkis Balyan on construction projects. Bedros' personal relationship with Nersesyan and Balyan shaped his career around the imperial palace environment.

In 1874, when Sarkis Balyan decided to have his portrait painted, he hired Bedros for this undertaking. Beyond their personal friendship, this points to Sarkis Balyan's confidence in Bedros' artistic abilities. Bedros painted Sarkis Balyan as a typical Tanzimat era Ottoman elite in civilian clothing (Fig. 4).[6] This depiction was quite different than Balyan's official portraits with a fez on his head and the honours given by the Sultan displayed on his chest. Considering this, we can say that Bedros' portrait of Balyan was not meant for public exhibition but for his private collection. This large splendid portrait is artistically one of the most significant architect portraits of Ottoman history.

Sultan Abdülaziz was also impressed by Bedros' art, calling him "the little Aivazovsky".[7] This comparison with the romantic Crimean Russian painter Ivan Konstantinovich Aivazovsky (1817-1900) was not a coincidence as both painters were Armenian. Apart from the ethnic similarity, Aivazovsky's privileged position in the Tsar's court became a model for Sultan Abdülaziz's patronage of Bedros. We know as a fact that the two painters had met. When Sarkis Balyan invited Aivazovsky to Istanbul in 1874, for two months the Russian painter became Balyan's guest in his Kuruçeşme mansion. Here, Sarkis Balyan arranged Bedros' meeting with Aivazovsky.

In 1867 Sultan Abdülaziz went to Paris to visit the International Exhibition. This exhibit was important for the Ottoman history precisely because of the visit of the Sultan. Among the paintings exhibited in the Ottoman section in Paris there were also two oil paintings by Bedros; *The Descent from the Cross* and *Sebil of Eyüp*.[8] The fact that in Paris the empire was represented by an Armenian painter and that his works referred to both Christianity and Islam were in perfect concordance with the pluralistic and liberal currents of the Tanzimat era.

There were many works by Bedros in private collections and some in Armenian institutions and churches. According to Teodik, Bedros' most important painting was *Hayuhi-the Armenian girl*, for which the painter used his daughter as his model. Teodik writes that among his paintings, *Marmara at dusk*, *Turkish coffee*, *Cemetery*, and *The Man of Mush* achieved renown in the artistic circles of the day.[9] Additionally, *The Little Brothers*, many still-life paintings, *St. Peter and St. Paul* in Samatya Surp Azdvadvadzin Anarad Higutyun Armenian Catholic Church and *Sultan Dudu, the Mother of Dikran Karagozyan* in the Karagozyan Orphanage are among his known works.[10]

His paintings aside, Bedros Sirabyan's real reputation stems from his wall and ceiling frescoes. As a matter of fact, in the commercial annuals of 19th century, his name appears not under "Peintres (Artistes)" but under "Peintres-Décorateurs".[11] From this we understand that his professional identity formed in the academic environment of Rome was widely accepted.

In the commercial annual of 1888, his address is listed as Feridiye Street 61, in Pera, not far from the Taksim area. In 1893 he moved to Çaylak Street 16, a parallel street towards Tarlabaşı.

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[6] Bedros Sirabyan, *Portrait of Hassa Mimarı Ser Mimar'ı Devlet Sarkis Balyan*, 1874, oil on canvas, 92 × 137 cm. Fransua Vuçino collection.

[7] Teodik 1928: 528-535.

[8] Pamukciyan 2003: 352.

[9] Teodik 1928: 528-535.

[10] Kürkman 2004: 762-767.

[11] *Annuaire Oriental*, IX (1889-1890): 490.

He shared this address with his brother Yervant Sirebyan who was a naval architect.[12] Their neighbour and possibly landlord[13] was the famous Greek photographer Achilles Samandji.[14]

Bedros Sirabyan's identity as a painter-decorator, expressly emphasized in the commercial annuals, was a new profession for the Ottoman Empire, made possible by the reforms of the Tanzimat period. Tanzimat enabled an enthusiastic cultural interaction with the west which led to a series of reforms that fundamentally transformed the political, social and economic structure of the Empire. As the palace establishment transformed, the palace décor also began to change. The painter-decorator appeared as a brand-new figure as opposed to previous professions of the tradition such as the calligrapher and the miniaturist.

Various painter-decorators collaborated for the Dolmabahçe Palace which was completed in 1856 by Garabet and Nikogos Balyan. Charles Polycarpe Séchan (1803-1874) was one of the well-known figures of the palace's decoration. An experienced artist who worked in many major European theatres and in the Louvre, he brought Emperor Napoleon III's monumental Neo-Baroque taste to the Ottoman capital when he arrived in 1851.[15] Other than Bedros Sirabyan, many Armenian painters and craftsmen worked for the construction of Dolmabahçe Palace under Balyans' supervision. This new cultural phenomenon pioneered by the Ottoman palace and influenced by the West helped raise a new, local generation of painter-decorators, of which Bedros Sirabyan was a member.

Following the artistic examples set by the Ottoman palace, which was an enthusiastic supporter and patron of this new style, the Tanzimat era's neo-baroque mural paintings came to be applied to civil architecture as well. They spread not only across Istanbul but throughout the entire Ottoman geography, becoming a widespread artistic expression form and one of the most efficient visual manifestations of Ottoman westernization. Since there is no specific terminology to define the vernacular local style influenced by the monumental Neo-Baroque taste of the Ottoman palace, I prefer to call it "Tanzimat barocchetto".[16]

In Tanzimat *barocchetto*, decorative frames determine the borders of landscapes, hunting scenes, still-life and flower compositions. *Trompe-l'œil* architectural depictions such as niches and pediments define the ceiling and wall décor (Figs. 5-6). These compositions do not motivate nor manipulate the viewer. They do not feature any epic, didactic or allegorical representations. The subjects of the compositions are secular and apolitical. This attitude completely disassociated from any forms of propaganda was perfectly suited and even risk-free for the use of the cosmopolitan communities of different religions and ethnicities in 19th century Istanbul. From the imperial family to the bourgeoisie, this decorative silence of Tanzimat era's visual representations manages to combine in a common artistic formulation all the ethno-religious, social and economic diversities of the capital.

Tanzimat *barocchetto* aside, with an eclectic attitude, Bedros does not abstain from creating typical examples of western influenced Ottoman orientalism, dear to Sultan Abdülaziz period. Bedros Sirabyan's decoration project proposal, probably for the third construction period of the Yıldız Şale Köşkü (dated A.H.1313), is a typical example of this mentality, with illusional window frame configurations depicting Egyptian pyramids and Swiss chalets (Fig. 7). Although

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[12] The commercial annual of 1898 indicates Bedros Sirabyan's address as Çaylak Street, 16. Whereas in the commercial annual of 1900, the same address's only inhabitant is Yervant Serabian. See: *Annuaire Oriental*, X (1900): 536.

[13] *Annuaire Oriental*, XII (1893-1894): 721.

[14] Photographer Achilles Samandji (Istanbul, 1870-Athens, 1942), signed his works as "Apollon". He came from a very wealthy local family who owned various properties in the capital. He had close contacts with the imperial palace: Stamatopoulos 2009: 17-18.

[15] Vignes-Dumas 2012: 235-247.

[16] A similar denomination is seen in the term "barocchetto" to define the Roman vernacular baroque inspired by the monumental baroque art.

this romantic attitude may clearly be regarded as orientalist, with its cosmopolitan vision open to the world from the shores of the Nile to the Alpine Mountains, it is very different from the language loaded with nationalist and religious symbology that would begin to appear during the reign of Abdülhamid II.

According to Teodik, the works of painter and decorator Bedros Sirabyan are; various sections of Dolmabahçe Palace's decoration which he began after his return to Istanbul, Admiral Vasıf Paşa Mansion's murals commissioned by Kirkor Nersesyan in Üsküdar's İcadiye neighbourhood, the Nersesyan Mansion that would later serve as the Greek Embassy, the Tasciyan Mansion in Kınalıada which eventually became the Hotel Proti, the wall paintings of the New Theatre in Beyoğlu and Yıldız Palace Şale Köskü decorations (Fig. 8).[17]

In 1891 Bedros Sirabyan was comissioned by the Ankara Governor Abidin Paşa (1843-1906) for the construction of the new Government House. The new construction was planned as a new train line arrived at the city in order to create an appropriate urban stage for visitors. The arrangement of the new building was requested from "Painter Bedros Kalfa".[18] However the inauguration of the Ankara Government House in 1897 was preceded by Bedros's departure from his native country. It is evident that Bedros was involved only in the initial design process and did not follow the construction. We know that Bedros did not undertake the design of any architectural projects in his long career, therefore we can easily assume a collaboration with a local *kalfa* for the construction. The documents we have found so far do not enable us to identify the exact role of Bedros regarding the design of the existing structure, which had enormous importance for the Turkish War of Independence and the early years of the new republic.[19] But the fact that the painter-decorator Bedros Sirabyan was employed in the initial design process of the Ankara Government House is a telling example of how rural governors of the empire closely followed the patronage system as it originated in the capital.

In 1893 Bedros moves to Etchmiadzin in Armenia, home to the Catholicos, the spiritual leader of the Apostolic Church.[20] Bedros was invited personally by Catholicos Mkrtich Khrimian (1827-1907) to redecorate some sections of the Etchmiadzin Cathedral, which dates back to the 4th century.[21] Khrimian as a religious and a political leader was an important figure for the 19th century Armenian communities. Between 1869 and 1873 he served as the Armenian Patriarch of Istanbul. Then he moved to his native city of Van where he struggled for the progress of the Armenians of Anatolia in his preaching, writing, his printing house and his international political connections. Elected Catholicos in 1892, he moved to the religious centre Etchmiadzin and undertook the restoration of the Etchmiadzin Cathedral. This important restoration was partially a work of Bedros Sirabyan. To highlight the responsibility of Istanbul's Armenian architects, painters and decorators' role in this important construction process is critical in comprehending the geographical vastness across which the influence of Istanbul based architects and decorators reached. After three years of work at Etchmiadzin, Bedros returned to Istanbul.

The reason of his return from Ethcmiadzin to Istanbul was a very important commission; the Yıldız Palace Şale Köskü decoration. This commission was the last work in Bedros' career and also one of the last grand decoration projects of the empire. (Figs.9-10) The Yildiz Palace is composed of various pavilions built by different architects and contractors and took its final

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[17] Teodik 1928: 528-535.

[18] For the document for the payment of Bedros Kalfa's expenses who will go to Ankara to prepare plans for the construction of the new Government House, see: BOA, DH.MKT, 2006, 59, 1310.

[19] Ankara Government's first administrative headquarters during the War of Independence was located in this building.

[20] The term *katoğikos* in Armenian, *catolicus* in Latin, *katholikos* in Greek means universal. In eastern Armenian the term is Katoğikos, where as in western Armenian it is pronounced as *Gatoğigos*.

[21] Avédissian 1959: 399.

shape under the reigns of Abdülaziz and especially Abdülhamid II. One of the individual pavilions is the Şale Köskü, which would assume an enormous importance when it was allocated to German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II during his visit to Istanbul to strengthen the German alliance which was so important for the Ottomans.

A great part of the drawings of Bedros Sirabyan in my collection belongs to the decoration of the third construction period of the Yıldız Şale Köskü by the famous Italian architect Raimondo D'Aronco (1857-1932). The drawings bear the stamp "Bedros, 1313" (1895-1896; Fig. 11). The fact that these drawings are not anonymous but bear Bedros' stamp indicate Bedros Sirabyan's desire to prove the authorship of his works as an individual decorator-painter. Although Bedros Sirabyan's drawings for the Yıldız Şale Köskü in my collection are very similar to the kiosk's existing frescoes, they do not perfectly match. If we believe Teodik's report and accept unconditionally Yildiz Sale Kiosk's decoration as a work of Bedros, then are these drawings simply an unimplemented initial decoration proposal? The supposed collaboration with architect D'Aronco for Yıldız Palace's third period construction is consistent not only with the date indicated on the drawings but also with the complex's artistic language of the same period. Then the reason for the drawings' difference from the actual frescoes lied simply in the fact that the commissioner opted for another solution? Or were the works entrusted to another painter-decorator after Bedros' departure from Istanbul due to the 1896 events?

While Bedros was working on the decorations of the Yildiz Sale Kiosk, the 1896 events, which would fundamentally affect all Ottoman Armenians, erupted. Bedros' Bulgarian friends, who were his students when he taught art classes in Robert College, invited him to Sofia. Bedros and his family, like many Armenian intellectuals, left Istanbul and moved to Sofia.[22] Under the protection of his students, who had risen to prominent government positions in Bulgaria, Bedros Sirabyan lived comfortably during his last years and died in Sofia in 1898.

In August of 1934, Bedros Sirabyan's tomb was transferred to a new Armenian cemetery inside Sofia Central Cemetery. A new tombstone was commissioned by the Istanbul Armenian community and designed by the famous sculptor Krikor Aharonyan. The new tombstone, which also bears a portrait of Bedros Sirabyan, was dedicated in a small ceremony (Fig. 12).[23]

Bedros Sirabyan, once again forgotten after this ceremony in Sofia in 1934, fundamentally shaped the decoration principles of the Tanzimat period through the formation of the Tanzimat *barocchetto* and helped this new style become widespread in many buildings of the Ottoman capital. Apart from his talent, his personal relationships with powerful figures of the Armenian community close to the imperial palace, such as Sarkis Balyan and Krikor Nersesyan, played an important role in his professional success.

The dominance of Armenian artists in the Empire was possible when the Tanzimat's spirit of renewal enabled an Armenian enlightenment within the "Ottoman Renaissance". This Armenian enlightenment was also inspired by American missionaries and Mechitarist congregations that connected Ottoman Armenians to western education. As liberal Armenian bourgeoisie gained strength; press, literature, theatre, history and philology but also art and architecture became tools of its social and political regeneration, supported by cultural production.

However, this renewal movement came to a halt due to Abdülhamid II's repressive policy after the Congress of Berlin in 1878.[24] As the definition of Ottoman identity became a political tool, the 1894-1896 events against the Armenians occurred. Within the increasingly competitive international order, the creative period conceived by figures of different ethnicities and

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[22] Among these intellectuals there is also architect Léon Gurekian (1871-1950) who moved to Sofia in 1896.

[23] *Nor Lur* newspaper, Istanbul, 11 and 20 August 1934 (Yedikule Surp Pırgiç Armenian Hospital Library).

[24] Kévorkian & Paboudjian 2012: 77-82.

permitted by liberalism was replaced by a war of survival and increased nationalism among all Ottoman subjects.

In Bedros Sirabyan's long professional career it is possible to see both the enormous cultural richness that the artistic creativity of the Armenians contributed to the Ottoman Empire as well as the eventual abandonment of this artistic pluralism by the new official ideologies of the administrative classes. Bedros' art, shaped by the evolution of the Ottoman elite, international artistic interactions and the patronage of the imperial palace, translated the pluralistic values of the Tanzimat into a brand-new conceptualization of decoration. Bedros applied his own ideas of decoration well beyond the Tanzimat period, such as in the Yıldız Şale Köskü, which was completely free of any kind of symbolism and propaganda, resisting the aesthetic changes that were generated by political conditions. The disavowment of the style typical to Bedros' generation, which I have referred to as Tanzimat *barocchetto*, is directly linked to the historical and political events that led to the complete destruction of the intellectual cosmopolitan classes that enabled Bedros Sirabyan's art.

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Turkish Abstract

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son döneminin önemli yapılarının tezyininde imzası bulunan ressam ve dekoratör Bedros Sirabyan'ı ve onun eserleri üzerinden Tanzimat dönemi Osmanlı dekorasyon anlayışını değerlendirmek, ortaya çıkarılan on dört parçalık "Bedros" imzalı dekorasyon çizimi sayesinde mümkün olmuştur. Sirabyan, Tanzimat döneminde Osmanlı sarayının öncülük ettiği Batı etkili yeni dekorasyon anlayışının yaygınlaşmasıyla, saray himayesinde yetişerek kadrolaşan yerel ressam-dekoratör kuşağının önde gelen üyelerindendir. Sultan Abdülaziz ve mimar Sarkis Balyan ile yakın ilişkisi, saraya yakınlığını sağlar. Abdülaziz, Sirabyan'ın sanatına büyük hayranlık duyar ve onu "Küçük Ayvazovski" olarak adlandırır.

Sirabyan, Dolmabahçe Sarayı ve Yıldız Şale Köşkü dekorasyonları yanısıra, verimli kariyeri boyunca çok sayıda yapının tezyinatını üstlenir. Bedros Sirabyan, Tanzimat dönemi Osmanlı dekorasyonunun önemli bir aktörüdür.

Biographical Note

After his architectural studies at University of La Sapienza in Rome, Büke Uras worked in various offices in New York, especially at Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM). Between 2012-2016 taught architectural design at Bahçeşehir University in Istanbul. He published architectural ciritics and articles on architectural history monthly, at *Istanbul Art News* newspaper. In 2012-2013, organized at Istanbul Research Institute, the exhibition *"The Architect of Changing Times: Edoardo De Nari (1874-1954)"* and prepared its extensive exhibition catalogue. In 2016, he collaborated with Baha Tanman for the book "*Şişli Camii*". In 2017-2018, curated at Istanbul Research Institute, the exhibition *"Imaginary World of a Paper Architect: Nazimi Yaver Yenal"* and prepared the exhibiton catalogue.
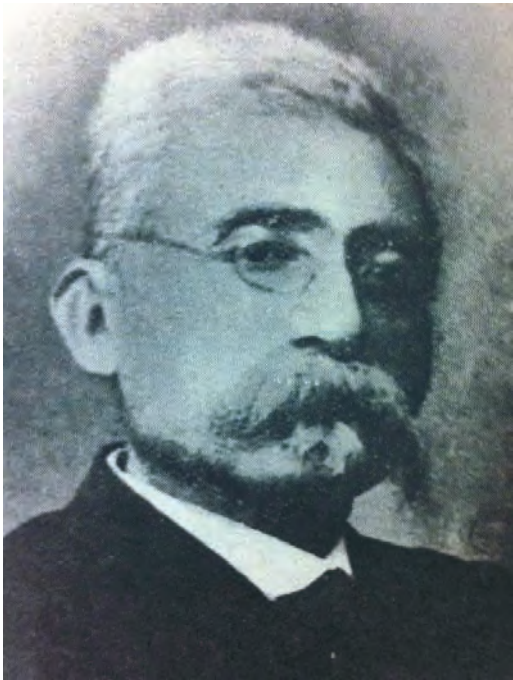
Fig. 1 – Bedros Sirabyan (after Teodik 1928)

Fig. 4 – Bedros Sirabyan,
*Portrait of Architect Sarkis
Balyan*, 1874, oil on canvas,
92 × 137 cm
(©Fransua Vuçino collection)

Fig. 2 – Sirabyan working on
illustrated magazine "Tsaggots" at
Cemaran with classmates in 1849
(after Teodik 1928)

Fig. 3 – Bedros Sirabyan (centre,
with glasses) during a picnic on the
Bosporus with fellow teachers of the
Robert College (early 1880s)
University of Pennsylvania Museum
of Archeology and Anthropology,
Philadelphia, PA, Archives (after
Ousterhout 2011).

Fig. 5 – Bedros Sirabyan, bedroom ceiling decoration proposal
in Tanzimat barocchetto style, 36 × 31 cm
(©Büke Uras Archives)

Fig. 6 – Bedros Sirabyan, wall decoration proposal in Tanzimat barocchetto style, 48 × 23 cm
(©Büke Uras Archives)

Fig. 7 – Bedros Sirabyan, wall decoration proposal in orientalist style, 1895-1896, 45 × 30.5 cm
(©Büke Uras Archives)

Fig. 8 – Bedros Sirabyan, *Trompe-l'œil* wall decoration proposal, 47 × 29 cm
(©Büke Uras Archives)

Fig. 9 – Bedros Sirabyan, Decoration proposal in Tanzimat barocchetto style, 40 × 30,5 cm,
for the Şale Köskü, Yıldız Palace (3rd phase, architect Raimondo D'Aronco)
(©Büke Uras Archives)
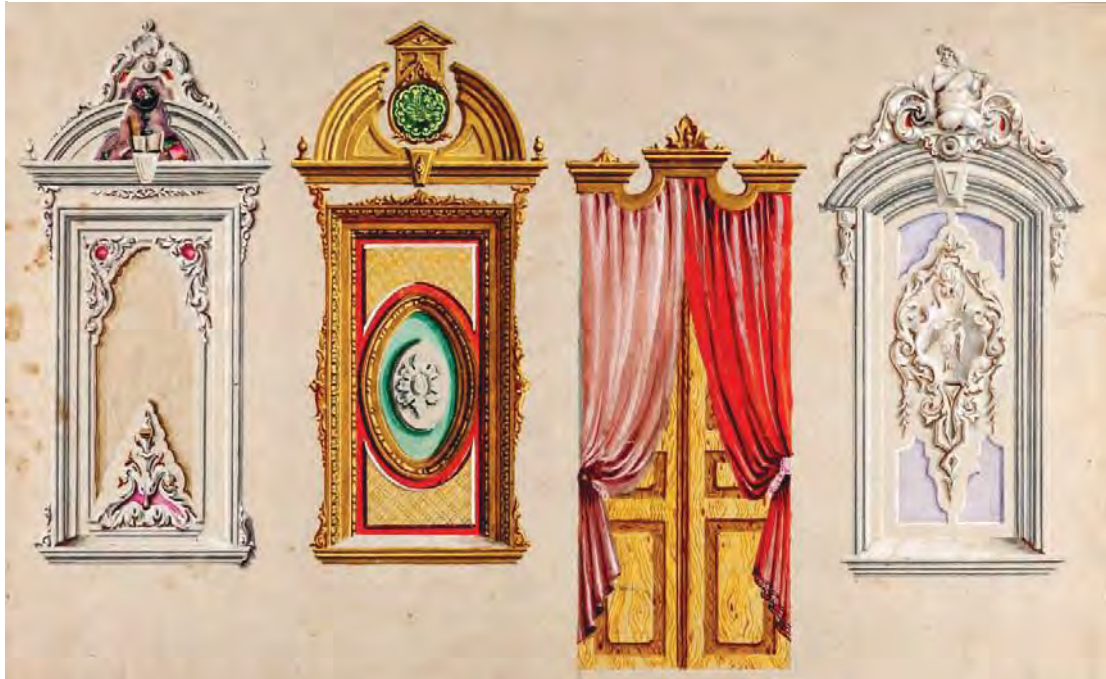
Fig. 10 – Bedros Sirabyan, Decoration proposal for the Şale Köskü, Yıldız, with a *tughra* of
Abdülhamid II and a globe inserted into broken pediments, 41 × 25 cm
(©Büke Uras Archives)

Fig. 11 – Stamp of Bedros Sirabyan on a drawing.
(©Büke Uras Archives)

Fig. 12 – Inauguration of Bedros Sirabyan's new tomb at Sofia
(after *Nor Lur*, Istanbul, 11 August 1934)

MIMAR MUKBIL KEMAL'S CALL
FOR THE PROTECTION OF ISLAMIC ART

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Introduction

The concern with the preservation of Islamic art is a recurring theme in the writings of Ottoman intellectuals between 19th and 20th century. Recent scholarship focusing on the birth of Ottoman archaeology and museums has demonstrated that the Ottoman state authorities adopted various measures prevent the illegal export of antiquities and fine arts (defined by the expression *asar-ı atika ve nefise*) from the Ottoman lands (Shaw 2003; Bahrani et al. 2011).

The interest of European archaeologists, collectors, and connoisseurs for Hellenistic, Byzantine, and Islamic art determined a high demand for antiquities and triggered illicit digging in several locations of the Ottoman Empire. For instance, Raqqa was the hub for the excavation (and forgery) of Abbasid pottery which circulated widely outside the Ottoman lands at the turn of the 20th century (Yoltar-Yıldırım 2013). The Ottoman state authorities tried to implement restrictive regulations on the activity of foreign archaeological missions, launching their own campaigns led by the Imperial Museum (Koçak 2011). However, due to the lack of funds and surveillance, illicit excavations and the theft of antiquities from religious and historical buildings continued virtually everywhere in the Ottoman and post-Ottoman lands.

The scholarship on museums and archaeology in the Ottoman Empire has touched only marginally on how the category of Islamic antiquities and artefacts became instrumental to a nationalist discourse, and how this approach followed a rather secular conceptualisation of Islamic antiquities. The aim of this article is to address this aspect by presenting an example of how late Ottoman intellectuals loaded the category of Islamic antiquities and artefacts with nationalistic overtones. To this aim, I examine the article "The theft of Islamic antiquities and fine arts in the Ottoman lands" ("Memalik-i Osmaniyede Asar-ı Atika ve Nefise-i İslamiye Hırsızlığı") by architect Mukbil Kemal (1891-?) (Fig. 1; Kemal 1329: 535-539). Through a textual analysis of Mukbil Kemal's call for the protection of Islamic antiquities, I argue that salvaging Islamic arts from the hands of foreigners reflects the urge to protect the Ottoman Empire from external threats on the eve of World War I. Foreigners are instrumental to the creation of an Ottoman collective identity and an Ottoman history to be preserved from destruction or dissemblance. At the same time, my analysis targets Mukbil Kemal's conceptualization of the very category of Islamic arts, examining the way the author uses concepts such as national and foreign, "us" and "they", or the sender and addressee of this call. I suggest that by mentioning traditional crafts and the endangered historical patrimony, Mukbil Kemal foreshadows the Republican celebration of folk arts and craftsmanship. This article firstly delineates the context in which Mukbil Kemal's article was published, then it analyses the contents of the article, and ends with a reflection on the conceptual categories utilised by his author.

The context

For the Ottoman authorities, the practice of excavating and displaying Greek and Roman antiquities meant to become part of an international competition over knowledge, prestige, if not also territories (Shaw 2003: 107). This "scramble for the past" (Bahrani et al. 2011) escalated in the second half on the 19th century when the Ottoman authorities witnessed with increasing concern the depredation of archaeological sites by European missions. In order to

restrict the activities of foreign archaeologists, four regulations on antiquities were issued in 1869, 1874, 1884, and 1906. These regulations focus on excavation rights and duties of archaeological missions, and as a result the definition of *asar-ı atika* is highly inclusive. For instance, article 5 of the 1906 Antiquities Law (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) defines *asar-ı atika* as "all productions of ancient civilisations in fine arts, sciences, knowledge, literature, religion and craftsmanship, with no exception" (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* 1328: 3). The regulation goes on specifying that the category of antiquities includes mosques, charities (fountains, hospitals, soup kitchens, etc.), as well as temples, khans, fortresses, hippodromes and stadiums, aqueducts, but also movable artefacts such as manuscripts, weapons, jewels, and coins (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi* 1328: 3-4). This loose categorization serves in fact to conflate Islamic and pre-Islamic artefacts under the wider umbrella of *asar-ı atika*. Although it is clear when the expression *asar-ı atika* originated, it is clear that it was already in use decades before the first regulation on antiquities. The museum – founded in 1846 and housed in the church of Haghia Irene in Istanbul – was in fact divided into two sections: the "Magazine of Antique Weapons" (*Mecma-i Esliha-i Atika*) and the "Magazine of Antiquities" (*Mecma-i Asar-ı Atika*), the latter including prevalently Hellenistic and Byzantine items (Shaw 2003: 48).

Islamic antiquities were dedicated a section in the Ottoman Imperial Museum only after 1889, well after the establishment of the Classical antiquities collection (1869-1881) (Shaw 2000). The foundation of the Islamic section marks an interesting metamorphosis in the items on display, insofar as they cease to be object of common use in mosques and historical buildings, to become specimen of a whole civilisation, underlining the link between the Ottoman empire as a polity and Islam as an identity marker (Shaw 2003: 173-174). It is precisely as a result of this metamorphosis that Ottoman intellectuals started to raise their voices for the protection of Islamic antiquities as a richness to be preserved and transmitted to future generations.

Among the most vocal intellectuals, the architect Kemaleddin Bey (1870-1927) wrote several articles in which he called for the preservation of historical buildings that were damaged by earthquakes or carelessness, or even would be destroyed to allow the construction of new tramway lines or regular streets (Kemaleddin Bey 1324: 89-92; Bernardini 1990: 121). In the article that Kemaleddin Bey wrote for the journal *İstişare* ("Consultation") in 1909 he underlined how vital for the nation was the preservation of *asar-ı atika ve nefise-i İslamiye*. "The exalted arts of Islam", he argues, "have a sacred value and an extraordinary importance for our national and civilisational history" (*asar-ı aliye-i İslamiyenin ...tekmil-i kıymet-i mukaddeselerini ve tarih-i milli ve medenimiz nokta-i nazarından ehemmiyet-i harikulade*) (Fig. 2; Kemaleddin Bey 1324: 786). The preservation of Islamic art – he remarks – should be the task of the Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf-ı Hümayun Nezareti*) (Yerasimos 2014). Incidentally, a few months after the publication of that article, he was to become director of the Construction and Restoration Department of the ministry for Pious Foundations (*Evkaf Nezareti İnşaat ve Tamirat Heyet-i Fenniyesi*), the institution in charge of the management of religious buildings.

In an article published in the magazine *Türk Yurdu* ("Turkish Nation") in 1914, Kemaleddin Bey laments the loss of traditional craftsmanship as an effect of the import of European goods (such as tiles and wrought iron) which caused the corruption of aesthetic taste and the complete disregard for antiquities. Eventually, in an act of self-criticism he states: "We could not preserve [the antiquities], they stole them... and we destroyed the things that could not be removed" (*Muhafaza edemedik, çaldılar,* [...] *sökülemeyenlerini de tahrib ettik*). While denouncing the destruction of the urban fabric of Istanbul, he ends with the promise that "All Turks will protect the artefacts of national civilisation from disappearance as their own souls (or: themselves)" (*Her Türk bu medeniyet-i milliye asarını canı gibi muhafaza ve tahribattan vikayeye gayret edecek*) (Kemaleddin Bey 1329: 381-384). The equation between antiquities and national civilisation lays at the core of the nationalist

rhetoric based on the preservation of antiquities and fine arts. Kemaleddin Bey seems to project in the foreign influence a threat to the integrity of the nation – embodied by its historical artefacts – that should be taken as seriously as the theft of Islamic antiquities.

Mimar Kemaleddin was not alone in warning against the loss of traditional architecture and arts. In 1914 the painter and photographer Hüseyin Zekai Paşa published his book *Honoured treasures* (*Mübeccel Hazineler*, 1914), a description of historical landmarks of Istanbul and other Ottoman cities. In several passages the author mentions the need to protect the built environment, praising the activity of the Imperial Museum, that acquires and exposes parts of mansions that will be destroyed, and in so doing it works for the enlightenment of the public (Zekai Paşa 1329: 32). At the same times he praises the efforts for the preservation of antiquities, calling for the adoption of similar conservation measures in the Ottoman Empire as well (Zekai Paşa 1329: 97). In sum, in *Mübeccel Hazineler* the arts of the past are to be protected as a tool to forming a more informed and civilised public, contributing to the nation of the present.

The Article

The works by Kemaleddin Bey and Hüseyin Zekai Paşa, among others, have created an intellectual discourse that combines aesthetic and nationalistic drives, involving thinkers and practitioners of architecture and fine arts. The article by Mukbil Kemal "The theft of Islamic antiquities and fine arts in the Ottoman lands" should be read as a contribution in raising awareness about the protection of the historical patrimony. Furthermore, it is connected to the preservation activities of the Ministry of Pious Foundations in the CUP period. In fact, Mukbil Kemal studied architecture at the School for Fine Arts (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi*) under Vedat Tek and then worked for the Ministry of Pious Foundations between 1911 and 1917, possibly under the direction of Kemaleddin Bey. With the foundation of the Republic, the career of Mukbil Kemal continued in Ankara, where in 1924 he built the Gazi and Latife schools, designing an equestrian statue of Atatürk, and later in the same year he migrated to the United States, where he worked as an architect in New York until the 1950s (Cengizkan 2003).

The article at study was published in *Bilgi Mecmuası* ("Collection of Knowledge"; Fig. 3) in the issue of February 1914. *Bilgi Mecmuası* was the monthly publication of the Türk Bilgi Derneği, an association of Ottoman intellectuals that included Akçuraoğlu Yusuf, Abdullah Cevdet, Ziya Gökalp, and that was fashioned after European science academies (Toprak 1987). The topics covered by *Bilgi Mecmuası* range from illnesses to pre-Islamic history, from Turkish literature to Greek philosophy, from typhus prevention to German poetry. Its publication lasted a little more than one year, for a total of seven issues; Mukbil Kemal's article was included in the fifth issue and it was the only one in the journal's history to deal with Islamic heritage. Mukbil Kemal must have come into contact with the editors of *Bilgi Mecmuası* via Kemaleddin Bey, who was member of the Turkish studies section of the Türk Bilgi Derneği association (Uçman 2003: 132).

In the opening lines Mukbil Kemal proposes that the level of progress of a nation in terms of science and knowledge is measured by its monuments and artworks: they constitute the shared wealth of a civilization, and a source of pride and honour. As a consequence, those who steal the *asar-ı nefise ve atika* betray the population (*bir milletin muhini*) and as such must be referred to "with the language of malediction and condemnation" (*lisan-ı nefrin ve lanet ile yad etmek*). He mentions that both the Ottoman Empire and the European countries have laws protecting antiquities, and that theft is an ethical and social menace which is also present in Europe. In this respect, the difference between the Ottomans and the Europeans is that, while in Europe the theft of artworks provokes a large indignation, among the Ottomans it usually goes unnoticed. To prove this point, he refers to the theft of Mona Lisa of 1911, that resulted in a large wave of condemnation by the European press. Mukbil Kemal notes with some irony that the French raised hell for this painting (*kıyamet koparıyorlar*), leaving no

stone unturned (*Fransa baştan aşağı aranmakta olsun*), and in all other "civilised countries" an extensive research campaign was also launched, until two years later painting and thief were found (Kemal 1329: 535-536).

Mukbil Kemal barely conceals his admiration for the European's zeal for their heritage, to which he contrasts the situation in the Ottoman Empire, presenting a case of theft of tiles from a mosque. At first, he writes, the thieves set their eyes upon a mosque, they examine it and in a night in which it is empty they break in, and start removing the tiles one by one, paying attention not to break or damage any of them. Then they orderly pile the tiles on the ground, put them into sacks, and finally they walk off undisturbed (*salla-sırt edüb selimetüsselam aşırıyorlar*). Where to, Kemal asks rhetorically? His reply is: "Where else than European museums!" (*Nereye olacak, Avrupa müzelerine!*) (Kemal 1329: 536). The theft of tiles was a very common crime (Fırat 2005) and Mukbil Kemal probably chose such an example for its frequency. Furthermore, during his activity at the Ministry for Pious Foundations, he might have been informed about the theft of tiles in a steady manner. For instance, only two years after the publication of this article, the architect in charge of the restoration of the Takiyya al-Sulaymaniyya in Damascus Mehmed Nihad Bey (1880-1945) wrote to the Ministry that several of the precious tiles of the complex had been stolen (Theunissen 2015: 230).

Mukbil Kemal's position with respect to the local reactions towards such crimes is an ambivalent one. On the one hand, he praises the zeal with which newspapers inform the public opinion about such theft cases, as well as the reaction of the police that immediately starts the search for stolen antiquities. On the other hand, he protests that the result of this illegal activity is that "our Islamic antiquities" (*asar-ı atika-ı İslamiye*) are removed, exported, and exhibited abroad (Kemal 1329: 537). In this case, like in other passages of this article, he seems to speak on behalf of an unspecified collectivity which has inherited the antiquities and should feel the responsibility to protect them.

At this point Mukbil Kemal makes a digression about Islamic antiquities on display in European museums, commenting bitterly that most if not all of them were stolen from Ottoman territories, and that it is the destination that marks the difference between theft in Europe and among the Ottomans: the artefacts stolen from the Empire end up in European museums, but the contrary never happens (Kemal 1329: 537). According to the author, the importance of Islamic antiquities derives from tradition: the tiles, even if they ornate a religious building, testify to a craftsmanship tradition "that was once the monopoly of our forefathers" (*dedelerimize inhisar etmiş*), and that is impossible to revive or replicate in spite of any technological advancement (Kemal 1329: 536). The ideological stance of Mukbil Kemal seems to have been directly influenced by Kemaleddin Bey. In the article "Old Istanbul and the disaster in urban construction" ("Eski İstanbul ve İmar-i Belde Belası"), published the year before Mukbil Kemal's, Kemaleddin Bey notes that the know how necessary to recreate traditional artefacts has irremediably been lost, and with it the only national art that could stand on its feet (*Gerek maliyeti ve gerek marifet ve sanatı itibarıyle teşekkül etmiş başlı başına milli bir sanat olmuş neler kaybettik*) (Kemaleddin Bey 1329: 381). The negative consequences of industrialisation and of the import of cheap European products on local manufactures are lamented by several intellectuals between late 19th and early 20th century. Perhaps the most well-known example of this discourse is included in the trilingual *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani/Die Ottomanische Baukunst/L'Architecture Ottomane* published by Pietro Montani Effendi and Victor Marie de Launay in 1873, where the authors lament that industrial goods "spoil good taste and destroy the patriotism of preferring the products of arts and industry of their country [to cheap alafranga products]" (Montani 1873: 59-French text; Ersoy 2015: 112).

Mukbil Kemal praises the Şeyhülislam and Minister of Pious Foundations Ürgüplü Hayri Efendi (1867-1921) (İpşirli 1998) for having offered a countermeasure to the loss of Islamic art, launching in 1914 the Museum of Pious Foundations (*Evkaf Müzesi*). In founding the

museum (not yet inaugurated at the time of publication), Mukbil Kemal argues that Hayri Efendi has followed the principle that the level of knowledge and prosperity of a country can be measured from the works of art it hosts (*her memleketin mertebe-i irfanı u nasibe-yı ümranı asar-ı mevcudesiyle ölçülür*) (Kemal 1329: 537). The activity of the Ministry for Pious Foundations in rescuing the immovable patrimony of Islamic art is further praised in the text of an anonymous letter that is included in the article. Accordingly, a reader from Aleppo laments the demolition of historical houses for widening the streets. The wooden ceiling of one mansion was to be sold to foreigners for very little money, and this would have been the case if the Evkaf Ministry had not intervened. In another case the widening of the streets resulted into the destruction of a beautifully carved water fountain. The reader explains that the fountain could have been reconstructed elsewhere, but the municipality did not consider this artefact worth of preservation. Finally, the letter reports that foreigners, as soon as they see a beautiful tombstone or the grid of a mausoleum, have it immediately stolen (Kemal 1329: 538).

The letter ends here. Mukbil Kemal adds that the extension of the railway network also facilitates the trafficking of antiquities, and as a consequence every place where antiquities once stood remain totally empty (*yerleri bomboş kalıyor*) (Kemal 1329: 539). Incidentally, the concern over the devastating effects of the trade in antiquities was also present in the Arabic dictionary of the crafts of Damascus (*Qamus al-Sina'at al-Shamiyya*), written between 1890 and 1905. In the description of the trade of the antique dealers (*antakji*s), the compilers complain that this activity "brings forth great profits and abundant gains", and as a result "much in our towns has disappeared... and there are no longer antiquities in them" (Milwright 2011: 11).

Hyperbolic as they might seem, such statements testify to the genuine preoccupation with which late Ottoman intellectual witnessed the loss of antiquities and artworks, and try to raise awareness in the ordinary readers of this process. At the same time indicate that the very existence of an independent Ottoman Empire is perceived to be under threat. As a matter of fact, the article ends with the remark that "*asar-ı atika* are our history, our richness, the ornament of our nation and the honour of our civilization", reiterating Kemaleddin's view of the national importance of Islamic arts. Finally, the author comments with a bitter irony that European tourists will not mind seeing that we are preserving our religious and national antiquities (*asar-ı atika-i diniye ve milliyemizi),* because in this respect they are a hundred times more fanatical (*kat kat daha muteassib*) (Kemal 1329: 539). Once again, Mukbil Kemal seems to look at Europeans with a mixture of displeasure and admiration, as it was the case at the beginning of the article: displeasure for the danger to the integrity of the Ottoman historical patrimony, admiration for the attention they devote to the preservation of their own past.

Conclusion

In his provocative article, Mukbil Kemal does not offer a clear definition of *asar-ı atika*, nor identifies foreigners and thieves, and certainly does not clarify who is the "us" he pretends to voice. First, the undefined use of the expression *asar-ı atika ve nefise-i İslamiye* enhances the sensation of an alarming situation. Throughout the article it is not explained where the "antiquities" (*asar-ı atika*) end and the "fine arts" (*asar-ı nefise*) start, and the difference between movable and immovable objects is not mentioned.

Second, the category of foreigners is left undefined: Mukbil Kemal mentions Europeans in a few passages, while he generically refers to foreigners as "*ecnebilerden bazıları*", or "*burada bulunan ecnebiler*". It is unclear whether these foreigners are diplomats, tourists, antiquities hunters, museum experts, entrepreneurs with a penchant for Islamic art, Ottoman Christian art merchants, or all of them. By leaving this category undistinguished, it becomes easier to portray them as greedy hunters, overlooking the fact that foreign collections also contributed to salvaging artefacts that would be destroyed in the construction of new infrastructures. Similarly, the article completely ignores the presence of Ottoman subjects

involved in the figures traffic of Islamic arts as antique dealers, middlemen, brokers, and dragomans (Milwright 2011: 11).

At the same time, this attitude makes it unproblematic to speak of a monolithic "us". In Mukbil Kemal the participation of Ottoman subjects in the destruction or traffic of antiquities is barely mentioned, as the fault mainly lies with the Europeans. Stealing-to-order by foreigners is described a practice violating the tradition of Ottoman arts, with the integrity of this heritage standing as a metaphor for the integrity of the Empire; however, any ambiguity regarding the role of Ottoman subjects in the illicit trafficking of antiquities is absent. Through the emphasis on tradition, the *asar-ı atika ve nefise-i İslamiye* become nodes of national belonging: the religious sphere is de-emphasized in favour of the historical sphere, in which the nation originates. In this perspective, this article reveals that a step has been made towards the redefinition of antiquities, at first sacred in purely religious terms and gradually becoming sacred to the historical memory of the nation.

This redefinition is apparent in an official communication issued three years after Mukbil Kemal's publication, with the title "Memorandum of the Ministry of Internal Affairs Concerning the Care in the Preservation of the Antiquities and National [Patrimony]" ("Asar-ı Atika ve Milliyenin Muhafazasına İtina Edilmesine Dair Dahiliye Nezareti Tezkiresi", 1917). The document condemns the destruction of the historical patrimony to make room for infrastructures and public buildings, in line with Kemaleddin Bey's articles of the previous years (Bernardini 1990: 121-127). However, now the category of "national works" (*asar-ı milliyye*) also includes "sacred buildings" (*mebani-i mukaddese*) such as mausoleums, mosques, and Quranic schools, that have a "historical and architectural importance" (*ehemmiyet-i tarihiye ve mimariye*), but not a religious one: significantly, the adjective *dini/diniye* is absent from the text of the memorandum (Ergin 1995: 4095).

The analysis of Mukbil Kemal's article should not be read as a proof of an Ottoman exceptionalism with respect to the protection of historical heritage and the use of it for a national discourse. As Choay (2001) has demonstrated, parallel discourses were taking place in Western European countries, and in fact, more research is needed to explore the embeddedness of such Ottoman intellectual developments into a broader, transnational context.

Calls for the protection of Islamic art like Mukbil Kemal's indicate how the intellectual milieu of the early 20th century gradually redefined Islamic antiquities as a historical patrimony that is a production of, and belongs to, the nation; secondly, the references to the national identity, history, and values should be read in a cultural context that foreshadows the Republican rediscovery of folk arts. Thirdly, through journals and newspapers, calls for the protection of this Islamic art contribute to the construction of the national self, with a long-lasting impact on the cultural politics of Republican Turkey.

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Turkish Abstract

Bu makale, geç dönem Osmanlı entellektüellerinin İslami sanat mirasını kavramsallaştırmalarını analiz etmektedir. Mukbil Kemal (1891-?) tarafından yazılmış olan "Memalik-i Osmaniye'de Asar-ı Atika ve Nefise-i İslamiye Hırsızlığı" adlı makaleyi inceleyerek, İslami kadim zamandan kalmış eserlere ve yapılara nasıl milliyetçi anlamlar yüklendiği gösterilmektedir. Mukbil Kemal'in yaklaşımına göre yabancılar Osmanlı kolektif kimliğine karşıtlık teşkil etmektedir; ve Osmanlı tarihi tahrip edilmekten ya da çarpıtmalardan korunmalıdır. Bu makalede İslami sanatın yabancıların ellerinden kurtarılması, 1. Dünya Savaşı arifesinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yabancı tehditlerden korunması fikrinin yansıması olarak tartışılmaktadır.

Biographical Note

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معالك عثمانيه ده آثار عتيقه و نفيسهٔ اسلاميه خرسزلغنى

برملتك علوم و معارفجه مرتبهٔ ترقیاتی آثار مؤلفه و مدونه سیله مقایسه ایدلدیکی کبی عمران و صنایعجه نصیبهٔ مدنیه سی ده آبدات و مخلداتیله اولچولور. حتی بونك ایچنده رکه عموم برملتك مال مشترکی و مدنیتجه مابه الافتخار و شرفی صایلان آثار نفیسه و عتیقه یه أل اوزاتانلره قیمت شناسان معالی و بدایع، برملت مقدساتنك مهینی نظریله باقارلر و اونلری بحق لسان نفرین و لعنت ایله یاد ایده رلر.

هرمملکتك قانونی آثار نفیسه و عتیقه سنی هر تورلو تخریبات و ضیاعدن وقایه یی کافل صورتده تنظیم اولنمشدر. بزده ده بویله اولماسنه رغماً بو لایق نفرت خرسزلق، مملکتمزك أسکی زمانلردن بری اخلاقی و اجتماعی درد لرندن برینی تشکیل ایتمکده بردوامدر.

فی الحقیقه خرسزلغك بو نوعی آوروپاده ده ایقاع ایدیلیور. فقط اوراده کیلر، بزده کیلره نسبتله پك نادر و سیره کدر. اوندن باشقا آراده ساده وقوعات دکل نتیجه اعتباریله ده بیوك فرقلر واردر. باقکز ناصل فرضا:

نظر دقتی جلب ایچین غزته لرده شدید برلسان شکایتله یازیلان مقالاتدن آكلایورز که پارسك (لوور) موزه سندن – اوقادار صیقی تقیداته رغماً – قیمتدار بر (تابلو) آشیریلمش. مطبوعات محلیه، بو وسیله ایله فوران ایده ن حسیات بدایع پرستانه لرینی قلملرینك ولوله دار فریادینه ترك ایتمشلر. اظهاره چالیشیورلر.

خنجرله رینك اولانجه قوتیله حایقیریبیورلر، تعبیر عامیانه سیله قیاملر قوپاریبیورلر. دیکر طرفدن ضابطه لری بوتون قدرتیله تحریاته قویولیور. فرانسه باشدن آشاغی آرانقده اولسون، دیار أجنبیه ده کی سفرایه ده کی تلغرافلر

Fig. 1 – Mukbil Kemal, "Memalik-i Osmaniyede Asar-ı Atika ve Nefise-i İslamiye Hırsızlığı" (Kemal 1329: 535; Courtesy of ISAM Library, Istanbul)

استشاره ٧٨٦

براز دها شمولى صورتده وضع واستعمالنده كى اهميتى تكرار ايدرك مقالاتمزه
ختام ويربرز .   ابن الضيا

———————

اوقاف هايون تعميراتنك صورت اجراسى حقنده معمار كمال الدين بك افندى طرفندن
نظارته تقديم اولنان لايحه تركه اثار معماريه سنك قيمت وماهيت اساسيه سنى توصيف ايدر موادى
حاوى بولنديغى جهتله بروجهله آنى درج ايله قارئلرمزى مستفيد ايلمكى وجيبه دن عدايلدك.

———————

آثار عاليۀ اسلاميه نك محافظۀ متانتى ايله الى الابد پايدار اولملرينه خدمت
وعلى الخصوص تشكلات اساسيه لرنده وقوفسزلقلر سببيله حصوله كلش اولان
تغييراتى تصحيح واصلاح ايله انشا اولندقلرى زمانه كى شكل وطرز مكمليته ابلاغ
ايلمك وبناء عليه آثار نادرۀ مذكوره نك قواعد معماريه ، معرفت نفيسه
وصناعيه يه عائد تكميل قيمت مقدسه لرينى وتاريخ ملى ومدنيمز نقطۀ نظرندن
اهميت خارق العاده لرينى بالجمله تفرعات وجزئياتيله ميدانه قويوب اوقاف هايون
نظارتنجه تأسيسى آرزو ايديلان (آثار عتيقۀ اسلاميه محافظه وتعميرات)
تشكيلاتى خدماتنك مقصد واساسندن عبارتدر .

آثار مذكوره نك تمللرندن اعتباراً قبولرينك اوزرنده كى چيويلره وارنجيه
قدر موجود اولان آياق ستون وباشلقلر ايله كمر وقبه لرينك تشكلات وطرز
انشائيلرى ، غايت مهم اولان عمليات سترينه (قورشون چيلاق) صيواجيلاق ،
چينيجيلك وقلم ايشلرى كبى سطح ترتيباتى ، قبولر وپنجره لر ايله كرسى ورحله
وساير كبى طوغرامه جيلغه واويمه جيلغه عائد اقسام، رنكلى وچيچكلى وآلچى
چرچوه لى پنجره لر صنايعى ، دميربارمقلقلر پنجره وقبوكليدلرى ، خلنه لرى
وشريدلوه لرينه عائد دميرجيلك دوكمه جيلك واويمه جيلاق والحاصل دها ساير
كافۀ اعمالات مختلفه تفرعاننده ترك مدنيتنك سكز طقوز عصر اول تأسس
وتشكل ايدن آل سلجوق دورينه عائد آثار مدنيۀ موجوده سندن اعتباراً قبول
وتعقيب اولنان اصول وقواعد صنعت انشائيه، اساسات وقوانين معرفت تزيينيه،
معاصرى ومجاورى مسالك ساير انشائيه دن كلياً فرقلى وكاملاً كنديسنه مخصوص

Fig. 2 – Kemaleddin Bey, "Evkaf-ı Hümayun Tamiratının Suret-i İcrası Hakkında"
(Kemaleddin 1329: 786; Courtesy of ISAM Library, Istanbul)

يل : ١ جلد : ١

نيسان، ١٣٣٠

مجموعه‌سی

بيلگی

حالد

ناشری : تورك بيلگی درنگی

آبده بر جيقار

مدير : جلال سامر

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فيئاتی : بش غروش

مطبعهٔ عامره ــ استانبول
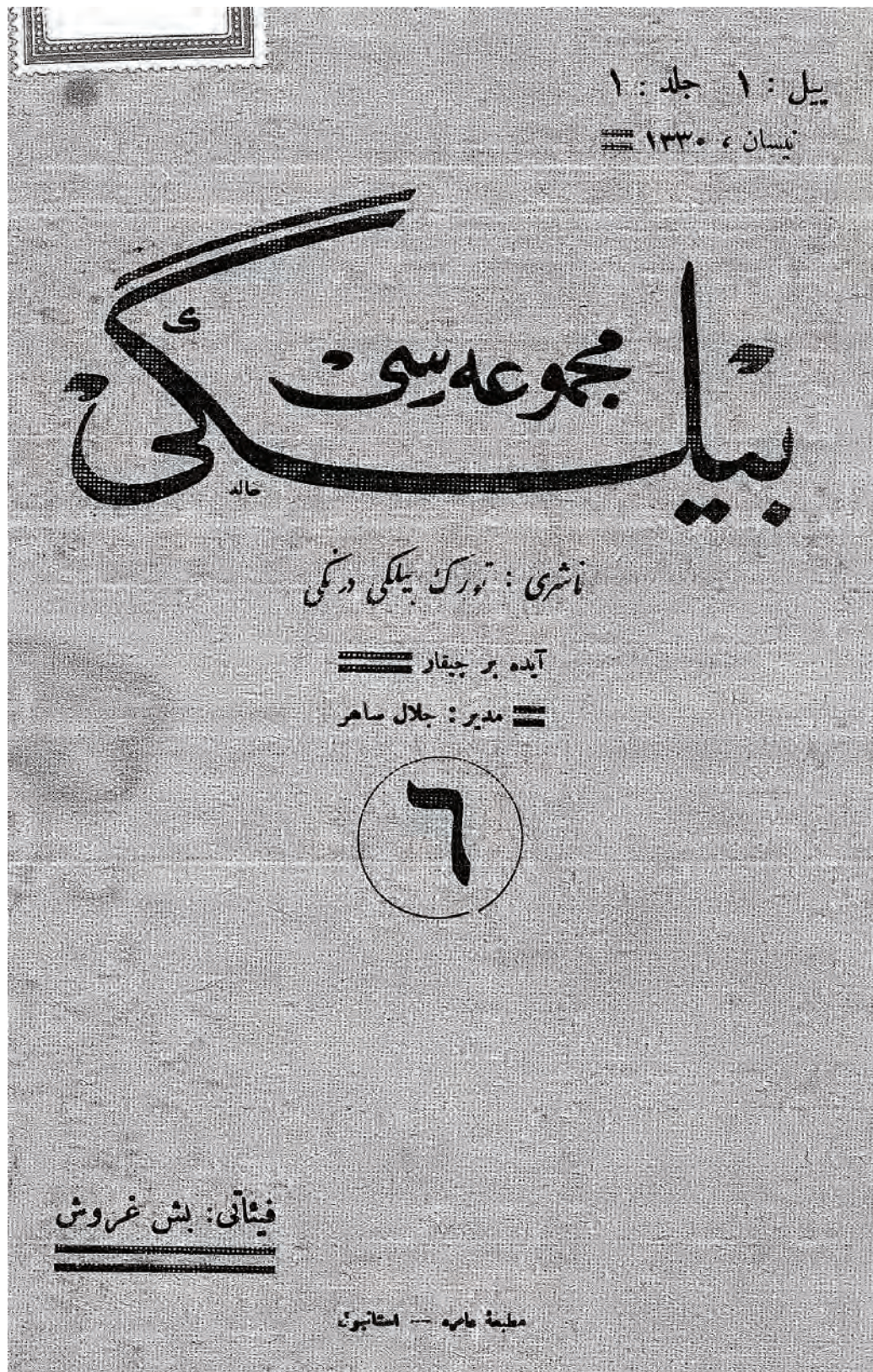
Fig. 3 – Cover of *Bilgi Mecmuası* (1-6, Nisan 1330)
(Courtesy of ISAM Library, Istanbul)

ITALIAN AND OTTOMAN TEXTILES IN GREEK SACRISTIES: PARALLELS AND FUSIONS

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The Greek clergy, as the Christian elite and a de facto part of the Imperial bureaucracy in the Ottoman Empire, naturally preferred for their vestments fabrics which better communicated their position to the wider community. For this reason, after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 Ottoman silks and velvets became the superlative choice for the Church's ecclesiastic textiles (Ballian 1999: 15; Vryzidis 2015: 206-216). From surviving material, we understand that the other two places of textile productions which competed with each other for the Church's secondary patronage were Italy and Persia. While Persian silks were popular (Vryzidis 2015: 208-209), Italian fabrics enjoyed far more prestige in Ottoman society as one of the elite products consumed by the court (Alpaslan Arça 2009: 210-225; Mackie 2001: 1-21; Mackie 2004: 219-229). In this paper we will analyze the use of Italian fabrics by the Greek Church as an element of Ottoman elite culture, the dialogue between Ottoman and Italian fabrics within the ecclesiastical context, and the decorative fusions that this dialogue created.

A 1574 document from the codex of the Patriarchal Basilica of Saint George in Fener/Phanari refers to the Patriarch's actions for the replacement of old vestments. In this document different types of fabrics are mentioned: *kemha* silks, figural Christian embroidery of the type produced by Greek embroiderers, and, finally, silks polished with 'mangano' in the Venetian style. The provenance of the *kemha* and Christian figural embroidery was not mentioned in the codex, presumably because they were of local production; for the latter fabric, however, there was specific mention to the 'artistry of the Venetians' in reference to a specific processing of the metallic threads, which, according to the document, was characteristic of Venetian textiles (Paizi-Apostolopoulou & Apostolopoulos 2002: 154). This document further summarizes the Greek Church's preferences and points out the desirability of Italian fabrics as elite products which had to be included in the ecclesiastical wardrobe together with the woven silks and embroideries produced in Bursa and Istanbul[1].

Surviving evidence of the truth of these desires can be found in Greek sacristies, where we find vestments with similar designs and motifs to those found on textiles within the Topkapı Palace collection or in Ottoman officials' portraits. At Iveron Monastery (Mount Athos) the *sakkos* of 'Ioannis Tsimiskis', made of early sixteenth-century Italian silk spolia, features a very similar design to that on the kaftan of Haireddin Barbarossa in a 1535 painting in the Chicago Institute of Art.[2] The recorded oral tradition attached to this dalmatic, that it belonged to a tenth-century Byzantine emperor (Chryssochoidis et al 2009: 118-119;

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[1] At the same time, one should not forget the relationship of the Ottoman-era Greek Church with the Russian court, where Venetian and, more generally, Italian fabrics were greatly appreciated. In the *Travels of Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch*, a mid-seventeenth century book which reveals how knowledgeable the Greek-Orthodox clergy were about textiles, there is special mention of the Russian Emperor wearing a cloak made of heavy yellow Venetian brocade when meeting the Antiochene Patriarch (Paul of Aleppo 1836: 381). See various Russian vestments made of Italian fabrics in Degl'Innocenti 2009: cats. 64-66, 68, 69, 72-76, etc. Finally, another source of Italian fabrics for the Church probably was the Greek community of Venice. In his 1599 letter, Patriarch Matthew II thanked the caretaker bishop in Venice, Metropolitan of Philadelphia Gabriel Severon, for sending him precious vestments (τὰ πολλῆς τιμῆς ἄξια ῥοῦχα); while Patriarch Raphael II in his 1603 letter demanded the vestments of the late bishop of Cythera Maximus Margunius to be sent from Venice to Istanbul, on the grounds of the bishop's titular status (Manussacas 1968: pp. 44, 46).

[2] This painting, probably made in Northern Italy, depicts Sinan the Jew and Haireddin Barbarossa (inv.no 1947.53).

Kousoulou 2013: 20-21), is an indication of the prestige that Italian fabrics carried. It shows how the monastery's *sakkos*, featuring standard crown and pomegranate motifs, was interpreted by the monks at that time: as suitable for a Byzantine emperor and, therefore, his heirs, the Ottoman Sultans and the Greek Patriarchs.[3] Another important example is to be found at Vatopediou Monastery (Mount Athos), a *phelonion* made of probably Florentine brocade, dating to the second half of the sixteenth century (Fig. 1).[4] The central pine cone framed by leaves, flowers and stems is quite typical of the Italian fabrics we find in Greek sacristies, portraits of Ottomans dignitaries and on kaftans of that time.[5] This preference for Italian fabrics applied to all aspects of ecclesiastical material culture including, for example, bookbinding, something seen in the Topkapı collection as well (Fig. 2).[6]

Although there is some textual evidence that Italian fabrics were appreciated as prestigious imports, another phenomenon in Greek art shows how both Ottoman and Italian textiles were understood as native and/or naturalized cultural elements. As Christos Merantzas has pointed out, local painters in northern Greece tended to represent Saints and holy figures dressed in textiles that could be of either Ottoman or Italian production (Merantzas 2006: 6-21). The blending of motifs and designs usually produced examples of pseudo-textiles, in which the created representation did not quite depict known patterns of real textiles, but rather combined different elements in order to create a new, imaginary one (Fig. 3) (Contadini 1999: 9-11). This phenomenon affords two readings: 1) that both the Italian and Ottoman productions were surrounded by similar connotations of prestige and understood as symbols of the local elite, thereby rendering precision in the realistic representation of their textiles unimportant; and 2) that specific motifs and designs had a fixed meaning within the Greek context, regardless of their provenance. This latter reading builds on the recurrence of certain motifs common in both productions. One such motif was the pomegranate, many different versions of which appeared in Greek vestments made of Italian and Ottoman textiles (Fig. 4). The motif was probably inherited by both the Ottomans and the Italians from its original source, the Near East (Contadini 2013: 48-49; Curatola 1985: 188).[7] In Western Europe it was clearly linked to religious symbolism pertaining to the notions of resurrection and rebirth, which made it very appropriate for inclusion on vestments;[8] its reoccurrence in Greek vestments made of Italian and Ottoman textiles indicates that it probably had a religious meaning within the Orthodox context as well.[9] It is no coincidence that in Greek religious painting one will often see this motif on garments worn by angels and Saints (Merantzas 2006: 10 and 16). Fabrics from both Italy and the Ottoman realm that depict the pomegranate give rise to the idea that the motif had a life of its own and that its symbolical connotations were quite important.

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[3] The representation of an Italian velvet in the fifteenth century Byzantine wall painting in Chora Monastery/Kariye Camii points out that the prestige that Italian fabrics carried predated the Ottoman conquest. However, there is no doubt that this notion attached to Italian velvets probably accentuates ever after (Cormack, Vassilaki et al 2008: fig. 42).

[4] For images of this textile, see Cataldi Gallo 2014: 25-26; Cuoghi Costantini and Silvestri 2010: cat. 102; Davanzo Poli 1997: cat. 16; Peri 1994: cat. 36.

[5] See, for example, Rogers et al. 1986: cat. 49. For similar motifs also see the Italian portrait of Mehmed II in the Museum of Islamic Art, Doha (inv. no. PA.10.2007).

[6] For Ottoman bookbindings made of Italian textiles see Mazzucco 2009: cats. III37-44; Tanındı 1993: 219-221.

[7] For examples of the motif in use, see Victoria and Albert Museum 1923: cats. I, II, IV, XII, XIV.

[8] For the pomegranate's symbolism within the Catholic context see Bonito Fanelli 1993: 515 and 521; Monnas 2012: 83.

[9] An illuminating example is the fifteenth century funerary cover of Maria of Mangop at the Putna Monastery (Romania) where the noble lady is depicted as being dressed in a typical Renaissance pomegranate-patterned velvet. In this specific example it is probable that the motif was chosen for its connection to the Resurrection. See Johnstone 1967: fig. 79.

Another motif we find in Greek vestments is the crown, which was also very popular at the Ottoman court.[10] There is no doubt that this motif was borrowed by the Ottomans from the Italians,[11] and that it probably had no specific meaning at the court;[12] however, the Greek case is different. From the seventeenth century onwards, the high clergy unanimously adopted the *mitre*, an ecclesiastical crown based on Byzantine aristocratic headdresses. Furthermore, we should note that the crown becomes closely associated with the figure of Christ in Greek iconography, especially in the iconographic depiction of Christ as High Priest; in this role, Christ was dressed in Imperial attire. This iconography emerged in the late Palaiologan era when the power of the Byzantine Emperor seemed uncertain, and it symbolized the new role that the Church and its head, the Patriarch, would play; this became even more pronounced after the conquest of Constantinople (Papamastorakis 1993-1994: 67-78; Vryzidis 2015: 123-135). This specific iconographic type can be found in many Ottoman silks produced for the Christian market as well (Vryzidis 2015: 149-152; Woodfin 2014: 43-51).[13] An important piece of visual evidence is a 1541/2 fresco at Saint Nikolas of Philanthropinon Monastery (island of Ioannina) in which we see a representation of the Divine Liturgy, carried on the back of angels. Below Christ is depicted a stylized vegetal motif, either a large artichoke or pomegranate, while above him is clearly represented the crown motif (Fig. 5). The same stylized vegetal motifs and crowns can also be found on the dress of the angels.[14] The presence of these motifs in the fresco cannot be considered accidental or attributed to what was deemed fashionable; rather, they are a clear indication of the symbolical value these motifs held in the Greek religious narrative. This fact pairs with the issue about the provenance of the textiles raised by this paper.

Carrying on with the same thread of thought, our discussion continues with Italian fabrics presenting an 'orientalist' aesthetic and the possible Ottoman response. In the 1644 *Tree of Jesse* by Emmanuel Tzanes at the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Studies in Venice, the representation of the inner fabric of the Madonna's mantle is rendered with great precision as an Italian brocade in which Ottoman floral decoration blends with Italian elements, animals, mythical creatures and a flower pot.[15] When comparing the actual fabric, examples of which survive in many Italian Museums, to that in the icon the precision is astonishing, indicating that this fabric was probably used by the Greek community in Venice and that a vestment or ecclesiastical veil was at Tzanes' disposal to copy from directly.[16] At the Benaki Museum, on the other hand, we find what could be seen as an Ottoman response to this type of Italian brocade (Fig. 6). Made for the Christian market, this *kemha* fabric (inv.no. ΓΕ3860) features a central representation of a flower pot with stems of rich floral decoration developing into a symmetrical arabesque. The chromatic palette strongly recalls the previously discussed Italian brocade, while the decoration seems like an Ottoman adaptation or interpretation without the animals and mythical creatures. The usual features we find in Ottoman silks made for the Christian market, crosses and seraphim, are present. However, the

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[10] The crown motif can be found on many Ottoman kaftans, such as Mehmed III's (1595-1603), which was made of sixteenth-century Italian velvet. See Rogers et al 1986, cat. 28. For other examples from the Topkapı, see Alpaslan Arça 2009: cats. III53, 56, 58.

[11] There are also strong indications that the Ottomans viewed the crown as a foreign motif. See Belger Krody 2000: p. 61.

[12] Suraiya Faroqhi bases her hypothesis that the motif was purely decorative on the fact that such crowns were not a part of the Ottoman royal regalia. See Faroqhi 2015: 34.

[13] For examples of such silks, see Vryzidis 2015: 149-152; Atasoy et al. 2001: pl. 54, cats. 8 & 29; Woodfin 2014: 43-51.

[14] For the frescoes of the monastery see the monograph by Potamianou-Acheimastou 2004.

[15] For the icon see Chatzidakis 1962: pl. 69; Kazanaki-Lappa 2005: cat. 66; Leontakianakou 2008: fig. 1.

[16] For the textile see Cuoghi Costantini and Silvestri 2010: cat. 178; Davanzo Poli 1997: cat. 39; Peri 1994: cat. 16.

latter appear to be based on Western European iconographic prototypes as the faces of the angels do not seem to be Byzantine or Ottoman.

To continue, at the Kremlin there is a *sakkos* made of Italian velvet, one of the gifts Patriarch Cyril Loukaris sent to Moscow in 1655 (inv.no oxr13078-01) (Fig. 7). The Ottoman flavor of the design, with the central tulip dominating the composition, exemplifies the Italian production for the Eastern Mediterranean market (Atasoy and Uluç 2012: 115 and fig. 82). Next, at the Tatarna monastery is a *phelonion* made of high quality velvet, which initially we identified as Venetian (Fig. 8). The aesthetic of the floriated arabesque recalls Italian velvets employed in Ottoman kaftans.[17] However, the technique used for the velvet's production points to an Ottoman manufacturer, thus probably including it in a group of Ottoman velvets in which the dominant design is gold brocaded and framed by a secondary design of pink leaves on a satin ground, while the darker velvet pile recedes from the eye.[18] It is worth noting that this monastery, as a Patriarchal dependency, enjoyed good relations with both Venice and the Constantinopolitan Patriarch. This is also reflected in its collection of artifacts of Venetian and Ottoman provenance.[19] It seems therefore, that the Greek Church participated in this dynamic by consuming and commissioning textiles which themselves were the product of Italian-Ottoman cross-cultural encounter.

Another source on how this dialogue between Italian and Ottoman textiles took place is Greek Orthodox embroidery. It is, we would argue, the most important source of information on this dialogue as it shows the Greek community's active reception of such cultural interaction. First, in certain ecclesiastic pieces we find the combination of separable elements, in which the Ottoman or Italian origin of every decorative motif is recognizable in the composition. A prime example is the 1672 *epimanikon* (a wide cuff that sits over the priest's wrist) associated with Patriarch Dionysios IV, now at an Athens private collection.[20] On the edge of the vestment, between two thin gold films, a helical stem develops with leaves and flowers of predominantly Ottoman provenance (Fig. 9). The amphorae on the sides of the *epimanikon* feature masks typical of Renaissance art of that time, while the elaborate floral decoration on top is of clear Ottoman origin (Fig. 10).[21] This combination of both recognizable Ottoman and Italian motifs is very usual in Greek ecclesiastical embroidery of that time and exemplifies the way Ottoman and Italian decorative motifs were combined while still being separate entities.

Other instances of Greek Orthodox embroidery that speak of the design dialogue between Italian and Ottoman textiles include examples which are more ambiguous in their origin. For example, there is a floral style of decoration without a clear provenance that is quite typical of Greek ecclesiastical embroidery from the seventeenth century onwards. We see this on an *epigonation* depicting Saint Matrona from the Athens' Byzantine & Christian Museum (BXM 2126); one cannot discern what elements of the floral decoration belong to the Italian tradition, and what to the Ottoman tradition (Fig. 11). Lastly, there are examples of designs of an Italianate aesthetic without an obvious Ottoman contribution. The 1689 *epigonation*, signed by the Constantinopolitan embroiderer Despineta, depicts Christ as blonde with a sweet facial expression, both Western European features; while the bordure decorated with plain ribbons (BXM 1702). Iconography was, as evident by this piece, yet another channel of

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[17] See, for example, Rogers et al 1986: cat. 65.

[18] See examples of this group of Ottoman textiles in Monnas 2012: cat. 49; Prato 2006: cat. 10.

[19] The Monastery held a dual role as a Patriarchal monastery and ally of the Venetians. Its enviable relationship with the Church of Constantinople is proven by numerous official documents, while Venetians would call the monastery *Nuestra Siniora di Tarne* as an expression of gratitude for its alliance. See Dositheos 2012: 131-136 and 144.

[20] The cuff in discussion is part of a pair. According to the embroidered Greek inscription they belonged to Dionysios IV of Constantinople, who served as Patriarch five times, from 1671 to 1694.

[21] For ceramic amphorae with features similar to the embroidered cuff's amphorae see Poole 1995: cats. 46, 54, 55 and 59

artistic interaction between Italian and Greek art (Ballian 2011: cat. 43; Papastavrou 2002: cat. 46). We should not forget that Patriarch Cyril's Italian dalmatic was made of velvet and squares of embroidery depicting Saints, both elements being from Italy (Atasoy and Uluç 2012: 115).[22]

In conclusion, the Greek context can be useful in this discussion precisely because it offers an alternate view on the dialogue between Ottoman and Italian textiles and their dynamic. The cultural specificity of the examples and visual sources we have discussed show that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Italian imports were actively received by many different ecclesiastic levels and that the Greek context helps us understand their impact on both clerical and courtly aesthetic. The importance of Italian textiles in Ottoman elite culture, their equation with the local symbols of prestige and the parallels between Ottoman Italianate and Italian 'orientalist' productions are all well-documented. However, the objects associated with Greek patronage, craftsmanship and taste illuminate the nuances of these processes within the Christian context, which could be interpreted as a more complex version of the same zeitgeist.

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[22] See Fig. 7.

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Turkish Abstract

Osmanlı dünyasında İtalyan kumaşlarının saray çevresindeki ayrıcalıklı yeri ve seçkin kültüre hitap eden beğenisi Osmanlı Rum kilisesinde de izlenir. Bu makalede Rum kilisesinde Osmanlı ve İtalyan kumaşların birlikte kullanılması, bu kumaşların bezeme anlayışlarının ve motiflerinin etkileşimi üzerinde durulmaktadır. Osmanlı ve İtalyan kumaşlarının ortak kullandığı motifler arasında, örneğin, nar ve taç önemli bir yer tutar. Bunların kimi zaman birlikte kullanıldığı da görülür. Taç ve iri bitkisel bir motiften oluşan kombinasyon (nar veya enginar) zaman zaman Yunan kültüründe dini bir anlam kazanmıştır. İtalyan ve Osmanlı motiflerinin yeni bir düzenleme içinde birlikte yer aldığı İtalyan yapımı kumaşların Venedik'teki Yunan Ortodoks cemaati tarafından kullanıldığı örneklerle bilinmektedir. Benzer düzenlemeler Osmanlı kumaşlarında da karşımıza çıkar. Bu Osmanlı-İtalyan etkileşimi içinde sipariş ve tüketimleriyle Rum kilisesinin önemli bir rolü olmuştur. Nitekim, Yunan kilisesinde ayinler sırasında kullanılan giyim aksesuarlarındaki işlemelerde Osmanlı motifleriyle örneğin Rönesans'ta çok kullanılan mask motifleri gibi İtalyan kökenli bezemeler birlikte kullanılmıştır. Kimi zaman bu etkileşim motiflerin kökenlerinin anlaşılmasını engelleyecek kadar yoğundur.

16 ve 17. yüzyıllarda Rum Ortodoks kilisesinde dini bağlamda kullanılan, günümüze ulaşmış kumaşlar ve işlemeler Osmanlı-İtalyan zevklerinin birlikteliğinin ve birbiri içinde erimesinin yeni nüanslarla gözlenebildiği ortamları yansıtırlar.

Biographical Note

Nikolaos Vryzidis studied art history at SOAS-University of London, focusing on the artistic exchanges between Europe and the Middle East. His doctoral dissertation analysed the evolution of Greek ecclesiastical aesthetic during the Ottoman period as reflected on clerical costume. In 2016 he convened a workshop on Mediterranean textiles at the British School at Athens, the proceedings of which are currently in preparation. His latest articles appear in journals like *Iran*, *Convivium* and *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*.

Elena Papastavrou studied history and archaeology at the University of Athens, and Byzantine and Western Medieval art history at Paris I Sorbonne-Panthéon. Her doctoral research focused on the artistic exchanges between Byzantine and Western European religious painting in the Late Middle Ages. Apart from her monograph on Marian iconography, she has published extensively on Byzantine and Venetian painting and minor arts. Her current research focuses on Greek ecclesiastical embroidery of the Early Modern period.

Fig. 1 – *Phelonion*, Florentine (?) silk,
2nd half of the 16th c.,
(©Vatopediou Monastery-
Mount Athos, inv.no.128)
(photo: Thanos Kartsoglou)

Fig. 2 – Textile bookbinding, 16th c. (?),
Italian manufacture,
(©St. John the Theologian Monastery-
Patmos, caption no. 333_zgb)
(photo: Ioannis Melianos)

Fig. 3 – Saint Stephen in a 17th-c. icon,
School of Northern Greece (?)
(©Museum of Byzantine Culture,
Thessaloniki, inv.no. ΜΒΠ ΒΕΙ 493)

Fig. 6 – Lampas (*kemha*), 16th or 17th c.,
(©Benaki Museum-Athens, inv.no. ΓΕ3860)
(photo: Vasilios Tsonis)

Fig. 4 – Neck from *epitrahilion* (stole),
Ottoman *kemha*, 16th or 17th c.,
(©Byzantine & Christian Museum-Athens,
inv.no. BXM21329)
(photo: Nikos Mylonas)

Fig. 5 – Fresco depicting the Divine Liturgy,
Monastery of Saint Nikolas of Philanthropinon,
island of Ioannina, 1541/2
(image courtesy: Christos Merantzas)

Fig. 7 – Patriarch Cyril's *sakkos*, Italian velvet and embroidery,
probably made in 1655,
(©Kremlin Museums-Moscow, inv. no. oxr13078-01)

Fig. 8 – *Phelonion*, 15th-16th c. Ottoman (?) velvet,
(©Monastery of Panaghia Tatarna-Evrytania, unnumbered)
(photo: Vasilios Tsonis)

Fig. 9 – Detail of an *epimanikon* associated
with Patriarch Dionysios IV, probably
Constantinopolitan workshop, 1672, private
collection, unnumbered
(photo: Nikos Mylonas)

Fig. 10 – Detail, same object as Fig. 9
(photo: Nikos Mylonas)

Fig. 11 – *Epigonation*, probably Constantinopolitan workshop, 17th c.
(©Byzantine & Christian Museum-Athens, inv.no. BXM2126)
(photo: Nikos Mylonas)

Fig. 12 – *Epigonation*, by Constantinopolitan female embroiderer Despineta, 1689
(©Byzantine & Christian Museum-Athens, inv.no. BXM1702)
(photo: Nikos Mylonas).

THE TRANSFORMATION OF OTTOMAN BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS IN PRINTED WORKS: THE CASE OF THE *KİTAB-I MUHAMMEDİYYE*

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Introduction

In Ottoman culture, arts such as binding, marbling, illumination, calligraphy and illustration have been applied to the preparation of manuscripts for aesthetic and artistic value. Although the 16th and 17th centuries were the heyday of the art of illustration in the Ottoman Empire, it lost much of its effectiveness in the 18th century, when the initial introduction of printing necessitated changes in the traditional arts of the book, including the art of illustration. Illustrations made using fine brushes and watercolour paint were superseded by illustrations printed in books.

Yazıcızade Mehmed Efendi from Gallipoli's 15th-century poetic work *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye* focuses on the creation, the life of Muhammad, and the end of the world. The work has many manuscripts held in various libraries, as well as printed versions with illustrations. One of the *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye* books that will be examined here was printed by the Matbaa-i Osmaniyye in 1890, while the other *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye* with illustrations was printed by the Matbaa-i Amire in 1889. Both books were printed using the lithographic technique. The texts used in both books are the same, taken from a copy made by Seyyid Hüseyin Remzi. The book is 378 pages, and there are 72 illustrations in each edition. In another printing of the book from 1871, there is an additional seven-page text discussing the universe, and two facing pages with illustrations with the title *eşkal-i heyet-i İslam*, concerning the universe.

While the illustrations in the editions are on the same pages, their layout may differ. The places of illustrations have been changed without making any modifications in the manuscript. The illustrations in the 1889 Matbaa-i Osmaniye appear more elaborate than those in the Matbaa-i Amire edition in 1871. In the later edition, some of the illustrations in the first edition were also imitated.

Although there is information related to the calligrapher of the manuscript, there are no records concerning the artist who made the illustrations. In both editions, though it is stated that the illustrations were made in the printing houses, no information is given regarding the artists.

The Kitab-ı Muhammediyye *illustrations by subject*

One of the main topics of the book, the creation, is described in detail. Two illustrations are used in relation to this topic: the Tuba tree and Mecca. In the section where creation is discussed, brief information is given about the Tuba tree (Fig. 1), and emphasis is placed on the fact that its roots and branches are upside down. The depiction of Mecca is given in the part where Adam comes to India before going to Mecca.

The second major topic covered in the book and illustrations is the life of Muhammad. The Islamic prophet's miracles are especially highlighted, and the life is illustrated with around 30 illustrations. In traditional tellings and illustrations, Muhammad's Night Journey is usually said to have been taken on the steed called Buraq. In the *Kitab-i Muhammediyye*, his journey is depicted on a rug called *rafraf* (Fig. 2). The main themes of the illustrations depicting the life of Muhammad can be listed as follows: the splitting of the moon, battles and wars, flags, the possessions of his family members, his death, and his and the four Rashidun caliphs.

The third main topic of the book is the end of the world, which is illustrated by around thirty illustrations. The sun rising in the west and converging with the moon is illustrated as the sign of the end of the world. The illustrations about the end of the world and life after the day of judgment are as follows: penitence, graves, banners, balance, the pool of Kawthar, the tree of immortality, the bridge of as-Sirāt, and heaven and hell (Fig. 3). In this section, the number of illustrations of heaven is especially significant.

The Kitab-ı Muhammediyye *in terms of traditional style of illustration*

The 16th century was the richest century for Ottoman civilization in terms of the quality, quantity and variety of illustrations. In subsequent periods, only a limited number of works were created. The classical Ottoman art of illustration, used to illustrate the texts in manuscripts, lost its importance with the spread of the printing press and printed works. Different techniques were used in the effort to use the traditional art of illumination in the first printed Ottoman books. Some of the ornaments used in the books were coloured after printing, but the same was not done for illustrations. In the traditional art of illustration, brush and colour were two important elements, but because tablets were used for the first printed works, these elements were not used. The illustrations and figures seen in some of the books printed in the 18th century were largely tools and maps. Although no colour was used in printing these, some of them were coloured after printing. Books that had been coloured after printing were more expensive than those that had not been coloured.

In the illustrations in the *Muhammediyye*, there is no colouring. Both events and various objects are depicted. The book is different from 18th-century works in terms of its illustration of events implying motion, and in this regard it is consistent with traditional illustration styles. In the illustration tradition of Europe, the painter is free to determine the theme of the drawing and to choose which illustrations he/she will use in the painting. The most notable feature of traditional Ottoman illustration is to execute the illustration based on the text. As such, the painter is not free to determine the topic of the drawing: Ottoman painters had to take the content of the manuscript into account and illustrate the objects in the text. This tradition continued in the illustrations for the *Muhammediyye* as well, where the text was followed as closely as possible when determining the theme of the illustrations. However, the illustrator used images and details from his/her imagination in depicting the elements described in the text.

In traditional Ottoman illustration, the book and illustrations can be considered as a whole. The book is prepared, and spaces are left for illustrations; then, the artist adds their illustrations in these spaces. Previously prepared illustrations were rarely glued into these spaces. In books printed in the 18th century, no space was left for illustrations on the pages, but instead the illustrations were done on separate pages that were placed between other pages of the book during the binding process. With the *Muhammediyye*, however, spaces were left for illustrations: the illustrations for these spaces were prepared by the printing technique, and both illustrations and text were published together.

It is unlikely to mention the traditional illustration style in *Muhammediyye*. Illustrations done by the printing technique are similar to European style in terms of their use of light and shadow and their utilization of perspective. In particular, in the illustrations of architectural elements, European-style buildings are illustrated in an Ottoman style. This effect is especially seen in the architectural elements in the illustrations of heaven (Fig. 4).

The Kitab-ı Muhammediyye *in terms of impact on the prohibition of illustration*

Discussions concerning whether or not illustration should be prohibited began in the early years of Islam and continues today. However, despite these debates, illustration-related activities have been carried out throughout the entire history of Islamic civilization.

Reflections of these discussions are also seen from time to time in connection with illustration activities. Some illustrated figures in various works were destroyed as a result of this prohibition. Different solutions were implemented in order to avoid illustrating living creatures. One of these solutions was to simply exclude figures, a solution implemented early on during the construction of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. Another solution was not to illustrate certain parts of the body; for example, putting a rose instead of the head of a living creature. We can see an example of this solution in the work called *Al-Durr al-Munazzam fi Sirri'l-ismi'l-a'zam* (Fig. 5).

In the Matbaa-i Osmaniyye edition of the *Muhammediyye*, the figures in some illustrations are depicted by spheres, whereas circles were used in the Matbaa-i Amire version (Figs. 6–8). This was a method that had not been used before. It can be assumed that the avoidance of figures in printed books was likely due to the prohibition on illustrations seen in previous Islamic works.

Conclusion

Although representative painting has not always been welcome in Islamic culture, illustrations were made of religious and other subjects in the Ottoman Empire. We can see examples of such illustrations in both the manuscripts and the printed editions of the *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye*.

In the *Muhammediyye* illustrations, no trace of traditional illustration style can be seen, and indeed the illustrations are consistent with contemporary European-style illustrations utilizing the contrast of light and shadow and making use of perspective, as in previous printed books. With this implementation, the *Muhammediyye* printed editions managed to not distort the style of illustration used in previously printed books, but continued the same tradition.

The *Muhammediyye* illustrations are very important in terms of illustrating certain topics—such as the Night Journey of Muhammad on *rafraf*, the as-Sirāt bridge, and penitence—that had never been illustrated in traditional Ottoman illustrations before.

Fig. 1 – Tuba Tree. *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye*, page 18
(Matbaa-i Osmaniyye 1889)
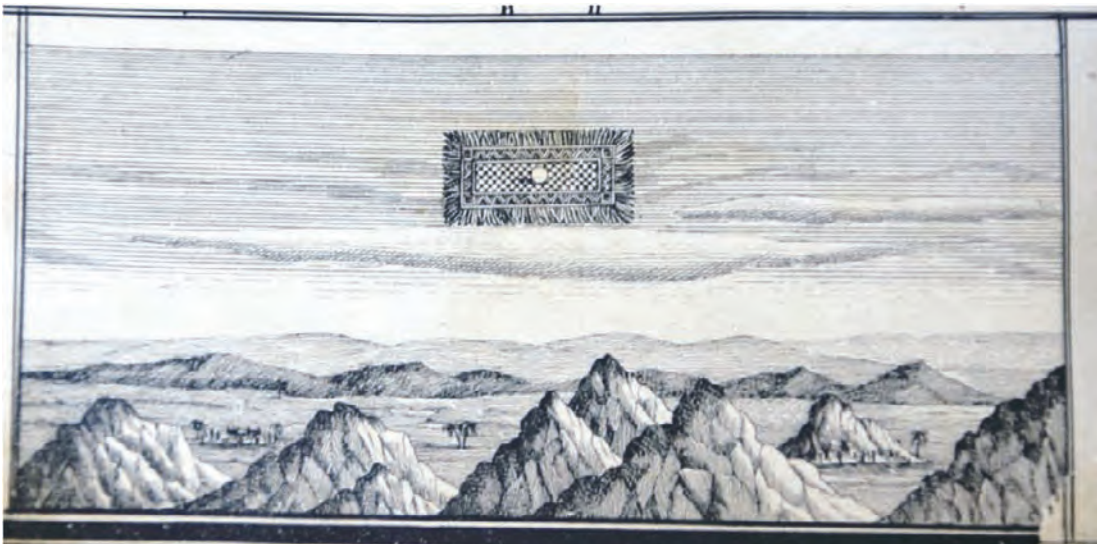
Fig. 2 – Muhammed's Night Journey on the *rafraf*. *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye*, page 105
(Matbaa-i Osmaniye 1889)
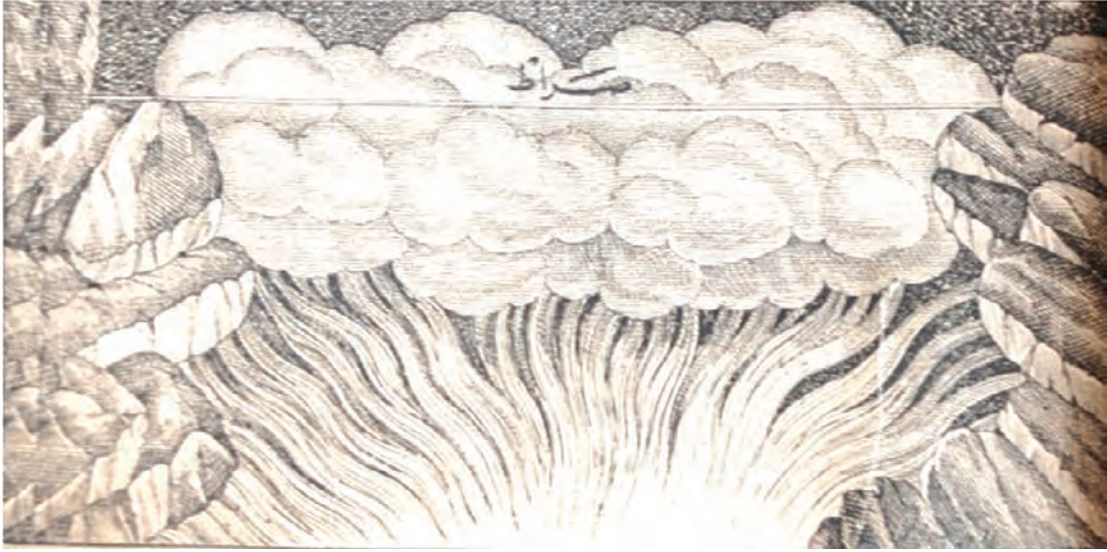
Fig. 3 – Hell and the bridge of Sirāt, *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye*, page 341
(Matbaa-i Osmaniye 1889)
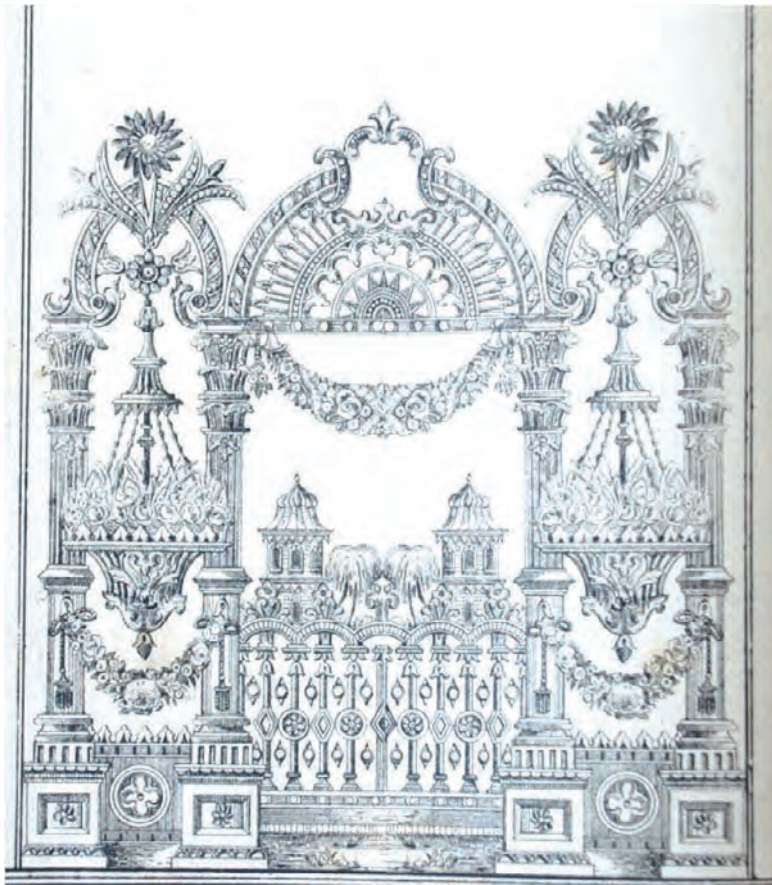
Fig. 4 – Paradise. *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye*, page 351 (Matbaa-i Amire 1890)

Fig. 5 – Mahdi, *Al-Durr al-Munazzam fi Sirri'l-ismi'l-a'zam*, f. 180a,
Dublin, Chester Beatty Library ms. no. 444, year 1747

Fig. 6 – The Battle of Uhud. *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye*, page 156 (Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1889)
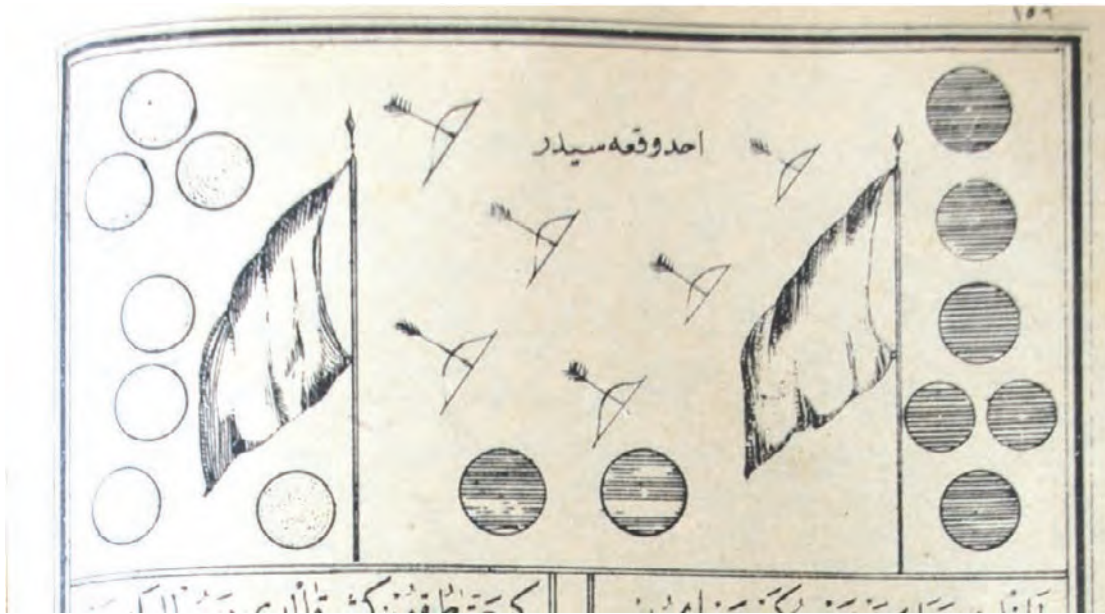
Fig. 7 – The Battle of Uhud. *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye*, page 156 (Matbaa-i Amire. 1890)

Fig. 8 – The Hicrat. *Kitab-ı Muhammediyye*, page 124 (Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1889)

CONTACTS OF ITALO-LEVANTINE GIULIO MONGERI AND MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERNIST PERIOD IN TURKISH ARCHITECTURE

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T he effects of nationalism that caused the fall of the Empire and the birth of the Republic in Turkey is particularly observed in the elaborately decorated nationalist architecture of those transient years. Among the architects who attempted to re-create the splendors of a glorious imperial past as a new style, was Giulio Mongeri of Italian origins, who taught at the Fine Arts Academy in Istanbul and who designed various buildings during the final days of the Empire as well as the early years of the Republic.

Born in Istanbul in 1873 as the son of an Italo-Levantine family, Mongeri's life story was not studied in detail until recently. Concrete information on his early life is obtained from the memoirs of his granddaughter Anita Elagöz. According to her, architect Giulio Mongeri's father Luigi Mongeri was born from an Italian-British mother, Tecla Taylor.[1] He was reknown as the doctor who established the first mental hospital in İstanbul. Born in 1815 in Milano, he was educated at the medical school of Pavia University. When Austrian armies occupied Lombardia, Luigi Mongeri quit his country and settled in İstanbul in 1839. He was recruited as a doctor in the Ottoman army, to work as a member of the quarantine organization of İstanbul. Between 1840-1850 he was assigned to the service of Mustafa Naili Pasha; the governor of Crete. He returned to İstanbul in 1851 to cure Sultan Abdülmecid's sister Adile Sultan who was suffering from mental stress due to the loss of all her children. He was also recruited as the chief doctor of the old Süleymaniye Hospital which he reorganized as the first mental and neurological hospital of the Empire. When it was found to be insufficient for further development, he worked hard for its transfer to part of the Atik Valide Sultan complex in Üsküdar, where he conducted it as the chief doctor from 1873 till 1882; the year of his death (Erkoç & Artvinli 2014: 59-61).

After his death in 1882, his two brothers; Giuseppe and Michele, residing in Milano, took over the responsibility of being a father to their nephew Giulio who was orphaned at the age of nine. Hence, Giulio left İstanbul for Milan, where he completed his secondary education at the *Parini* high school and then attended the Brera Academy for his education in architecture with Prof. Camillo Boito renown for his Theory of Restoration. After graduation, he came back to İstanbul for a brief visit to see his mother. During this visit, he met his first wife; Ketty Capodaini of Ancona, married her, and accepting a job offer from the Fine Arts Academy in 1909, stayed in İstanbul on and off untill 1941.[2] His teaching job was terminated in 1911, because of the Ottoman-Italian War in North Africa. It was revived again two years later by Halil Edhem Bey; the new director. (Batur 2003: 233) A year later however, with the the start of the 1st World War, he had to go back to Italy and returned only after the signing of the "Armistice of Moudros" in 1918.[3]

During his thirty two years of residence in Turkey, besides teaching at the Academy, Mongeri was also comissioned to design many buildings in İstanbul, Ankara and Bursa. Besides witnessing the end of the Ottoman rule in Turkey, he also had the chance of

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[1] "Giulio Mongeri, Anita Elagöz e gli Italo Levantini" in: http://istanbulavrupa.wordpress.com/2013/02/09) (accessed on: 04/03/2014).

[2] Ibid.

[3] ("Giulio Mongeri" in: http://www.mimarlikmuzesi.org/Collection/Detail_giulio-mongeri_27.html) (accessed on 05/10/2014).

designing for the new Republic and its president; Atatürk. Architect Mongeri's initial contact with him for an addition to his residence, was in early May 1930, just after the architect (Fig. 2) had completed the building of the Turkish Bank of Agriculture in Ankara. (Fig. 1**)**

shortage due to the sudden influx of parliamentary delegates from all regions of During the early days of the National War, Ankara, which later became the Republic's capital, was suffering a severe housing the country. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk arrived in Ankara on December 1919. He was first hosted at the old Agricultural Institute, together with other delegates. He later was moved into a small building at the train station. Finally in June 1921, he was settled in an old summer cottage on the heights of Çankaya; the southern district of orchards around the city. It was presented to him by the municipal governement as a gift of the town's people, (Yavuz 2001: 341-342) (Yavuz 2007: 1-2, 10-11) (Fig. 2).

Having a weak structure and an insufficient plan to be used as an official residence, this simple building, nevertheless, served him as a cozy home and an office. Here he prepared all his reforms, accepted the credentials of foreign missions and hosted state guests at official banquets for eleven years until 1932, when a new presidential house was built next to it. It was enlarged twice in 1924 and 1926 and was repaired continually due to its weak structure. One stylistically decisive alteration was made in march 1930, when the inadequate library on the first floor was enlarged in a striking black and white art-deco style (Fig. 3). It was an effective introduction to architectural modernizm, befitting a leader who was determined to create a modern nation out of the remains of an obsolete empire.

The final attempt to enlarge the orchard house was made two months later, when Giulio Mongeri, was invited to add a few rooms to the small residence. Feeling highly honoured for being chosen as the architect to enlarge Atatürk's residence, Mongeri hastily prepared a sketch project for its expansion (Fig. 4)**.**

The small reception area on the ground level was expanded westwards by the addition of a larger hall and a covered iwan was added to the eastern end of the building. Above these, a pair of bedrooms with private baths were added on the first floor. Keeping the rural outlook of the existing rubble stone facade, he nevertheless re-designed it symmetrically, most probably thinking that this would be suitable for the esteem of a presidential residence (Fig. 5). Delivered on May 17th, accompanied by explanatory notes in Turkish and French, this initial enlargement project for the orchard house was discontinued, probably because of the possible discomforts that would have been met during its construction while the residence was in full use. However, due to its continuous need of repair and ever growing shortage of space, it was also decided to ask the architect to design a new residence which would replace the existing one (Yavuz 2003: 358-360).

Mongeri sent his sketch design for the new residence in two alternative versions to Ankara on May 27th, with accompanying explanatory letters, in Turkish and French. They were typewritten on personal stationary with printed headings that read;

> Giulio Mongeri: Professor at the Fine Arts Academy, consultant architect for the Italian Embassy, consultant architect for İş, Ziraat, Ottoman Banks and Banca Commerciale Italiana.

The two alternative projects were carefully examined by a comittee headed by Atatürk. The two floor version was designed with major living and sleeping quarters facing east, contrary to the old orchard house which, to a large extent was oriented towards north, with full view of Ankara. Atatürk as the founder of the new capital, was fond of scrutinizing it frequently. The other version, keeping the major eastern orientation, had an additional top floor for services, a few guest rooms and large, covered terraces. Its eastern orientatation, disregarding the dominant northern view was certainly a major drawback. However, it was mainly its architectural style that caused its rejection. With its stone walls, steep roofs, triple arched entrance, antiquated bay windows and particularly its medieval Italianate tower with arcuated

projections was found to be old fashioned for thirties' modernism and was dismissed with a curt letter, thanking the architect for all his kind efforts (Fig. 6).

A hand-written draft copy of this short letter found at the Presidential Archieves in Ankara reads as follows:

> 3-VI-1930
> Mr. Giulio Mongeri
> Professor-Architect
> Bozkurt Hanı: Voyvoda Caddesi No 19
> Galata, İstanbul
>
> Respectful Sir,
>
> His Excellency the President has been very happy for the interest you have shown by Preparing various projects for the intended modifications in his residence at Çankaya, as well as for a totally new residence which was planned to be built. He sends you his thanks. You are well aware that the idea of modifying the existing residence is abandoned. Since there is also no final decision yet for the building of the new residence. I declare with my respects sir, that it would not be necessary to deal with its details.
> H.R, K.U. (?)

(Rıza 03/06/1930, document, AVI, D84, F28-15)

After the realization of the new library extension in a modernist style, it certainly was not possible to convince Atatürk to accept a medieval design for his new residence, within the rapidly modernizing national capital. The task was transferred to the Austrian architect Clemens Holzmeister. His sketch proposal for the new residence with its rectangular, boxlike form, its flat roof, and its simple un-adorned facades befitting modernity was immediately approved. When completed in 1932, it became a fundamental model for modern residential architecture throughout the nation (Fig. 7).

The transformation of upper-class domestic culture and family life along European lines predated the Westernizing reforms of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk by at least half a century. Penetration of European culture into the residential environment had started with the *Tanzimat* reforms of 1839. Under republican ideology, Kemalist reforms created a thoroughly Westernized, modern and secular society. The production of a contemporary domestic culture in Western terms became the central preoccupation of the 1930s (Bozdoğan 2001: 193-195).

Prof. Batur states that the decade between 1930 and 1940 is known for the emergence of modern republican architecture and the building process of the period was fundamentally affected by the Great Depression of 1929. It forced an etatist political regime and limited the lavish spending on construction and decoration (Batur 1984: 68). Architectural modernism of Central Europe with its unadorned, pure geometric forms and clean-cut facades was therefore an ideal contemporary choice for the new architecture of, not only the republican Turkey, but also for the rest of the world which likewise had suffered economically from the Great Depression. Within this atmosphere, Holzmeister's new Presidential residence became a perfect archetype for domestic architecture in the rapidly modernizing Turkish Republic (Fig. 8).

According to a further set of drawings and letters found at the Presidential Archives in Ankara, Atatürk's third and final contact with Mongeri was in 1935. This time, the it was made for transforming the central open courtyard and its surroundings at the new residence, into a reception hall with a dance floor at its center, to be used during Presidential receptions. The documents for this project consist of six drawings in black ink on white paper, depicting a ground plan, a reflected ceiling plan, a pair of transversal and longitudinal sections, an interior perspective and a sheet of various detail drawings in 1/50 or 1/10 scales. The architectural drawings are also accompanied by a letter of introduction and two explanatory notes in Turkish and French.

Mongeri's letter of introduction in Turkish, adressed to Hasan Rıza: the Presidential Secretary General, reads as follows:

6 March 1935

To Presidential Secretary Mr. Hasan Rıza - Ankara

Upon your instructions to study the possibility of creating a reception hall at the precincts of the existing pool, I am honoured in presenting you the following preliminary project I prepared and its explanatory details for the study and admiration of the honourable President of the Republic.

With my deepest respects I present my hopes that my work will be found befitting honourable Atatürk's eminent wishes and will be accepted.

G. Mongeri [signature]

H. A copy in French have also been added in case there might be any dubious points in the explanatory details written in Turkish.

(Mongeri, G. 6 Mart 1935, document. AVI-1, C 84, F 6)

Even though in the letter the requested space in the new residence is identified as "A reception hall (*salon de fêtes*)", the headings of all accompanying drawings simply identify it as "A dance hall to be built at the Presidential Palace in Ankara" (Fig. 9). Atatürk's personal interest in music and ballroom dancing became one of the major tools in the modernization of the Turkish nation and the emancipation of women. Women were at the centre of Atatürk's reforms between 1923 and 1938. (Van Dobben 2008: 96) According to various sources, musical accompaniment with a piano or through a phonograph was a common practice during dinners at his residence (Belli 1995: 77-78) and coupled dancing was also encouraged, where he always enjoyed the lead with one of the ladies at the table. His photograph, showing him dancing with his adopted daughter Nebile at her wedding, has been a widely circulated popular image confirming it (Fig. 10).

The sign of Turkey's progress was the presence of women in public spaces. Ballroom dance in the early Turkish Republic was essential to the Kemalist project of modernization**.** (Van Dobben 2008: 100-102) Various buildings such as the new residence of the Foreign Affairs Minister or the private house of his sister Makbule Atadan, included orchestral balconies, platforms and dance floors to be used during official or intimate dinner receptions. (Yavuz 2012: 93-107) Atatürk's initial residence transformed from the old orchard house was too tight for such a dance floor. Whatever occasional dancing was most probably carried out at one end of the dining room. The new residence did not have a specific space for this purpose either. Hence, the wish to include music and social dancing during receptions as a civilized affair, must have given Atatürk the idea to transform the central courtyard with its pool and its surrounding terraces into a reception hall with a focal dance floor as a centre of attraction.

Mongeri's ground and first floor drawings for the dance hall project illustrates a large, illuminated roof, supported by four independent columns over the central pool which has been redesigned as a focal dance floor. The covered terraces around it are transformed into a winter garden to accommodate the crowds during receptions and a triple tiered illuminated fountain is added to the end of the central axis as a decorative focus (Fig. 11). On the first-floor level, the surrounding open terraces are also protected by the extensions of the new roof, while windows are placed above the railings at this level to protect the bedrooms from sounds and music. The reflected ceiling plan displays a restrained, simple, geometric design on its surface to be executed in stained glass to illuminate the dance floor (Fig. 12).

The transversal section drawing confirms the elaborate set-up for this illuminated ceiling with a projector placed inside the roof space, to light the dance floor below, through its stained-glass surface. The section drawing also shows the mechanical air circulation system installed within the hollow of the pool space under the dance floor. Accordingly, a collector is placed below it to pump out the bad air from the dance hall (Fig. 13).

The simpler drawing of the longitudinal section through the main axis of the triple tiered fountain lacks the roof details, showing it as a single block and the air suction equipment under the dance floor is not shown at all (Fig. 14).

The most informative and interesting one among all the drawings is the one which shows the construction details of various parts of the project. These are detailed drawings and written explanations for the decorative fountain, composite steel columns, and heating, illumination and fresh air circulatory systems. The cross shaped composite steel columns are multi-functional with rain water drainage pipes, main hot air heating pipes and decorative neon tubes vertically running through them. The hot air blowing system for heating the hall seems to be rather advanced for its time but no mention where and how the air will be heated is shown neither in the drawings nor in the accompanying explanatory notes! The main decorative attraction in the new dance hall is the three-tiered fountain with its complicated water and multi-coloured illumination system (Fig.15).

The accompanying six-page explanatory notes, typewritten in Turkish, explains the general concept of the project as well as its' various details verbally. Its introductory page, written on printed personal stationary giving contact information for the architect:

G. MONGERI, MİMAR – İSTANBUL […] GALATA AGOPYAN HAN – TEL: 44797

The following typewritten heading explain the content of the report as:

EXPLANATORY NOTE FOR THE PROJECT OF THE RECEPTION HALL TO BE CONSTRUCTED OVER THE EXISTING POOL AT THE RESIDENCE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC IN ANKARA

The first paragraph: "CONCEPT OF THE PROJECT", explains the general approach to the design which has been created as a:

totally free standing structure so as not to disturb the reinforced concrete bearing system of the Presidential residence. This attempt to keep every aspect of the existing building intact without causing any static or functional complications had made the designing of the new addition rather difficult

(Mongeri 6 Mart 1935, document: AVI, C84, F6-1)

From this paragraph we can understand that any drastic change or damage to the existing building was most probably forbidden by the president himself who was known to be thoroughly content with its simple, contemporary style, befitting modern architecture. Apparently, Mongeri had once again started his third and final attempt to design a new building for the President with certain restrictions he had to adhere to.

The architect continues his notes by describing the free-standing angular corner pillars in composite steel members, to bear the load of the superstructure of the new dance hall. Once again it is particularly emphasised that:

[…] these corner pillars shall definitely avoid touching any part of the reinforced structure of the existing building. Also, a steel structure was particularly chosen which could be assembled somewhere else and could be installed in a short time so as to avoid messy and time consuming concrete construction within the residence. Nevertheless, the actual dance floor was to be raised to the reception hall level in concrete, to bear the load of the dancing couples. Concrete was also to be employed to create the foundations of the steel pillars. The rainwater from the illuminative glass roof was to be drained through the pipes installed within these pillars".

(Mongeri 6 Mart 1935, Document: AVI-1, C84, F6-2)

Even though he does not mention the means and mechanics of its production, Mongeri's most interesting description in the notes is about the heating and ventilation of the dance hall, which almost is an early version of a simple air conditioning system. Commenting on the

difficulty of heating and ventilating the dance hall and its environs by a central heating system with radiators, he proposes:

> A completely different heated air ventilation system, properly purified, humidified or dehumidified six times once every hour. In this system, stagnant air in the dance hall is to be sucked through hidden ducts at floor level, while the fresh, purified air is to be pumped down from hidden ducts behind the decorative cornice of the ceiling".

<div align="right">(Mongeri 6 Mart 1935, Document: AVI, C84, F6-2/3)</div>

The main centre for heating and conditioning the circulating air is unfortunately indicated neither in the notes, nor in the drawings. Mongeri's comments on the decorative aspects of his dance hall project gives important clues to further restrictions in his design which most probably was again brought up by Atatürk.

While explaining his approach to the decoration of the dance hall, Mongeri says:

> […] not to damage the harmony in the general appearance of the existing building, the decorative vocabulary of the dance hall has also been inspired from its architectural style. It will be executed with perfect workmanship in a dignified and elegant simplicity through careful and thoughtful selection of materials […]. The four faces of the steel pillars shall be covered by marble revetments fixed with chrome plated brass bolts. To emphasize and intensify the architectural ambiance of the hall the same marble revetments shall be applied on the facades of horizontal lintels as well as on door and window frames. The wrought iron parapets of the upper storey corridors encircling the gallery shall also be replaced by a similar, marble faced parapet […].

<div align="right">(Mongeri 6 Mart 1935, Document: AVI, C84, F3-F5)</div>

The architect was one of the key figures of eclecticism and classical revivalism in Turkish Nationalist architecture at the turn of the century. He was known for his highly eclectic and ornate facades as in his bank buildings he had built for the new Republic in Ankara. However, having been criticised as an old-fashioned educator unable to adapt himself to modernism, his long administrative and instructive career at the Academy had been terminated by the Ministry of Education in 1928, together with other revivalist professors in the staff. He was replaced by the Austro-Swiss architect Ernst Egli, who had been invited to build a series of school buildings for the Ministry in 1927.

Mongeri's previous efforts to design a building for Atatürk, which would have brought great honour to his career, had failed due to his old-fashioned approach to design. Hence, in his final effort and particularly after he was dismissed from the Academy, he must have tried hard to adopt himself to the new trend of modernism in architecture. From his explanatory notes, it is obvious that he had carefully studied the new residence by Holzmeister and was trying to adjust his own design to the existing building without disturbing its elegant simplicity. His proposal for extensive use of marble slabs at the interior most probably indicates that he was impressed by the striking marble revetments used on the walls of the new residence.

While trying to restrain himself from being over decorative in his design, his description of the luminous fountain on the other hand, illustrates a major decorative element which is particularly created to bedazzle the onlooker with coloured lights and small waterfalls. He goes on to describe this in detail as follows:

> […] the area of the pool and the surrounding corridors around it is convenient for the creation of a winter garden with a luminous fountain to be placed facing the glass doors of the Hall. The fountain to be created in three compartments, with the central one to be particularly emphasised, shall be the main decorative attraction of the winter garden. The water for the fountain shall be supplied by a force pump which

will be operated with a silent motor, installed under the stairs behind the rear wall. The pump shall run continuously with a regular rotation to regulate the mass of water within the basins. The water from the force pump shall also be piped over the decorative trellises created with chrome plated brass pieces, to trickle down to the basins below and pumped back again to be recycled. The sides of the columns framing the luminous fountain shall be embellished and shall also be aligned with coloured electric bulbs to illuminate the waterfalls created over the trellises. Water falling from basin to basin shall also be illuminated by lamps hidden underneath as well, completing the total luminescence of the fountain.

Thus the fountain shall offer an agreeable view to watch at, while also producing the necessary humidity for the winter garden plants. The existing bas-reliefs in terra-cotta on the rear wall shall be kept in their place as a pleasant decorative feature of the fountain." (Mongeri 6 Mart 1935, Document: AVI, C84, F6-F7)

From explanatory notes we understand that the architect is trying hard to restrain himself from over embellishing his design, presumably over orders from Atatürk himself. However, in the case of the fountain which he terms as the main decorative attraction of the new dance hall, he can not resist   extensive embellishment as he had been used to during his earlier, successful days of teaching and designing. Unfortunately, like his two previous projects, Mongeri's dance hall design for the new residence was not realized either. It's was again cancelled with another letter from Hasan Rıza; the Presidential Secretary.

6-IV-1935
M Mongeri
Mimar, Agopyan Han,
Galata-İSTANBUL

The design project and its explanatory details you have sent for the rectification of the Presidential residence have all been received. I would like to inform you that the rectification plan has been cancelled for the time being, due to certain reasons.

Secretary General

(Rıza 6 IV 1935, Document: AVI, D84. F6-22)

Mongeri was first invited to add a few rooms to the old orchard house in Çankaya. His sketch drawings were rejected. Immediately afterwards he was asked to design a completely new residence on the adjacent lot which was rejected as well. It was the time when Atatürk was determined to establish modernity as a means to create a contemporary, civilized nation. Modernist Central European architects like Ernst Egli and Clemens Holzmeister, had already been invited to build the new capital in the prevailing modern architectural style. Because he was found to be rather old-fashioned, Mongeri, was already dismissed from the Academy where he had been teaching since 1909. It must have been a traumatic experience for the architect who, for the past five years had been trying in vain, to design a building for Turkey's President with hopes of being appreciated by him.

Nevertheless, since he had invited him three times to build for the Presidency, Atatürk must have been fully aware and appreciative of Mongeri's talent in design. After completing the Bank of Agriculture in 1929 and having lost his teaching career in 1928, the architect was not offered any further commissions until 1930. His last known building; the Çelik Palas thermal hotel in Bursa was built between 1930 and 1935. It was designed in the modern style with art-deco details, when Turkey was under the influence of Modernism between 1927 and 1938 (Çinici 2015: 33-39) (Fig.16).

Atatürk who suffered a serious kidney trouble, visited Bursa several times to benefit from its curative thermal waters. Since the town was deficient in proper guest accommodations, he ordered the building of a thermal hotel here. Its decision was taken in 1929, at the first

meeting of the firm he had established for this purpose.[4] Even though no written document exists to support the assumption, it is just quite possible that, Atatürk himself might have opted for Mongeri to design the Çelik Palas hotel in Bursa, maybe to compensate for the rejection of his project for the new Presidential residence in Ankara.

This last building of Mongeri must have gained the appreciation of the Turkish President with its contemporary modernist style, in spite of its certain eclectic features, like a few arches, a semi hexagonal projection and the stepped-up roof pediments all concentrated at one of its corners. After Atatürk's last visit to the town in early February 1938, the prime minister Celal Bayar informed the architect that the President wanted him to build a private residence, this time in the nearby spa town of Yalova. But due to Atatürk's demise in November of the same year, this final project for him was not realized either (Çinici 2015: 33-34).

According to his own diary, architect Mongeri stopped designing after 1933 and left Turkey in 1941, to settle in Venice, where his daughter Giovanna was living. In 1951 he came back to Istanbul to visit his elder daughter Elena and stayed for two months. After he returned back to Venice, he died there the same year, at the age of 78. He was buried in the family tomb designed and built by his uncle Giuseppe at the Cimitero Monumentale in Milan (Çinici 2015: 33-36).

Thus ended Giulio Mongeri's efforts to please Atatürk personally with one of his designs. It would have given him high esteem and admiration within the contemporary Turkish society. Unfortunately, theirs had been a stressful relation at the start of 30's in Turkey, when modern architectural skills of central Europe were taking over the eclectic attitudes of previous years.

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[4] Çelik Palas: www.bgc.org.tr/ansiklopedi/celik-palas.html (accessed 08/08/2015).

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Turkish Abstract

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun kapanış ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin açılış yıllarına damgasını vurmuş olan ulusçuluk hareketlerinin en belirgin etkisi, o yıllarda gerçekleştirilmiş olan mimari yapıtların zengin, seçmeci biçimlemelerinde izlenir. Uzun ve görkemli bir geçmişin gururunu yansıtmaya çalışan bu yapıtların uyguluyacıları arasında yer alan İtalyan kökenli mimar Giulio Mongeri, 1873 yılında, İstanbul'da, levanten bir ailenin oğlu olarak dünyaya gelir. Üniversite eğitimini Milano'da, Brera Akademisi'nde, ünlü restorasyon uzmanı Camillo Boito ile tamamlayarak mimar olur. İstanbul'a döndüğünde çeşitli binaların tasarımını yaparak ünlenir ve 1909'da, Sanayi-i Nefise mektebi mimarlık bölümünde eğitim vermek üzere görevlendirilir. 1941 yılında İstanbul'dan ayrılarak ülkesine geri dönen Mongeri, Türkiye'de kaldığı 32 yıl boyunca, Akademi'de ders vermesinin yanı sıra, İstanbul, Ankara ve Bursa'da birçok binanın tasarım ve yapımını da üstlenir. Bu arada Osmanlı devletinin yıkılışını izlediği gibi, yeni kurulan Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Cumhuriyetin kurucusu Mustafa Kemal Atatürk için de bir dizi yapı tasarlama fırsatını elde eder.

Bu konuda mimarın Atatürk'le ilk teması, eski Cumhurbaşkanlığı köşkünün büyütülmesi isteği nedeniyle, 1930 yılı başlarında olur. Hazırladığı proje eskizleri bazı nedenlerle reddedilse de, kendisinden hemen tümüyle yeni bir Cumhurbaşkanlığı konutu tasarlaması istenir. Ancak, bu yeni tasarımın eskizleri de, Türkiye'de 1930'larda başlamış olan modern mimarlık ilkelerine uygun bulunmayarak reddedilir. Yeni konutun tasarımı, modern mimarlık akımının başarılı uygulayıcılarından Avusturya'lı Clemens Holzmeister'e aktarılır. 1932'de tamamlanan bina, düz çatılı prizmatik formu, ve bezemesiz, yalın cepheleri ile, başkentin 30'lardaki modern konut mimarisine önemli bir model oluşturur.

Mongeri'nin Ata'yla son teması, Holzmeister'in yaptığı yeni cumhurbaşkanlığı konutu içindeki orta avlunun bir dans salonuna dönüştürülmesi isteğinden kaynaklanır. Mimarın modern mimarlık ilkelerine göre gerçekleştirilmiş olan yeni köşkü dikkatle incelediği ve kendi ilave edeceği bölümü de ona uyum gösterecek biçimde yalın bir yaklaşımla tasarladığı anlaşılmaktadır. Ancak Mongeri'nin Ata için tasarladığı bu son proje de belirlenmeyen nedenlerle uygulanmadan kalır.

Türkiye'yi çağdaş ve uygar bir ülkeye dönüştürme çabası içindeki Atatürk için mimarlıkta modernite önemli bir araçtır. Mongeri ise modern mimarlık akımına uyum gösteremediği için

çağdışı kalmış bir eğitimci olarak görülür ve Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi'ndeki görevine son verilir. Mimarın 1930'dan başlayarak beş sene boyunca Atatürk için bir yapı tasarlayıp eski ün ve saygınlığını güçlendirme çabaları ise, bu yıllarda Türk mimarlığındaki, tarihi seçmeci biçimlemelerin yerlerini modern mimarinin yalın, geometrik formlarına bırakması nedeniyle, sonuçsuz kalır.

Biographical Note

Yavuz Yıldırım graduated from ODTÜ/METU Faculty of Architecture in 1961. After having attended the Studio of Louis I. Kahn, he got (1965) his Master of Architecture degree at the University of Pennsylvania. He subsequently received his PhD title from the Istanbul Technical University, with a dissertation entitled *Architect Kemalettin and The First Period of National Architecture*. He gave various courses on architectural and cultural history and conducted design studios at various levels in several universities across Turkey and abroad. He joined and chaired national and international meetings as well as architectural juries. He extensively published locally and internationally, especially about 19th and 20th-century architecture.

Fig. 1 – Giulio Mongeri at the Ankara-Ottoman Bank construction site (1925-1926).
In the distance, the Bank of Agriculture under construction
(© Mongeri family archive-Venice)
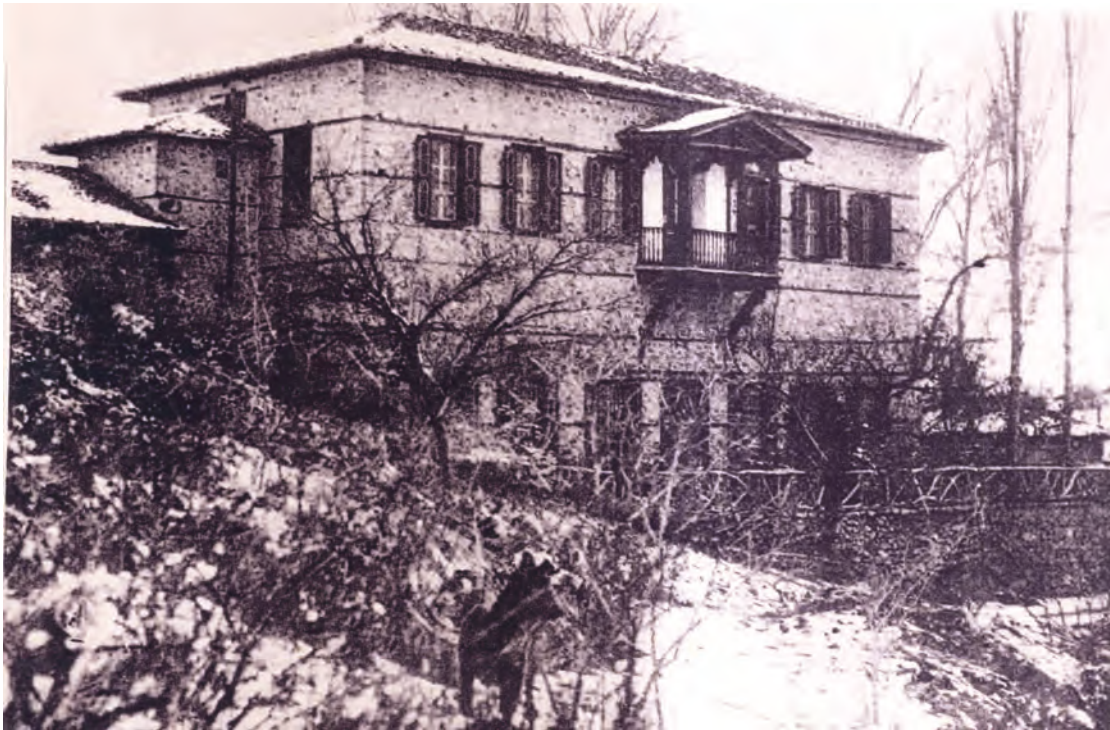
Fig. 2 – Mustafa Kemal's Summer Cottage of in Çankaya (1921)
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi)

Fig. 3 – The Presidential Residence at Ankara. The library extension in art-deco style on the first floor
(©photo by Y. Yavuz)
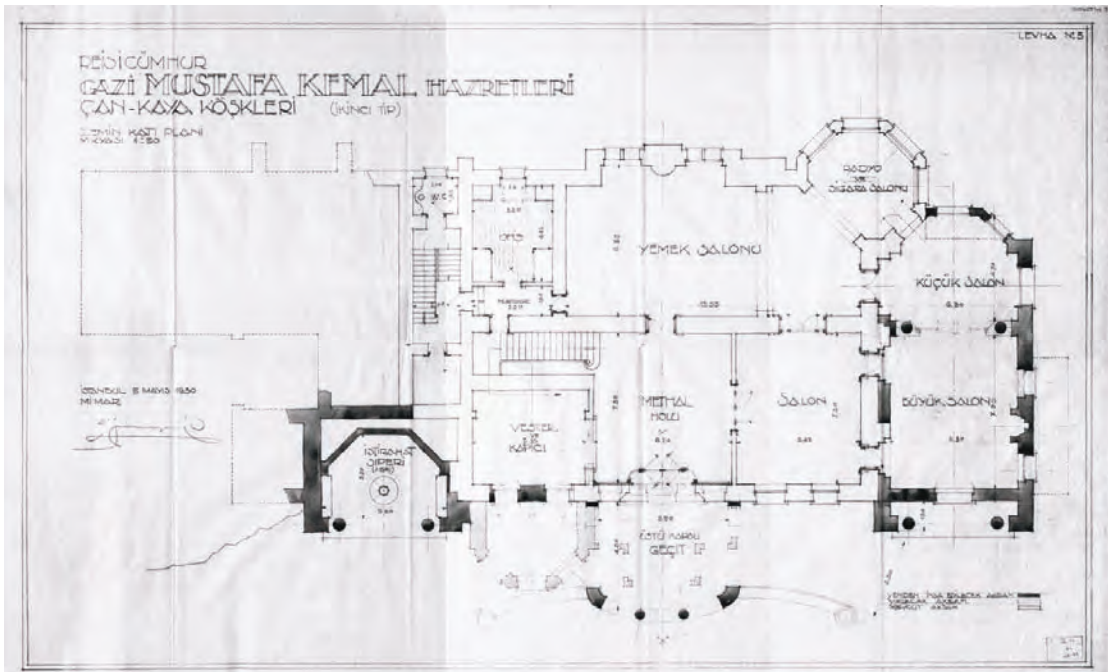
Fig. 4 – G. Mongeri's ground-plan sketch for the remodelling of Atatürk's residence (May 1930)
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, AVI, D84, F28-23)

Fig. 5 – G. Mongeri's sketch for the remodeling of the entrance façade of Atatürk's residence
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, AVI, D84, F28-20)
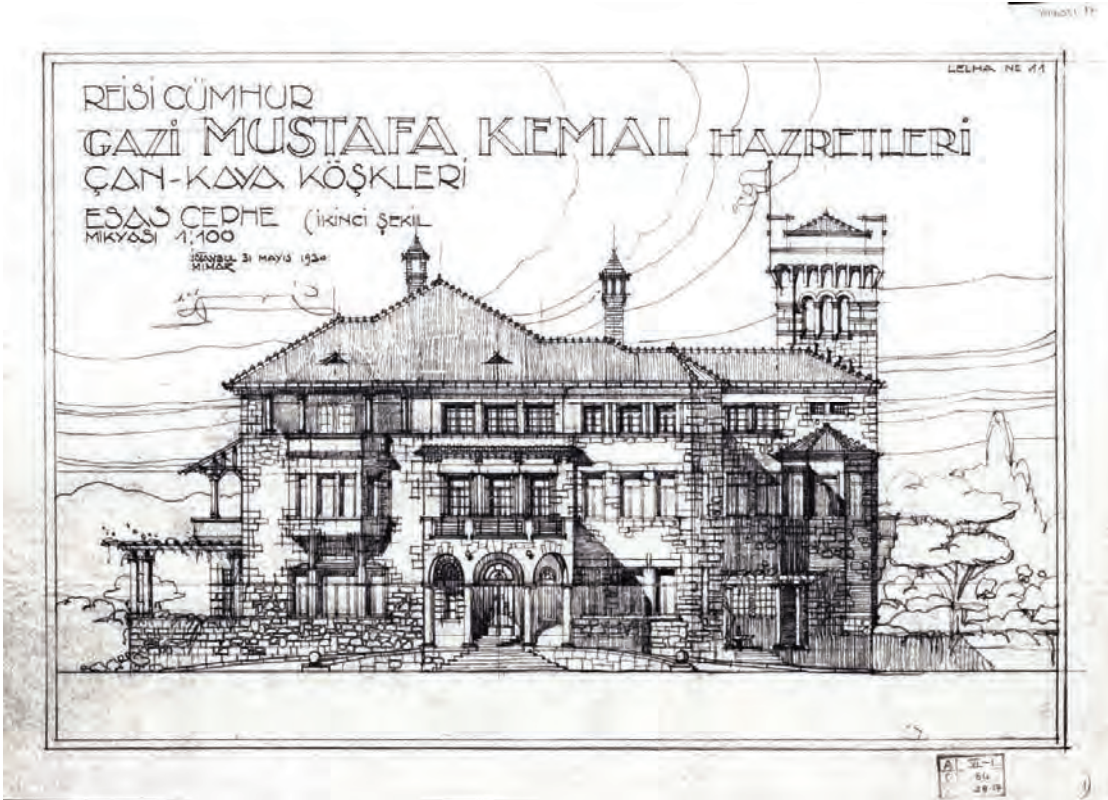
Fig. 6 – G. Mongeri's sketch for the new northern façade of the Presidential Residence
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, AVI-1, D84, F28-17)

Fig. 7 – Holzmeister's Presidential Residence (1932). View from the North
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi)
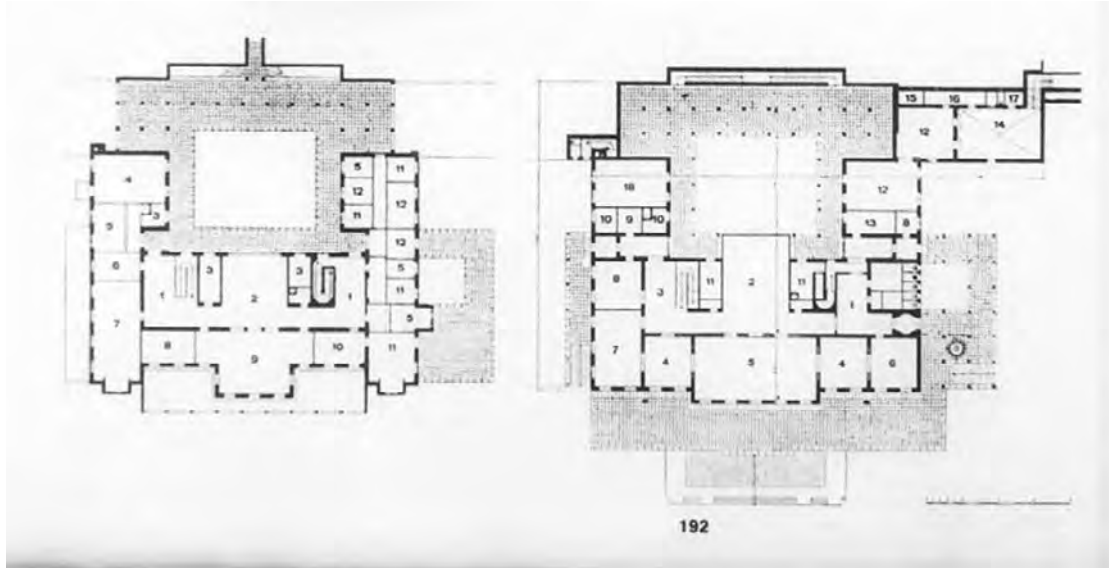
Fig. 8 – Holzmeister's new Presidential Residence, Çankaya, Ankara
First floor and ground floor plans
(©ODTÜ – Mimarlık Fakültesi Arşivi)
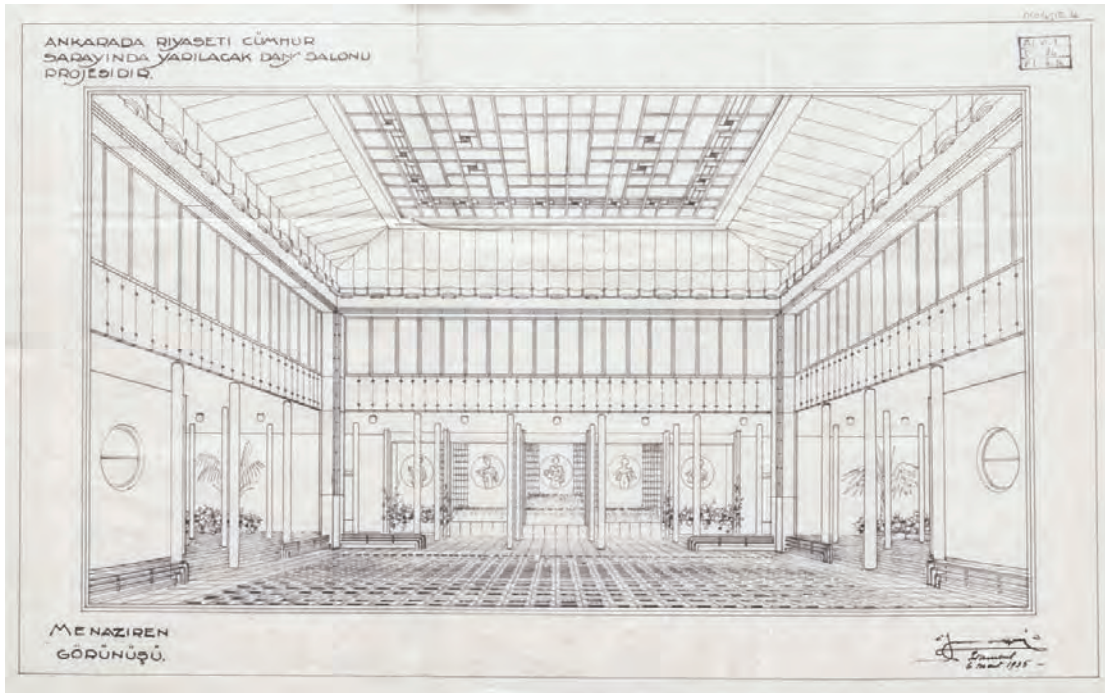
Fig. 9 – G. Mongeri's project for the interior of the Dance Hall
of the new Presidential Residence of Ankara (1935)
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, AVI-1, D84, F6-16)

Fig. 10 – Atatürk dancing with his adopted
daughter Nebile at her wedding
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi)
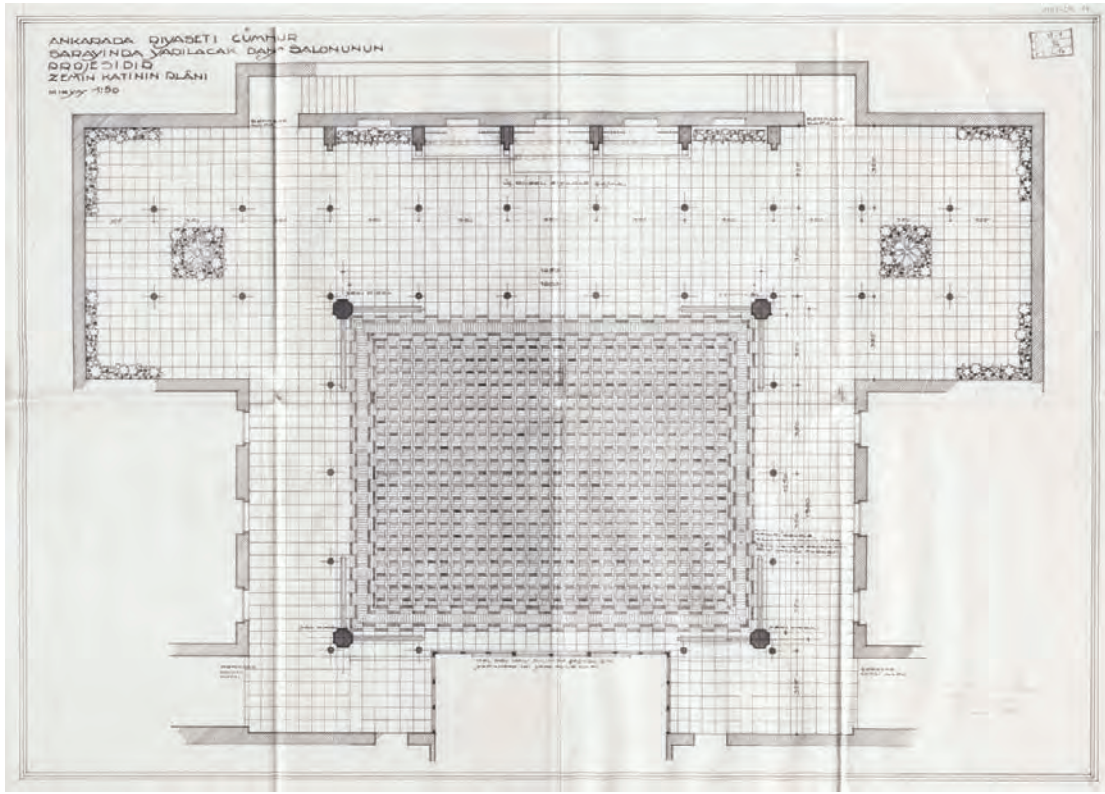
Fig. 11 – G. Mongeri's plan drawing for the ground floor of the Dance Hall
of the new Presidential Residence of Ankara (1935)
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, AVI-1, D84, F6-17)
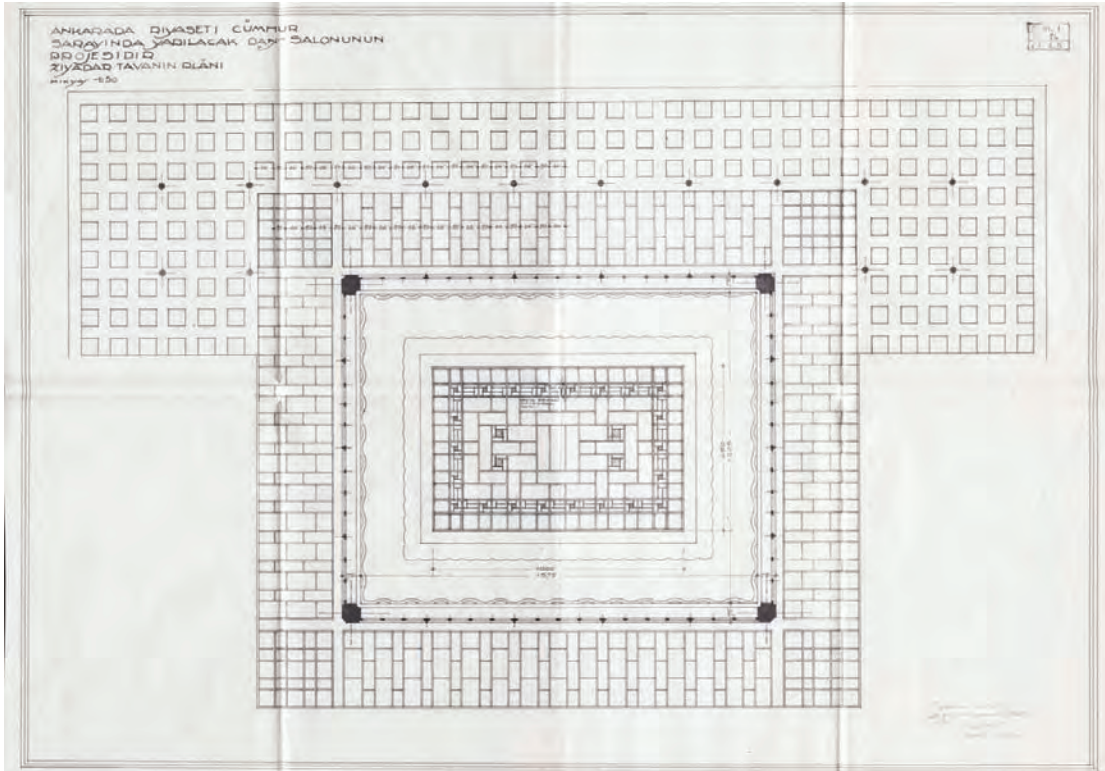
Fig. 12 – G. Mongeri's plan drawing for the first floor and ceiling decorative patterns
of the Dance Hall of the new Presidential Residence of Ankara (1935)
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, AVI-1, D84, F6-15)
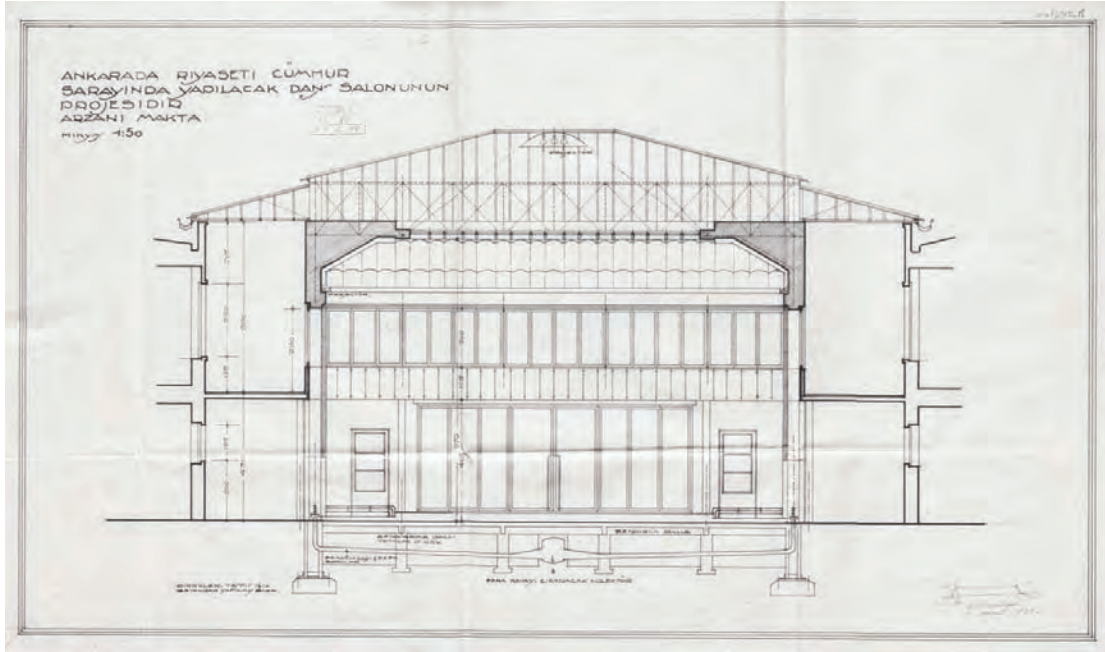
Fig. 13 – Transverse section of the Dance Hall
of the new Presidential Residence of Ankara (G. Mongeri, 1935)
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, AVI-1, D84, F6-18)
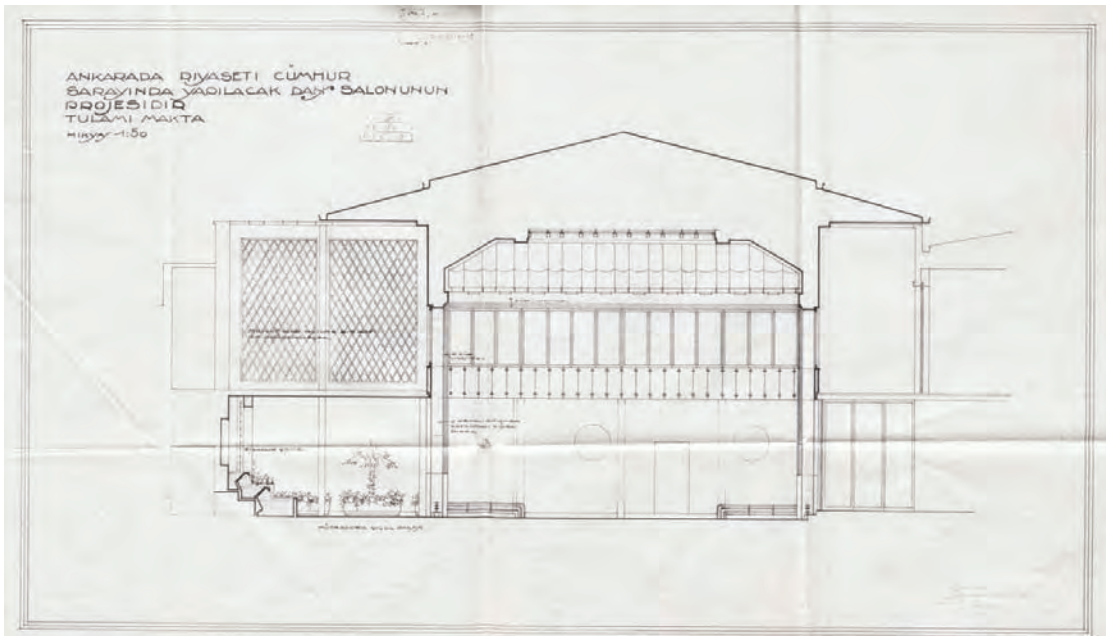
Fig. 14 – Longitudinal section of the Dance Hall
of the new Presidential Residence of Ankara (G. Mongeri, 1935)
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, AVI-1, D84, F6-19)
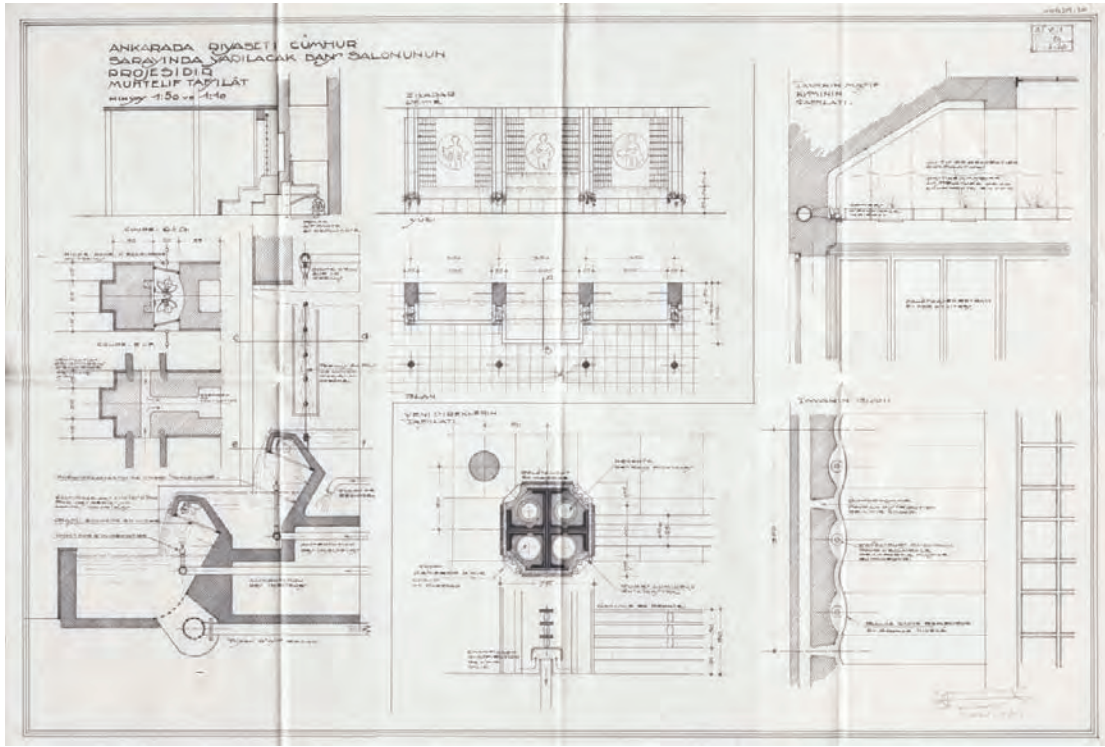
Fig. 15 – Various construction details for the Dance Hall
of the new Presidential Residence of Ankara (G. Mongeri, 1935)
(©T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Arşivi, AVI-1, D84, F6-20)

Fig. 16 – Bursa, Çelik Palas (©G. Mongeri, 1930-1935)

A MANUSCRIPT BINDING IN THE COLLECTION
OF TRNC KYRENIA NATIONAL ARCHIVE, ATTRIBUTABLE TO ÇĀKERĪ, AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ILLUMINATOR AND LACQUER MASTER

Netice Yıldız
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Famagusta, TRNC

Banu Mahir
Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi,
Istanbul

The main aim of this discourse is to introduce a manuscript preserved in the Cyprus Turkish National Archive and Documentation Centre in Kyrenia (North Cyprus) that has a binding, the doublure of which is designed in lacquer technique, the outer cover painted with brush and tooled with iron, while the text of this particular manuscript has a richly illuminated ʿunvān page. The manuscript (M.1838) which is a *Tafsīr* copy, originally in the collection of Sultan Mahmud II Library, Nicosia,[1] and then exhibited in the Turkish Ethnography Museum located in the Mevlevī Tekke of the same city for a while, will be analysed in comparison with some other manuscripts from the libraries and museums in Istanbul.

It is a known fact that one of the most commonly applied techniques for the embellishment of the 18th century Ottoman bindings is the lacquer work which is mainly referred to as 'rugānī' in the Ottoman documents. Lacquer work is a painting technique with varnish application that was originated in Sichuan province in China. Since the 13th century, it is also largely practiced in Islamic art and widely implemented in the decoration of the art objects between the 14th to 20th centuries (Tanındı 1984: 223-253; Aksoy 1994: 22). The technique of applying lacquer (varnish) on different mediums was introduced to Turkey through Iran at the end of the 15th century. For the most part, painted lacquer bindings produced there at the end of the 15th and during the 16th centuries followed Iranian models pertaining to their technique and design (Bloom & Blair (eds.) 2009: 412). Lacquer work was widely used in the Ottoman art to embellish not only the book-bindings, but also several other objects like drawers, writing boxes, jewellery boxes, mirror-cases, writing pads, bow-cases and quivers for arrows. It was also extensively used to embellish the surface of a variety of furniture and other objects produced from wood in Edirne – therefore usually cited as *Edirnekāri* – during the years between the 17th to 19th centuries (İrez 1990: 96).

Among the well-known lacquer artists of the 18th century, ʿAlī Çelebī from Üsküdar, who signed his works as ʿAlī Üsküdarī, can be cited as the most prominent one. ʿAlī Üsküdari was the pupil of Yūsuf Mısrī (Yusuf from Egypt), whose signed works such as book bindings and writing boxes are identified. Thus, ʿAlī Üsküdarī, under the influence of his master, also painted compositions consisting of *hatayī* motives and *saz* leaves designed in *saz* style on several objects, mainly on book bindings, writing boxes, quivers for arrows and bow cases in

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[1] For the manuscript collection of the library dedicated to Sultan Mahmud II by ʿAlī Ruhī Efendi in 1828-29, see (Parmaksızoğlu 1964); for the manuscript collections in Cyprus see: (Yıldız 2015: 229-278); (Yıldız 2005: 524-543); (Şeşen, Altan & İzgi 1995); (Roper (ed.) 1992.1: 167); (Birnbaum 1984: 502). Upon the execution of the construction of the library building in Nicosia with the aim to establish a central library and registered it as the foundation of Sultan Mahmud II in 1828-29, Sultan Mahmud II bequeathed 102 volumes of manuscripts from his collection comprising of 80 titles which were also registered in the same waqf. A manuscript entitled as *Fihrist el-Kutub el-Mevkufe ālā yed Sultān Mahmūd Hān-ı Sānī*, recording these bequeaths and dispatched together with the manuscripts (M. 1861 (1782/2) is in the same library collection. All the manuscripts of this library as well as the ones located in the mosques and elsewhere are recently put in a specially designed building under the control of the Cyprus Turkish National Archive and Documentation Centre located in Kyrenia. See (Şeşen, Altan & İzgi 1995. Cat. No 166).

the manner of his tutor's works.[2] However, in some of his works, beside the *saz* style, he also practiced the naturalistic flower bouquets, a much preferred contemporary design style.[3]

Another artist who embellished his lacquer bindings with flower bouquets is Ahmed Hazine, a talented master of book binding and illuminating. Further citation could be made to ʿAbdullāh Buhārī, another genius artist who generated masterpieces in the same century, in particular with his lacquer book bindings with compositions from nature, mainly landscape scenes as well as flower bouquets that are painted with shades in a realistic manner.[4] In addition to these well-known names mentioned here, sources relevant to the topic and some objects bearing signatures of their designers supply information for the names and works of several other Turkish artists who composed ornamentation on different mediums in the lacquer technique.[5]

However, another significant lacquer master of the 18th century is Çākerī, to whom we will attempt to attribute the binding of the manuscript that is the main topic of our discourse. In view of *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarā-i Amid* authored by ʿAlī Emirī, it is assumed that the artist who signed his works with a penname Çākerī, a word that signifies 'my humble being', is a poet born in Diyarbakır (Çığ 1969-1970: 248). The biographical information about Çākerī given by ʿAlī Emirī in *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarā-i Āmid* is noteworthy to quote here:

> His had picked Çākerī as his penname. Similar to his skill in poetry writing, he was also an excellent master in binding and illumination arts. He used to bind and illuminate the copies of books, like Qur'ans, En'ams or other valuable manuscripts, in the most skilled and elegant manner. He even made a rather thin layer of transparent skin that provided a protection to the ornamentation of the outer covers of bindings while it created an illusionistic view as if it is transmitted through a thin crystal. People who had the chance to see them so much admired all. His death is circa the year H. 1160 (1747) (Yağmurlu 1973: XIII, 92).

Süheyl Ünver suggests that the concerned artist could be assumed to have been a student of *Yūsuf Mısrī* similar to the case of another well-known artist, ʿAlī Üsküdarī, already mentioned above (Ünver 1954: 13). Actually, his works bearing resemblance to the works of ʿAlī Üsküdarī, reveals his similar realistic approach in the application of the *saz* style, which was one of the most commonly favoured decoration styles of the classic period, as well as his fondness to paint the flowers in the naturalistic style. There are several examples of lacquer bindings that bear Çākerī's signature that are currently located in different museums and libraries. The binding of a *Ḥadīs* manuscript in Süleymaniye Library (Hacı Beşir Ağa 163) is one of these examples that bears the signature of Çākerī (Özen 1990: 79). The outer cover and the exterior of the flap of this binding are bearing the same design. The motifs that are applied on a red ground are the favoured design style comprising of stylised flowers in *rumī* (arabesque) and *hatayī* (chinoserie) styles. Çākerī, used the *rumī* motifs for the formation of the divisions in the main pattern while he filled in the enframed shapes by these *rumī* motifs with stylised flowers. Around this pattern that evolves like a chain, based on the principle of eternity, there is a borderline encircling this composition with three interlacing *rumī* scrolls designed with gold on a black ground. The work is signed by the artist on the cover board of

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[2] For details about a binding and writing box in lacquer workmanship see: (Duran 2009: 408-409, fig. 12, fig.13).

[3] For details about ʿAlī Üsküdarī see (Duran 2008).

[4] For the lacquer bindings embellished with flower bouquets by Ahmed Hazine and Abdullah Buharī see (Çığ 1971: 62 Fig. XXXVI; 65 Fig. XXXIX); further see: (Duran 2009: 407 Fig.10; 412 Fig.19).

[5] The names of the 18th century illuminators and bookbinders are cited in *Tuhfe-i Hattatin* written by Müstakimzāde. See (Derman 2009); (Uzunçarşılı 1983: 555). For the *rugānī* masters whose signed works are currently known see (Ünver 1965: 15-27).

one of the doublures with his penname as "*Sanatü'l hakir es-Seyyid Çākerī an sakin-i Kostantiniyye 1157*" which signifies the work of a certain artist known as Seyyid Çākerī completed in Constantinople (İstanbul) on H.1157 /1744/45 A.D. The main ground of the doublures is black and they bear ornamentation composed of bunches of regular flower and grass motifs that are organised alternatively. The borderline enclosing the edges are composed of two rows of leaf motifs applied in gold on the red ground (Figs. 1-2).

Hence, since these types of borderline ornaments are also found on *Çākerī's* other signed works or the ones attributed to him, it could be said that ʿAlī Çākerī applied this design so frequently in his works that distinguished his unique style. The ornament design on the fore-edge flap is composed of groups of *hatāyī* motifs that are worked as hatchings in gold with brush in *halkārī* technique. A similar example of the brush work applied on this binding could be seen on the border decoration of the doublures of a lacquer binding of a manuscript (Esad Efendi 76) which is an unsigned *Tafsīr* copy dated 1728 and kept in the collection of Süleymaniye Library (Çığ 1971: 22, fig.38). The ornamentation composition of the outer covers of this lacquer binding is very similar to the design of the outer covers of Çākerī's signed work mentioned above (SK, Hacı Beşir Ağa 163). All these similarities also reveal some hints that this binding is also prepared by ʿAlī Çākerī (Fig. 3).

Another lacquer work signed by ʿAlī Çākerī is a binding currently located in the collection of Gāzi Hüsrev Pasha Library (Nr.168) in Sarajevo (Saray Bosna). The artist, who embellished the binding in *saz* style, concealed his signature and date as "*es-Seyyid Çākerī 1168*" in the middle of a *hatāyī* motif on the upper cover (Duran 2009: 413, fig. 18).

Yet, another magnificent lacquer binding work signed by Çākerī is kept in Topkapı Palace Museum collection (Karatay 1961: 241, no. 2633). The ornamentation on both the outer covers and doublures of this binding, which lacks a flap and encloses a poetry anthology, is revealing an original design (E.H.1470).[6] The back doublure of the binding that bears the signature of the artist as "*Rakama Çākerī*" is designed in *saz* style in free brush technique in gold on a red ground (Fig. 4). The main ground of the outer covers are in black and their surfaces are divided by *rūmī* motifs into cartouches, each of which are further divided into smaller *rūmī*s, enclosed with spiral scroll lines painted in gold. In the interior and exterior of these cartouches are a variety of bouquets of flowers that are all delicately depicted with a rather thin brush in a realistic manner. There is a selection of a variety of flowers, mainly roses, tulips, peonies, jasmines, wall flowers, violets, earrings, canterbury bells and *centaurea cyanuscorn* florets in each bouquet of flowers. The main red ground which is enclosed by a rather large border line is embellished with three interlacing gilded *rūmī* scrolls (Fig. 5).

Regarding the examples given above, it is clear that ʿAlī Çākerī had a selection of using classical style as well as naturalistic flower motifs in all of his designs used for the ornamentation of lacquer bindings, which are also esteemed by the contemporary illuminators. Also, alongside his selection of the border decoration consisting of three rows of interlacing *rūmī* scrolls, application of double rows of tendrils is another noteworthy characteristic of his unique style.

The manuscript that bares the title *Envār el-Tenzil ve Esrār el-Tevil* and written by Nasruddīn Ebu Saīd Abdullah b. Ömer b. Muhammed el-Kadı el-Beyzāvi, a *Tafsīr* copy dated H. 692/1292 (Cyprus Turkish National Archive and Documentation Centre, M.1838) with 15 × 28 cm. dimensions and 546 folios (Şeşen, Altan & İzgi 1995: cat. no. 57), is another masterpiece that can be attributed to Çākerī or to his circle as its binding that reveals similarities with the designs applied on the lacquer bindings that have been presented so far. The outer covers of the binding that is now lacking the flap, is made of light brown coloured leather and embellished with brush painting and stamped tool (with iron) technique. The

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[6] For publication see (Çığ 1969-70: 247-248); Çığ, 1971, Fig. XXXVII; (Yağmurlu 1973: 92); (Çağman, 1983: 293: E. 317); (Demiriz 1986: 49-51, fig. 25-26); (Demiriz 2005: 120).

ornaments of the centre-pieces with pendants (*shamsāh* with *salbeks*) and the corner pieces are composed of *rūmī* motifs in greenish gold. The segmented almond shaped centre-piece, a common style of the 18th century, is designed in ¼ ratio symmetry, while the motifs of the corner pieces and pendants are designed in ½ ratio symmetry. There is an ornament in the border composed of three rows of interlacing *rūmī* scrolls. In addition, there is a series of interlacing foliage ornaments on the two margins of this border that was a stylistic characteristic of Çākerī or could be attributed to him similar to the ones we have discussed above. Furthermore, the gold rulings that enclose the wide border internally and externally are composed by chain ornaments formed by pressing with a pointed edged metal tool so called *yekshāh* iron (Fig. 6).

Yet, we could compare our example with another binding that is protecting a manuscript which is dated 1748 and located in Süleymaniye Library collection (Hamidiye 1444) which bares similarity with our example. Some ornament features of this binding, with the exception of the embellishment of the *rūmī* composition filing in the centre-piece and the pendants on the outer cover, mainly the three interlacing gold *rūmī* scrolls filling in the ruling, the flowers with red petals depicted in the round small medallions and the series of foliage that are depicted in the ruling in gold on the red ground, are also recalling the style of Çākerī (Fig. 7). This ornamentation style, which is consistently used on the outer cover of the flap in the identical manner, reveals similarity with the outer cover of the binding from the collection of Kyrenia National Archive which is embellished by brush-painting and pressing with a pointed edged metal tool so called *yekshāh* iron.

The doublures of the binding in the Kyrenia archive are of green colour leather with flower bouquets that are designed inside the centre-pieces. The edges are ruled with chain motifs in gold. The fly-leaves are of marble papers composed of shawl designs. It is noteworthy that the design of the flower bouquets on the doublures of the front and back covers are slightly different. In both doublures, the grounds of the centre-pieces are painted in white gold and the outlines are emphasised in orange (Fig. 8, Fig. 9). The painting technique of the flower bouquets in these medallions and the forms of the flowers depicted, are bearing similarities with the flower bouquets that are illustrated in the interior cartouches on the outer covers of the lacquer binding kept in the Library of Topkapı Palace Museum and painted by ʿAlī Çākerī (E.H. 1470). Most of the flowers used in the ornamentation of both bindings are of the same species. These flowers can be identified as *centaurea cyranis*, *anemone coronaria*, rose, jasmin, *aquilegia,* tulip and wallflower (Fig. 10).

In the manuscript from the Kyrenia National Archive in Cyprus (M.1838), subsequent to the first two folios which display the index of the book, there is a stamp of the Library of Sultan Mahmud II with the *tuğrā* of Sultan Mahmud II on folio 5a. The ʿunvān illumination on fol.5b, where the main text begins, is designed with the motifs of the classical period. The grounds of the illuminated areas here are painted in several hues of gold, dark blue and black. Gold ruling which surround the text is also encircling the ʿunvān illumination and spreads out as far as the upper edge of the page. The flower and leaf motifs on the gilded ground of the spaces left on both sides of the *Basmallah*, which is written in *Taʿlīq* script, in the interior of the cartouche, are painted in white and greenish gold and emphasised with outlines in black ink.

The illumination of the ʿunvān (Fig. 11) consists of three main panels: the upper panel is designed with segmented palmette shaped headpieces filled in with *rūmī* and *hātayī* motifs which are painted in blue, red and gold in negative style; above the segmented palmette headpieces are the gilded long finials projecting outside the margin which are decorated with *hātayī* motifs; below this upper panel, is the second part in rectangular form that has several closed areas ornamented with *rūmīs*; far below is the third panel in rectangular form, the centre of which is reserved for the title cartouche. The title cartouche which is painted in gold is left blank. The ground of the space left outside the title cartouche is gilded, and filled in with *rūmīs,* rosette flowers and tiny leaves in ¼ symmetric design scheme. As it is applied in

the entire illumination design, the motifs are painted in white, pink, purple, blue, copper red and rusted green and the outlines of the motifs are emphasised in black ink. The central space is encircled with series of rather plump looking *rūmīs* painted in gold on a black ground. The illumination outside this space is again organised symmetrically in ¼ ratio and decorated with a selection of motifs such as knotted Chinese clouds, tiny leaves and rosette flowers. Although the entire ornament motifs used in the illumination of the title page of this manuscript are in classical style, the design style and the colour selection reveal the new taste for colour and design concepts implemented by the 18th century illuminators. There is a possibility that this illumination style, which is a new interpretation of the classical style motifs painted rather delicately with a thin brush by a master painter, could also be accomplished by ʿAlī Çākerī.

Furthermore, we could again establish a comparative approach of this *ʿunvān* illumination (Fig. 11) with another manuscript, that bears *Çākerī*'s signature on the lacquer binding, which is described above (SK, Hacı Beşir Ağa 163), for the similarity in point of design and colour selection (Fig. 12). It can be further confirmed that ʿAlī Çākerī, in view of the current work and others that are signed or attributed to him, is an artist who also created some successful *saz* style gilded illuminations in *halkārī* technique on the edges of the folios as well as freehand designs, a style similar to the masterpiece performed by his contemporary colleague ʿAlī Üsküdarī. Taking into consideration of all the characteristics discussed in this paper, it could be claimed that the decoration style of the binding of the manuscript from Kyrenia National Archive (M.1838) reveals similarity with the works of the 18th century lacquer master, ʿAlī Çākerī. Moreover, it is also possible to attribute the *ʿunvān* illumination of this manuscript, which is designed with an original composition and comprising of classic period-motifs painted with a very thin brush in a rather skilful workmanship, to this competent master.

Consequently, given that flower bouquets depicted inside the medallions in the doublures of the binding, and the painted and tooled decoration of the outer covers, that all manifest so much similarities with the signed works of ʿAlī Çākerī or with the other bindings that reflects his personal style, the binding of the *Tafsīr* copy located in the Cyprus Turkish National Archive in Kyrenia (M. 1837) could be dated to the middle of the 18th century and further suggestion could be made to presume this masterpiece to have been also designed by ʿAlī Çākerī.

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Turkish Abstract

Bildirinin konusunu, KKTC Girne Milli Arşivi İslam El Yazmaları Koleksiyonunda korunan iç kapakları lâke, dış kapakları yazma cilt tekniğinde bezenmiş bir cilt kabı ile kapladığı eserin unvan tezhibinin değerlendirilmesi oluşturmaktadır.

18. yüzyıl Osmanlı ciltlerinde yaygın olarak uygulanan bezeme tekniklerinden biri, belgelerde *ruganî* olarak adlandırılmış olan lâke tekniğidir. Çin'in batısındaki Sichuan eyaletinden yayılan lâke işçiliği, İslam sanatında 13.yüzyıldan itibaren görülmeye başlamış, 14.-20. yüzyıllar arasında farklı dönemlerin sanat ürünlerinin bezenmesinde kullanılmıştır.

Osmanlı sanatında bu teknikle kitap kaplarının dışında çekmeceler, kalemdanlar, yazı altlıkları, mücevher kutuları, yay ve yay kuburları gibi çeşitli eşya da bezenmiştir. Ayrıca bu teknik, 17. -19. yüzyıllar arasında Edirne kentinde hazırlanan ve *Edirnekâri* adıyla anılan, çoğunluğu ahşap malzemeden üretilen çekmece, mobilya ve benzeri eşyaya da uygulanmıştır. 18. yüzyılın ünlü lâke ustalarının başında Üsküdarlı Ali Çelebi gelmektedir. Hocası Yusuf Mısrî'nin bezediği cilt kabı, kalemdan, kubur örneklerindeki gibi, Ali Üsküdarî de bezediği cilt kabı, kalemdan, kubur, yazı altlığı, yazı çekmecesi, yay gibi farklı objelere *saz* üslubunda hatayi ve hançeri yapraklarla oluşturduğu serbest tasarımlar uygulamıştır. Ancak bazı eserlerinin bezeme tasarımlarında *saz* üslubunun yanı sıra, dönemin çok sevilen gerçekçi çiçek buketlerinin tasvirlerine de yer vermiştir. Ahmed Hazine de çiçek buketlerini lâke cilt bezemelerinde kullanan 18. yüzyıl müzehhib ve mücellitlerinden biridir. Aynı yüzyılda eserler veren Abdullah Buharî de hazırladığı ruganî cilt kaplarında manzaraların yanı sıra gölgelendirilerek boyanan doğal görünümlü çiçek bezemeleri ile ünlüdür. Bu dönemin ruganî ustaları arasında yer alan bir diğer isim, bu bildiride tanıtılan eserin cildini hazırladığını düşündüğümüz Çâkerî'dir. Yaşamı hakkında çok fazla bilgi mevcut olmayan bu sanatçının, "kul, bende" anlamını taşıyan Çâkerî mahlasını kullanan Diyarbakır doğumlu bir şair olduğu, Ali Emiri'nin kaleme aldığı *Tezkere-i Şuara-i Amed* adlı eserden anlaşılmıştır.

Bu bildiride, Çâkerî'nin rugani cilt bezemelerinde uyguladığı tasarımlarla benzeşen Girne Milli Arşivinde bulunan ve önceleri Lefkoşe'deki Sultan II. Mahmud Kütüphanesinde korunan, sonraları Mevlevi Tekkesi içindeki Etnografya Müzesinde sergilendiği bilinen, ketebe kaydı taşımayan (M.1838) envanter no'lu bir *Tefsir* kitabının cildi ve unvan tezhibi, analitik ve karşılaştırmalı bir yöntem ile irdelenmektedir. 18. yüzyıl ortalarına tarihlenebilen bu *Tefsir* kitabının cildinin iç kapakları natüralist çiçek buketleriyle dolgulu dilimli şemselerle lâke tekniğiyle bezelidir. Eserin cildinin dış kapakları ise salbekli şemse, köşebend ve bordürlü formda klasik cilt formunda tasarlanmış olup, bu alanların içleri altınla renklendirilerek, yekşah demiriyle üzerinden geçilmiş rumi motifleriyle yazma tekniğiyle bezelidir. Farklı kompozisyonlarla ve farklı bezeme teknikleriyle tasarlanmış olan bu iç ve dış kapakların bezemeleri, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesindeki E.H. 1470 ile Süleymaniye Kütüphanesindeki Hacı Beşir Ağa 163 no'lu eserlerin ciltleri gibi, Ali Çâkerî'nin imzasını taşıyan veya onun kişisel tarzını yansıtan bazı cilt kaplarıyla benzeşmesi sebebiyle, onun tarafından tasarlanmış olmaları güçlü bir olasılıktır.

Eserin cildinin yanı sıra, unvan tezhibinde görülen ince fırça işçiliğiyle çalışılmış klasik dönem motiflerinin tasarım kurgusu ve renk seçimi de 18. yüzyıl müzehhiplerinin benimsedikleri yenilikleri sergilemektedir. Bu sebeple unvan tezhibinin de cilt kabı tasarımlarında olduğu gibi, Ali Çâkerî'nin fırçasına mal edilmesi muhtemel gözükmektedir.

Biographical Note

Prof.Dr. Banu Mahir is a graduate of Istanbul University where she gained her (Ph.D.) degree in Art History. She worked in Topkapı Palace Museum as Assistant Curator in the Manuscripts Section (Library) between 1985-1996. From 1997 onwards she is teaching History of Turkish Islamic Art / Turkish Decorative Arts /Ottoman and Islamic Arts of the Book topics in the Art History Department/ Faculty of Science and Literature of Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Istanbul. Her research and publication areas are Ottoman Miniature Painting and Islamic Art of the Book. She had the administrative position as the head of the Department of Art History between 2010-2108. She also initiated the Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University publications as the editor-in-chief (2009-2015). She made several publications on her research topics in the areas of Islamic Art of the Book. She is running a joint project with Assoc. Prof.Dr. Netice Yıldız for making a catalogue of the illuminated manuscripts in Turkish Republic of North Cyprus.

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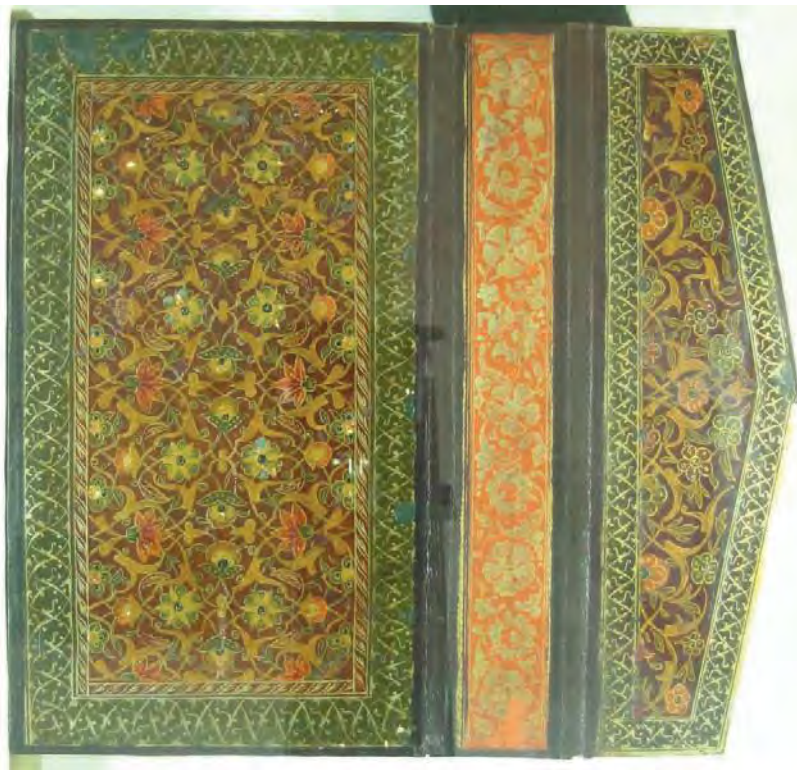
Fig. 1 – Upper cover of a lacquer binding with flap decorated by ʿAlī Çākerī, dated 1744-45,
SK, Hacı Beşir Ağa 163.

Fig. 2 – Doublure of a lacquer binding with
Çākerī's signature, dated 1744-45,
SK, Hacı Beşir Ağa 163.

Fig. 3 – Upper cover of a lacquer binding
decorated probably by ʿAlī Çākerī, dated 1728,
SK, Esad Efendi 76.
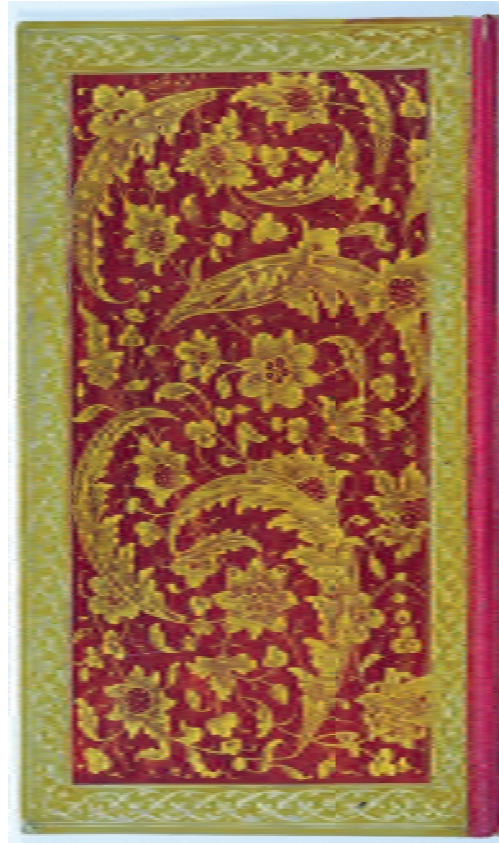
Fig. 4 – Doublure of a lacquer binding decorated by ʿAlī Çākerī, c.1740,
TSMK, E.H.1470.

Fig. 5 – Upper Cover of a lacquer binding
decorated with flowers by ʿAlī Çākerī,
c.1740, TSMK, E.H.1470.

Fig. 6 – Upper cover of the binding
attributable to Çākerī, mid 18th Century,
TRNC Kyrenia National Archive, M.1838.
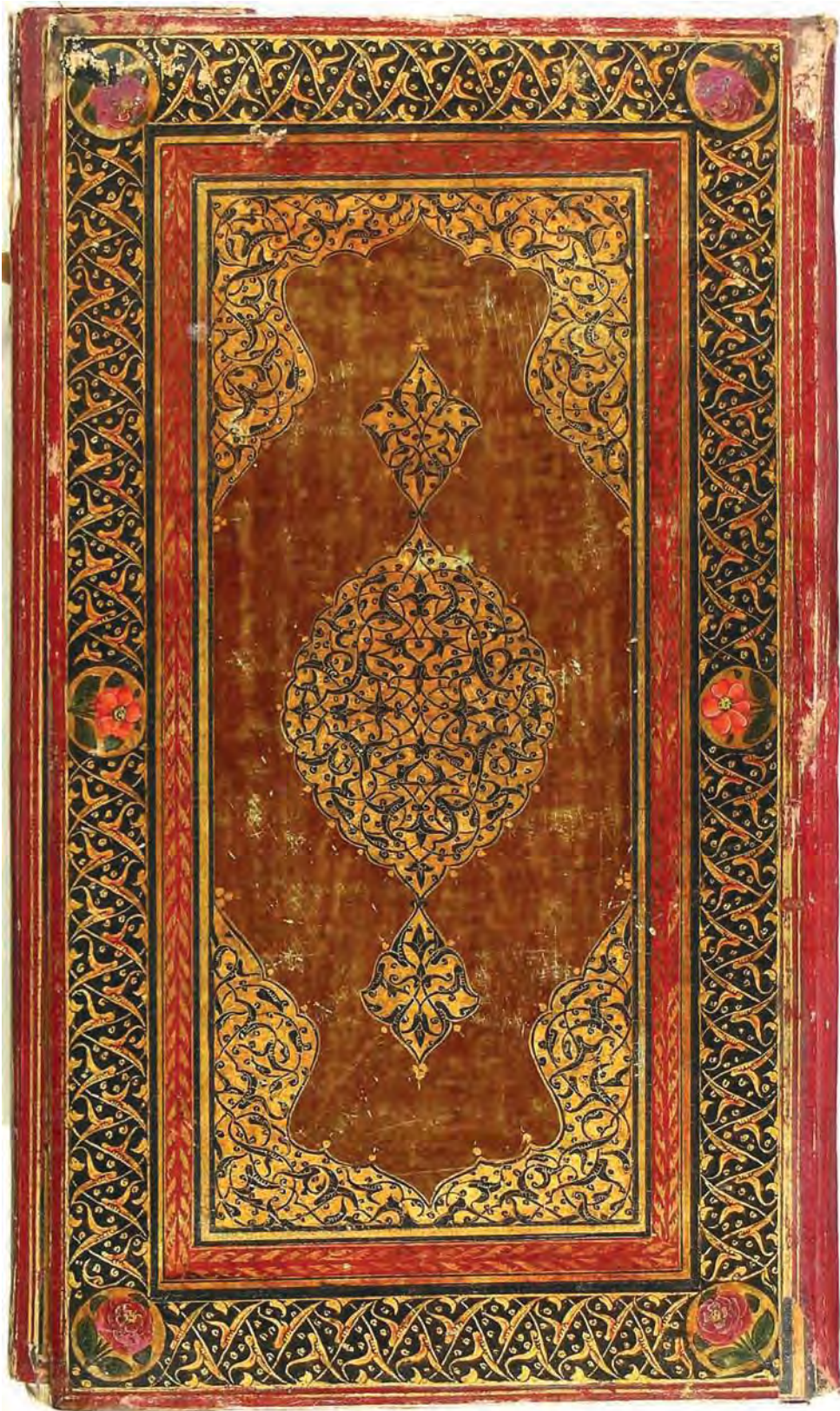
Fig. 7 – Upper cover of a lacquer binding reflecting the illumination style of Çākerī, dated 1748, SK, Hamidiye 1444

Fig. 8 – Center medallion (center-piece),
composed of tulip, rose, *anemone coronaria*
and wallflower, on the upper doublure

of the binding attributable to Çākerī:

TRNC Kyrenia National Archive, M.1838

Fig. 9 – Center medallion (center-piece),
composed of tulip, rose, *anemone coronaria* and
wallflower, of *centaurea cyranis*, rose, *anemone
coronaria*, jasmin and *aquilegia*, on the lower
doublure of the binding attributable to Çākerī:
TRNC Kyrenia National Archive, M.1838

Fig. 10 – Upper cover of a lacquer binding decorated with flowers by ʿAlī Çākerī, c.1740, TSMK, E.H.1470

Illuminated heading (ʿ*unvān*) probably by ʿAlī Çākerī, mid 18th century,
TRNC Kyrenia National Archive, M.1838, fol. 5b

Fig. 12 – Illuminated heading (ʿ*unvān*) probably by ʿAlī Çākerī, dated 1744-45,
SK, Hacı Beşir Ağa 163, fol.1b-2a

CHINA-HOLLAND-KÜTAHYA INTERACTIONS
ON THE 18TH CENTURY WALL TILES

Gülgün Yılmaz
Trakya Üniversitesi

Porcelain goods were imported to the Ottoman land intensively from China between 14th and the 19th Centuries. The rich China porcelain collection at the Topkapı Palace Museum is an indicator of this trade (Ohashi 1995: 123-128).

At the second half of the 18th Century, the kilns of İznik lost their functionality and the workshops inside Tekfur Palace in Istanbul were closed. Even though the workshops at Kütahya were active, the Ottoman State imported wall tiles from Tunisia, Italy, Spain, Holland and China in this period. These tiles, which were intended to meet the demands of the new construction activities form the transition phase between our traditional tile art and the wall paintings.

Chinese tiles were used in Istanbul on the Imperial lodge of the Ayazma Mosque in Uskudar (1760) and on the prayer-niche of the Beylerbeyi Mosque (1778). These tiles were incorrectly characterized as "European" and "Italian" tiles in various publications (Eyice 1995; Batur 1995: 205; Ayverdi 1961: 1511; Koçu 1961: 2681; Kuban 1954: 29). The tiles in both of the mosques are parted from European and Turkish tiles due to their dark blue patterns and their gilded ornaments that form the details peculiar to the 18th Century Qing dynasty porcelains. The tiles are of fine white porcelain painted with underglaze cobalt blue. The tiles are painted with a wide border of flowers and leaves between parallel lines; the flowers stem from a basket at the centre of each side. Inside the central square, a flower at each corner surrounded by leaves and buds points to the centre of the tile, where a single flower is encircled by four flowers, one on each side. The flowers have been painted swiftly with a large brush, the outlines added in a darker blue, after firing more details have been added in gold (Fig. 1).

Examples belonging to the same group of tiles are seen at the Far East Section of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London and the John Soane Collection, which is famous with its Far East works of art (Kerr 2002: 23-29).

When the first Chinese porcelain came on the Dutch market in 1620 it had a great impact. Especially the blue colour became popular and was so often used in Holland that its now better known as "Delft blue". Also Chinese ornaments and motifs were copied in the first part of 17th century (Graves 2002: 76). The use of Chinese tiles in Near East is due to the trade made by Holland East India Company via the Armenian tradesmen. Armenian architects and the craftsmen played a major role in the Ottoman architecture in this period (Jamkotchian 1996: 45-49). The Armenian potters were active in the kilns of Kütahya at the same time. The Chinese tiles with landscapes in Topkapı Palace Museum (Krahl 1986: 2187) had been used together with the tiles of Beylerbeyi and Ayazma Mosques in the Surp Krikor Lusavoriç Armenian Church in Karaköy / Istanbul, which had a major renovation work in 1733 (Fig. 2). There are many Dutch tiles in the same church (Theunissen and Tişkaya 2005: 1-41).

The residence of Reinier de Klerk, the Dutch ambassador in Jakarta (Indonesia); Pardesi Sinagogue in the city of Kochi in South India; Bikaner Junagarh Castle in the Rajasthan region in North India are examples of structures where the Chinese and the Dutch tiles were used together (Theunissen 2006: 31). The Chinese and the Dutch tiles were used together on the monumental gate "Chini Chitrashala", which had been constructed in 1725, of the City Palace of Udaipur City of Rajasthan region. The very similar tiles are observed on the Dungarpur Palace and the parts of the Rajmahal Palace in Jaisalmer, which were renewed in the end of the 18th Century (Carswell 1968: 3-15). Chinese tiles were also used on the wall of

the Damascus Azem Palace, which was built in 1750 by Esad Pasha, who was the last Ottoman Governor of Damascus.

The Chinese tiles, exported to the Near East, were copied by the potters in Kütahya. The basket and the ivy branches that make up the outer frame have been renewed in the exact same way, the middle composition and the colors have been partly changed. A comparison between the Kütahya copies and Chinese model show that the potters freely adapted the design, rather than slavishly copying it. The Chinese imitated Kütahya tiles have been used together with the Chinese tiles at the Etchmiadzin Chapel the Apostles Chapel and the Archangel Chapel, which are parts of St. James Cathedral in Jerusalem (Carswell and Dowsett 1961: 61). Other examples of Chinese imitated Kütahya tiles are found in Arab Museum collection in Cairo (Inv. Nr. 14992, 14993), Ali Pasha Mosque in Kütahya, Hacı Bayram Mosque in Ankara and in Topkapı Palace (Fig. 3).

The Harem of Topkapı Palace has been getting old and has been badly damaged during the fire in 1665. It started to reflect a changing taste in 18th century. During the periods of Sultan Mahmud I (1730-1754) and Osman III (1754-1757), the old rooms of the Harem have been renovated and newly decorated with baroque style. All of the walls in the Imperial Hall (Hünkar Sofası) and window sills in the connected music rooms are covered with 18th century Dutch wall tiles with blue-white (cobalt) and purple-white (manganese) designs. Likewise, same type of tiles can be seen in the hammams of the Sultan (Hünkar) and the Mother of the Sultan (Valide Sultan). The use of Dutch tiles in the fireplaces of Selim III's and Mihrişah Valide Sultan's private rooms in the fireplace and on the walls of Osman III Pavilion reflects the changing fashion of the period. Kütahya and Dutch tiles of the same period are placed into the cupboards and window sills during 18th century renovations in various dormitories (Karaağalar Koğuşu, Cariyeler Koğuşu and Gözdeler Dairesi).

Within the Topkapı Palace Wall Tiles Digital Database Project,[1] 35 different designs of blue-white and purple-white Dutch tiles have been registered in situ and in the warehouses of the Palace. 32 of these types are squares with dimensions of $13 \times 13 \times 0.8$ cm. Two of the tile types are with $13 \times 6.5 \times 0.8$ cm dimensions (half of the square format) hence do not require cutting. One type is a square form of $6.5 \times 6.5 \times 0.8$ cm. The lengths are calculated as 5 inch (13 cm) or half of it. All decorations are floral and geometric designs (Yılmaz 2009: 729-746).

Factory catalogues have been investigated for the in situ Dutch tiles and the ones which are found in the warehouses. Most intense import is seen between 1750 and 1790. Investigations in the new factory catalogues lead us to the factories in Harlingen, Makkum, Rotterdam and Utrecht. A well-known motif from Kütahya was also used on Dutch tiles: the "Cirkelruit" (circle-diamond design). In one of the niche in Imperial Bath (Hünkar Hamamı) of Topkapı Palace, the Kütahya tiles in this pattern and the Dutch tiles had been used together. This usage shows that the Dutch tiles and the Kütahya imitations arrived to the Palace in the same period (Fig. 4a-b) (Pluis, 1998: 46).

The Armenian potters in Kütahya headed towards the Dutch effects in the 18th Century due to the special impact created by the cobalt blue ornaments on white ground. Some of the patterns that are seen in the catalogues of Dutch factories and the workshops and their similarities had also been used Kütahya workshops in the 18th Century. The comparisons made between several 18th Century Kütahya tiles used in places of Topkapı Palace and the Dutch tiles show similarities that put for the interactions (Fig. 5a-b, 6a-b).

The tile made up of dark cobalt blue pattern on white background and with a Rosetta in the middle of wing motifs on corners, which had been applied by the Kütahya workshops fondly, bears the inspirations Dutch tile patterns (Fig. 7a-b).

The importation of the Chinese and the Dutch tiles falls into the second-half of the 18th Century both due to the cessation of local production and the changes in the understanding of appreciation. Kütahya workshops kept up with these changes and they made productions according to the demands of the market regarding both the colors and the patterns that they used.

18th century Kütahya tiles within the collection of Topkapı Palace Museum, show similarities to those of Holland tile motifs with their one branch of iris and hyacinth motifs. Decoration of "fleur de lis", which was used as corner motifs in the tiles from Holland, had been stylized and changed in Kütahya tiles. Compositions of flowers in vase, one branched or bouquet of flowers became a fashion in Kütahya production tiles and widespread in the Ottoman art from the stoneworks to the textiles during the 18th century.

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Turkish Abstract

18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı mimarisinde, Çin ve Hollanda duvar çinileri yoğun olarak kullanılmıştır. 18. yüzyılın ikinci yarısında İznik fırınları işlevini kaybetmiş, son atılım olarak değerlendirilen Tekfur Sarayı çiniciliği ise sona ermiştir. Bu dönemde Kütahya atölyelerinin faal olmasına karşılık ihtiyacı karşılayacak bir üretime sahip olmaması, Osmanlı Devleti'nin İspanya, İtalya, Tunus, Hollanda ve Çin'den duvar çinisi ithal etmesi sonucunu ortaya koymuştur. Özellikle Hollanda ve Çin üretimleri Kütahya'daki yerel üretimi etkilemiş ve desen repertuarında değişiklikler yaratmıştır. 18. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına rastlayan Çin ve

Hollanda çinilerinin ithalatı hem yerel üretimin durmasına hem de değişen zevk anlayışına dayanmaktadır. Kütahya atölyeleri de bu değişime ayak uydurmuş, gerek kullandıkları renklerde gerekse desenlerde piyasanın taleplerine cevap verecek üretimlerde bulunmuşlardır.

Biographical Note

Gülgün Yılmaz is professor at the Department of Art History of Trakya University, Edirne. Between 1996-2000 she worked as exhibition assistant at the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul. In 2004 she completed her PhD thesis (Istanbul University). Between 2006 and 2008 she took part in the Topkapı Palace Wall Tiles Digital Database Project under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu. Later, from 2012 to 2018, she acted as vice-president of the excavations of Ayasuluk Hill and St. John Monument, İzmir.

Fig. 1 – Chinese tile, Üsküdar Ayazma Mosque, Istanbul
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)

Fig. 2 – Chinese tile, Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul
(after Carswell 1995)

Fig. 3 – Kütahya tiles copied fromChinese models (Topkapı Palace Museum, group no. 620a)
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)

Fig. 4a – Design of Dutch tile
named "Cirkelruit" (circle
diamond)
(after Pluis 1998)

Fig. 4b – 18th-century Kütahya tiles,
Topkapı Palace Museum, Imperial Bath
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)

Fig. 5a – Design of a Dutch tile
(after Pluis 1998)

Fig. 5b – 18th-century Kütahya tile,
Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 224b2
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)

Fig. 6a – 18th-century Dutch tile,
Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 681a1
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)

Fig. 6b – 18th-century Kütahya tile,
Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 564a1
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)

Fig. 7a – 18th-century Dutch tile,
Topkapı Palace, Pavilion of Osman III,
group no. 667b
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)

Fig. 7b – 18th-century Kütahya tile,
Topkapı Palace Museum, group no. 404a
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)

Fig. 8a – 18th-century Kütahya tile,
Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 774a1
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)

Fig. 8b – 18th-century Kütahya tile,
Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 912a1
(©Gülgün Yılmaz)
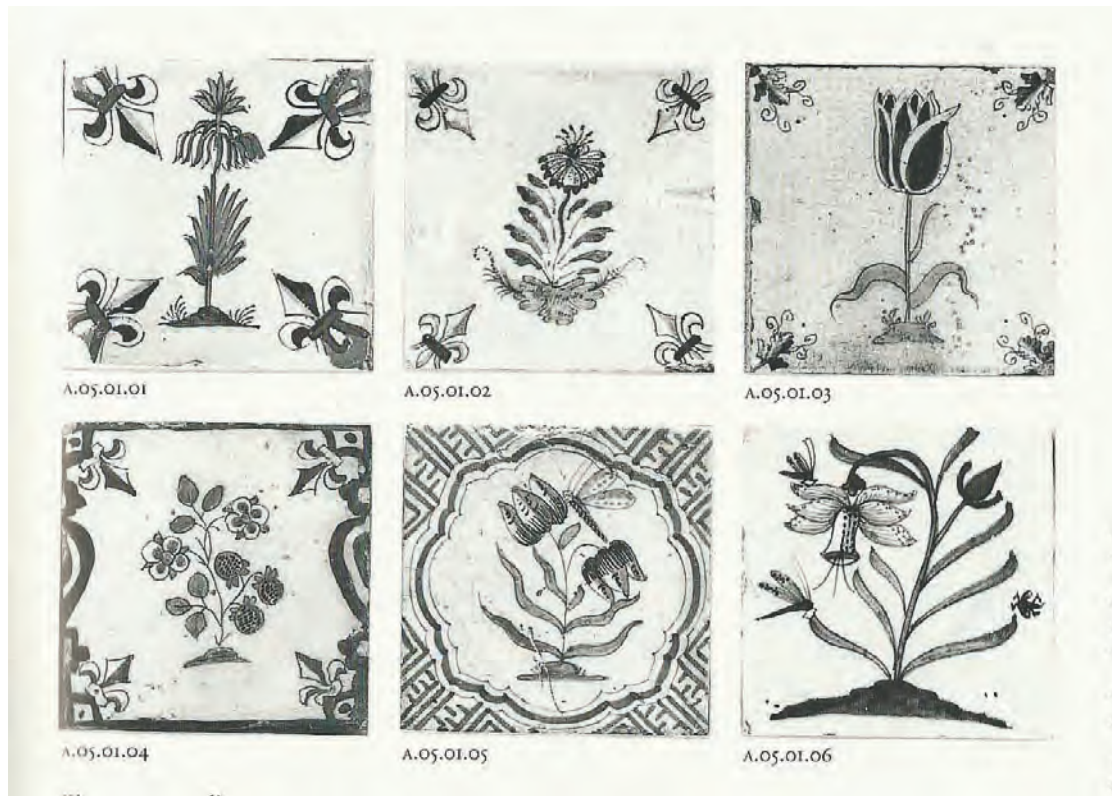
Fig. 9 – Designs of Dutch tiles with flower patterns (after Pluis 1998)

A LESSER-KNOWN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT
OF THE OTTOMAN COURT HISTORIAN ʿĀRIF:
THE *RAWŻA AL-ʿUŠŠĀQ (THE GARDEN OF LOVERS)*
OF THE HARVARD ART MUSEUMS

Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım
Cambridge, MA, Harvard Art Museums

ʿArif, also known as ʿĀrifī, was the official court historian during the reign of Sultan Süleyman (1520-66) and held this office from at least the 1550s until 1561. ʿĀrif s most celebrated work is a multi-volume Islamic world history written in Persian, which culminates with the Ottomans, specifically the reign of Süleyman. This volume known as the *Sulaymānnāma* was completed in 1558 and illustrated by court artists. It is considered to be the first official illustrated history of the Ottoman dynasty. A number of recent studies have focused on ʿĀrif as the holder of the *şehnameci* post and on his above mentioned work. ʿĀrif's lesser-known work the *Rawża al-ʿUššāq* (*The Garden of Lovers*) also composed in Persian, is today in the collection of the Harvard Art Museums (1985.216). Previously owned and briefly published by Edwin Binney in 1979, the *Rawża al-ʿUššāq* has since received attention for its three exquisite miniatures (Binney 1979: 25-27; Atıl 1986: 70-71; Atıl 1987: 77-78, Bağcı and others 2006: 106-109). Neither the text nor the relationship between the text and the illustrations has ever been studied. This paper analyzes the manuscript as a whole, including its calligraphy, illumination, and text and image relationship. Furthermore the significance of the manuscript within the Ottoman court productions of Ārif's works is discussed.

The manuscript was bequeathed to the Arthur M. Sackler Museum[1] of Harvard University in 1985 as part of the Edwin Binney Collection. It was acquired by Binney in 1976 from Terence McInerney, a dealer in Boston. The manuscript is reported to be previously in the collection of Mikhail Constantinovici Onou or better known as Michel Onou. Born in 1835 Onou became the secretary and the dragoman of the Russian consulate first in Edirne (1857-59) and then in Beirut (1859-63). He later became the head of the archives and the library of the Asian Department at the Russian embassy in Istanbul. Between 1869-79 Onou became the general secretary and the first dragoman in Istanbul. He held other diplomatic positions and died in Athens in 1901. He spoke Romanian, Russian, French, Turkish and Greek (Iorga 2015: 79-80). Due to his position as the head of the archives and the library at the Russian embassy in Istanbul, it is likely that Onou had access to and knowledge of valuable books in Istanbul, such as the *Rawża al-ʿUššāq.*

The *Rawża al-ʿUššāq* was composed by ʿĀrif who provides his name at the beginning and end of the manuscript (4r, 64v). However he does not give a date for his composition. ʿĀrif also known as Fatḥ- Allāh ʿĀrif Čelebī[2], or ʿĀrifi, was the official court historian during the reign of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-66). He is best known for the *Sulaymānnāma*, the last volume of the *Šāhnāma-i Āl-i ʿOs̱mān*. Although there is a bit of confusion about the life of ʿĀrif, mostly in secondary literature, we can gather that he was of Persian origin and composed his poetry mostly in Persian (Eryılmaz 2010: 24-36).[3] From his mother's side he was the grandson of Ibrahim Gulšenī, the well-respected religious scholar and Sufi sheikh of

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[1] Arthur M. Sackler Museum of Harvard University became part of the Harvard Art Museums along with the Fogg Art Museum and the Busch-Reisinger Museum in 2014 after a major renovation of the Fogg building.

[2] Fethullah Arif Çelebi

[3] Fatma Sinem Eryılmaz discusses in her dissertation the life of ʿĀrif and his father by comparing historical sources.

the Gulšenī order in Egypt. The Gulšenī order also had close ties to the Mevlevis. 'Ārif's father Darviš Čelebī was a disciple of Ibrahim Gulšenī and had married his daughter. Both 'Ārif and his father were in Cairo when the Ottoman sultan Selim I (r.1512-20) conquered the city in 1517 and brought the artists and scholars to the Ottoman court in Istanbul. 'Ārif and his father must have been among them and were thus attached to the Ottoman court and after Selim's death, specifically to Sultan Süleyman. 'Ārif was already on the palace payroll in 1545. We learn that in 1549 'Ārifi's father, who was by then an elderly man, was sent by Sultan Süleyman as an envoy to the Safavid prince Alqas Mīrzā. A miniature in the *Sulaymānnāma* on fol. 506r depicts this event and 'Ārif's father is shown as an old person with white beard next to the Safavid prince (Atıl 1986: 202-203, Eryılmaz 2010: 25-26).

We know that 'Ārif had completed part of his education in Ottoman *madrasas* and, combining it with his earlier training, he attained a high level of mastery in various fields, including poetry, calligraphy, and knowledge of Persian ceremonial. When he was first employed by the Ottoman court in the mid-1540s, he was receiving 25 aspers a day which was a respectable amount as a starting salary. His literary works in Persian and Turkish, including odes, literary treatises, and registers must have received the admiration of Sultan Süleyman such that he was later assigned to compose the history of the Ottoman house in Persian. During the course of his tenure as a *şehnameci*, despite efforts by his rivals to oust him, the approval of his work increased and 'Ārif's salary reached 70 aspers a day, an amount higher than that of the chief royal architect Sinan around the same time. We also learn that a workshop was built specifically for the team of artists who were working on the project under his direction (Eryılmaz 2010: 38, 219).

The result of his patronage by the court was not only the composition of these literary works but also their production as luxury illustrated manuscripts. Thus 'Ārif's role at the Ottoman court was not only to write these poetic works in a pleasing way to his patron but also to act as a team leader to make sure the texts were illustrated in a manner conveying the political and personal interests of his patron, Sultan Süleyman. 'Ārif's largest work was a five-volume fully illustrated History of the House of Osman called the *Šāhnāma-i Āl-i 'Osmān* which was completed in 1558. As the name suggests it is written in the style of the *Šāhnāma* of Firdawsī but covers a universal history that begins with Adam and ends with Süleyman. Only three volumes are known. The first (*Anbiyānāma*) and the fourth volumes (*'Osmānnāma*) which are now in the Bruschettini collection in Genoa are not well-known. Eryılmaz 's recent studies on these volumes seek to understand the cultural origins of 'Ārif's works and focus on some of the illustrations in the establishment of the idea of Süleyman as a prophet-like king (Eryılmaz 2010: 76-110, 117-159, Eryılmaz 2013: 100-123). The *Anbiyānāma* (The Book of Prophets), measures 31×19.5cm with slight trimming, and is copied in *nastalīq* script in 48 folios with 10 miniatures. The *'Osmānnāma* (The Book of Osman), a chronological account of Ottoman history, measures 36.5×24.5cm with slight trimming, and is also copied in *nastaliq* script in 205 folios and illustrated with 34 miniatures. The last volume known as the *Sulaymānnāma* in the Topkapı Palace Museum library (H. 1517) is the most luxurious and the best known in the series (Karatay 1961, 61). It measures 37×25.4cm and is copied in *nastalīq* script in 617 folios and illustrated with 65 miniatures (4 double).

In addition to this colossal work 'Ārif is thought to have composed the *Futuḥāt-i Jamīla* (The Book of Worthy Conquest) on the history of the battle of Timisoara (Temeşvar) that took place in 1552-3 as part of the Ottoman advances in Transylvania. The illustrated copy in the Topkapı Palace library (H. 1592) was completed in 1557, possibly for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (Karatay 1961, 61-62). It measures 33×22.4 cm and is copied in *nastaliq* script in 32 folios with 7 miniatures.

Another and lesser-known work by 'Ārif is called the *Waqāyi'-i Sulṭān Bāyezid ma' Salim Ḫān*. It describes the events that lead to the battle between the two sons of Süleyman in 1559 (Eryılmaz 2010: 47). The medium-size (24.3×15.5 cm) copy in the Topkapı Palace library

(R.1540 mükerrer) was meant to be illustrated with two miniatures but it was left unfinished (Karatay 1961: 59-60).[4] This was probably 'Ārif's last work since he went to Cairo in 1559 to visit his relatives. Three years later he died there in 1561 and was buried in the cemetery attached to the Gulšenī hospice (Yazıcı 1990: 120-121).

The *Rawża al-'Uššāq,* so far, has not been included in the studies related to 'Ārif 's literary works. The following section will elaborate on the comparison of the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* with 'Ārif's other works that were produced in the Ottoman court workshops. My preliminary assessment is that as a manuscript it is physically close to the *Waqāyi'-i Sulṭān Bāyezid ma' Salim Ḫān* dated to 1559 while textually it is close to the *Anbiyānāma*, the first volume of the *Šāhnāma-i Āl-i 'Oṯmān*, which must have been completed sometime before 1558 as the first of a five-volume series. Since the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* is a luxurious finished product it must have been produced before 1559 when 'Ārif left for Cairo.

The *Rawża al-'Uššāq* is a medium-sized manuscript, although slightly trimmed (25.1×17.1 cm). It is in relatively good condition. It retains its original binding although there are some repairs. The brown leather binding with flap has gilded center and corner pieces on the outside filled with *hatayi* flowers (Fig. 1). The burgundy colored doublures have only center pieces (Fig. 2). The flyleaves are also burgundy colored and sprinkled with gold. Both the outer covers and the doublures of the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* are simpler compared to those of the *Futuḥāt-i Jamīla* (1557) or the *Sulaymānnāma* (1558) (Atıl 1986: 81-83). Although European paper is inserted at the beginning of the manuscript most likely during a repair, the manuscript consists of 66 folios of heavy and sized Islamic paper. The marks from the flap appear only on the original paper but not on the European one, suggesting a recent insertion of the European paper.

The manuscript opens with an illuminated heading which is the single illumination in the manuscript (Fig.3). It employs two tones of gold and a rich blue. The title of the book is written in white in the central cartouche. The little golden clouds and *hatayi* flowers in blue are especially noticeable as part of the *tığ* decoration in the upper margin. The same marginal details can also be seen in the illuminated heading of the *Futuḥāt-i Jamīla*. (Fig.4)

Although the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* has a luxurious look, the work is medium-sized, relatively short in length, and has two-column text pages much like the Topkapı *Waqāyi'-i Sulṭān Bāyezid ma' Salim Ḫān*. Both are copied in *nastalīq* on a gold-sprayed text area with large plain margins (fig. 5). It is likely that it is copied by the same calligrapher although no name is provided in either manuscript. Based on further comparison of the calligraphies amongst the luxury copies of 'Arif's works it is possible that the same calligrapher also copied the *'Oṯmānnāma* and the *Futuḥāt-i Jamīla* in which he provided his name as Abū Turāb al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusaynī, known as Ḫūbī al-Širāzī.

The *Rawża al-'Uššāq*, as 'Ārifi's other works, is composed in Persian. The text concerns a Sufi theme.[5] After a prayer to God, passages in praise of the Prophet Muhammad follow (the ascension of the Prophet Muhammad and a plea for his intercession on behalf of humans). Then comes the praise of the "ruler of Islam" (ḥażrat-i pādišah-i Islām) (14v). Here the text names Šāh Sulaymān (Sultan Süleyman) as the ruler.

The following sections continue with the explanation of several Sufi themes immediately followed by a story. The first illustrated chapter, the story of the mirror of Iskandar (21r-26r) is preceded by the chapter, "The reason for the occurrence of the creation" (18v-21r). Here an explicit reference is made to an alleged hadith Ibn 'Arabī mentions to explain the reason for

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[4] Karatay by mistake identifies the text as the story of the battle between Selim I and his brother Ahmed.

[5] I am grateful to Dr. Chad Kia who helped me with the Persian text and summarized several passages throughout the text. He also kindly brought my attention to the Sufi connections, especially to Ibn 'Arabī.

the creation of the world: "I was a hidden treasure and yearned to be known." This clearly sets the Sufi pretentions of the work as a whole. Ibn 'Arabī, the 13th century Arab poet and mystic from Spain was well respected at the Ottoman court during the 16th century. Selim I had visited his tomb after his campaign in Egypt in 1517 and ordered the restoration of his tomb. Ibn 'Arabī's popularity continued during the reign of Süleyman and his works were made part of the Ottoman madrasa teachings in the 1550's. In the Topkapı Palace library there are several copies of works interpreting Ibn 'Arabī (Eryılmaz 2010: 177). 'Ārif himself must have been influenced by Ibn 'Arabī's mystical philosophy since we see numerous references to his thoughts not only in the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* but also in the *Sulaymānnāma* (Eryılmaz 2010: 175-182).

In the story one of Iskandar's harem women falls in love with her own image while she is looking at her own reflected image on the water of a pool in the harem. The pool, which has a running source and is normally reserved for drinking, isn't running due to an unexpected blockage. The stillness of the water provides a perfect mirror effect and inspires Iskandar to make a mirror out of glass. Later in the tale Iskandar also sees his own reflection and out of excitement begins to kiss it. The story is used as an allegorical vehicle for mystical thought. In fact a verse mentioning "God asking for a mirror" precedes this story. Hidden treasures related to God are reflected in many ways in humans. The physical qualities of Iskandar's harem woman, explained in lengthy verses in the poem, describe these virtues.

The miniature on 23r (fig. 6) displays visually the beauty of the creator and the created by detailing physiognomy, clothing, and the architectural setting. The maid sits next to a pool and upon seeing her reflection on the water she almost goes into a contemplating mode. She wears beautiful clothing and jewels. The details of her necklaces, loop earrings, jeweled belt, and headgear, possibly in velvet embroidered with gold and pearls at the rim, can be seen. Her reflection is an exact copy of herself. The only difference is the color of the water, which has over time tarnished into a grey color from silver. The edge of the pool is also very beautifully decorated with colored mosaic stones, almost like the frame of a mirror.[6] Iskandar appears as a young beardless prince wearing a jeweled golden crown. His dark blue caftan is decorated with gold embroidery. His jeweled dagger is tucked under his belt with a long sash. His inner robe of light blue color is also gold embroidered with ducks and is lined with yellow cloth. The architecture is distinctly Ottoman with round arches of marble voussoirs standing on columns. An interior atmosphere is created with red curtains pulled to the side. Doubtless to say the miniature is meticulously detailed to display all ideas of beauty explained in the Sufi text. And further, one would be tempted to say that the Ottoman court or more specifically Süleyman's court is represented here to be associated with the perfect ruler Iskandar. In a way the artist not only illustrates the text but also visually interprets it to adapt it to the court of Süleyman. Süleyman's interest in such comparisons, at least literally, was also tapped by the *şehnameci* Eflatun who followed 'Ārif when he called Süleyman "the Shah of shahs" and "the possessor of the world of the magnificence of Alexander and the dignity of Selim" (Eryılmaz 2010: 219). Perhaps not surprisingly a tale about Selim's justice was illustrated in the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* as well.

The following episode (26r) opens with the title, "The creation of Adam, may God's blessings be upon him." Here the narrative is about creation as the sign of the Divine, and the many mirrors reflecting the Hidden treasures. The text continues to elaborate how God created Adam because he needed a worthy creature to withstand his divine attributes and hold them in trust; something that no other among God's creatures in the heavens or on earth could withstand. Of course the discussion of Adam also brings to mind 'Ārifi's *Anbiyānāma*, the

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[6] The decoration of the pool is compared to the colored marble decoration that became fashionable at the Ottoman court after 1517 (Bağcı and others 2006: 108).

first volume of the *Šāhnāma-i Āl-i ‘Oṣmān* where Adam is discussed in a lengthy fashion and two miniatures depict this section (15r, 20r). (Eryılmaz 2013: 101-112).

This section segues into the episode of the "The tale of Sultan Selim Han with the butcher" (28v). The text begins with the line "When Selim became the shah of the Ottomans, he inherited from his father the kingdom of the world." Here Selim I is intended since Süleyman was mentioned as the reigning sultan earlier. According to the story, one morning Selim decides to go out incognito into town to dispense justice in order to see who is wicked and tyrannical, and who is just and fair. He comes across a butcher shop which looks quite bloody, since a lot of meat is cut to be sold. Selim gives one *dirham* to one of his companions to go and buy meat from this butcher. The butcher tells the companion that the money is too little and it is not even worth his effort to cut a suitable size of meat. He also asks him not to crowd the area if he cannot afford to buy. The disguised companion says that he is a stranger here and that is all he has. He tells the butcher that God would bless him if he could help out. But the butcher does not change his attitude and asks him to leave. Sultan Selim observing this from a distance decides to visit another store. Here Selim again sends his companion with one *dirham* while he observes the events from a distance. The second butcher accepts the money and gives him more meat than the money's worth. He even adds another piece. Selim seeing this becomes very happy and to test the butcher a second time, he sends his other companion, again with only one *dirham*. Just like the first time the butcher acts kindly, gives meat and even adds another piece. At the end Selim becomes very satisfied and rewards the kind butcher with money but decides to send his executioner to kill the first butcher. The mean butcher regrets not having been kinder but it is too late for him. The moral of the story is that one should be generous especially to those who are in need of help because regretting one's sins later may not save one in the end.

The miniature on 29r (Fig. 7) shows the moment when Selim's companion shown in elite Ottoman clothes and wearing a four-pointed red hat[7] hands the coin to the first butcher. The butcher is portrayed as a rich merchant expecting to sell all the meat from the slaughtered animals hanging from the hooks. He carries two knives and a valuable dagger tucked into his waist. There are also gold coins depicted around the scale to indicate his richness. Selim is shown watching the events behind the fountain with his other companion who is wearing a similar hat as the first one. The disguised Selim is shown with a white turban and plain clothes. As it was customary for Ottoman sultans to go incognito to inspect the merchants in the bazaar, the story may very well relate to Süleyman who especially wanted to portray himself as a just ruler. The specific details of clothing and headgear as well as the fountain with a pointed arch in the miniature suggest that the scene took place in an Ottoman town like Istanbul.

Sections on "The virtues of speech" (31r), "The tale of the old man learning the alphabet with children at school", and "The virtues of seeking" (33v) are followed by, "The tale of the fox and the birds" (37r).[8] The story begins with a fox in his lair being very hungry. He then goes out and near a village sees some rags and old torn clothes that obviously belonged to a Sufi dervish. The fox puts the clothes on and starts walking. A rooster, which sits on a roof, sees him and asks him what is going on and why he is wearing these things and even holding a rosary. Suspecting that the fox has stolen the clothes, the rooster says that he is about to call the village dogs. But the fox tells the rooster that he is mistaken and that this cloak has been handed down to him through a series of holy men. The fox claims that he is now a Sufi leader

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[7] Prince Selim is shown with a courtier, a falconer, wearing a similar four-pointed red hat in one of Nigari's depictions dated around 1561-62 (Necipoğlu, 2000: 31, 226). Similar hats are worn by people in two miniatures in the *Sulaymānnāma*, 18b Accession ceremonies lower left; 576r Süleyman hunting with Selim in Aleppo (Atıl, 1986: 92, 220).

[8] Following sections are "The Virtue of service", "The tale of the old man eating a little with a young man who ate a lot", and "The tale of Sultan Maḥmūd with Ayāz Ḫaṣ".

and is now leading a caravan to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and that the rooster should follow too. The bird falls for his lie and goes with him. Next, they run into a stork, a quail, and then a hoopoe and the same thing repeats itself. All the birds believe that the fox is a Sufi dervish and they follow him to be part of the caravan going to Mecca. The fox tells the birds that because there are road robbers they should hide in a cave until the road is safe again and the caravan comes. In fact this is the fox's own lair so when the birds obey him and go inside the cave, the fox eats the three birds. The hoopoe manages to escape and comes out of the lair. There happens to be two hunters who are unaware of the fox's lair. When the hoopoe calls, the unsuspecting fox comes out and the hunters kill him. The hoopoe goes on didactically about how the fox was bad and got his punishment. In the text Hoopoe is mentioned as Sulayman's (Solomon) bird and there are also references to the sleepers of the cave and their dog. Again the story is clearly an allegory about matters of Sufism.

In the miniature on 41r the fox is joined by the rooster, quail, and the stork (Fig. 8). The hoopoe is shown on the tree branch while the fox is trying to convince him. The fox, depicted with an erect phallus, wears a red hat and torn clothes. In the background behind the hills and among green fields in a distance is a Christian European town distinctive with a bell tower of a church and gabled roofs of houses.[9] Around the town on the left, a farmer wearing a red hat and tucked-in pants plows the fields with his oxen. On the right, a shepherd also wearing a hat is shown playing the flute while his goats graze. One of them even climbs onto a tree to eat its fresh leaves. Possibly a dog accompanies the shepherd.

In the earlier part of the 16th century depictions of landscape had already entered the repertoire of Ottoman miniatures with a different appearance compared to their Persian counterparts (Yoltar 2002, 544-547). During the reign of Süleyman we see that this taste continued and flourished, and is especially evident in a group of miniatures in the *Sulaymānnāma* as well as the *Anbiyānāma* and the *Futuḥāt-i Jamīla*. Possibly of Hungarian or Eastern European origin, the artist of these miniatures, noted as artist A in Atıl's study of the *Sulaymānnāma*, was most likely the artist of all three illustrations of the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* (Atıl 1986, 66-70 and Bağcı and others 2006, 108).

The background details in the last miniature of the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* recall specifically the landscapes in late medieval and early renaissance depictions of the labors of the months.[10] Thus the scene could be easily understood as the work of an artist who was simply trained in or very familiar with the European traditions and wanted to include such background details to the main scene. However one is tempted to make further interpretations. The hoopoe, the Prophet Solomon's bird, naturally associates Sulayman with Sultan Süleyman.[11] The fox who is represented in the story as a deceitful figure is shown with an erect phallus. Right above him there is also the herd of goats. Goats are generally known for their rigorous eating habits. In the arts of the ancient world as well as the renaissance, the lower body of a goat was incorporated into the iconography of the ancient God Pan and satyrs who are also associated with lust. Is it possible that the fox represents Christian Europe in the miniature? Could this scene show how the hoopoe stopped the deceitful fox and, as a second visual layer, suggest that Sultan Süleyman was able to stop the deceitful and lustful Europe in a similar way?

One detail however either refutes this suggestion or merits further explanation. The fox's red hat with tufts is identical in shape and color to those worn by certain people in two paintings in the *Sulaymānnāma* possibly painted by the same artist of the *Rawża al-'Uššāq*

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[9] Similar towns are shown in the *Sulaymānnāma*, most likely depicted by the same artist (Atıl 1986: 113, 166, 210).

[10] They were commonly included in the illuminated manuscripts of the *Book of Hours* in the 15th and 16th centuries. The one prepared for the French prince Duc de Berry is the most celebrated manuscript with such depictions (Thomas 1971).

[11] In the *Anbiyānāma* the same bird is shown above the Prophet Sulayman (Bağcı and others, 2006: 98).

(18r Accession ceremonies, 56r execution of Gazali's envoy) (Atıl 1986: 92,100). In the second painting it is clear that executioners in the Cairo palace wear them in 1520. The shape is closest to the headgear known as *zamt* worn by Mamluq Circassians (Mayer 1952: 32-33). Although initially it was reserved for certain high ranked officers it eventually came to be worn by any Mamluq soldier (Fuess 82: fig. 12-13). It is likely that they continued to be worn in Ottoman times as the paintings in the *Sulaymānnāma* suggest, despite efforts to abolish them. Thus it is not clear why the fox is depicted wearing this red hat tied with a long sash around it. Either dervishes were wearing similar hats or the artist has tried to associate the fox with the region of Egypt. Further studies may reveal this ambiguous point.

Eryılmaz suggests that artist A has executed several compositions with layered meanings in the *Anbiyānāma* and the *Sulaymānnāma* in association with Süleyman (Eryılmaz 2010: 189-206). His attention to detail, composition, and color application combined with layered messages in his paintings also apparent in the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* make him one of the most successful artists who combined the Ottoman and European traditions in illustrated manuscripts produced for the Ottoman court. 'Ārif appears to have worked well with this painter in several projects that were completed in a period of time before 1558. Similarities of the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* with the *Futuḥāt-i Jamīla* (in calligraphy, illumination, and illustrations), and the *Waqāyi'-i Sulṭān Bāyezid ma' Salim Ḫān* (in calligraphy, page appearance, length and size) further suggests that the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* was produced not long before 1558. It has been suggested that the *Futuḥāt-i Jamīla* and the *Rawża al-'Uššāq* were smaller preparatory or trial works for the team of 'Ārif before they were assigned to large projects (Bağcı and others 2006: 106-108).[12] However it is probably not necessary to have two trial manuscripts in such perfect finished states.

The *Rawża al-'Uššāq* is a literary text on Sufi matters and compared to the *Šāhnāma-i Āl-i 'Oṯmān* it is natural that it was produced as a less flamboyant manuscript, smaller in length and size, and with fewer political overtones. Yet it is obvious from the text that it was meant for Süleyman and the miniatures can be interpreted to further emphasize the relationship between the idealized just ruler and Süleyman himself. I would advocate that such a work would be a perfect gift from the author Ārif towards the end of his career with contributions from skilled artists in his team.

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[12] Others have suggested that *Futuḥāt-i Jamīla* was sponsored by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha to be presented as a gift to Süleyman. See Yoltar-Yıldırım 2004: 412 and Fetvacı 2013: 104-108.

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Turkish Abstract

Sultan Süleyman döneminde Ārifi olarak da bilinen saray şehnamecisi Ārif tarafından Farsça olarak kaleme alınmış *Rawża al-'Uššāq* (*Aşıkların Bahçesi*) günümüze resimli ve tezhipli bir elyazması şeklinde ulaşmıştır. Eser Ārif'e ait diğer yazmalar arasında oldukça az bilinir. Peygambere ve Sultan Süleyman'a övgüler ile başlayan metin tasavvuf vurgulu kısa hikayeler ile devam eder. Metnin bazı hikayeleri ile ilişkilendirilmiş olan üç resim hem görsel olarak çok zengindir hem de ikonografik açıdan ilginç detaylarla pekiştirilmiştir. Resimlerin üslubu yazarın diğer bir eseri olan *Süleymanname*'yi hazırlayan usta sanatçılardan birinin üslubu ile tıpatıp benzerlik göstermektedir. Ressam Avrupa resim üslubunu ve konu dünyasını Osmalı dünyasına özgü detaylarla harmanlamıştır. Yazarın diğer tezhipli ve resimli olarak hazırlanmış kitaplarını değerlendirdiğimizde *Rawża al-'Uššāq'ın* 1558 yılı civarında, adil bir hükümdar vurgusu ile Sultan Süleyman'a sunulmak üzere hazırlandığını söyleyebiliriz.

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Ayşin Yoltar-Yıldırım received her BA from Hacettepe University, MA and PhD from New York University. In addition to teaching at several universities in Turkey and the US, she held curatorial positions at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harvard Art Museums. She currently works as an Associate Curator of Islamic Art at the Brooklyn Museum in New York.

Fig. 1 – Binding, outside, *Rawża al-'Uššāq,*
Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum,1985.216 (© President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Fig. 2 – Binding, inside, *Rawża al-'Uššāq,*
Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum,1985.216 (© President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Fig.3 – Illuminated page, *Rawża al-'Uššāq,* Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum,1985.216
(Courtesy of Harvard Art Museums)

Fig. 4 – Illuminated heading, *Futuḥāt-i Jamīla,* Topkapı Palace Library, H.1592.
(Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Library)

Fig. 5 – Illuminated page, *Waqāyi'-i Sulṭān Bāyezid ma' Salim Ḫān*, Topkapı Palace Library, R. 1540 mük.
(Courtesy of the Topkapı Palace Library)
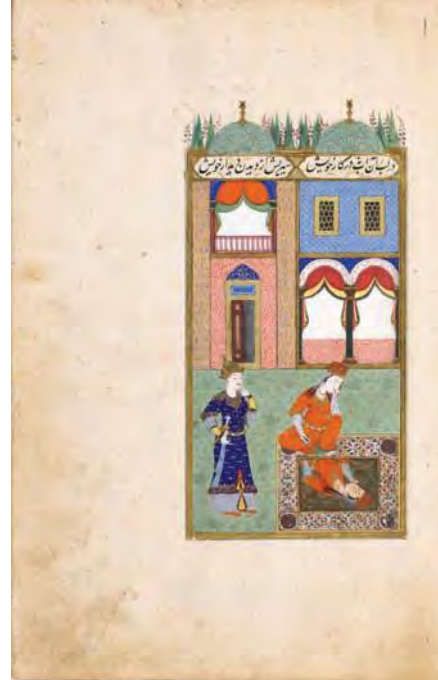
Fig. 6 – Fol 23r, *Rawża al-'Uššāq,* Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum,1985.216.
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Fig. 7 – Fol. 29r, *Rawża al-'Uššāq,* Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum,1985.216
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Fig. 8 – Fol. 41r, *Rawża al-ʿUššāq,* Harvard Art Museums/ Arthur M. Sackler Museum,1985.216
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