

The City's Pleasures:
Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul

by

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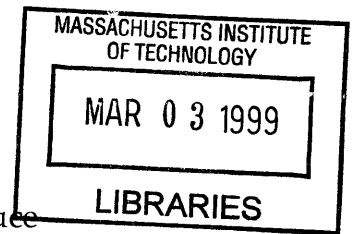
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ABSTRACT

The definitive return of the Ottoman court to the capital city Istanbul in 1703 ushered in nearly a century of extraordinary building activity and urban change, in the process of which a new architectural idiom was defined. This dissertation examines the parameters of Ottoman architectural sensibility in the eighteenth century, starting at this pivotal moment and ending with the first European commissions in the 1790s. It draws principally on contemporary court poetry, and a wide array of Ottoman and European literary and visual sources, and architectural evidence.

It departs from current interpretations, which view European influence as the chief impetus of architectural change in this period. Instead, I contend that this was a time when social transformations in the making since the late sixteenth century were enacted in the city's fabric through the tastes, aspirations, and recreational practices of the urban society. The continuous dynamic between these manifestations and the state's efforts to reassert its visible presence in the capital was central to the formation of a new urban and architectural landscape. This is highlighted in the first part, which explores the development of the suburban waterfront, the spatial and structural transformations of residences, the formal evolution of private gardens, the proliferation and unprecedented magnificence of public fountains, and the phenomenal expansion of public spaces.

The second part focuses on the role of urban sensibilities in shaping a broader cultural horizon of expectations. Through an investigation of the age-old relation between garden and poetry in this period, I show that garden and poetic canon followed a parallel trajectory of "urbanization," symptomatic of a changing environment that accommodated a diverse range of social milieus and sensibilities. Drawing on the flourishing genre of rhymed architectural chronograms, I argue that this hybrid constellation of sensibilities informed the architectural vocabulary of eighteenth-century Istanbul. In Ottoman perception, beauty was measured against the sensuous pleasures derived from the visual and sensory experience of architecture. Brilliance, ornamental virtuosity, mimesis, and novelty, constituted the main parameters of appreciation. They mirrored a flamboyant and immensely hybrid visual idiom, tuned to the sensibilities of a broad and diverse public.

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*Sād hezārān nūkteli manzūme üzre bu şoñ tārīhle
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85 Bath scene from a 1599 illustrated album of *Menākib-i Sevābik*. Reproduced from And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 75.

86a-b Boat rides, from an eighteenth-century codex. Codice in folio, piccolo, cartaceo del secolo XVIII, MS. Cicogna, Museo Correr, Venice. Reproduced from *İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ve Venedik Correr Müzesi Koleksiyonlarından Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri*, Istanbul, 1995, pp. 286-7, pls. 203, 204.

87 Bath scene. From Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, *Hübānnāme ve Zenānnāme*, MS. İÜK, Ty 5502, fol 145.

88 Bath scene by ‘Abdullāh Buḥārī, dated 1741-42. TSMK, Y.Y. 1043. Reproduced from *Women in Anatolia*, Exh. Cat., Istanbul, 1993, p. 215.

89 Garden scene at Sa‘dabad. From Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, *Hübānnāme ve Zenānnāme*, MS. İÜK, Ty 5502, fol 78.

90 Garden scene from the *Ḥamse-i ‘Atā’i*. MS. Walters Art Gallery, W. 666, fol 138a. Reproduced from Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 39 (1981), p. 22.

91 Detail from a sixteenth-century panoramic view of Istanbul by Melchior Lorichs. Reproduced from Eldem, *İstanbul Anıları / Reminiscences of Istanbul*, Istanbul, 1979, pp. 56-7, pl. 35.

92 Eighteenth-century panoramic view of Istanbul by Préault. From Pertusier, *Atlas des promenades pittoresques...*, Paris, 1817. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, pp. 38-39, fig. 4.

93 Early nineteenth century view of the Göksu promenade by Bartlett. From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1838.

94 View of the imperial palace of Sa‘dabad and the garden of Kağıthane, by l'Espinasse. From d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris, 1788-1824. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 111, fig. 97.

95 Outdoor recreation at Kağıthane. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.

96 Recreation scene at the fountain of Nevşehirli İbrāhīm Paşa at Şehzāde (1719). From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1838, p. 79.

97 Interior of a coffeehouse in the square of Tophane, by Melling. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 26.

98 "The Great Bazar" by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.

- 99 Three panels from an interior mural in a French residence by Christophe Huet, entitled "La boisson chaude;" "La boisson froide;" and "Le repas froid." Reproduced from Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1989, p. 142.
- 100 Street scene by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.
- 101 Story-teller (*meddāh*), by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.
- 102 Garden scene from the mid-seventeenth century. TSMK, H. 2133-34, fol. 20. Reproduced from Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés. II^e partie: de Murād IV à Muṣṭafā III 1623-1773*, Paris, 1971, p. V.
- 103 Garden scene from the mid-seventeenth century. TSMK, H. 2165, fol. 49v. Reproduced from Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés. II^e partie: de Murād IV à Muṣṭafā III 1623-1773*, Paris, 1971, p. XXIX.
- 104 "Four Bostanji" (identified, ca. 1400-1450). From the Harvard University Art Museum Collection.
- 105 Miniature illustration showing a couple caught in a waterfront garden. From an album of calligraphy and miniatures produced for Sultan Ahmed I (1603-18). Reproduced from *Women in Anatolia*, Exh. Cat., Istanbul, 1993, p. 209.
- 106 Mosque of Emirgan, showing the original wooden building of ʿAbdülhamid I.
- 107 The garden, coffeehouse enclosure, and fountain of Emirgan, by W. H. Bartlett after an engraving by J. Cousen. From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1836-37, pl. 60.
- 108 Aḥmed III's "shore mosque" in Bebek (1725-26).
- 109 Recreation scene in the garden of Kağıthane by W. H. Bartlett. From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1836-37, pl. 60.
- 110 Recreation scene in the garden of Kağıthane, by Fuhrman (?). From Raczynski, *Malerischer Reise in Einigen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reichs*, Breslau, 1824. Reproduced from Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, Istanbul, 1981, p. 38.
- 111 Sketch of Saʿdabad by Gudenus (ca. 1741), showing the garden enclosure. Reproduced from Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, Istanbul, 1977, pp. 16-7.
- 112 Detail of an engraving of Saʿdabad by l'Espinasse, showing the brick and trellis enclosures. From d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris, 1788. Reproduced from *İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ve Venedik Correr Müzesi Koleksiyonlarından Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri*, Istanbul, 1995, pl. 48.

- 113 Miniature illustration of the garden of Sa'dabad at Kağıthane. From Fāzıl Bey Enderūnî, *Zenānnāme*, MS. British Library, Or. 7094, fol 7a. Reproduced from Müller-Wiener, "Haus - Garten - Bad," in *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, 1985, vol. 1, p. 140, fig. 44.
- 114 Vignette of a neighborhood fountain. From Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuller Hof- und Volksleben*, Osnabrück, 1978, pl. 4.
- 115 Neighborhood fountain scene by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.
- 116 View of the square and fountain of Üsküdar (1729) by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.
- 117 View of the garden and fountain of Küçüksu (1809) by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.
- 118 View of the fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane (1732). From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 22.
- 119 View of the *meydān* fountain of İshāk Ağa in Beykoz (1746).
- 120 View of the fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane by Préault. From Pertusier, *Atlas des promenades pittoresques...*, Paris, 1817. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 181, fig. 169.
- 121 View of the fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane by Fuhrman. From Raczynski, *Malerischer Reise in Einigen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reichs*, Breslau, 1824, pl. 27. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 182, fig. 170.
- 122 View of the fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane by Bartlett. From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1836-37.
- 123 View of the fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.
- 124 Interior mural in the *yalı* of Sa'dullah Paşa in Çengelköy, showing a garden surrounded by a low wall. From Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends," in Pınar, ed., *A History of Turkish Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 76, pl. 70.
- 125 Plan of the eighteenth-century *yalı* of Hadi Bey at Kandilli. From Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, I: 290.
- 126 Eighteenth-century miniature illustration of a garden enclosure. From a *Mecmū'a-i Tevāriḥ* compiled under the grand-vizierate of Hekimoğlu 'Alî Paşa. MS., IÜK, Ty 2962, fol 1.

- 127 Nineteenth-century mural in the Harem section of the Topkapı Palace, showing a garden wall with painted cartouches of single trees in pots. From Renda, *Batılulaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700-1850*, Ankara, 1977, p. 87, fig. 54.
- 128 Miniature illustration of the Bosphorus. From *Hamse-i 'Atā'i*, MS. Walters Art Gallery, W. 666, fol 10a. Reproduced from Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 39 (1981), p. 25.
- 129 Miniature illustrating the Bosphorus shore, ca. 1728. From *Hamse-i 'Atā'i*, MS. British Library, 13882, fols 68b-69a. Reproduced from *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, 1985, vol. 2, p. 75, fig. I/40.
- 130 Vignette of the Venetian embassy, showing wooden garden fence. From Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuller Hof- und Volksleben*, Osnabrück, 1978, pl. 48.
- 131 Watercolor by Löwenhielm of the late eighteenth century, showing the artist's residence and garden surrounded by a low, see-through trellis fence. From *Cornucopia*, no. 6, vol. 1 (1994), p. 14.
- 132 Plan of the sixteenth-century Karabāli garden by Schweigger. From Schweigger, *Eine neue Reyssbeschreibung*, Graz, 1964. Reproduced from Necipoglu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul," in Petruccioli, ed., *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, Leiden, 1997, p. 53.
- 133 Miniature illustration of a garden scene (1720s). From the private collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan. Reproduced from Canby, *Princes, Poets, Paladins: Islamic and Indian Paintings from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan*, p. 102.
- 134 Scene of a private garden (ca. 1728) illustrating the adventures of an exhibitionist. From *Hamse- Atā'i*, MS. Walters Art Gallery, W. 666, fol 91a. Reproduced from Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 39 (1981), p. 28.
- 135 Early nineteenth-century view from a boat of the shore of Yeniköy, by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. 1, London, 1838.
- 136 View from the Bosphorus of the kiosk of Bebek, by Jouannin (?). From Jouannin and Van, *Turquie*, Paris, 1840, pl. 45. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 122, fig. 109.
- 137 View of the shore of Bebek by Allom, showing the public quay bordering a row of *yalıs*. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. 1, London, 1838.
- 138 Reconstruction plan of the *yalı* of Mustafa Bey in Kuruçeşme, showing the boat house and access to the water to the right. From Eldem, *Boğaziçi Anıları*, Istanbul, 1979, pp. 78-9.

- 139 Early nineteenth-century view of Sa'dabad by Pr eault, showing the dragon-head fountain in the central pool. From Pertusier, *Atlas des promenades pittoresques...*, Paris, 1817. Reproduced from Arslan, *Grav ur ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 114, fig. 101.
- 140 Princely garden entertainment scene (ca. 1520). From an illustrated copy of *Div n-ı J m *, MS., TSMK, H. 987, fol 2a. Reproduced from Atıl, *The Age of Sultan S leyman the Magnificent*, New York, 1987, p. 74, fig. 31.
- 141 Princely garden entertainment scene from the first half of the sixteenth century. From an illustrated copy of the *div n* of  Ali Őir Nev 'i, MS., TSMK, H. 804. Reproduced from And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 33.
- 142a Women napping in a garden by Levn  (1720s). TSMK, H. 2164. Reproduced from Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'apr s les manuscrits illustr s. IIme partie: de Mur d IV   MuŐtaf  III 1623-1773*, Paris, 1971, p. LXXXII.
- 142b Adolescent napping in a garden after a drink, by Levn  (1720s). Reproduced from Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'apr s les manuscrits illustr s. IIme partie: de Mur d IV   MuŐtaf  III 1623-1773*, Paris, 1971, p. LXXXII.
- 143 Women gathering in a garden; school of Levn  (ca. 1730). Reproduced from Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art*, Geneva, 1972, III: 21.
- 144 Lovers in a garden pavilion (1720s). From an illustrated copy of the *Hamse-i  At 'i*. Reproduced from And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 92.
- 145 Women gathering in a garden. Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis Oriental Miniatures T. 9. Reproduced from Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends," in Pınar, ed., *A History of Turkish Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 65, pl. 59.
- 146 Fountain / *nam zg h* of the late eighteenth century ( Abd lham d I?) along the shore of Beylerbeyi.
- 147 Vignette illustrating archers practicing at the square / *nam zg h* of Okmeydanı. From Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuller Hof- und Volksleben*, Osnabr ck, 1978, pl. 13.
- 148 *Meydan* fountain / *nam zg h* of Esm  Sult n at Kadırga (1781).
- 149 Fountain / *nam zg h* of İŐh k AŐa in Beykoz (1749).
- 150a-b Sketches of the new veil imposed on janissary novices in the seventeenth century. From KoŐu, *T rk Giyim KuŐam ve S slenme S zl Ő *, Istanbul, 1969, pp. 56-57.
- 151a-c Miniatures by Levni showing women's outdoor clothing styles in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. From MS., TSMK, H. 2164, fols 15a, 12b, 15b. Reproduced from *Women in Anatolia*, Exh. Cat., Istanbul, 1993, pp. 266-7.

- 152 Single figure by Buḥārī (ca. 1720-25). From TSMK, Y.Y. 1042. Reproduced from *Women in Anatolia*, Exh. Cat., Istanbul, 1993, p. 269.
- 153 Woman of Istanbul towards the end of the eighteenth century. From Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, *Hübānnāme ve Zenānnāme*, MS. İÜK, Ty 5502, fol 110.
- 154 Folio from the section on pavilions in an eighteenth-century *Mecmū'a-ı Tevāriḥ*. MS., İÜK, Ty 2508, fol 36.
- 155 The Baghdad Kiosk of Murād IV at the Topkapı Palace. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 191, fig. 108.
- 156 Interior of the Baghdad Kiosk at the Topkapı Palace. From Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar I*: 306. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 193, fig. 109.
- 157 The Revan Kiosk, terrace and pool of Murād IV at the Topkapı Palace. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 190, fig. 107.
- 158 Detail of a carved "double-rose" from the fountain of Bereketzāde in Galata (1732).
- 159 Landscape frieze and flower-in-vase motif in cartouche in the Şemaki residence in Yenişehir, from the second half of the eighteenth century. From Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, 1973, p. 728, fig. 16.
- 160 Late eighteenth-century mural painting in the room of Mihrişāh Vālide Sultan at the Topkapı Palace. From Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, 1973, p. 723, fig. 5.
- 161 Landscape painting in the Pavlidis *yalı* in Çengelköy, from the second half of the eighteenth century. From Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, 1973, p. 723, fig. 6.
- 162 Tile panel on the exterior wall of the Circumcision Room at the Topkapı Palace. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 196, fig. 113.
- 163 Detail of dado in low-relief carving technique at the Taj Mahal in Agra (1631-47). From W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illuminated Tomb. An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Mughal and European Documentary Sources*, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, p. 95, figs. 30-31.
- 164 Mughal single flower illustration (ca. 1650). Reproduced from Pal, *Court Paintings of India, 16th-19th Centuries*, New York, 1983, p. 196.

165 Mughal fauna and flora study (ca. 1650), possibly inspired from a Dutch illustration. Reproduced from Falk and Digby, *Paintings from Mughal India* (Exh. Cat.), London, n.d., p. 77, pl. 36.

166a-b Single flower illustrations (1727-28). From an anthology of *ğazel* by Derviş Muştafa b. el-Hāc Mehmed. MS., İÜK, Ty 5650. Reproduced from Demiriz, *Osmanlı Kitap Sanatında Natüralist Üslupta Çiçekler*, Istanbul 1986, p. 313.

167 Detail of an engraving after a drawing by Mellling, of the palace of Hâtice Sultân in Defterdar Burnu in the late eighteenth century, showing garden kiosk. From Mellling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 27.

168 Nurosmaniye mosque (1749-55). From Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London, 1971, p. 383, fig. 397.

169 Detail from the Nurosmaniye mosque. From Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London, 1971, p. 384, fig. 398.

170 Nurosmaniye *sebil* (1755). From Şerifoğlu, *Su Güzeli: İstanbul Sebilleri*, Istanbul, 1995, p. 68.

171 View of the *Chaharbagh* of ʿAbbās I in Isfahan. From Chardin, *Voyage en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1711. Reproduced from Ferrier, *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's Portrait of a Seventeenth-century Empire*, p. 61, fig. 15.

172a-b Views of the *Chaharbagh* of ʿAbbās I in Isfahan. From Cornelius de Bryn, *Cornelis de Bruins reizen over Moscovie door Persie en Indie*, Amsterdam, 1711. Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 335, fig. 12 a-b.

173 Shāh ʿAbbās I's *Chehel Sutūn* in Isfahan. From Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*, New York, 1975, p. 170, fig. 319.

174 *Saʿādetābād* in Isfahan. From Chardin, *Voyage en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1711. Reproduced from Ferrier, *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's Portrait of a Seventeenth-century Empire*, p. 148, fig. 25.

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Terms in Ottoman Turkish rendered in the Arabic script have been transliterated according to the system adopted by the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, with the exception of the letter *kef*, which is shown as *ğ* when it appears as a soft consonant in the middle of the word, as in *diğer*. Modern Turkish orthography is used for place names still in currency today, and for titles of rank often mentioned, such as *paşa* or *ağa*. Words that appear in English dictionaries, such as *sultan*, are anglicized, unless they are part of a name, as in *Esmā Sultān*. Passages quoted from transliterated or transcribed editions of Ottoman texts in the Arabic script are kept unaltered. In passages quoted from poetry, diacritical marks do not indicate the meter. They are only used, as in all direct quotations, to mark the long vowels in words of Arabic and Persian origin. Terms in Arabic that appear in excerpts quoted from Arabic poetry, or in etymological explanations of Ottoman terms, follow the transliteration system adopted by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.

Phonetics are, of course, of considerable importance in poetry. Though there are currently no established guidelines for eighteenth-century Ottoman Turkish phonetics, for the sake of consistency, and because this study includes a large number of direct quotations from poetry, the following principles are applied to all quotations, from Ottoman poetry and prose rendered in the Arabic script: when a hard consonant appears following a soft consonant or at the end of a word, it is substituted for its soft equivalent, as in *ettiği* vs. *etdiği*, *alıp* vs. *alıb/alub*; *elif-ye* at the beginning of a word is transcribed as *e*, as in *etme* vs. *itme*, and the letter *u/ü* in the verbal suffix *-Ip*, as *i/i*; vowel harmony is applied to all verbs, as in *oldu* vs. *oldi*.

INTRODUCTION

1. OVERVIEW: DEFINING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The subject of this study is the formation of a new architectural sensibility in Istanbul at a pivotal moment in its urban history, which began with the definitive return of the Ottoman court to the capital city in 1703. This event ushered in one of the most radical urban transformations of the city in its history, and a period of extraordinary building, repair, and restoration activities, in the process of which a new architectural vocabulary was defined. It also marked the end of nearly half a century of uninterrupted war campaigns (principally against the Habsburg empire), during which the sultan and his retinue resided mainly in Edirne, away from the capital city.

The return of the Ottoman court to Istanbul was the concluding episode of a bloody military uprising, known as the "Edirne incident," which had occurred in the month of August of the same year (1703) and led, ultimately, to the forced abdication of the reigning sultan, Muṣṭafa II (1695-1703), in favor of his brother Aḥmed III (1703-1730).¹ While this event was provoked by the military's frustration about long arrears of pay, and precipitated by some dissent in the higher central administration, discontent was already brewing in the last two decades of the seventeenth century over the empire's recent military defeats and territorial losses. Most notable of these were the disastrous failure of the 1683 Vienna campaign, further military misfortunes in 1687 (which ended in the

¹ For the Edirne incident and the events which precipitated it, including the role of the ravenous *seyhülislām* Feyzullah Efendi see, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV / 1: 15-46; Abou el-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics*; Mantran, "L'état ottoman au XVIIIe siècle," pp. 267-73; Kurat and Bromley, "The Retreat of the Turks, 1683-1730," pp. 178-201; Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699," pp. 428-30.

dethronement of Mehmed IV), an unexpected Russian threat in 1697, and considerable territorial concessions to the Habsburg empire, Venice, and Poland in the first Ottoman-European peace treaty which took place in Karlowitz in 1699. This climate was no doubt exacerbated by the epidemics, natural catastrophes, and soaring food prices which had hit the capital city at various times throughout the seventeenth century.²

If considered from a military / political viewpoint, the events of 1703 were but one of several episodes of unrest, rebellions, and dethronements which marked the seventeenth century and continued into the first half of the eighteenth, most notably, with the 1730 Patrona Hâlil revolt, which led to the dethronement of Ahmed III and the execution of his last grand-vizier, Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa.³ From this perspective, the eighteenth century would more significantly begin with the empire's failed siege of Vienna (1683) or with the Karlowitz peace treaty (1699), as these events signaled an important change in Ottoman-European relations: the beginning of Ottoman military retreat, and a new diplomatic

² For an overview of the military and diplomatic events, and other internal problems in Istanbul in the second part of the seventeenth century, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV / 1: 1-95; Abou el-Haj, "Ottoman Attitudes Towards Peace Making: The Karlowitz Case," pp. 131-37; Kurat and Bromley, "The Retreat of the Turks, 1683-1730," pp. 157-219; Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, pp. 24-36; Faroqhi, *Coping with the State: Political Conflict and Crime in the Ottoman Empire 1550-1720*; idem., "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699," pp. 413-31, 441-42.

³ Osmân II (1618-1622), İbrâhîm (1640-1648), and Mehmed IV (1648-1687) were all dethroned, the first two subsequently executed. In the most comprehensive list of rebellions and revolts of the seventeenth century, Kafadar provides the following dates: 1589, 1600, 1603, 1622, 1632, 1648, 1651, 1655, 1656, 1687, Kafadar, "Janissaries and Other Riffraff" (unpub. paper), p. 17; see also idem., "Yeniçeri - Esnaf Relations: Solidarity and Conflict," pp. 86-119. For the Patrona Hâlil revolt and the rebellion of 1740 see, Aktepe, *Patrona Halil İsyanı (1730)*, pp. 71-152; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV / 1: 204-17; Olson, "The Esnaf and the Patrona Halil Rebellion of 1730: A Realignment in Ottoman Politics," pp. 329-44; idem., "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul: Social Upheaval and Political Realignment in the Ottoman Empire," pp. 185-207.

attitude with Europe, respectively. As another major peace treaty with the Habsburg empire (Passarowitz) was signed in 1718, new economic concessions were granted to various European powers, and Ottoman diplomatic missions in various European capitals intensified.⁴ The Ottomans' broader opening towards Europe was also manifested in some of the spotty reforms which took place in the course of the eighteenth century, notably in certain sectors of the military, the navy, and the educational curriculum, for which European experts and advisers (such as the Comte de Bonneval and the Baron de Tott) were brought to the Ottoman capital, particularly in the second half of the century. These factors, and others such as the numerous translations of European works in the fields of geography, science and technology, and their publication in the new Ottoman printing press of İbrâhîm Müteferrika, launched in 1720, have largely contributed to modern historians' emphasis on the "secular" inclinations and the westernizing trends of the eighteenth century.⁵ This is particularly the case in the scholarship on architectural history, in which the conceptual framework of the eighteenth century is rooted in the Ottoman-European diplomatic rapprochement, and architectural change is delineated primarily against the

⁴ The first special diplomatic mission to Europe dated back to the middle of the seventeenth century, with the embassy of Kara Mehmed Paşa in Vienna. For a survey of eighteenth-century Ottoman diplomatic missions, and the reports and travels accounts of diplomatic envoys, see Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*. For eighteenth-century Ottoman-European diplomacy see, Naff, "Reform and Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789-1807," 295-315; idem., "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations With Europe," pp. 88-107.

⁵ While this was the first press in the Ottoman language, printing presses in Armenian, Greek, and Hebrew had been established since the fifteenth century. For Ottoman printing presses see, Adnan-Adivar, *La Science chez les turcs ottomans*; Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*; Duverdier, "Savary de Brèves et Ibrahim Müteferrika: Deux drogmans culturels à l'origine de l'imprimerie turque," pp. 322-59; G. Kut, "Maṭbaʿa: 2. in Turkey," *EI2*, IV: 799-803. For eighteenth-century reforms see, Naff, "Reform and Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789-1807," pp. 295-315; Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, I: 228-77.

premise of an unprecedented Ottoman interest in (or in the emulation of) a European culture.

From a broader perspective, however, the year 1703 marked a turning point in the urban and architectural history of Istanbul. For the purpose of this study, the eighteenth century begins at this point. It ends with the first architectural commissions to European architects, in the 1790's, which marked the first signs of a departure from the peculiarly hybrid architectural idiom of the eighteenth century. What defines this period as a significant moment of historical inquiry is not simply the breadth and doggedness of nearly a century of building patronage. First, it is that this intense activity, mainly concentrated along the shores of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus channel, constituted the most radical expansion of the Ottoman capital city to date. Second, this period saw the dramatic evolution of certain building types, the formation of a new decorative idiom, and the phenomenal expansion of the city's outdoor public space. Third, and most importantly, this was a moment when gradually unfolding social transformations since the second half of the sixteenth century were distinctly manifested in the urban and the architectural landscape. The two most symptomatic expressions of this development were the expanding network of building patrons among previously underrepresented social groups; and the impact of new and flourishing practices of the middle/upper middle segments of the society on the transformation of the city's topography. In the largest sense, then, this period represents a process of crystallization of the urban society in the fabric of Istanbul. The significance of this process on the shaping of a new architectural, indeed cultural sensibility, constitutes the premises of this study, and the conceptual framework for its definition of the eighteenth century.

The social realities of eighteenth-century Istanbul, and the century and a half of social and administrative changes in which they were anchored, are vast subjects of inquiry which have recently come under careful scholarly scrutiny, but still constitute relatively knotty areas of historical investigation. In this regard, scholars have particularly highlighted the expanding political arena, the shifting professional boundaries, the rise in power (political and financial) of certain groups, and the increasing blending of social classes. They have identified, in other words, some of the processes of transformation of the "traditional" Ottoman social structure, by which each individual fit in his or her place according to a strict division between the tax-paying population and the ruling class, itself neatly divided into three sectors: the military, the learned elite and the bureaucracy.⁶ From the last quarter of the sixteenth century onward, this transformation was commonly construed by Ottoman intellectuals as a sign of the empire's decline.⁷

The "bureaucratization" of the empire is one of the most salient features of the eighteenth century to be addressed in recent scholarship.⁸ By the seventeenth

⁶ The military (*askerî*) was under the leadership of the grand-vizier, and the learned hierarchy or *ulema*, headed by the *şeyhülislâm*. The "men of the pen" (*çalemiyye*), those in charge of the daily scribal work, were divided between two sectors, the financial administration under the chief treasurer (*defterdâr*), and the central administration under the *reis ül-küttâb*.

⁷ For recent studies on the Ottoman "literature of decline," see for example, Wright's introduction in, Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Ottoman Statecraft, The Book of Counsel for Vezirs and Governors (Naşâ'ih ül-vüzera ve'l ümera) of Sarı Mehmed Paşa*, pp. 1-55; Fodor, "State and Society, Crisis and Reform, in the 15th-17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes," pp. 217-40; Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," 52-77; Lewis, *Islam in History: Ideas, Men and Events in the Middle East*, pp. 199-213; idem., "Some Reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire," pp. 111-27; for a revisionist interpretation of the "classical age" ideal in Ottoman consciousness see, Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymânîc Era," pp. 37-48; see also idem., "The Ottomans and Europe," pp. 613-15.

century already, top military posts, provincial governorships and grand-vizierships, which in the sixteenth century came out of *devşirme* recruits who pursued their training at the imperial palace,⁹ started to occasionally emerge out of the central administration bureaucracy. In the eighteenth century, the appearance of the professional bureaucrat, the "Efendi-turned-Pasha," in the higher echelons of the government, most markedly in grand-vizierial offices, became a commonplace.¹⁰ It is to the growing vigor of the bureaucracy that the "secular" and reform-mindedness which characterized the eighteenth century has been largely attributed.¹¹

Another aspect of the erosion of boundaries between traditionally distinct social groups was the gradual integration of members of the janissary corps into the urban social and professional fabric; a process, which like the growing bureaucratization of the empire, had its roots in the contraction of the *devşirme* system (whose recruits had traditionally filled the janissary ranks) since the mid-sixteenth century. The janissaries' growing practice of entering into trade and

⁸ See Itzkowitz, "Men and Ideas in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," pp. 15-26; idem., "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Realities," pp. 73-94; idem., "Mehmed Raghıb Pasha: The Making of an Ottoman Grand-Vezir," (unpub. diss.); Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700-1783*.

⁹ *Devşirme* was the system of levy of Christian boys from newly conquered territories. *Devşirme* boys' palace schooling led them into a career in the janissary corps, the palace service, or the Ottoman administration.

¹⁰ Certain administrative offices, such as that of the *reis ül-küttāb*, became increasingly important. In 1699, for the first time, the *reis* headed the peace negotiations at Karlowitz, a post previously entrusted to military commanders; by the eighteenth century, the *reis* was in charge of the empire's foreign affairs.

¹¹ See for example, Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace*; idem., "Ottoman Political Writing, 1768-1808," pp. 53-69; idem., "Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700-1783: The Making of an Early Ottoman Reformer" (unpub. diss.). It has been noted that the modern scholarship's emphasis on the reformist tendencies of the bureaucracy has tended to establish a false dichotomy between this group and the "anti-reformist," reactionary groups of the janissaries and the *ulema*; see, Kafadar, *Yeniçeri-Esnaf Relations: Solidarity and Conflict*."

artisanal professions (mainly outside the guild structure) was coupled with a reverse process of integration, whereby men from the urban society increasingly enrolled into the troops, contributing to the gradual blending of the corps into the tax-paying society.¹² The growing number of grandees' households operating on the model of the imperial palace exacerbated this process. By employing young and talented men in their households, they also often secured them careers in the imperial palace's service, the administration, or the janissary corps. This process gradually became a common career path and course of advancement; and by the eighteenth century, it had superseded the traditional *devşirme* path.¹³

Like these developments, the household or "household-office" phenomenon may have had its roots in the gradual erosion of *devşirme*, and testified to a social / professional constellation different from that of the sixteenth century. By the eighteenth century, most urban grandees (men in the top ranks of the religious institution, the military, and the central administration) had their own households. In many cases, especially among top rank military commanders and the learned elite, as well as merchants and palace officials (such as the chief eunuchs of the imperial Harem), the material wealth revealed in the size of an individual's household seemed incommensurate with his position and rank.¹⁴ This discrepancy, which was mirrored in the extraordinary building patronage of

¹² See, *ibid*; *idem.*, "Janissaries and Other Riffraff."

¹³ They could thus charge the state with household management costs. The practice of marrying these men into their own families, and the growing trend of intermarriages between households of different social groups, added yet another layer to the process of social / professional integration; see, Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, pp. 22, 27, 53-6; 90-1.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 25-65, 87-9, 94; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Post-Classical Age (1600-1800)*, p. 67.

certain members from the military, the navy, the bureaucracy, and palace officials, pointed to a far from monolithic ruling elite, in which different individuals or positions rose in (and fell from) power at different times.

The bearing of these developments on the general framework of this study is that they illustrate a far-reaching process of social *décloisonnement*:¹⁵ that is to say, an increasing permeability of social and professional boundaries, and a gradual erosion of signs of social distinction, since the latter half of the sixteenth century. It is from the same perspective of a *décloisonnement* that we can regard another, more nebulous development, which is particularly relevant to this topic, namely: the rising visibility of the Ottoman urban society of the "middling sort"¹⁶ -- the lesser elite, upper middle and middle segments of the society. From the mid-sixteenth century onward, their presence was manifested in the political arena, mainly through expressions of discontent with the current state of affairs, in frequent riots and rebellions. It was also attested in the emergence of new and continuously contested forms of public life, such as coffeehouse recreation,

¹⁵ I have borrowed this very evocative term from Faroqhi, who used it to describe not the actual permeability of social boundaries, but the broadening evidential horizon which has allowed recent scholars to revise earlier views of these boundaries as rigidly defined and impermeable; see, Faroqhi, "Crises and Change, 1590-1699," p. 605.

¹⁶ The current state of scholarship does not allow for a rigorous delineation of boundaries between different social groups or "classes," such as upper middle, middle, or popular. I use here an approximate definition of what Philippe Ariès called "les milieux intermédiaires" in the context of early medieval Europe, which he defines to include "la petite noblesse, (...) les notables moyens;" see Ariès, "Pour une histoire de la vie privée," p. 10. Its English translation by Goldhammer, "the middling sort," is defined as the "people who stood below the court but above the common folk;" see Ariès, "Introduction," in *A History of Private Life: Passions of the Renaissance*, p. 8. In this dissertation, the usage of this term with regards to specific cultural aspects such as patronage, for instance, closely reflects Ariès's definition. In pointing to the higher visibility of urban society in general, however, as in the context of public life and garden culture, this term more loosely accommodates the fuzzy boundaries between the "middle" and "popular" segments of Ottoman urban society.

throughout the seventeenth century.¹⁷ While such developments as the introduction of the coffeehouse in 1551 or the flourishing "street" art of shadow theater (*karagöz*) in the second half of the sixteenth century may be regarded as the first potent signs of a true urban culture,¹⁸ by the eighteenth century, the lifestyles, social rituals, and recreational practices of the middling society became fully etched in the urban fabric of the capital city, and reached a point of maturation in cultural expression.

A growing consciousness of the lives and traditions of the urban society was reflected in Ottoman visual and literary cultures. Public life in the city became a topos of court poetry and miniature illustrations: two cultural realms previously focused, for the most part, on the eventful life of the Ottoman court. Starting in the late seventeenth century, scenes of the everyday life of ordinary people, private and public, were recorded in paintings, in prose and poetry. Illustrations such as those contained in various copies of the *Ḥamse* of ‘Aṭāyī (1720s), or in the *Hübānnāme ve Zenānnāme* of Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī (1790s), writings such as the long poem "The Jewish Bride" or the novella "The Jewish Maiden Kera" by the prolific Armenian *littérateur* Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyān, Vāṣıf Enderūnī's *muḥammes* "The Mother's Advice and Counsel / The Pearl of a Girl's Most Dutiful Reply," and ‘Azīz Efendi's collection of short stories, *Muḥayyelāt*, all written between the end of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth, are a few examples of the visual and the literary production of a century which chose to dwell on

¹⁷ For reference, see for example, Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, p.106; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, pp. 135-44; idem., "The Kadızadeli: Discordant Revivalism in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," p. 257.

¹⁸ This was suggested by Kafadar and Tietze; see, Tietze, *The Turkish Shadow Theater and the Puppet Collection of the L.A. Mayer Memorial Foundation*, pp. 17-19; Kafadar, "Janissaries and Other Riffraff," pp. 10-13 .

aspects of the lives of the middle classes. In varying manners, they all brought to life details of their private and public lives, social networks, aspirations, struggles, and fantasies. What this keen consciousness of the universe of ordinary people reflected was a gradual infusion of urban sensibilities in the culture of the period. It replicated and perpetuated in "mainstream" sensibility, one might say, in the realms of literature, visual art, and architecture, the same process of *décloisonnement* which characterized the social landscape of Istanbul in this period.

2. THE LITERATURE ON EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN ARCHITECTURE AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT: MAJOR STUDIES AND DOMINANT PARADIGMS

Despite a recent upsurge in studies of eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture, this period (and the seventeenth century) still falls in a relatively dark hole between the better documented classical Ottoman period of the sixteenth century, and the "reformist, westernizing" trends of the nineteenth century. In his 1954 publication, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme*, and his 1955 article, "Influences de l'art européen sur l'architecture ottomane au XVIIIe siècle," Doğan Kuban was the first to draw scholarly attention to the architectural make-up of the eighteenth century -- a subject which only picked up in the 1970s. In his article "Boğaziçi," published in 1975, he was also the first to point to the extraordinary urban expansion of the capital city. Surprisingly, it is only recently that this important development was seriously addressed.

In this regard, I should first mention Tülay Artan's dissertation, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus." It is the first study to explore the transformation of the city's topography in the eighteenth century, through an exhaustive documentation on which I have frequently relied. It

examines, principally, the residential type of the *yalı* (waterfront residence) which flourished with the development of the suburban shores of the Bosphorus in this period. It is based mainly on the Ottoman tribunal documents (*şer'î sicilleri*) of 1700 to 1770. Its significance also lies in the broad social spectrum covered by its documentation of residences and palaces, and which supports the author's general contention that individuals from various social and economic backgrounds, including the imperial household, settled side by side along the Bosphorus shores. However, what this potentially implied vis-à-vis the cultural dynamics of these various groups is a question which Artan does not address. Despite her initial proposition to highlight the mutual exchange between "the monumental and non-monumental, the elite and the non-elite," her arguments clearly postulate a lack of such exchange, and rather, a process of unilateral transmission from the "elite" to the society at large. The development of the Bosphorus shore is thus explicated from the perspective of "two antithetical trends" which characterized the ruling elite: "an urge for movement and reform, and an inclination toward lethargy and pleasure."¹⁹

Though Artan's dissertation remains the only study of urban development in eighteenth-century Istanbul, I should note, in this regard, a few insightful (but unfortunately very sketchy) essays by Maurizio Cerasi. The most elaborate of these is a chapter titled "Lo spazio aperto nella città" in his 1986 book, *La città del Levante: Civiltà urbana e architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei secoli XVIII-XIX*. The importance of these essays, based mainly on accounts of European travelers, is that they highlight the significance of public space in the eighteenth-century city,

¹⁹ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," pp. 4-5, 34, 120-1.

and question the process of formation of public promenades and gardens in this period.

Turning to the subject of architectural history in eighteenth-century Istanbul, I have mostly relied on a corpus of descriptive studies and historical presentations of buildings and gardens in this period. Most important among these are three historical outlines of Ottoman imperial gardens and palaces from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century: Muzaffer Erdoğan's article, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri" (1958), based on several types of archival documents and accounts of Ottoman chroniclers; Gönül Evyapan's publication, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri ve Özellikle Eski İstanbul Bahçeleri* (1972); and Orhan Şaik Gökyay's "Bahçeler" (1990). These studies have been invaluable in allowing me to establish a general historical chronology and a topographical map of a remarkably complicated maze of building and restoration activities from 1703 to the 1790s. Among the studies of individual buildings, building types and gardens, Sedat Hakkı Eldem's work remains a major source of information for students of eighteenth-century architecture in Istanbul, and contain the most extensive documentation of residential architecture and garden types. *Türk Bahçeleri* (1976) is an exploration of select gardens from different periods, supplemented by valuable reconstruction plans and a collection of the earliest photographs of these places. *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri* (1968) and *Köşkler ve Kasırlar* (1977) are studies of the formal evolution of residences, and kiosks and pavilions, respectively; and include a wealth of plans, illustrations, and photographs of non-extant buildings. Eldem's monograph on the imperial complex of Ahmed III, *Sa'dabad* (1977), is equally rich in visual material, and includes a compilation of descriptive accounts of the palace by contemporary Ottoman observers. It must be singled out as the only monograph of a building of this period. To these descriptive works, I should add

Reşat Ekrem Koçu's encyclopedic entries of buildings and gardens in his (unfortunately incomplete) *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, not so much for the breadth of their documentation, but for the original anecdotal material they offer, especially by way of contemporary poems.

Also relevant to the topic of this dissertation is a type of study which has gained great popularity in the past few years, namely, encyclopedic works on fountain inscriptions. Of these studies, those of Affan Egemen (1993) and Hatice Aynur and Hakan Karateke (1995) were the two most important sources of reference, both for my investigation of fountains in this period and survey of their poetic inscriptions. The first, titled *İstanbul Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, is a compilation of 1165 fountains from the sixteenth- to the twentieth century, and may be considered as a revision of İbrahim Hilmi Tanışık's *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, published in 1943-45. The second, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri (1703-1730)* is an exhaustive study of inscriptions of fountains built during the reign of Aḥmed III, and includes full transcriptions of the original texts and often, of other poems written about these fountains. Both works are supplemented by tables and photographs.

To outline the main arguments purported in the most influential studies on eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture, I should start with the earliest, Kuban's *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme*. In this book, mainly a descriptive study of palaces, fountains, and mosques, Kuban regards the eighteenth century as a period of architectural stalemate. He defines the idiom of the period as an architecture of "ornamentation," a highly, though only superficially westernized, Baroque style. This was also argued by Aptullah Kuran. In his 1977 article, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture," he interpreted the style of the period as a mannerist "distortion" of the Ottoman classical style, featuring a

shallow borrowing of western decorative features. He described this development as a symptom of boredom with a style gone too long, and as a product of lacking necessary tools for true innovation.

With a few exceptions,²⁰ the thrust of the studies which emerged in the late 1970s and the 1980s is a development of these ideas, but it is also characterized by a marked emphasis on the role of European influence as a main impetus for architectural change. This is indeed the central theme of Ayda Arel's *18. Yüzyılda İstanbul* (1975), Serim Denel's *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim Nedenleri* (1982), Semavi Eyice's "XVIII. Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı ve Türk Mimarisinde Avrupa Neo-Klassik Uslubu" (1980), Ülkü Bates's article, "The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture" (1979), and Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu's "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the Eighteenth Century" (1983). In his recent publication, *İstanbul: An Urban History* (1996), Kuban too departs from his earlier evaluation of an architecturally stale eighteenth century, and formulates his initial views according to a sharper periodization: The first of his two chapters devoted to the eighteenth century, titled "Mannerism of the Tulip Period," focuses on the Baroque interpretation of the Ottoman classical style in the second and third decades of the century. The second chapter, "Looking Towards the West: Baroque Istanbul," dwells on the westernizing inclinations of Maḥmūd I, which he views as harbingers to the architectural trends of the second half of the century.

²⁰ See for example, Walter Denny's study of the mosque patronage of Maḥmūd I's grand-vizier, Hekimoğlu 'Ali Paşa, Denny, "Revivalism in Turkish Art: The Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Mosque in Istanbul," pp. 81-7.

The value of these studies lies in their continuous re-assessment of the boundaries of European influence on the formal and decorative vocabulary of Ottoman architecture, and on the evolution of landscape design in this period. Yet, by assuming that the adoption of architectural elements was one of myriad symptoms of an overarching Ottoman inclination towards cultural westernization, and a by-product of diplomatic opening towards Europe, they fall short of situating this trend within the larger socio-cultural landscape of the period. The role of intensified diplomatic exchange between the Ottoman empire and European powers starting in the reign of Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa (1718-19) is central to most of these studies, and exemplified by the famous diplomatic mission of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi to the court of Louis XV in 1720 and its (largely uncorroborated) impact on the formal evolution of the Ottoman imperial palatial tradition. In many ways, these interpretations may be considered as derivatives of the largely dated, though still operative, paradigm of "rise-and-decline," to which the earlier assessments of Kuban and Kuran of an architectural style in stagnation, or of the "degeneration" of a classical Ottoman style, would more clearly belong. Directly or unwittingly, the assumption that architectural innovation, or "survival," could only be ensured by turning towards the West, remains largely accepted.²¹ From this perspective, what lay at the source of the Ottomans' "faltering of self-confidence" (as Bernard Lewis put it)²² was their acknowledgment of military defeat and of the superiority of Europe at the turn of the century.

²¹ This is most clearly spelled out in Bates, "The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture," p. 177.

²² Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, p. 239.

These interpretations, which rest on the questionable premises of a fundamental separation and a sharp polarity between two geographical and cultural entities, raise other issues. By overplaying the role of state diplomacy in the emergence of an Ottoman curiosity and interest towards European culture, they tend to undermine, or dismiss, earlier periods or phases of Ottoman-European cultural and artistic interactions since the fifteenth century.²³ They also overlook other, more modest, channels of circulation of ideas and knowledge between Europe and the Ottoman empire, perpetuated through individual contacts among merchants, foreign residents, war captives, among others, both in and before the eighteenth century.²⁴ As a result, the diffusion of western ideas and material culture remains circumscribed within the confines of the cultured ruling elite.²⁵ From a larger perspective, one should consider here an interesting parallel development in contemporary European cities, in which the adoption of "non-western," mainly Chinese and Ottoman artistic motifs, architectural elements,

²³ For the "cosmopolitan" tendencies characteristic of the reign of Mehmed II, for instance, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. 3-30; Raby, "El Gran Turco: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts of Christendom" (unpub. diss.); Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century" (unpub. diss.), pp. 1-25, 86-163, 213-73. For sixteenth-century cultural and artistic contacts see, for example, Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," pp. 401-27.

²⁴ See for example, Kafadar, "A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima," pp. 191-218; see also, the seventeenth-century memoirs of a janissary in captivity in France, MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. turc 221. An edition of this manuscript is being currently prepared by Cemal Kafadar. In a recent article, Kafadar emphasized the need to revise not only the question of contact and interaction between Europe and the Ottoman empire, but their delineation as two distinct entities, and the "essentializing contrasts" between Ottoman and European history, by examining what he refers to as the "shared discourses, rhythms, and elements of culture," Kafadar, "The Ottomans and Europe," pp. 589-635.

²⁵ In a recent study, Göçek showed that the propensity to own western goods in the eighteenth century, for instance, increased among the *re'aya*, not in the circles of the ruling elite, Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*, pp. 97-100.

and other aspects of material culture, such as fashion and furniture, has been largely construed as a fad for exotic stuff, and as part and parcel of an urge to reassess the parameters of the seventeenth-century classical ideal.²⁶

Notwithstanding the specifics of European cities' social, cultural, and intellectual milieus, the vast discrepancy between the implications of terms such as fad and trend, on the one hand, and westernization on the other, cannot but beg such questions as: What makes a cartouche on a fountain in eighteenth-century Istanbul an index of westernization, and a contemporary Turkish pavilion in Vienna, merely an Oriental folly?

Another central paradigm of modern scholarship on eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture, and one that is seldom addressed, is the "Tulip Period" (*Lâle Devri*):²⁷ a period identified in modern historiography with the reign of Aḥmed III's grand-vizier Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa (1718-30), and which often stands as a euphemism for the eighteenth century. This catchy depiction was coined by the early republican poet Yahya Kemal (1884-1958)²⁸ and was made popular by the historian Ahmet Refik, in his 1912 publication entitled *Lâle Devri*, a historical account of the period divided in two parts: The first, which opens with the 1699 negotiations at Karlowitz, dwells mainly on the palatial patronage of Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa, and the court festivities and visits of European envoys during his reign. The second part narrates the circumstances of the Patrona Ḥalil revolt of 1730, which put an end to the reign of the grand-vizier, and thus,

²⁶ For some aspects of this trend and further references on the subject see, for example, Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500-1920*; Hughes, *Eighteenth-century France and the East*.

²⁷ It was raised by Kafadar in, Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age," p. 40.

²⁸ See his poems in, Yahya Kemal, *Eski Şîrin Rûzgâriyle*, pp. 31-34.

concludes this period. In modern consciousness, the "Tulip Period " is characterized as an era of worldliness, pleasure pursuits, peace, and secularist and westernizing aspirations,²⁹ and has been mourned as the "last holiday the Ottoman empire celebrated."³⁰ It conjures up a constellation of images of pleasure palaces, court festivities, Ottoman-European diplomacy, a fad for tulips, and names such as Nevşehirli, Saʿdabad, Yirmisekiz, and Nedīm, the court poet.

Partly, at least, the perpetuation of the notion of the "Tulip Period" in modern architectural historiography may be attributed to the appeal of these images. To probe the validity of this periodization may therefore seem somewhat pernicious. But to a large extent, the conceptual underpinnings of this modern construct are mainly warranted by its identification as a distinct and self-contained period (1718-30). At the most general level, the distinctiveness of Nevşehirli's grand-vizierate may be questioned in comparison with, to mention only one outstanding example, the reign of Süleymān I's worldly-minded grand-vizier İbrāhīm Paşa, notorious for his promotion of contacts with European artists, and for his glorious patronage of arts and architecture.³¹ One should also scrutinize the historical premises upon which the definition of this period as an era of worldly pleasures is founded, namely, Nevşehirli's particular disposition towards peace: a feature often contrasted with the warring atmosphere of the previous century.³² Though the Ottomans' readiness to make peace with Europe

²⁹ This was most clearly enunciated by Nıyazi Berkes in his book, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, pp. 23-30, 51.

³⁰ Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age" (unpub. diss.), p. 258.

³¹ See for example, Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry," pp. 401-27.

is undeniable, emphasis on peace in the first three decades of the eighteenth century greatly discounts the Persian campaign which occupied the length of Nevşehirli's grand-vizierate. The flight of the Safavid Shāh Huseyn in 1722, following the rapid downfall of his dynasty by the Afghan invasion, forced the Ottomans to intervene in the face of a growing Russian threat to their territories on the Caspian Sea. After yielding to a Russian proposal for territorial partitioning in 1724, they incurred further territorial losses following the military intervention of the Safavid Nādir Shāh in 1730. The peace rumors which followed these reversals, after taxes and troops had already been raised for war, were central to the precipitation of the janissary-led rebellion of 1730.³³

For the purpose of this study, the paradigm of the "Tulip Period" presents two important limitations, which mainly relate to the predominance of the personality of Nevşehirli İbrāhīm Paşa in recent scholarship's appraisal of the architectural and cultural developments in this period. Urban transformations and the architectural and decorative idioms of Istanbul have been commonly assessed in relation to the grand-vizier's personal ambitions and inclinations, overshadowing the complex and dynamic socio-cultural setting of his time. This emphasis has tended to largely ignore the historical continuity of such developments with the preceding and the following periods, as well as the role

³² See for example, Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, pp. 23-6; see also, Quataert's interpretation of Zilfi's suggestion that "the old Ottoman theater of power and piety competed [in the "Tulip Period"] with a new theater of leisure and consumption," as a polarity between the seventeenth-century's climate of politics, power and piety, and the "Tulip Period's theater of leisure," Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," pp. 407-8; see also Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era," p. 295.

³³ For Nevşehirli's Persian campaign see, for example, Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı (1730)*, pp. 71-102; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV/1: 147-233; Kurat and Bromley, "The Retreat of the Turks, 1683-1730," pp. 216-17; Olson, "The Patrona Halil Rebellion and Ottoman-Persian Wars and Eighteenth Century Ottoman Historiography," pp. 75-82.

of other factors in their making. More generally, by ascribing architectural change to the leadership of the Ottoman ruling elite, these interpretations fail to recognize the weight of wider "urban" sensibilities in informing the course of these changes.³⁴ The second limitation imposed by this paradigm is the definition of pleasure that it inherently subsumes. By identifying this period with Nevşehirli's worldly pursuits, manifested in the frequent banquets, illuminations, and festivities held under his and Ahmed III's auspices, pleasure and public life have been commonly accepted as the prerogatives of the Ottoman ruling class. As a result, ordinary people appear to partake of urban life in Istanbul mainly in ritualized forms of pleasure, under state sponsorship, or in distinct arenas of "popular" recreation such as the tavern and the coffeehouse.

3. OBJECTIVES AND OUTLINE

This dissertation examines the urban and architectural developments of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. It aims to offer a new perspective on the architectural sensibility of this period. It is based on contemporary perceptions and aesthetic judgments of newly built and renovated buildings and gardens in the city, mainly, as they were expressed by Ottoman poets in a previously overlooked genre of poetry, namely, rhymed architectural chronograms. It also draws extensively on a broad array of Ottoman and European literary and visual material, and architectural evidence. This study is not meant as a comprehensive

³⁴ This tendency may be partly attributed to a deep-seated trend in Ottoman architectural scholarship, or an "aristocratic way" (as Kostof has put it) of undermining the role of the "non-elite" in the production of culture, or of relegating it to a self-contained and self-referential "popular culture" which has little, or no bearing on broader transformations; see, Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals*, pp. 12-8. It may also be, in part, a product of a (dated but still influential) monolithic vision of a two-tiered Ottoman society: the ruling institution and the tax-paying society, divided by distinct linguistic and cultural traditions. This issue will be thoroughly addressed in this study.

survey of all the architectural transformations of this period. Rather, it dwells on specific aspects of urbanism and architecture which reflected the complex and multifarious social and cultural setting in which they were shaped: the suburban waterfront development and the expansion of the outdoor public space, formal changes in palatial and residential architecture, private gardens, and public fountains, and the formation of a new decorative vocabulary.

This study departs from current interpretations of eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture, by which change is viewed predominantly from the lens of an overarching western influence, or, as driven by the personal, political, and aesthetic leanings of a few influential characters in the high ruling elite (most notably, Nevşehirli, but also, Maḥmūd I). I suggest that while these interpretations reveal some important features and trends of the architecture of this period, by placing too much emphasis on "westernization," and by continuously reinforcing such modern constructs as the "Tulip Period," they do not allow a full appreciation of contemporary Ottoman architectural consciousness; that is to say, how eighteenth-century observers themselves perceived, assimilated, and comprehended their own surrounding architectural environment.

By assuming a more fluid circulation of cultural ideas across geographical boundaries than that implied in modern scholarship, architectural "westernization," as a disposition instigated by the Ottoman empire's intensified diplomatic contacts with Europe, is regarded as tangential to the formation of a new architectural vocabulary. The incorporation of western architectural features, particularly in the latter half of the eighteenth century, is viewed as one of several trends of a deeply hybrid and "uncommitted" style which began to

take shape after the turn of the century. The historical continuity in the articulation of an aesthetic idiom from the return of Aḥmed III to Istanbul until the reign of Selim III is emphasized in this study, questioning indirectly the validity of the "Tulip Period" as a distinct and self-contained period.

This argument also calls into question the definition of pleasure intrinsic in the "Tulip Period" paradigm, and which has become central to the delineation of its architectural and cultural landscape as manifestations of the temporal pursuits of its court elite. In this study, the notion of pleasure assumes a new significance: It is regarded as a vital dimension of the cultural sensibility of eighteenth-century Istanbul, and a fundamental expression of the process of social *décloisonnement*. By this I mean, mainly, the growing vigor of the Ottoman urban society in informing change in the urban, architectural, artistic, and literary realms, and in fueling an active process of transmission between court and urban ("popular") traditions and cultural canons. It will become evident as we proceed that notwithstanding the magnitude of imperial patronage, neither the urban reconfiguration of eighteenth-century Istanbul, nor the architectural changes and the new decorative idiom that it generated, can be attributed to the imperial institution. I contend, rather, that these transformations were shaped out of a continuous dynamic between the changing aspirations and practices of Ottoman society, and the state's efforts to proclaim its presence in the city in the face of these new realities. In other words, these transformations responded to the new demands of the city's social and cultural environment.

This argument is highlighted in chapter 1 through a selective examination of urban and architectural developments in eighteenth-century Istanbul, based mainly on Ottoman and European narrative accounts and visual images, as well

as a survey of extant fountains. The first part presents a chronological outline of the building patronage and restoration activities of the ruling elite along the Bosphorus, and explores the mechanisms of settlement of the urban population along the suburban waterfront. The second part investigates specific aspects of the architectural landscape of this period: the re-conceptualization of the waterfront residence, the booming patronage of fountains across the social spectrum, the emergence of a new fountain-type, and the development of a novel iconographical repertoire.

The on-going dynamic between state and urban society is brought into sharper focus in chapter 2, which centers on the outdoor public space. Underlining the dominance of public spaces as a topos of literary and visual representations of the city in this period, I proceed to explore some of the institutional and non-official mechanisms by which public squares and gardens were shaped, negotiated, and defined as such. Within this framework, I address the ambiguities revealed in the delineation of boundaries between the private and the public domain, in descriptions of private and public gardens and accounts of recreational activities, by Ottoman and European contemporaries. The last part of this chapter focuses on the concept of public visual access, as an important dimension of the relation between private and public space, both in terms of the formal evolution of private gardens and the reconfiguration of the Bosphorus waterfront.

Chapter 3 fleshes out the question of public/private boundaries by probing the age-old relation between gardens and Ottoman poetry. I examine the main thematic and formal features of the poetic discourse on gardens in the eighteenth century, and argue that they illustrate a process of "opening up," or urbanization,

of the "select" classical garden. This chapter also underscores the parallel trajectory of garden conception and poetic expression, suggesting that it reflected in both cases a new aesthetic disposition, tuned to a socially and culturally diverse public. The last section dwells on the significance of the new garden culture as a locus for the cultivation of certain social aspirations and recreational customs in currency at the time, and situates it within the broader normative sphere in which it flourished.

Chapter 4 focuses on an analysis of the parameters of appreciation of buildings' formal and decorative vocabularies in the eighteenth century, based on a close reading of rhymed architectural chronograms. The first part is a presentation of this poetic genre, and of the building elements and features most frequently noted and described by poets. In the second part, I examine the dominant criteria of architectural apprehension revealed in the chronograms: sensationalism, iconographical mimesis, and innovation. The discussion on innovation addresses the question of "westernization" and the place of the "East" in contemporary architectural consciousness. It is argued in this and the concluding chapters that the definition of beauty reflected in poets' celebrations centered on the sensory pleasures evoked by buildings, and mirrored a visual idiom which drew on the power of its own hybridity and flamboyance to appeal to the sensations of a wide public.

4. SOURCES

Aldanma ki şâ'ir sözü elbette yalandır

"Don't be fooled [into thinking] that the word of the poet is surely a lie"

Fuzûlî

This study relies principally on eighteenth-century Ottoman poetry, as a source of documentation of contemporaries' apprehension of their surrounding architectural universe, and their perception of artistic excellence and beauty; that is to say, as a tool to probe Ottoman architectural consciousness. The intent of this approach is to offer a fresh perspective on the architectural idiom of this period, through often original and amusing images and observations, by individuals whose aesthetic inclinations, I argue, were representative of those of a broad section of urban society. Its goal is not to reconstruct specific buildings or gardens that are no longer extant, but rather, to provide new ways of construing, conceiving, and visualizing certain aspects of a largely vanished architectural landscape.

The conspicuous absence of poetry from the current scholarship on Ottoman architectural history may be partly ascribed to a general skepticism about the value of poetry as a "serious" source of documentation on this subject. Contrary to such narrative sources as histories and chronicles, which are commonly used at face value with little regard for the conventions of the literary genres to which they subscribe, poetry seems to be viewed as a largely self-referential world, governed by deeply entrenched formal and structural conventions and grounded in an opaque language of metaphors and conceits which, ultimately, have little bearing on wider realities. Partly too, as Kafadar has recently remarked in the case of social historians' attitude vis-à-vis "first-person"

narratives,³⁵ the strong inclination for hard data among historians of architecture (sought in archival documents as well as in chronicles of events), has overshadowed the value of such sources as poetry as reflections of the aesthetic attitudes and dispositions of their own time.

The eighteenth century in particular (and the first half of the nineteenth) offers an immense wealth of material in this regard. This is mainly due to the unprecedented popularity of a sub-genre of rhymed chronograms (*tevārîḥ-i manẓūme*) or poems chronicling major events, namely, "architectural chronograms," composed in celebration of specific buildings and gardens. A considerable number of these poems were intended as building inscriptions. But these were also, first and foremost, challenging and amusing arithmetic exercises, by which the letters of the last line of a poem (the chronogram itself) had to correspond to the date of the event celebrated. While numerous architectural chronograms were composed in the elaborate form of the *kaşîde* (eulogy poem), others were fairly short and simple poems, mostly witty, at times silly, often delightful in their imagery, and invariably telling of the subject of their praise, by way of depictions of, and reflections on some of its features. On the whole, this poetic sub-genre constituted the richest form of architectural discourse in the eighteenth century, with its own formal, structural, and thematic consistencies.

This study originated with the discovery of several unpublished anthologies of chronograms by various poets (*mecmû'a-ı tevārîḥ*) dating back to the eighteenth century. They all include a separate section entitled "Monuments of Benefactors,"

³⁵ Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," p. 122.

which consists of chronograms -- that is, only the one-line chronogram proper -- on newly built or restored gardens, palaces, houses, fountains, among other building types. A survey of anthologies of poems by individual authors (*divāns*), both published and in manuscript form, led to the collection of about 250 chronograms of relevance to this topic, ranging from 1 to 80 verses in length, and encompassing the works of twenty-two poets, among whom Nābī, Nedīm, Nevres, Sünbülzāde Vehbī, Fāzıl Bey, and Sürūrī are the most prominent. These chronograms form the bulk of the poems used in this study. Another group of poems includes *ğazels* (lyric poetry), *kaşides* (poems of eulogy), short stanzas (*ķita'*), and poems meant to be sung (*şarkıs*), gathered from single poets' *divāns*, as well as two *mesnevīs* (long narrative poems): Fennī's *Sāhilnāme* ("Shore-Book"), published by Fevziye Tansel in "Dîvân Şâirlerimizden Fennî'nin Boğaziçi Kıyılarını Canlandırın Mesnevîsi: *Sâhil-nâme*" (1976), and Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī's unpublished Preface to his *Hübānnāme ve Zenānnāme* ("Book of Men / Beauties and Book of Women"). One of their most valuable and entertaining aspects are the vivid and textured images they offer about urban life in Istanbul -- a topic rarely addressed by contemporary Ottoman chroniclers and historians.

The significance of poetry to the current study lies beyond its value as a source of documentation. As an aspect of the cultural universe of this period, it mirrored parallel developments to those in contemporary architecture. An understanding of the changes which took place in the realm of court literature, and of the perception and appreciation of these changes by contemporary critics, were therefore essential to this study. In this respect, Biographies of Poets (*tezķire-i şu'arā*), the most official form of Ottoman literary criticism, were particularly useful in offering a sense of the literary inclinations of their times. Those from the sixteenth century, in particular, such as Laṭîfī's and 'Āşık Çelebi (both

published) are also extremely rich in anecdotal material, including descriptions of private gardens, as these were favored settings for the recitation of poetry. From the eighteenth century, the most insightful *tezkires* are Mirza-zāde Mehmed Sālim's *Tezkire-i Sālim* (published in 1897), and 'Ākif Bey Enderūni's unpublished *Mir'āt-ı Şi'ir*. I must also mention here a few studies which have been particularly helpful in guiding me into the world of Ottoman literature. For a historical perspective and a general understanding of court poetry, and of eighteenth-century poetry in particular, and for the "technical" aspects of different poetic forms and genres, I have mainly relied on the following works: E. J. W. Gibb's seminal study, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols. (1967), A. H. Tanpınar's essays, especially his introduction to *19. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (first published, 1949), Ahmet Evin's unpublished dissertation, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age" (1973), Walter Andrews's *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry* (1976) and *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* (1985), Sılay's 1994 publication, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, and İsmail Yakıt's *Ebcad Hesabı ve Tarih Düşürme* (1992), the only detailed study of chronograms. Other works, to which direct reference is seldom made in the following chapters, have greatly enhanced my thinking of eighteenth-century Ottoman cultural dispositions, and my belief in the continuous "circularity" between court and urban tastes and traditions. These are Carlo Ginzburg's second preface to *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1989), Dominick Lacapra's critical response to this book, "*The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Twentieth-Century Historian*" (1989), and Michail Bakhtin's *Rabelais and His World*.

Apart from poetry, late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ottoman travel accounts, chronicles of events, and histories of the city, as well as eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century European travelogues and memoirs, constitute

important sources of documentation on the urban and architectural landscape of the city. The accounts of European observers, most notably those by James Dallaway and Jean-Claude Flachat from the second half of the eighteenth century, and Robert Walsh, Julia Pardoe, and Charles Pertusier from the first decades of the nineteenth, are replete in detailed descriptions of residences, palaces, and fountains. They also offer depictions of, and personal reflections on the social and recreational habits of the period. Among the Ottoman travel and historical narratives, Evliyā' Çelebi's *Seyahatname* and Eremya Çelebi Kōmürçiyān's *İstanbul Tarihi* for the second half of the seventeenth century, and İncicyān's *18. Asırda İstanbul* for the eighteenth -- the last two translated from Armenian -- provide invaluable topographical outlines of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn waterfronts, and include brief histories of some of their palaces, residences, fountains, promenades, and gardens. These works, as well as Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Şem'dānizāde's often acerbic and particularly entertaining account of parts of the second half of the eighteenth century, and Seyyid Meḥmed Ḥākīm's chronicle of the years 1752-58, must be singled out for the valuable, if occasional, depictions they provide of aspects of ordinary people's social and recreational lives. Like the more "formal" chronicles of the court historians Rāşid and Küçük Çelebizāde (which together cover the first three decades of the century), they all offer occasional descriptions of recently built or renovated buildings, and important insights, through anecdotal remarks, on the intricate processes of formation of public gardens in this period.

Last but not least, visual sources, mainly Ottoman miniature illustrations and vignettes of urban life in Istanbul, and European representations of the city's palaces, middle-class residences, fountains, and private and public gardens, as

well as scenes of public recreation, were used throughout this dissertation to complement the textual evidence offered in the sources mentioned above.

Visual documentation from a survey of extant eighteenth-century fountains and their inscriptions provides a glimpse of archeological evidence of the little that survives of the massive architectural production of this period.

CHAPTER I:

THE NEW URBAN ORDER AND THE ARCHITECTURAL LANDSCAPE OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL

Ahmed III's return to Istanbul, in 1703, inaugurated a new phase in the urban and architectural history of the Ottoman capital city. For nearly half a century, the city had been left largely under the charge of the chief Janissary Ağa. With its buildings and infrastructure hardly attended to, it had suffered substantial decay. Contemporary Ottoman observers did not fail to remark on the delapidated state of imperial buildings and gardens in particular, attributing it to neglect on the part of the state authorities, and to the long periods of campaigns which kept them away from the capital city.¹ In the fifty years that followed the court's arrival to Istanbul (that is, roughly, until the end of the reign of Maḥmūd I [1730-1754]), the city witnessed its most phenomenal urban expansion to date, and one of the most vibrant periods of building activity in its history. While the geographical scope of this activity did not extend after this time, construction and renovations continued uninterrupted until the end of the century.

This chapter examines the urban and architectural transformations in Istanbul beginning in 1703, and ending with the first signs of a marked Ottoman interest in European architecture, under Selim III (1789-1808). My aim is neither to provide a comprehensive outline of its urban setting nor to reconstruct its architectural landscape. Rather, I will focus on some of the most significant

¹ In 1718, for example, Rāşid remarked that the systematic rebuilding of imperial gardens and residences by Ahmed III's grand-vizier İbrāhīm Paşa was an effort to restore those places which had deteriorated "as a result of the state representatives' customary negligence, and because of uninterrupted campaigns" (*Seferlerin temādisi ü vükela-yı devletin ihmāl-ı 'ādisi sebebiyle*), Rāşid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, V: 160.

developments in this period to highlight the role of a particular dynamic between the state and the urban society in giving shape to the city's new topography. In the introduction, I attempted to locate the urban realities of eighteenth-century Istanbul within the changes in the Ottoman political and social structure which had begun in the latter half of the sixteenth century. I noted the gradual process of "interfusion" in the social structure, the rising power of certain social / professional groups, slowly eroding markers of social distinctions, and the more visible presence of a middling urban society in the public arena. Whereas in the next chapter, I will give full treatment to some of the manifestations of these changes in the urban fabric, here, I will emphasize two points: first, the extraordinary efforts of the state to re-legitimate its authority in the capital city in the face of these new realities; and second, the increasing role of the middling society in informing urban and architectural change in this period. This argument will be brought to focus in the first part of this chapter through an examination of the built-up development of the Bosphorus waterfront; and in the second part, through an investigation of the formal evolution of two building types: waterfront residences and public fountains.

1. IMPERIAL VISIBILITY AND WATERFRONT PALATIAL PATRONAGE

The Bosphorus waterfront constituted the most significant sub/urban expansion of Istanbul to date, and encapsulated much of the urban and architectural changes of this period. Surprisingly, while several studies have been devoted to the architectural specificities of waterfront imperial palaces and gardens, the urban significance of the Bosphorus spine as an extension of the intramural city has received little serious attention. Its development is widely perceived as the result of a succession of architectural projects initiated by members of the

Ottoman high ruling elite and the imperial household. It is only recently that the transformation of the urban geography and topography of the Bosphorus shores was closely examined by Artan, in a study based on the court documents of a period of seventy years (1700 to 1770). The premises of her analysis, however, remain in line with earlier works on eighteenth-century architecture, in that it views the transformation as an architectural expression of the court elite's inclination for ephemeral pleasures, which gradually spread among the urban society.²

Central to this interpretation is the figure of Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa, the fourth grand-vizier of Aḥmed III (1718-1730), whose personality and ambitions played an important role in defining much of the architectural, indeed socio-cultural, preoccupations in this period. His celebrated love for ostentation and his pursuit of worldly pleasures, his inclination for change and reform concomitant with his peace-mindedness, and his "secularist" tendencies and opening to the west, have been regarded in modern scholarship as fundamental to the intense palatial patronage spread along the shores of the Bosphorus.³ Without undermining the grand-vizier's love of worldliness -- a feature often underscored by his critics⁴ -- I

² Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 5-9.

³ See for example, Kuban, "Influences de l'art européen sur l'architecture ottomane au XVIIIe siècle," pp. 149-50; idem., *Istanbul: An Urban History*, pp. 336-41, 346-7; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the 18th Century," pp. 164-6; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 53-54, 122, 334, 449, 454-55.

⁴ Writing in the middle of the century, the self-appointed Ottoman chronicler Şem'dânizâde displayed much contempt towards the inclination of Aḥmed III's grand-vizier Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa to debauchery, immorality, and prodigality and encouragement of such trends among the society. In a lengthy account of the grand-vizier's taste in entertainment, he begins by deploring his libertine and spendthrift disposition: *Ve İbrahim Paşa'nın altın sarf edüp tatyîb-i enâm kasd ettiği etvârının müinkerâtdan olduğunu ta'dâd edüp, bu vezîr mîras yedi meşrebdir*. He then

would like to argue that there was far more deliberate thinking in the reshaping of the capital in the early decades of the eighteenth century than modern scholarship suggests. Emphasis on his persona, and on the distinctiveness of his reign, characterized as the "Tulip Period" (1718-30), has largely overshadowed both the continuity of eighteenth-century urban development and the socio-political context in which it was inscribed.⁵

My argument so far is not intended to imply that we should play down the impact of Nevşehirli İbrâhîm's building activities on the reconfiguration of the Bosphorus waterfront. His patronage was indeed remarkable: it stretched from Kağıthane on the Golden Horn (Haliç) to Tophane and Beşiktaş at the beginning of the European shore of the Bosphorus, to distant Yeniköy on the same shore, to the Üsküdar peninsula, and up to Çubuklu on the Asian side of the channel (map 1). In 1718-19, İbrâhîm Paşa undertook the erection of the Palace of

launches into a vilifying description of some of the activities that took place during the festivities that the grand-vizier set up on holidays in public squares and gardens around the city, underlining the mixed-gendered nature of these settings: *îdlerde At-meydanı ve Sultan Mehmed ve Bayezid avluları ve Yeni-bahçe ve Yedi-kule ve Bayram-paşa ve Eyyüp ve Kasım-paşa ve Top-hâne ve Sa'd-âbâd ve Dolma-bahçe ve Bebek ve Göksu ve Çubuklu ve Beykoz ve Üsküdar'da Harmanlık nâm mahâllerde dolablar ve beşikler ve Atlı-karaca ve salıncaklar kurdurup ricâl ve nisâ mahlût ve kadıncıklar salıncağa biniüp iner iken şah-baz yiğidler kadınları kucağına alup, salıncağa koyup, çıkarup kadınların salıncakda uçkurları meydanda hoş sadâ ile şarkılar çağırtdığında nâkisâtü'l-akl nisvân tâ'ifesi mâ'il olup, kimi zevcinden izin, kimi izinsiz izn-i âmdır diyerek seyrâna gidüp, Şem'dânizâde, Mür'i't-Tevârih, I: 3. Elsewhere he condemns his encouragement of decadent conduct in the imperial palace of Sa'dabad: "He sanctioned the wickedness and lewdness taking place in the kiosks of Sa'dabad by boosting and building it up" (*Sa'dâbâd'ı âbâdan etmekle binâ' olunan köşklerde olan i'lân-ı fisk-u fücûra ruhsat verdi*), Şem'dânizâde, Mür'i't-Tevârih, I: 4. It is also important to note that his account of the latter half of the century is replete with references to moral corruption, particularly among women and army troops, *ibid*, I: 4, 26, 97, 165-69, 179, II: 12. In his account of the 1730 Patrona Hâlîl revolt, 'Abdî makes similar insinuations on the tendency for self-indulgence in the reign of Nevşehirli, 'Abdî, *Abdi Tarihi*, p. 28.*

⁵ For an outline of the problematic embedded in the historiographic paradigm of the "Tulip Period," see the Introduction.

Çırağan (*Çırağān Şarāyı*) over the sixteenth-century *yalı* of the grand admiral Kılıç ʿAlī Paşa in Beşiktaş, as a gift to his wife Faṭma Sulṭān, daughter of Aḥmed III.⁶ In 1719-20, he built another waterfront palace, Feyzābād, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus at Çubuklu.⁷ The same year witnessed the completion of three other palaces: Şerefābād in Üsküdar,⁸ Hümāyūnābād in Bebek on the European shore of the Bosphorus,⁹ and the imperial kiosk of Kalendar (*Kalendar Köşkü*), further along the same coast between Yeniköy and Tarabya.¹⁰

⁶ Chroniclers of the period refer to it as *Beşiktaş Şarāyı* (Palace of Beşiktaş) or *Yeni* (new) *Beşiktaş Şarāyı*. It is said to have acquired its name, *Çırağān* (lit-up, illumination) after the feasts hosted by the grand-vizier during which candles and torches were lit, Rāşid, *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid*, V: 205; İncicyan (from Sarraf-Hovannesyan), *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 114.

⁷ Gökbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 685; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 437-8. İncicyan mentions two earlier imperial palaces in Çubuklu, one inland in Küçük Çubuklu and the other on the shore of Büyük Çubuklu, İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, pp. 127-28.

⁸ Şerefābād was adjacent to the summer palace of Kavaḳ built by Süleymān I in the mid-sixteenth century. It was restored by ʿAbdülhamid I in 1775 and rebuilt by Mahmūd II in 1846. For further information on the imperial pavilion see, Konyaalı, *Üsküdar Tarihi*, II: 254-63; Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 172-3; Yılmaz, "Şerefābād Kasrı," *DBİA*, pp. 162-63.

⁹ It was built over two extant imperial gardens, *Hasan Ḥalife Bāğçesi* and *Bebek Bāğçesi*, Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 181-82. The garden of Ḥasan Ḥalife, Janissary Ağa under Murād IV, killed by his troops in 1631-32, was confiscated upon his death and turned into state property, eventually becoming an imperial garden, Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmāʿil ʿAşım Efendi*, p. 376. *Bebek Bāğçesi* was founded as an imperial garden by Mehmed II, *Ayvānsarāyī, Ḥadikat ul-Cevāmiʿ*, p. 124. According to İncicyan, the garden had been neglected over time and had become a place of congregation for brigands. The building of Hümāyūnābād was part of an effort to restore order in the place, İncicyan (from Sarraf-Hovannesyan), *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 116. See also, Aḥmed Vāsıf, *Mehâsinü'l-Asâr*, I: 8; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, pp. 125, 136; Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, p. 61; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 391-7.

¹⁰ İncicyan (from Sarraf-Hovannesyan), *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 119; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 414-17.

Most famous of İbrāhīm Paşa's building activities in 1721-22 was the imperial palatial complex of Saʿdabad -- an icon of the "Tulip Period" in modern scholarship.¹¹ Construction of the palace began in Kağıthane on the Golden Horn under the direct supervision of the grand-vizier.¹² It included an imperial palace, kiosks and pavilions, and a complex water system which fed water from the stream of Kağıthane into a long canal (*Cedvel-i Sim*) and consisted of a sophisticated system of conduits, dykes, cascades, pools and fountains, ultimately feeding into a large pool.¹³ A pillared structure (the Harem building), a cross-shaped pavilion (*Kaşr-ı Cenān*), and the imperial fountain of Ahmed III (*Çeşme-i Nev-peydā*) were organized around it (figs. 1 a-b).¹⁴ In addition to the central

¹¹ This reflects the manner in which this complex has often been singled out in eighteenth-century Ottoman historiography, and in its distinction as the subject of the only building monograph for the eighteenth century, by S. H. Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, Istanbul, 1977. One could suggest a pragmatic reason for this emphasis. As one of the sultan's and his grand-vizier's favorite retreats, and a place of innumerable festivities, it was relatively well documented by court chroniclers in its own time. But other reasons for the cult of this place may also be sought in a combination of the following: first, the prominence of Saʿdabad as a site of flamboyant festivities; second, its untimely destruction, as we will soon see; third, the myths surrounding the western source of inspiration of its layout and architectural style, which I will discuss in more detail in chap. 4.

¹² Rāşid, *Tārīh-i Rāşid*, V: 444-45.

¹³ For an elaborate description and visual illustrations of the complex waterworks see, Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, pp. 7-8, 44-61, 132-33.

¹⁴ The imperial chronicler Rāşid describes the Harem building, to which he refers as the "imperial pavilion" (*kaşr-ı hümayūn*) as standing on thirty well-proportioned pillars (*otuz ʿaded sūtūn-ı mevzūn üzerine*) with a large pool in its front court (*pişgāhında bir havz-ı vāsiʿ*), Rāşid, *Tārīh-i Rāşid*, V: 445. With the exception of the imperial fountain of Ahmed III (*Çeşme-i Nev-peydā*) and the waterworks, including the main canal (*Cedvel-i Sim*), little of the building complex of Ahmed III remained after the revolt of 1730. Our knowledge of these buildings is mainly derived from references by contemporary chroniclers and poets. In his ode to Saʿdabad, the court poet Nedīm mentioned the Pavilion of Joy (*Hurremābād*), the Pavilion of Prosperity (*Hayrābād*), the Pavilion of the Heart (*Kaşr-ı Cenān*), the Pavilion of Joy (*Kaşr-ı Neşāţ*), the Fountain of Light (*Çeşme-i Nūr*), and the New-born Fountain (*Çeşme-i Nev-peydā*), Nedīm, *Nedīm Divānı*, pp. 52-53. Both Rāşid and Küçük Çelebizāde, who succeeded him in the post of

compound, summer houses and gardens were built for Ottoman grandees on both sides of the canal and along the stream, as noted by some chroniclers.¹⁵

In 1724-25, three years after the construction of Sa'dabad, the imperial palace and garden of Emnābād were commissioned by the grand-vizier as a residence for his wife, Faṭma Sultān, near Salıpazarı in Tophane - Fındıklı, by imperial order to Meḥmed Emīn Ağa, chief architect of the court.¹⁶ In 1725-26, two pavilions, *Kaşr-ı Nisbetiyye* in Bebek and a short-lived *Kaşr-ı Süreyyā*, in nearby Kuruçeşme, were completed.¹⁷ In the same year, the palace of Neşāṭābād, located between Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme, was rebuilt and considerably enlarged,¹⁸ and a garden

imperial chronicler, provide lengthy and detailed descriptions of the central pool and the main building in the first two years of the palace's foundation, Rāşid, *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid*, V: 443-9; Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmā'il 'Aşım Efendi*, pp. 41-5.

¹⁵ Küçük Çelebizāde recorded in 1721 that one-hundred-and-seventy residences with gardens, built as places of repose and leisure, in matching style and according to a beautiful and appealing layout, were granted to officials of the administration. They were located on both sides of the Silver Canal all the way to the pavilion of Hürremābād, and on both shores of the stream of Kağıthane up to the imperial gardens of Karaağaç: (*Hürremābād'a varınca Cedvel-i Sim'in tarafeyninde ve Eyüp semtinde hadā' ik-i sultāniyyeden Kara Ağaç Bağçesine müntehi olunca nehrin cānibeyninde vāki' kühsārlar (...) huddām-i devlete temlik ü ihsān (...) zamān-ı kalilde bi'l-cümle o mahallerin dāğ üzerleri bāğ u binā olunan yüz yetmiş 'aded tarzları nā-dide ve tarhları maṭbū' u pesendide kuşūr-i bi-kuşūruların her biri birer cāy-ı asāyiş ü ferāğ olup*), Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmā'il 'Aşım Efendi*, p. 42. These pavilions were also mentioned in passing by the Armenian city chronicler Incicyan, *Incicyan, 18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 95.

¹⁶ According to Küçük Çelebizāde, it was joined (*zamm u ilhāk*) to the *yalı* and garden of the baker and customs officer Gümrükcü Hüseyin Paşa, built in 1701, by extending the latter all the way to the water shore, Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmā'il 'Aşım Efendi*, p. 247. Emnābād survived till the end of the eighteenth century, and its land was subsequently used for residences of various dignitaries. Under Maḥmūd II it was torn down and rebuilt as a large *yalı* for the sultan's two sisters, known as the Paired Imperial Palace (*Çifte Sultān Sarāyları*), Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, p. 23; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 346-7.

¹⁷ Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmā'il 'Aşım Efendi*, p. 480; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 378, 397.

palace (*Bağ-ı Feraḥ*) commissioned by Aḥmed III's navy commander, Kapudan Muṣṭafa Paşa, was built on the shore of Çengelköy on the Asian side of the Bosphorus (see map 1).¹⁹

The sources give no indication that a careful urban planning program lay behind this intense building patronage. But while the grand-vizier's relentless building activity, and his disposition for ostentatious festivities, might have been meant in part, as a contemporary observer remarked, as an uplifting distraction for the general public from the deteriorating affairs of the city,²⁰ they were also powerful confirmations of state presence and potency. Indeed there is sufficient indication to suggest that the imperial court attempted in every way to assert its presence and authority back *in* the capital city, beginning with its decisive return from Edirne in 1703, after more than a century (1589-1703) characterized by long periods of absences, during which Istanbul had witnessed numerous revolts, three dethronements -- İbrâhîm I in 1648, and Meḥmed IV in 1687 -- and a final blow (and the dethronement of Muṣṭafa II) in the Edirne incident in 1703.²¹ The relentless building patronage in the first few decades of the eighteenth century, and the concentration of this activity along the Bosphorus gateway, addressed the same concern for the *visible* presence of court authority.²² The beautification

¹⁸ In the early years of the eighteenth century, Neṣâṭâbâd had been given to grand-vizier Çorlulu 'Ali Paşa, first husband of Faṭma Sulṭân (daughter of Aḥmed III), before it was re-allocated in 1725 to her second husband and grand-vizier Nevşehirli İbrâhîm, Gölbilgin, 'Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 676; also see, Sılâhdâr, *Nusretnâme*, pp. 225, 398; Aḥmed Vâsıf, *Mehâsinü'l-Asâr*, p. 8; Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, p. 24; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 366-72, 377-8.

¹⁹ Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I: 7; Koçu, "Bağ-ı Feraḥ," *İA*, pp. 1816-17.

²⁰ See for example, Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I: 3.

²¹ For references on the Edirne incident, and the general climate of discontent and rebellions of the seventeenth century, see the Introduction.

of the city after a long period of neglect, and especially the rapid development of the conspicuous Bosphorus spine, may also be read as an effort to redress Istanbul's image as the capital city of a glorious empire before European powers, in a period of intensified Ottoman diplomatic relations with Europe. The court chronicler Rāşid explained the hurried restoration of several imperial gardens in 1718, for instance, including repairs to the Venetian and Austrian ambassadorial residences, as a need to conceal the state of building disrepair from foreign ambassadors who were due in the capital that year for another round of peace negotiations with the Ottomans.²³

The wide scope of the grand-vizier's endeavors, commonly singled out as signs of a personal preoccupation with ephemeral pleasures, should be regarded instead as part of a conscious effort towards an urban uplift which had been initiated after the court's return to the capital city.²⁴ As early as 1704, upon his decision to move from the imperial palace of Topkapı to the imperial gardens of Tersane and Karaağaç for the summer, sultan Aḥmed III undertook a series of surveys of existing palaces and gardens and their furnishings, under the supervision of the court's chief gardener (*bostancıbaşı*) ʿAlī Ağa.²⁵ As the same

²² It is relevant to note here an observation by Mouradgea d'Ohsson, Ottoman interpreter to the Swedish consul, that the main imperial summer residence in the capital city was located in Beşiktaş, right across from the imperial palace of Topkapı in the old city. He explains that permanent proximity to Istanbul on the part of the rulers was meant to ensure that any sign of trouble, rebellion, or fire in the city, would be promptly quelled, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, IV: 257-8.

²³ For references on Ottoman-European diplomacy and peace negotiations in the eighteenth century, see the Introduction.

²⁴ Rāşid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, V: 160. This was also suggested by Hammer, probably based on Rāşid's account, Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, XIV: 10.

²⁵ Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 156, 158, 160, 163-7, 170, 172-4, 176-7, 182.

routine was followed in subsequent years (from 1705 to 1707),²⁶ gradually, extant imperial palaces and gardens on the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn were being repaired, refurbished, and enlarged.²⁷ Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa's repair activities were in line with these efforts, and included, besides the restoration of palaces, repairs to the city walls and gates (notably in 1722) and to the urban infrastructure, mainly, by the expansion of the existing water distribution network.²⁸ These activities should be further understood in light of the extensive damage yielded by the frequent natural catastrophes which had struck Istanbul in the seventeenth century, and included two earthquakes in 1648 and 1690, and more than a dozen major fires.²⁹ Such a situation could only have been seriously attended to in the presence of the court. And indeed, it had been addressed during Sultan Mehmed IV's limited periods of residence in Istanbul in the second half of the seventeenth century. Two large restoration programs of imperial gardens and palaces were launched in 1666-67, before and after a major

²⁶ Sılâhdâr, *Nusretnâme*, II: 221, 225, 228, 234, 238, 244. This trend was in keeping with the *villegiatura* tradition of earlier rulers such as 'Osmân II, Murâd IV, İbrâhîm I, Mehmed IV and Muştafa III, who spent the months of summer at the Arsenal Palace (*Tersane Kaşrı*) even in the years of winter residence in Edirne, Sılâhdâr, *Nusretnâme*, II: 188, 213-14, 246; Kömürçiyân, *İstanbul Tarihi*, p. 199; İnciyân, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, pp. 95-6.

²⁷ For example, the imperial gardens of Karaağaç were repaired in 1704, and again in 1708, 1710 and 1711; and the adjacent gardens of Yûsuf Efendi in 1704, 1706, and 1707. Repairs were also undertaken at Topkapı Palace, mainly in the third court, in 1707, 1712, and 1713. For repair activities to imperial gardens in this period see, Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 149-82.

²⁸ Repair and renovation projects undertaken by the grand-vizier included the imperial gardens of Tersane, Beşiktaş, Dolmabahçe, and *Tekfur Sarayı* (near the gate of Eğrikapı) in 1718-19, Sılâhdâr, *Nusretnâme*, II: 246; Küçük Çelebizâde, *Târîh-i İsmâ'il 'Aşım Efendi*, pp. 253, 269-72.

²⁹ İnciyân counted thirteen major fires in the period of a hundred years, in 1618, 1633, 1645, 1652, 1660, 1665, 1672, 1677, 1679, 1687, 1689, 1693 and in 1718, İnciyân, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, pp. 84-89.

fire which caused damage in several areas in the city.³⁰ Later, a repair program of the city infrastructure was undertaken by Muştafa II in 1699.³¹

If I have attempted to deflate the aura around Nevşehirli İbrâhîm's persona, it is in order to locate his patronage activity within the socio-political circumstances which surrounded the return of the court to Istanbul in 1703, and as part of the effort to consolidate the urban order, which started then and continued uninterruptedly into the second half of the century. Indeed, if we lay aside modern scholarship's tragic narrative of the "end of the Tulip Period" -- the era characterized as "the last holiday the Ottoman empire celebrated"³² -- epitomized in the intertwined histories of the 1730 Patrona Hâlîl Revolt and the palatial complex of Sa'dabad which it left in ruins,³³ it clearly appears that neither the story of Sa'dabad nor that of architectural patronage and Bosphorus culture had ended that year.³⁴ In fact, despite the impact of the grand-vizier's patronage on

³⁰ A huge restoration program was launched by the queen mother Turhân (mother of Mehmed IV) in 1666-67, and included repairs in the Arsenal palace (*Tersane Sarâyı*) and in the imperial gardens of Kandilli, Davudpaşa, İstavroz, Beşiktaş, Kağıthane and Emirgan (Mirgün), Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, p. 48. In 1667, Mehmed IV repeatedly ordered repairs and renovations in several of these gardens, Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 154, 162, 167-69.

³¹ Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, p. 30.

³² Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," p. 258.

³³ For the Patrona Hâlîl revolt see, 'Abdî, *Abdi Tarihi*; Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı (1730)*, pp. 71-152; for accounts of the circumstances in which Sa'dabad was pillaged and partially destroyed see, 'Abdî, *Abdi Tarihi*, pp. 31-40; Ahmet Refik, *Lâle Devri*, pp. 117-45.

³⁴ Even though large-scale renovation and rebuilding activities at Sa'dabad picked up only in the reign of Maḥmūd II in the first part of the nineteenth century, a comprehensive survey of the current state of every building in the complex was initiated by Maḥmūd I as early as 1740, in preparation for a restoration project in view of the Austrian ambassador's visit to the capital. These focused on the renovation and enlargement of the Harem section of the

the city's configuration, it is only after his and Aḥmed III's reigns, and especially with the building, repair, and renovation patronage of Maḥmūd I (1730-1754) and his considerable extension of the water-distribution networks in and around the city,³⁵ that the Bosphorus spine witnessed its most intensive period of building activity. From this perspective, then, the decades of relative neglect which followed the destruction of Sa'dabad in 1730 should be read not as a sign of a past era, but of a shift of emphasis on the part of building patrons from the Golden Horn to the Bosphorus. With the exception of the renovation of Sa'dabad and the adjacent garden of Karaağaç (*Qaraağaç Bāğçesi*) by Selīm III late in the century (1789-1806), and almost a century later by Maḥmūd II, all imperial building activity was diverted to the Bosphorus shores after 1730.³⁶

Maḥmūd I's palatial patronage along the Bosphorus began in 1734, with the pavilion of Feraḥfezā (*Feraḥfezā Qaşrı*) which he built for his mother in Beylerbeyi on the Asian shore.³⁷ Between 1735 and 1748 he completed the Palace of

imperial palace, Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, pp. 22-71. Following minor renovations under ʿAbdülhamid I (1774-1789) and Selim III (1789-1806) Maḥmūd II had the defunct imperial pavilion of Aḥmed III (*Qaşr-ı Cenān*) rebuilt and renamed the Tent Kiosk (*Çadır Köşkü*), and the Harem building redesigned on a grander scale. Several others buildings were rebuilt and added under ʿAbdülʿaziz in the second half of the nineteenth century, *ibid*, pp. 74-110.

³⁵ We will return to these projects later in this chapter.

³⁶ It is worth noting here that some of the earlier imperial gardens along the Golden Horn, still popular in the seventeenth century under Murād IV or Meḥmet IV, such as those of Vidos or Defterzāde İbrāhīm Paşa, disappear from eighteenth-century imperial chronicles. Also, in contrast to the middle and the later part of the eighteenth century, daily and seasonal imperial festivities were mainly staged along the Golden Horn, as depicted in the text and images of the *Sūrnāme* ("Book of Festivities") of 1720 (see fig. 5 a) and as recorded in the chronicles of Rāşid from 1660 to 1721, Küçükçelebizāde for the years 1727-28, and Silāhdār (*Nusretnāme*) from 1695 to 1721. See Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 48-49, 53-54; Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582," pp. 88-9.

Maḥbûbiyye on the shores of the Topkapı promontory (Sarayburnu) overlooking the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn (fig. 2).³⁸ In 1748, and again in 1753, the Palace of Beşiktaş was the site of renovations and additions, notably of the kiosks and pavilions of Cirid and İftâriyye, also known as *Bayıldım Köşkü* (fig. 3). The latter was restored by Muştafa III (1757-1774) after the earthquake of 1766.³⁹ In 1746, after a long period of neglect, the gardens, pavilions, and pools of the imperial palace of Tökât (*Tökât Bâğçesi*) near Beykoz (the first imperial garden outside the city walls, established by Meḥmed Fâtiḥ after the fall of the citadel of Tökât) were restored and renamed *Kaşr-ı Hümayûnâbâd* (The Imperial Pavilion).⁴⁰ In 1749, Meḥmed Emîn Paşa, grand-vizier under Maḥmûd I, erected the wooden pavilion of Küçükşu (*Küçükşu Kaşrı*) as an imperial palace and a last imperial halting station (*biniş*) on the Asian coast, over what had been the

³⁷ The pavilion of Feraḥfezâ was built over the imperial gardens and kiosk of İstavroz, which were founded in 1682 by Selim II's daughter Gevher Sultân and her husband Piyale Paşa. It was subsequently demolished by Muştafa III. The land was parcelled out and sold to Muslims as part of an endowment (*waqf*) for the imperial mosque of Üsküdar built in 1760 by the queen mother Mihrişâh Sultân, İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 131. The former gardens of İstavroz were the site of the later palace of Beylerbeyi, built in 1828-29 under Maḥmûd II and rebuilt in 1865 under 'Abdül'aziz, Konyalı, *Üsküdar Tarihi*, II: 161-6; Batur, "Beylerbeyi Sarayı," *DBİA*, 2: 206-10.

³⁸ İzzî, *Târîḥ-i 'İzzî*, fols 199-202. This palace was short-lived and may have been partially destroyed in a fire in 1765, Esin, "Le Maḥbûbiye," p. 75. Its *divânḥane*, however, was still extant and functioned as an audience hall in the last quarter of the century, see Aḥmed Efendi (Sirkâtibi), *Rûznâme*, pp. 14, 44, 51, 202. For passing references to the palace, see also Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'i't-Tevâriḥ*, I: 38-9; Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, XIV: 307.

³⁹ A little story around the kiosk's name recorded by Şem'dânizâde has it that upon seeing the kiosk, a group of women exclaimed: *Bayıldım!* ("I was enraptured"), Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'i't-Tevâriḥ*, I: 144. For the palace of Beşiktaş until the middle of the eighteenth century, see Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, II: 124-50, 212-22; Arslan, "Beşiktaş Sarayı," pp. 185-96; Artan, "Beşiktaş," *DBİA*, 2: 161-63; Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace*, pp. 6-43.

⁴⁰ Evliyâ, *Seyahatname*, fols 72b, 139b, 144b; Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'i't-Tevâriḥ*, I: 124; İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 126; Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, XV: 110; Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 179-80; Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 684.

imperial vegetable garden of Göksu (*Gökşu Bâğçesi*).⁴¹ In 1752, he built a kiosk and a pond in Anadoluhisarı further up the same shore.⁴² There, in the same year, Maḥmūd I renovated the imperial pavilion of Kandilli, renaming it Nevābād.⁴³ Still on the Asian side of the Bosphorus, the garden of Kanlıca (*Kanlıca Bâğçesi*, also called *Bahā'î Bâğçesi*) a summer spot under Süleymān I, was developed under Maḥmūd I by two of his courtiers, Büyük İmrāḥōr Hüseyn Ağa and Şādık Ağa with the erection of the palace of Mirābād and several promenades, the most famous of which was that of Kavacıq.⁴⁴ The imperial palace of Fenerbahçe, built over a Byzantine summer palace under Süleymān I, was repaired after most of its kiosks had been demolished during the Patrona revolt in 1730 (fig. 4, see map 1).⁴⁵

The geographical extent of the Bosphorus built-up development was established by the middle of the century. In the decades following the reign of Maḥmūd I, the waterfront witnessed frequent repairs and renovations, especially of popular

⁴¹ Evliyā, *Seyahatname*, fols 18b, 140b; Kömürçiyān, *İstanbul Tarihi*, p. 47; Şem'dānizāde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I: 162; İzzî, *Tārîḥ-i 'İzzî*, fols 272-73; İncicyān, 18. *Asırda İstanbul*, p. 129; Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, II: 238-60; Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, p. 41; Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," p. 178; Artan, "Küçüksu Kasrı," *DBİA*, 5: 162.

⁴² Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 687; Artan, "Anadoluhisarı," *DBİA*, 1: 256-7.

⁴³ The imperial chronicle Rāşid identifies the pavilion as Ferāḥābād, Rāşid, *Tārîḥ-i Rāşid*, V: 160. For the imperial kiosk of Kandilli see, Şem'dānizāde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I: 162; İzzî, *Tārîḥ-i 'İzzî*, fols 272-73; Hammer, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, XIV: 10, 61-2; Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 175-7; Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 687-8; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 442-3.

⁴⁴ İncicyān, 18. *Asırda İstanbul*, p. 128; Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, p. 39.

⁴⁵ İncicyān, 18. *Asırda İstanbul*, pp. 137-8; Kömürçiyān, *İstanbul Tarihi*, pp. 286-7; Koçu, "Fenerbahçe," *İA*, pp. 5623-4; Aktepe, "Fenerbahçe," pp. 349-72; Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape," pp. 38-9; Artan, "Fener Köşkü," *DBİA*, 3: 282-3.

gardens and palaces.⁴⁶ This was followed in the last quarter of the century by an extensive re-building program started by ʿAbdülhamîd I (1774-1789) and pursued more systematically under Selîm III (1789-1806) -- an activity which largely accounts for the dearth of visual evidence for the buildings of the first three quarters of the century.⁴⁷ The palace of Tersane, renamed Aynalıkavak in reference to the mirrors (*ayna*) presented as a gift by the Venetian ambassador, was rebuilt by the last grand-vizier of ʿAbdülhamîd I, Yûsuf Paşa, enlarged by Selîm III, and later again by Maĥmûd II (figs. 5 and 6).⁴⁸ The pavilion and promenade of Feyzâbâd in Çubuklu and Hümâyûnâbâd in Bebek (*Bebek Kaşrı* or *Bebek Köşkü*), built by Nevşehirli in 1720, were also rebuilt under ʿAbdülhamîd I. The latter was rebuilt once more under Selîm III in 1801 as the private residence of one of his sisters, and decorated by the German architect Melling (fig. 7).⁴⁹ In 1791-92, the imperial pavilion of ʿİzzetâbâd (also called *Vezîr Köşkü*) was built by Meĥmed ʿİzzet Paşa for Selîm III on the grounds of the former imperial garden of Ĥasan Ĥalife.⁵⁰ A modest kiosk, known eponymously as *Giritli Yûsuf Aĝa*

⁴⁶ Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, p. 49; Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," p. 164.

⁴⁷ Most of the visual representations of eighteenth-century waterfront palaces and residences were produced by European resident and traveling artists from the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century.

⁴⁸ Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, I: 250-84; Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, pp. 9-15; Artan, "Aynalıkavak Kasrı," *DBİA*, 1: 485-6.

⁴⁹ Ahmed Vâsîf, *Mehâsinü'l-Asâr*, I: 8; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, pp. 125, 136; Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, p. 61; Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, II: 289-307; Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," pp. 677-8; Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, p. 39; Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," p. 182; Artan, "Bebek Kasrı," *DBİA*, 2: 117-8; idem., "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 391-7.

⁵⁰ Kömürçüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi*, p. 45; Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," p. 182; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 389-90.

Köşkü, was built on the waterfront of Balta Limanı for the court's daily visits.⁵¹ Neşātibād, which had been rebuilt by Nevşehirli in 1725, was allocated in the latter part of the century to Ḥatice Sultān, daughter of ʿAbdülhamīd I and sister of Selīm III. In 1793, the sultan commissioned Melling to make significant stylistic changes in the palace.⁵² Likewise, the palace of Çırağan and the pavilion of Nisbetiyye in Bebek, initially built by Nevşehirli,⁵³ and the pavilion of Meḥmed Emīn Paşa in Anadoluhisarı, were all rebuilt by Selīm III at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁵⁴ Several kiosks and pavilions were added to the existing structures in the palace of Beşiktaş under Selīm III, including the kiosk of *Ḳameriyyeli Mehtāb Bāğçesi*, and the apartments of the queen mother Mihrişāh Sultān (*Vālide Sultān Dā'iresi*) commissioned to the architect Melling (fig. 8, see map 1).⁵⁵

⁵¹ It was built by the steward (*kethüda*) of the sultan's mother (Mihrişāh Vālide Sultān), Giritli Yūsuf Ağa, *Ayvānsarāyi, Ḥadiqat ul-Cevāmi'*, p. 134; Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 678; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 402-3.

⁵² Silāhdār, *Nuşretnāme*, p. 225, 398; Aḥmed Vāşif, *Mehâsinü'l-Asâr*, I: 8; Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, pls. 15, 30; Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, p. 24; Arslan, "Osmanlı Sarayı ve Mimar Antoine-Ignace Melling," pp. 113-122; Arslan, "Melling," *DBİA*, 5: 387-8; Artan, "Hatice Sultan," *DBİA*, 4: 19-20; idem., "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 366-72, 377-8.

⁵³ The palace of Çırağan was later rebuilt by Maḥmūd II, and again by ʿAbdülmeccid I (1839-1860) and ʿAbdülʿaziz I (1861-1875). See Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmā'il ʿAşım*, p.29; İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, pp. 96, 159; Kömürçiyān, *İstanbul Tarihi*, pp. 40, 255-6; Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, II; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 356-7, 397.

⁵⁴ It was rebuilt later by Maḥmūd II, Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 687.

⁵⁵ Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, pl. 26; Arslan, "Beşiktaş Sarayı," pp. 187-91.

2. REGULATION OF THE SUB/URBAN ORDER

The goal of this exposé of eighteenth-century imperial patronage along the Bosphorus was to question some of the implications imposed by the "Tulip Period" paradigm in modern scholarship in understanding the changing configuration of the city: namely, the court's inclination for ephemeral pursuits and the centrality of the figure of Aḥmed III's grand-vizier. Though neither the topographical choices nor the political or ceremonial motives which prompted the development of specific sites at different times are yet clear to us,⁵⁶ it is important to view Nevşehirli's initiative within a continuum of waterfront architectural patronage from the beginning to the middle of the eighteenth century. This process, which gradually transferred the physical locus of imperial power along the most conspicuous artery of the capital, was concluded a century later with the final move of Maḥmūd II (1809-1839) out of the Palace of Topkapı and into the newly rebuilt palace of Beşiktaş. Several seemingly unrelated changes in the eighteenth century also marked the state's corporeal presence in the capital city: The increase of court ceremonials and processions through the city, the state's attempts to regulate new suburban sprawl along social lines, the exhibitionist nature of the new waterfront and of its architectural character, and the new monumentality of imperial public structures, were all signs of the same determination on the part of the state to regulate the urban order amid changing social realities. Each of these questions will be addressed in the following sections.

⁵⁶ A map published in Venice in 1831 for the publication of İncicyan's *Villegiatura*, which recorded the daily excursions of the sultans (*biniş-i hümayyün*), shows that favored sites were all located on the Asian shore, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 337, n.6. This pattern was already established in the sixteenth century and remained seemingly unchanged until the latter half of the eighteenth century, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 256-57.

2.1. Imperial Self-Representation

In this respect, the new Bosphorus topography cannot be dissociated from changing imperial ceremonials, for the channel became a central procession route, both by water and by land. The seasonal moves of the imperial household to various waterfront palaces (*göç-i hümayyün*), its return to the imperial palace of Topkapı (*naql-ı hümayyün*), daily visits to imperial kiosks and pavilions in the city and along the Bosphorus (*biniş-i hümayyün*), and official imperial visits (*şandal-ı hümayyün*) had become events of considerable importance in the eighteenth century. They were recorded in specific imperial documents,⁵⁷ followed up by Ottoman chroniclers and European observers, noted even in intimate diaries,⁵⁸ and witnessed by a large public. Imposing ceremonial rituals accompanied every one of these imperial moves and entailed the transportation of furnishings, food supplies, a complete household of women, children, slaves and servants, and an elaborate set of rituals at every landing of the imperial convoy (*mevkib-i hümayyün*). In the event of the yearly seasonal retreats, public buildings, bridges, and boathouses at various landing stages of the imperial processions were quickly repaired.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ A specific type of document, the Estival Record Books (*Şayfiyye Defterleri*) was kept to record the imperial *göç* movement, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 66, ns.135, 136. Daily visits were regularly recorded in chronicles of imperial ceremonies and were often mentioned in imperial chronicles. See for example, Râşid, *Târih-i Râşid*, V: 205-6, 169-70, 213; İzzî, *Târih-i İzzî*, fols 13, 164, 184, 200; Ahmed Vâsif, *Mehâsinü'l-Asâr*, pp. 140, 290.

⁵⁸ See entries on imperial visits in Telhîsî Muştafa Efendi's diary for the years 1711 to 1735, interspersed with other entries recording current events, earthquakes, social activities, watermelon seasons, etc., Sadreddîn-zâde, Telhîsî Muştafa Efendi, "H. 1123 (1711) - 1184 (1735) Yıllarına ait bir Ceride," pp. 510, 515, 516. See also, the diary of a young *medrese* teacher covering the period between 1730 and 1754, including the reigns of Maḥmūd I and Osmān III, Zilfi, "The Diary of a Müderris," p. 160.

European travelers in the capital city in the eighteenth century have remarked on the outward character of imperial self-representation. Pertusier has underlined the relation between these manifestations of ostentation and the sense of defeat incurred by the Ottomans since the turn of the century:⁶⁰

Lorsque le Grand-Seigneur va visiter quelques-uns des lieux champêtres, qui tour à tour l'attirent, il est précédé d'un grand nombre de bateaux, dont les uns portent ses officiers, ses pages, ses gardes; les autres ses chevaux, ses équipages de campement, etc. (...) l'étiquette qui s'observe dans les béniches sont empruntés des empereurs d'Orient, qui de même que les souverains actuels de Constantinople, possédaient nombre de maisons de plaisance semées sur les rives du Bosphore, et s'y rendaient entourés d'une pompe non moins imposante, surtout lorsqu'il ne leur restait plus que la vanité pour se consoler des pertes réelles que celle-ci leur avait fait essuyer.⁶¹

To this virtually daily display of imperial splendor were added military parades, guild parades, princely wedding birth and circumcision festivities, enthronements and religious celebrations, as well as other public festivities which developed since the seventeenth century,⁶² all attended by the public at large, on the streets and at the windows of their homes (figs. 9 and 10).⁶³

⁵⁹ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 66, n.138.

⁶⁰ Pertusier was probably alluding to the Ottomans' defeat against Europe in particular. One of the most significant was in Vienna in 1683, and was followed by two important peace treaties, in Karlowitz in 1699 and in Passarowitz in 1718, in which the empire made considerable territorial concessions.

⁶¹ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 163-64.

⁶² The birth of a princess became a source of public celebration only under Ahmed III. The first partially public princely circumcision was held in the reign of Ahmed I, Sertoğlu, "Istanbul," *Isl.A.*, V/2: 5; see also, Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699," pp. 612-20.

⁶³ The Baron de Tott mentions that on the occasion of a guild parade, those whose residences offered a favorable vista to the festivities rented out their windows to the public, de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, III: 7; see also, Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, II: 258.

However, images of the eighteenth-century court in pursuit of the pleasures of waterfront retreats at all times of the year, emphasized in contemporary European chronicles and taken up by modern scholars -- most emphatically with regard to the court of Aḥmed III -- should not be so readily accepted. Neither the seasonal retreats nor the daily imperial movements were particular to the eighteenth century.⁶⁴ The *villegiatura* tradition dated back to the fifteenth century, and was allegedly adopted from earlier Byzantine lifestyle.⁶⁵ It matured in the sixteenth century with the erection of several imperial palaces located inland, in areas along the Golden Horn and the Asian shore of the Bosphorus.⁶⁶ Necipoğlu suggests that such seasonal retreats, along with the processions they entailed to and from these palaces, were meant for the display of imperial magnificence before foreign ambassadors,⁶⁷ like other imperial processions through the city, to Friday mosques or to the Hippodrome for certain imperial festivities.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Halting stations (*biniş*) along campaign roads dated back to the reign of Meḥmed II. These stations, like *Dāvūdpaşā Şaḥrāsı* on the Rumeli campaign road, also served as training grounds for the armies, Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," p. 154.

⁶⁵ For waterfront palaces in the Byzantine period see, İncicyan, *Description du Bosphore*.

⁶⁶ Necipoğlu provides a list of sixteenth-century royal gardens based mainly on Süleymān I's account books of royal expenses and an account book of construction and renovation expenses, Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape," p. 47, ns.9, 10.

⁶⁷ Ambassadors would watch the procession from observation booths set up along the route, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 30.

⁶⁸ Public appearances of the sultan also occurred during the two religious celebrations, or *bayram*, and took place at the court of the council, in the public court of the imperial palace of Topkapı, *ibid*, p. 19.

However, the disparity in court ceremonial behavior between the fifteenth and sixteenth century on the one hand and the eighteenth century on the other is quite remarkable, and clearly reflects the manner in which the imperial palace of Topkapı seems to have "decentralized" along the Bosphorus. Since the fifteenth century, imperial seclusion had been inherent to court etiquette, and formalized by Mehmed II between 1477 and 1481 in the dynastic law code (*kānūnnāme*).⁶⁹ This was mirrored in the insular character of the imperial palace, perched on its peninsula, visually subdued and partially walled off (figs. 11 a-b).⁷⁰ Within the palace itself, the strict delineation between the private and public realms of court ritual was reproduced in the linear progression of its courtyards from most public to most private (figs. 12 a-b).⁷¹ Paradoxically, whereas the separation of the Sublime Porte (*Bāb-ı ʿĀlī*, seat of the grand-vizier) from the palace in 1654 meant, theoretically, a separation between the sultan's private domain and the realm of public affairs controlled by the grand-vizier, in practice (architecturally and ceremonially), the boundaries between private and public domains within the imperial palace and without were increasingly altered.⁷²

⁶⁹ Necipoğlu points to Bidlisi's explanation that imperial seclusion was not founded on a principle of safety, but on the bases of the sacredness of the sultan, *ibid*, p. 16. For the rigidity of Ottoman court protocol in the sixteenth century see, *ibid*, pp. 61-9.

⁷⁰ Describing the imperial palace, Castellan wrote: "(...) on a planté derrière ces murs des cyprès, des pins et autres arbres toujours verts qui forment presque partout une seconde barrière impénétrable," Castellan, *Lettres sur la Grèce, l'Hellespont et Constantinople*, p. 35; see also, Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, II: 278.

⁷¹ For the Topkapı Palace see, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*.

⁷² Within the imperial palace the Pearl Kiosk (*İncili Köşk*), initially a private kiosk, began to function as a meeting place for the sultan and state dignitaries in the seventeenth century, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 231. It became an established trend by the last quarter of the eighteenth century; see, Selim III's secretary's repeated mention of this kiosk in his account of imperial ceremonies, Ahmed Efendi (Sirkātibi), *Rûznâme*.

While it is difficult to determine, at this point, the reasons for which eighteenth-century waterfront palaces were conceived and the functions they actually assumed, chroniclers' accounts suggest that they did not only serve as private retreats, but also, as settings for administrative or diplomatic activities. In other words, they acted as extensions to the public court and the audience pavilion of the imperial palace of Topkapı. Increasingly, audiences and receptions of the sultan and members of the high ruling elite were held in various imperial palaces and in grandees' waterfront residences.⁷³ This trend accelerated towards the end of the century, and entailed the gradual establishment of new imperial procession routes along the Bosphorus.⁷⁴

⁷³ Several examples of audiences for foreign ambassadors, official receptions, peace negotiations, deliberations (*muşâvere*) held in various waterfront palaces and residences (*sâhilsarây, yalı, sâhilhâne*) were recorded in chronicles of the period, more frequently so in the latter part of the eighteenth century, Râşid, *Târih-i Râşid*, V: 105, 170-71, 309; Küçük Çelebizâde, *Târih-i İsmâ'il 'Âşım Efendi*, pp. 171; Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'it-Tevârih*, I: 7, 85; Sâmi, Şâkir, Şubhî, *Târih*, I: 106; Ahmed Vâsif, *Mehâsinü'l-Asâr*, pp. 105, 196. It would be interesting to know if this development informed the changing terminology of waterfront palaces. Necipoğlu has noted that in the sixteenth century, imperial suburban palaces were commonly referred to as *bâğçe* (garden), suggesting the primacy of landscape over architecture in contemporary consciousness, Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape," p. 39. Significantly, in eighteenth-century literary texts, poetry and prose, these palaces were most commonly identified as *sarây, sahilsarây, sâhilhâne*, or *yalı* (palace, waterfront palace, waterfront house, waterfront dwelling). This was also the case in archival documents, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 260. Aside from the shifting emphasis from garden to building, or landscape to architecture, one could suggest that the changing terminology reflected the changing use of these palaces from garden retreats to full-fledged imperial urban palaces, a transformation which can be regarded as a prelude to Maḥmūd II's definite move out of the "centralized" imperial palace of Topkapı.

⁷⁴ Artan notes that the sacred ceremony of the girding of the holy sword in Eyüp was re-routed in 1808 via the Bosphorus spine, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 67, 70. Unfortunately, she provides no source for this important turning point in court ceremonial traditions, which would have occurred in the enthronement ceremony of Maḥmūd II. I have found no reference to this in the relevant literature.

One could wonder how much of the imperial palatial patronage on the Bosphorus waterfront was intended and conceived as urban scenography to enhance these imperial displays. If we establish, following Burke and Ingersoll, that the relation between rituals and urban space was stronger at times of social change or unrest,⁷⁵ then, the intensification of imperial public ceremonials, the rising visibility of the sultan, and the spectacular establishment of the ruling elite along the open waterfront in the eighteenth century must all be regarded as potent reminders of the state's unceasing splendor and its renewed presence in the capital city -- at least, symbolically: because in practice, state authority was formulated more directly by the physical regulation of the socio-urban order. To this we now turn.

2.2. Urban Boundaries and Social Markers

Based on the tribunal documents (*şerh-i sicilleri*) of Istanbul for the period of 1700 to 1770 and on Eldem's seminal studies of Istanbul and the Bosphorus, Artan demonstrated that the pattern of residential settlements along the Bosphorus followed a carefully maintained social hierarchy, at least among members of the urban elite, and remained almost unchanged throughout the century.

Residences of members of the imperial household were concentrated around Ortaköy and Kuruçeşme on the European shore, with those of princesses, mostly in Ortaköy and grand-vizieral households (most of whom were related

⁷⁵ On the political significance of, and the relation between papal rituals and urbanism in Renaissance Rome, for instance, see, Ingersoll, "The Ritual of Public Space," p. 41. Following Mumford's argument on the relation between ritual and urban planning in European Baroque cities, Burke has suggested that the emphasis of court ceremonials and rituals tended to coincide with times of weak political and military power, Burke, "Cities, Space and Rituals," p. 34.

through marriage to the imperial family), between Defterdar Burnu and Kuruçeşme (see map 1). The residences of high-ranking members of the religious elite were further upstream in Bebek; and the grand-admiral of the navy kept his traditional residence (since the early sixteenth century) at the Arsenal Palace (*Tersane Sarāyı*) on the Golden Horn.⁷⁶

In fact, the social "regulation" of the Bosphorus residential settlements extended far beyond households of the high ruling elite and members of the imperial family, and, for that matter, beyond the suburban waterfront. Throughout the city, the preservation of social and religious differences was effected through the relentless demolition of existing structures and the rebuilding of others, purchases, confiscations, and the reallocation of property. Several imperial decrees between the years 1743, 1757 and 1767-68, prohibited non-Muslim households from building in the areas of Tophane, Beşiktaş and Ortaköy, Sötlüce as well as several others on either shore of the Bosphorus.⁷⁷ In 1724-25, the palace of Neşâtabâd at Defterdar Burnu had been rebuilt by Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa, and enlarged over confiscated *yalis* belonging to members of religious minority groups. The construction of the imperial pavilion of Hümâyünâbâd in Bebek, in 1725, also entailed the confiscation of property of Greek, Armenian, and Jewish residents and its reallocation to members of the high ranking

⁷⁶ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 101-2.

⁷⁷ Following disturbances among minorities, *yalis* of Armenian and Jewish households in Ortaköy were confiscated and replaced by others for princesses of the imperial household in the 1810s, following a trend which had started in the mid-eighteenth century with the construction of princely *yalis*, *ibid*, p. 87. It should be noted that the trend of building new palaces over confiscated property was not limited to minorities' property: Emnâbâd, for example, was built by Ahmed III for his daughter Faṭma Sultân in Salıpazarı-Fındıklı in 1725, over the *yalis* of 'Osman Bey and custom treasurer Hüseyin Paşa; see, Koçu, "Emnâbâd," *IA*, p. 5104; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 389-93.

religious elite.⁷⁸ Seemingly, the establishment of a pious foundation by Muṣṭafa III, including a mosque, a bath, a fountain and a boys' school (*mektep*), as a nucleus for the development of a new neighborhood on the Asian side of the Bosphorus in Paşabahçe (near Beykoz), similarly led to the removal of residences belonging to Christian minorities, and the sale and rental of these lands to Muslim families.⁷⁹ These repeated episodes of confiscation and demolition of property belonging to minority groups may be read, in part, as a process of "islamization" of the Bosphorus. Though this should not be overstated, the establishment of religious nuclei in new (or re-built) neighborhoods along the Bosphorus shores, not only in Paşabahçe, but in Bebek, Kandilli, and later, in Emirgan and Beylerbeyi (as we will see in the next chapter) pointed in the same direction. As such, they somewhat replicated traditional practices of Ottoman conquest of new Christian lands, right in the suburbs of the capital city -- interestingly, in a period of shrinking imperial territories.⁸⁰ Whether or not these mechanisms were partly intended as an effort towards islamization may ultimately be impossible to corroborate. But by highlighting again the state's determination to "re-capture" the capital city of the empire after almost a

⁷⁸ Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 157-58, 213-14. Other decrees restricted or banned building activity for non-Muslims in specific areas, such as Ortaköy, Galata, and Yeni Cami. For examples of these decrees in the first half of the eighteenth century (1700, 1726, 1743, 1747) see Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 30-1, 157.

⁷⁹ Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *DBİA*, 2: 679. Unfortunately, he provides no source of documentation for this information. Writing at the end of the eighteenth century, Ayyvānsarāyī reported the role of Muṣṭafa's religious endowment in the development of Paşabahçe, but did not mention the demolition of previously existing residences, Ayyvānsarāyī, *Ḥadīkat ul-Cevāmi'*, II: 155.

⁸⁰ For Ottoman urban development in the Balkans, for example, see, Todorov, *The Balkan City in the 15th-19th Centuries*; Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*; idem., "Urban Development in Bulgaria in the Turkish Period: The Place of Turkish Architecture in the Process," pp. 79-150.

century, they also throw doubt on the significance of the "secularist" inclinations of some of the major building patrons (most notably, Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa) in the development of the Bosphorus waterfront.

Roughly, the re-settlement pattern along the Bosphorus shores consisted of a nucleus of high ranking, and some lower ranking Ottoman officials of the central administration in the areas of Tophane, Fındıklı and Beşiktaş, downstream from the imperial and grand-vizierial settlements, at the promontory linking the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, nearby the walled city. Members of the Greek aristocracy and Jewish and Armenian households settled further upstream from the imperial and grand-vizierial area, between Kuruçesme and Tarabya, except in İstinye which housed medium size residences of high ranking viziers and other Ottoman notables (see map 1).⁸¹

Apart from the control of settlement patterns, several building regulations that predated the eighteenth century were repeatedly enforced. These addressed questions of building height, number of stories, roof structures and exterior wall paint colors, and were formulated along the bases of religious and social differences.⁸² That these regulations stipulated the preservation of visible signs of social differences was commented upon by the chronicler Küçük Çelebizâde. Following the promulgation of an imperial edict in 1721 enforcing the color-

⁸¹ For examples of residential patterns established according to a social hierarchy see, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 342-49, 362, 382-87, 407-14, 418-23.

⁸² For imperial decrees regulating building colors, see, Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 66-7, 158. For their significance in contemporary Ottoman consciousness, see for example, Küçük Çelebizâde, *Târîh-i İsmâ'il 'Âsım Efendi*, pp. 53-54; Şadreddin-zâde, Telhîşi Muştafa Efendi, "H. 1123 (1711) - 1184 (1735) Yıllarına ait bir Ceride," p. 525.

codification of building façades along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, he wrote:

It is a surprising matter that these [grande'es'] waterfront residences (*tarabgāhlar*, lit: places of pleasure), painted black, should look like mourning places; and that residences of grande'es (*ricāl-ı devlet*) and minorities (*dhimmī*) should be painted in the same color, contrary to customary social etiquette (*muğāyir-i de'b-i edeb*). The imperial edict stipulates that grande'es' waterfront residences be painted green, white or vermillion red and be distinguishable (*mümtāz kalınması*) from those of the common people (*emākin-i āhād-ı nāsdan*).⁸³

These differences were identified and often remarked upon by foreign travelers. Walsh, for example, noted the "gray and gaudy tints for Turks and dark and leaden for Jews, Armenians and Greeks,"⁸⁴ and Pertusier observed: "Le quartier que je parcours est entièrement habité par des Musulmans; ce qu'il m'est aisé de reconnaître à ces jalousies composées d'un grillage serré (...) ainsi qu'à cette peinture rouge qui les distingue de celles des rayas."⁸⁵ It is difficult, with the available documentation, to understand the processes by which these urban and architectural regulations were enforced. Pertusier's description of the tasks of the chief architect (*mi'mār ağa*), which included the inspection of buildings, hints at the loop-holes of these processes:

L'intendance des bâtimens publics et particuliers est confiée à un inspecteur général, qui porte le titre de mimar-aga. C'est à lui que les particuliers s'adressent pour obtenir la permission de bâtir, se conformant strictement à sa décision pour l'élevation et l'alignement, ou bien achetant de lui la faculté de s'en écarter.(...) le mimar-aga a une foule de moyens

⁸³ Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīh-i İsmā'il 'Āşım Efendi*, pp. 53-4.

⁸⁴ Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 65.

⁸⁵ "Rayas" here refers to the non-Muslim population, Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 94-5. That these colors were seriously considered as potent signs of social distinction is strongly suggested in the story of "a Greek who had cured the sultan [ʿAbdülhamid I] [and] asked to paint the exterior of his house as he wished," Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 142. For colors of building exteriors, see also, Baratta, *Costantinopoli, effigiata e descritta*, p. 548; Olivier, *Voyages dans l'empire Ottoman*, p. 109; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient*, p. 266.

pour se relâcher de ces règlements [concernant l'alignement des bâtiments]; cependant il se montre plus rigoureux sur l'article de l'élévation, à raison des tremblements de terre.⁸⁶

At any rate, the state's repeated attempts to enforce building regulations, and the frequency of transactions between Muslim and non-Muslim households in various neighborhoods, indicate that measures regulating social and religious distinctions were not always scrupulously adopted. The court records gleaned by Artan for the first three quarters of the century indicate, for instance, that the transaction of property along the Bosphorus occurred equally among Muslims, and between Muslim and non-Muslim individuals, despite the building bans which were occasionally subjected on the latter.⁸⁷ The desired social order could not be rigorously imposed. Neither could imperial legal measures entirely dictate the social reconfiguration of the Bosphorus waterfront; nor could they avert the increasingly malleable social boundaries which were being effected since the late sixteenth century. This was magnified, in part, by the speculative opportunities provided by the waterfront development. Artan's study shows that waterfront property was transacted among a wide range of social groups including top-level administrators, religious leaders, as well as craftsmen and small merchants, members of the janissary troops, the navy and the standing army, bureaucrats, and low-ranking members of the religious hierarchy.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 143-4.

⁸⁷ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 164.

⁸⁸ For the identification of social groups in the residential settlements along the Bosphorus, and examples of prices of purchased property, see *ibid*, pp. 142-59.

The ownership and rental of considerable immobile property in the walled city and along the Bosphorus, the excessive size of households and residences, seemingly incommensurate with the social status of their owners, were often noted by contemporaries and indicated in inheritance documents, especially for members of the religious elite, the military, and the bureaucracy. The story of Düzoğlu, recorded in Miss Pardoe's account, is a case in point: Düzoğlu had purchased one small kiosk at Yeniköy,

determined on erecting there a residence worthy of his princely fortunes (...) To obtain sufficient space for the erection of this noble dwelling, and the formation of the grounds about it, DoozOglou purchased no less than five and thirty houses, for which he paid, in every instance, several hundred piasters beyond the demand of their owner.⁸⁹

The case of one Nalbūri Meḥmed Efendi (a member of the bureaucracy or the religious elite),⁹⁰ who purchased eight houses in the year 1755 in various areas of the Bosphorus, is among many others whose activities on the real estate market were recorded in tribunal records of property transactions in this period.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 93.

⁹⁰ In the eighteenth century, the title of "efendi" could refer to either group.

⁹¹ Şemʿdānizāde mentions a high-ranking military officer holding the title of *ağa* who owned palaces in Beşiktaş, Üsküdar, and Sütlüce on the Asian shore as well as in the walled city, Şemʿdānizāde, *Mürʿiʿt-Tevârih*, I: 169. The inheritance records of *şeyhülislām* Dürizāde Muşafa (d. 1775) report seventeen houses in Istanbul and its environs, in addition to a mill (*değirmen*) and a vacant plot (*arşa*) in Konya, Zilfi, "The Ilmiye Registers," pp. 350-1. Those of the *müderris* Muşafa Efendi (d. ca. 1755) record a home in the city, an office (endowed property), a summer house in Üsküdar, a plot of land in Istanbul, and a number of rooms in various parts of the city, in addition to other rooms in Edirne (part of a family endowment) which he rented out, Shinder, "Mustafa Efendi," pp. 415-20. Based on several accounts of Ottoman contemporaries, İncılık counted 120 large residences (mansions or palaces) belonging to the imperial and the vizierial households, to a thousand belonging to other notables and merchants, both in and outside the walled city in the middle of the seventeenth century, İncılık, "Istanbul," *EI2*, IV: 236. For immobile property and household retinues in the seventeenth century, also see, Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, pp. 100-2. For the accumulation of wealth and patterns of consumption in the eighteenth century see, Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie*, pp. 45-87.

From this perspective, the relation between rank, residence, and taste established by Muṣṭafa ʿĀlī in the last decades of the sixteenth century -- which, while an indication that it was not always maintained (as he often lamented), reflected nonetheless an ideal social order to aspire to⁹² -- seems to have completely lost its relevance by the eighteenth century. Efforts at redrawing the boundaries of social and religious differences were being continuously defied by tides of new suburban settlers on the Bosphorus waterfront.

The instituted revival of the *göç* tradition by imperial decree under Aḥmed III upon his decision to remain in the capital epitomized the continuous tension between the state's attempts to regulate the order and the changing social realities of the time. By stipulating that the people of Istanbul move to their summer residences on May 5 and return to their winter residences on October 7 of each year,⁹³ it further reflected the state's efforts towards the control of movement of the urban population. In the end, however, for five months every year, individuals from various social groups lived alongside members of the ruling elite, sharing the same visual prospects the waterfront afforded, similar

⁹² "This again will be obvious and clear as daylight to all understanding and cultured contemporaries, namely that everybody's living quarters must be consistent with his status, that his house and residence must fit his taste and rank, so that he stays within his limits, not overstepping his appropriate measure, and does not travel the road of foolish spenders," translated by Tietze, Tietze, "Mustafa ʿAli on Luxury," pp. 585-6. These reflections were part of an old theme of Ottoman advice literature, which emphasized that Ottoman social hierarchy should not be obscured by appearances, and that its visible signs should be enforced for the maintenance of social order and political harmony. For references on this subject see, for example, Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Ottoman Statecraft, The Book of Counsel for Vezirs and Governors*; Fodor, "State and Society, Crisis and Reform, in 15th-17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes," pp. 217-40. For Muṣṭafa ʿĀlī, see Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa ʿĀlī (1541-1600)*.

⁹³ İncicyan, *Villegiatura*, p. 171; cited in Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 166.

architectural concerns, and an equal opportunity for the display of their wealth -- all of which were partly ensured by the topographical make-up of the waterfront.

3. RECONSTITUTION OF THE YALI

We know little about the motives which prompted individuals from different social groups to settle on the Bosphorus waterfront. The desire for a variety of lifestyles, speculation and profiteering, and social pretensions,⁹⁴ are some of the reasons that have been occasionally offered by contemporaries as possible explanations for this move.⁹⁵ Yet, what seems to have warranted this massive settlement along the Bosphorus is that it accommodated, or enhanced, a growing preoccupation with personal, sensual pleasures. This was mostly evident in the architectural vocabulary of the waterfront residence, or *yalı*. While the waterfront setting and topography, to a certain degree, dictated the pattern and

⁹⁴ This is evoked, for instance, in a poem by Vāşif composed in the last quarter of the century:

"Had your father married you off to a grandee,
thanks to you, we too could move into a yalı"
(*Baban vereydi seni bolaykim mevāliye*
Sāyende biz de taşınırız bāri yalıya)

Vāşif, *Muhammes*: "Mother's Advice to Her Daughter;" cited in Chmielowska, *La femme turque*, p. 56.

⁹⁵ In a comment on the typical habits of the residents of Istanbul, Pertusier remarked: "ils changent (...) de maisons aussi facilement que chez nous l'on prend d'autres habits; éprouvant aussi ce plaisir que la variété porte avec elle," Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 359. It is difficult to understand, from the available documentation, whether the Bosphorus shores were regarded by contemporaries as suburban extensions of the city, or perceived as somewhat removed from the urban setting and more akin to the countryside. D'Ohsson offers a rare clue to this question. Writing in the late eighteenth century, after several decades of building activity along the Bosphorus shores, he observed that with the exception of occasional farming estates (*çiftlik*) located far inland, the notion and the pleasures of the countryside ("campagne") were unknown to the Ottomans. Country houses ("maison de campagne"), he explains, are located in the towns and villages ("bourgs et villages") along the Bosphorus shores, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 252-56.

layout of buildings and gardens, I will suggest below that the formal developments of the *yalı* may have been less a direct implication of the setting than of a broader change in architectural sensibility.

As a building type, the *yalı*,⁹⁶ or *sāḥilhāne*, *sāḥilsarāy* (waterfront residence, waterfront palace), was neither new nor peculiar to the eighteenth century, and evidence of its existence dates as far back as the fifteenth century.⁹⁷ What is remarkable, however, is the new "exhibitionist" quality, so to speak, of the eighteenth-century *yalı*. Its development into an open, boldly linear, skeletal and outward-looking structure, punctuated by large openings, mirrored an extraordinary concern for light, air and a view, and overall sensual gratification. Unencumbered with architectural symbols such as gates and courtyards to designate private and public spaces, it differed widely from its predecessors, which consisted of aggregates of inward-looking masonry structures, spread over a wide garden expanse. These were reproduced until the early eighteenth century in imperial waterfront palaces such as Nevşehirli's (first) palace of Çırağan, possibly based on the prototype of the imperial palace of Topkapı.⁹⁸ In striking contrast, the style-conscious architectural skin of eighteenth-century waterfront imperial palaces in particular, their highly crafted, gilded and ornate façades, expressed a peculiar concern for public display, akin to that expressed in the magnificent imperial processions, the spectacular urban uplift and, as we will

⁹⁶ For current interpretations of the etymology of the word *yalı*, see, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 8-9, n.12.

⁹⁷ For examples of early *yalı*s see, Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*; Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*.

⁹⁸ Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, p. 24; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 366-72, 377-8.

soon see, the monumental public fountains of the ruling elite. This subject will be examined in considerable detail in the last chapter. Here I will concentrate on the formal aspects of the *yalı* in the eighteenth century.

According to Eldem, the transformation of the *yalı* began in Edirne under Mehmed IV in the latter half of the seventeenth century and spread in Istanbul under Ahmed III, with wooden infill walls gradually replacing the earlier massive blind walls.⁹⁹ However, the extraordinary survival of a section of a wooden *yalı* dating back to 1699, built by grand-vizier ‘Amcazāde Köprülü Hüseyin Paşa in Anadoluhisarı, indicates that wood-frame construction was not unfamiliar to the architectural landscape of Istanbul prior to the reign of Ahmed III (fig. 13).¹⁰⁰ The widespread use of wood as building material in the capital city and the Bosphorus was reported by Pietro della Valle already in the early seventeenth century.¹⁰¹ An anecdotal mention by the sultan's imperial chronicler Rāşid definitely points in the same direction, further suggesting that this might have been a typical feature of buildings in the city. In 1709, he reported:

Since all the buildings of the imperial palace are of stone and brick, and lead [for the] roof, and lack what is in the construction of the houses of Istanbul, the sultan ordered that kiosks and rooms be in the style of the buildings of [or, construction in] the city.

He then noted that the building of lofty pavilions and dwellings at Sarayburnu, begun prior to this order, were completed: *Sarāy-ı hümāyūnuñ mecmū'-i ebniyesi*

⁹⁹ The architecture of seventeenth-century Edirne still constitutes a gap in the scholarship and further research in this direction might refine our understanding of some of the transformations which took place in Istanbul upon the court's definitive return from Edirne. For visual material of residences in Edirne from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth see, Rifat, *Edirne Evleri ve Konakları*.

¹⁰⁰ For this *yalı* see, Eldem and Ünver, *Amucazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı*.

¹⁰¹ Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino*, I: 22-23, 30-31.

*kārgir ü kurşun örtülü olup İstanbul hâneleri binâsında olan onda olmadığından tab^c-ı hümayün şehir binâsı tarzında köşkler ü oğalar murād buyurup bundan aqdem Sarây Burnunda şürü^e olunan kaşr-ı ^eâli ü büyüt-ı refi^eanın binâsı tamâm olmağın (...).*¹⁰²

Even though wood-frame construction is nowhere directly mentioned in Rāşid's reference, it would not be far fetched to interpret the contrast established between the heavy masonry of the imperial palace and the style of building construction in the city as an oblique reference to it.¹⁰³

A similar development occurred in the garden structures appended to the *yalı*. From the latter half of the seventeenth century, free-standing kiosks were erected in wood and no longer in heavy masonry, displaying an articulated façade, often in the form of a Greek cross open on all sides (figs. 14 and 15).¹⁰⁴ A favorite of foreign travelers, these kiosks were repeatedly noted for their lightness and openness: "des kiosks qui (...) se font remarquer par la légèreté de

¹⁰² Rāşid, *Tārīh-i Rāşid*, III: 307. I have not come across any other visual or textual evidence of these pavilions, reportedly built by Aḥmed III in Sarayburnu. It is possible that Rāşid was referring to the renovation of a pavilion located over the gate which separates the third court from the outer gardens of the imperial palace, and named after the seventeenth-century grand-vizier Kara Muştafa Paşa, which was undertaken in 1704 by Aḥmed III. The wooden structure and the remarkable transparency of this pavilion, then renamed *Şoffa Köşkü*, closely corresponds to the chronicler's reference. For the *Şoffa Köşkü* see, Davis, *The Palace of Topkapı*, pp. 177-9; Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 198.

¹⁰³ That the houses of ordinary people were built in wood was observed by several European travelers; see, Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, pl. 6; Castellan, *Lettres sur la Grèce, l'Hellespont at Constantinople*, pp. 23, 110; Andreossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁴ Here, too, Eldem suggests that the conception and the construction of kiosks took a new turn under Mehmed IV. In his reign, fifty kiosks were built in wood, in contrast to their earlier heavy masonry prototypes, Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*. He suggests that these were modelled after a few imperial kiosks, most notably, the "Shore Kiosk" (*Yalı Köşkü*), completed in 1593 on the shore of the Topkapı peninsula. For the "Shore Kiosk" see, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 231-40.

leur construction" or "où l'air pénètre de toutes parts."¹⁰⁵ It is also during the same period, and in an apparently similar concern for openness, that an upper course of windows was introduced in the top story of the façade of the *yalı*, thereby doubling the amount of interior natural light and overplaying the overall transparency of the structure, both from within and from without (figs. 16 and 17).¹⁰⁶ Pertusier's description and a rare visual depiction of urban mansions (*konak*) suggest that this was not a peculiarity of waterfront houses alone: "Les pièces, dans les hôtels, reçoivent le jour par deux rangs de fenêtres, placées l'une au-dessus de l'autre. Celles du haut sont doubles, encadrées dans la pierre, et quelquefois garnies de vitraux peints" (fig. 18).¹⁰⁷

Despite the measures taken to maintain the needed privacy by way of latticed and grilled windows,¹⁰⁸ extensive fenestration remained one of the most obvious features of the new residential architecture in the city and a common subject of commentary by European observers throughout the eighteenth century: "Les maisons turques [sont] percées d'une infinité de fenêtres," remarked the German architect Melling.¹⁰⁹ And the English traveler Cockerell noted:

¹⁰⁵ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 356. See also *ibid*, I: 27, 318, 336, 346.

¹⁰⁶ Artan notes that court records do not offer much insight in this regard, except by way of numbers of windows; see Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 297.

¹⁰⁷ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 100. See also, Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, pl. 25; Carbo gnano, *18. Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, p. 50.

¹⁰⁸ Walsh noted: "The windows are closed up with more than Turkish jealousy. The lattices are dense and impervious to all view, leaving only one minute aperture, to which the inmate of the harem applies her eye when she wishes to contemplate the busy and living picture continually before her," Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, p. 69. See also, Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 95.

[T]he rooms are so contrived as to have windows on two sides at least, and sometimes on three, and the windows are so large that the effect is like that of a glass-house. The Turks seem to be the only people who properly appreciate broad sunshine and the pleasure of the view.¹¹⁰

Others such as Pertusier deplored the sense that this conveyed, of a "fraîcheur trop passagère, donnée aux dépens de la durée." Describing the palace of Hüseyn Paşa in Eyüp, he wrote: "Peut-être lui reprochera-t-on d'être trop maniéré, de présenter une façade brisée par un trop grand nombre de saillies."¹¹¹

Visual representations of eighteenth-century palaces and more modest residences correspond to these descriptions, as they reflect an unprecedented feeling of openness and airiness (figs. 19 and 20). These qualities were magnified by the linear development of the *yalı* along the waterfront; a feature which became characteristic of the eighteenth century and which has been commonly construed as an emulation of contemporary European neo-classical façades (see fig. 2).¹¹² But it is important to highlight here the nature of the new wooden, skeletal construction system in promoting these changes. Indeed, the gradual elongation of the fifteenth- to seventeenth-century central type *yalı* operated along a simple principle of the linear repetition of a basic unit. This consisted of rooms arranged around a central hall (*şoffa*) which extended into a semi-open T-shaped kiosk on the shore side, with its three arms jutting out of the main façade to maximize the view (figs. 21 and 22).¹¹³

¹⁰⁹ Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, pl. 25.

¹¹⁰ Cockerell, *Travels in Southern Europe and the Levant*, p. 28.

¹¹¹ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 308. Dallaway remarked that "houses in general (...) are ill-adapted to wet or cold weather, being full of unglazed windows," Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 72.

¹¹² See, particularly, Esin, "Le Maḥbûbiye," pp. 73-86.

Concern for a view is further reflected in the panoply of spaces specifically conceived for its enjoyment, and in the rich vocabulary of semi-open spaces which pointedly referred to the view or to the object viewed.¹¹⁴ *Tahtaboş*, *tahtabend* (referring to an open roof with a raised platform, or a belvedere structure), *taht-ı semā* (lit. space under the sky; or "aerial throne"), *cihānnümā* (lit. which shows the sky), *seyirgāh* (lit. place to view, generally used in reference to the projecting kiosk), *mehtābiyye* and *ķameriyye* (from Pers. *mehtāb*, full moon or moonlight and from Arab. *ķamar*, or moon, used in reference to roof terraces or projecting kiosks respectively), were all recorded in the court documents of the period in regard to residences across the social spectrum (figs. 23 and 24).¹¹⁵ It has been argued that the old ban on waterfront buildings higher than two storeys was what had led to the construction of all sorts of upward extensions.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Pertusier offered a description of the interior space: "On entre dans une vaste pièce qui traverse l'édifice, de forme carrée, et l'occupe en entier dans sa largeur, mais seulement à la partie antérieure, qui fait avant-corps; en sorte que cette salle forme un T, prenant des jours dans tous les sens," Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 207. For the development of *yalıs* in plan and façade, see, Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*; idem., *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*. It should be noted here that visual pleasures were not the exclusive prerogative of those residences which stood at the very edge of the waterfront. It is noteworthy that inland residences, contrary to the one and two-story shore buildings, rose up to three floors, taking full advantage of the hilly topography in order to maximize the view; see, Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, pl. 31.

¹¹⁴ Pertusier even explains the absence of front gardens as a reflection of the same concern for an uninterrupted view: "Il manque à ces palais des jardins (...) On n'a pensé qu'à agrandir le domaine de la vue (...) Le Turc de Constantinople faisant peu d'exercice, et la reine de ses jouissances étant de pouvoir, sans quitter l'angle d'un sofa, promener la vue sur un champ vaste (...) doit souffrir impatiemment que l'on borne son horizon sous prétexte de l'orner. Quelle situation plus heureuse pourrait-on imaginer pour flatter et contenter ses goûts, que les rives du Bosphore, où la mobilité constante des objets combat si victorieusement la monotonie?" Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 339-40.

¹¹⁵ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 174, 266-7.

¹¹⁶ İnalçık, "Istanbul," *EI2*, IV: 236.

Yet, as Artan pointed out, waterfront land was not scarce; and the proliferation of these structures did not seem to be motivated by a need for additional space.¹¹⁷ Despite the imperial regulations which controlled or banned their construction, such as the 1743 edict prohibiting the building of belvederes (*tahtaboş*), court documents testify to their continued popularity, and indicate that they became a common source of dispute among neighbors, on grounds of privacy and obstruction of the view.¹¹⁸

The linearly extended *yalı* and its articulated façade become more pronounced at the turn of, and into the first half of the nineteenth century, occasionally keeping with the tradition of skeletal wooden construction (fig. 25).¹¹⁹ However, these light and transparent structures started being overshadowed by more imposing buildings in heavy masonry, starting with the rebuilding programs of imperial waterfront palaces in the reigns of ‘Abdülhamid I and Selim III, and more extensively under Maḥmūd II in the first half of the nineteenth century (figs. 26 a-b).¹²⁰ An engraving of the shore of Defterdar Burnu after the German architect Melling, who was commissioned for a large number of buildings and restorations under Selim III, offers a comparative perspective of waterfront façades from the beginning to the end of the century (fig. 27). From background

¹¹⁷ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 280-1.

¹¹⁸ See, for example, Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 158-9; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 267.

¹¹⁹ We know of one such building, that is the rebuilt palace of Beşiktaş by Maḥmūd II, Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, p. 22.

¹²⁰ Melling reports that during the reign of Maḥmūd II (1809-1839) a regulation which imposed the use of masonry was issued, to avert fire damages. Melling suggests, however, that it may not be applied, because of the high cost of masonry, Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, pl. 19.

to foreground, it shows the early eighteenth-century *yalı* of Neşāṭābād, which had become the residence of the sultan's sister, Ḥatıce Sultān; Melling's new extension of the residence in 1793 (*Ağalar Dā'iresi*); and a portion of a *yalı* of the early or mid-century.¹²¹ The one by Melling is represented as a two-story building designed symmetrically around a stylized kiosk projection, crowned with a pediment and resting on four columns. A row of pedimented French windows is used for the upper floor, and another, of round arches, for the lower story. In comparison to the two neighboring *yalıs*, one notices the strikingly narrow façade and the overall sense of solidity conveyed by the heavy masonry construction, the single course windows, the larger wall surfaces and the scale and mass of the projecting kiosk. Beyond the adoption of European proportions and elements, Melling's stylistic innovations reflected a different conception of the *yalı*; and to some extent, the obliteration of some of the architectural concerns, such as openness and transparency, which defined the *yalı* of the first three quarters of the eighteenth century.¹²² These were the features which imparted to the eighteenth-century waterfront, despite and beyond its original conception as a private residential setting, its overwhelmingly outward and public feeling, and a sense of unrestricted *visual* access -- an important aspect of urban change in this period which will be explored separately, in the following chapter.

¹²¹ For Melling and his building activity in Istanbul, see, Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*; Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore*; Boschma and Perot, *Antoine-Ignace Melling*; Perot, "Un artiste lorrain à la cour de Selim III"; Arslan, "Melling," *DBIA*, 5: 387-8.

¹²² It may be noteworthy that another contemporary building by Melling, a kiosk in the palace of Beşiktaş also commissioned by Selim III, was deemed a "heavy, inelegant wooden edifice" by Miss Pardoe, Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 17. For a description and an illustration of this kiosk, see, Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople*, pl. 28.

4. SPLASH AND SPECTACLE: PUBLIC FOUNTAINS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY¹²³

Perhaps the most emblematic feature of the urban landscape of eighteenth-century Istanbul was the public fountain. The simultaneous transformation of this old and familiar archetype into an icon of state splendor and an unrivalled marker of the flourishing public space makes it the most potent illustration of the "tension" inherent in the socio-urban order of this period, and the new demands of the urban society. The extraordinary proliferation of fountains alone, in the old city and along its suburban shores, deserves consideration. Despite some discrepancies between various recent studies, statistics do reflect a comparable upsurge in the patronage of fountains in eighteenth-century Istanbul, and most considerably so in the areas located along the shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn (Haliç) (see Appendix I: table 1).¹²⁴

Scholars have tended to attribute this excessive profusion, directly or indirectly, to the series of infrastructural improvements which occurred in the same period, with the building and repair of dams and reservoirs, and the extension of water

¹²³ "Splash and Spectacle" is borrowed from the title of an exhibition on fountain designs in New York, held at the Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum in summer 1998.

¹²⁴ In the earliest of these studies, Tanışık recorded 62 fountains built in the sixteenth century, 93 in the seventeenth century and 319 in the eighteenth century, reflecting a sharp increase in numbers along the Asian and the European sides of the Bosphorus down to the Golden Horn, Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*. Egemen's recent survey (mainly of extant fountains) shows 77 fountains for the sixteenth century, 130 for the seventeenth century and 365 for the eighteenth century, Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*. For the reign of Ahmed III (1703-1730) Aynur documents a total of 216 fountains: 58 on the Asian side of Bosphorus, from Üsküdar to Çubuklu, 25 on the European shore from Rumelihisarı down to Hasköy on the Golden Horn, and 50 in the walled city and in the areas bordering the fortification walls, Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*.

lines to new neighborhoods.¹²⁵ The two oldest fifteenth-century networks of Kırkçeşme and Halkalı witnessed significant repairs and enlargements by Maḥmūd I, Muṣṭafa III, and ʿAbdülḥamīd I,¹²⁶ and the addition of a dam, *Büyük Bend* or *Bend-i Kebîr* (the Great Dam) by Aḥmed III in 1722-23 (fig. 28). The third existing network in Üsküdar was extended under ʿAbdülḥamīd I and Selīm III (fig. 29).¹²⁷ In 1731-32, a new distribution network, the Bâğçeköy or Taksim network, was built by Maḥmūd I. This was the most sizeable and the most extensive infrastructural improvement to date, and involved the building of a dam at Bâğçeköy, from which water was diverted to a water reservoir and distribution center in Beyoğlu (Taksim),¹²⁸ and the extension of waterlines to the areas of Kasımpaşa, Galata, Beyoğlu, all the way to Beşiktaş and Ortaköy on the Bosphorus waterfront, and inland to today's Levent and Harbiye (figs. 30 and 31).¹²⁹ In the few months after the installation of the Taksim reservoir in 1732, at

¹²⁵ See for example, Çeçen, *İstanbul'da Osmanlı Devrinde Su Tesisleri*; Eyice, "İstanbul (Tarihî Eserler)," *İsl.A.*, V/2: 1214/87-90; Bates, "Eighteenth Century Fountains," pp. 294-5.

¹²⁶ The earliest water distribution networks, Halkalı and Kırkçeşme, were started under Meḥmed II in the fifteenth century. Kırkçeşme, which fed from the Forest of Belgrade, was substantially enlarged with the construction of several dams and aqueducts (notably, Kırkçeşme and Bozdoğan) under Süleymān I, in whose reign water was diverted to the Palace of Topkapı and its neighborhood. Halkalı consisted of three waterlines feeding from the region of Cebeciköy. Others were subsequently added, notably, by Beyazīd II, Süleymān I in the sixteenth century and by Aḥmed I and Meḥmed IV in the seventeenth century. For the construction of dams and aqueducts and the city water network, see, Evliyā, *Seyahatname*, fols 11b, 45b, 46a; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, I: 234-40; Eyice, "İstanbul (Tarihî Eserler)," *İsl.A.*, V/2: 1214/85-97; Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri*, pp. 51-56; Çeçen, *İstanbul'da Osmanlı Devrinde Su Tesisleri*; idem., *Sinan's Water Supply System*; idem., *Halkalı Suları*.

¹²⁷ The Üsküdar waterline was initiated under Süleymān I and expanded considerably under İbrāhīm I in the seventeenth century, Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri*, pp. 51-56; and Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları*.

¹²⁸ Taksim (lit. distribution) gave its name to the area.

least 38 new fountains were built on the hills of Beyoğlu and Galata, on the shores of Tophane and Beşiktaş, and in Kasımpaşa and Hasköy along the Golden Horn (map 2).¹³⁰

The growing infrastructure certainly played an important role in making possible such a building activity. But the phenomenal popularity of fountains throughout the eighteenth century cannot be explained by this factor alone, especially if we consider the disproportionate decline in number of other water-dependant structures such as the bath or *hammām* in the same period.¹³¹ Nor can we attribute this trend to a population explosion in the city and its suburbs.¹³² It

¹²⁹ D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, I: 234-40; Kömürçiyân, *İstanbul Tarihi*, pp. 175, 270; İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, pp. 97, 122; Eyice, "İstanbul (Tarihî Eserler)," *İsl.A.*, V/2: 1214/85-97, Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri*, pp. 51-56; Çeçen, *Taksim ve Hamidiye Suları*.

¹³⁰ The fountains of Defterdâr İzzet 'Alî Paşa, Nişancı Ahmed Paşa, Anadolu Kādîaskeri Mehmed Efendi, Silâhdâr Ya'kûb Ağa, Hekîmoğlu 'Alî Paşa, Sâliha Sultân, Hâcî Ahmed Ağa in Beyoğlu and Tophane, Hâcî Mehmed Ağa, Kaptan Maryol Hâcî Hüseyin Paşa, Kethüda Mehmed Efendi, Kiblelizâde Mehmed Bey, Hâtipzâde Yahya Paşa, Yeğen Mehmed Paşa, Mihrişâh Kadın, Vuşlat Kadın, Verdinâz Kadın, Kethüda Yahya Ağa, Ziver Efendi, Cebecibaşı 'Abdullâh Ağa, 'Abide Hanım, Kâymakâm Hâfız Ahmed Paşa, Ahmed Paşa Tevki'i, Sürmeli 'Alî Paşa, Dâr üs-Sa'âde Ağası Hâcî Beşir Ağa, 'Ömer Ağa, Defteremini İsmâ'il Ağa, another Defteremini, Kethüda 'Alî Ağa, İsmâ'il Ağa, Müderris Sa'dullâh Efendi, Tersane Emîni Ahmed Ağa, Topcuoğlu İsmâ'il Ağa, Kemankeş Mustafa Paşa, Mehmed Bey (Bereketzâde), Mahmûd I in Tophane, Cihangir and Taksim; see, İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 97; Bates, "Eighteenth Century Fountains," p. 293; Özdeniz, *Kaptan-ı Deryâ Çeşmeleri ve Sebilleri*, p. 109; Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*; Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*.

¹³¹ The literature on baths in Istanbul is virtually non-existent for the eighteenth century. For a partial listing of baths in the city see, Ayyânsarayî, *Hadiqat ul-Cevâmi'*. For recent surveys of Ottoman baths in the city see, Köseoğlu, *İstanbul Hamamları*; Eyice, "Hamamlar," *İsl.A.*, V/1: 537-42; Eyice, "İstanbul (Tarihî Eserler)," *İsl.A.*, V/2: 1214/99-103.

¹³² The eighteenth century falls in a relatively dark period for population studies, between the *tahrîr* (cadastral survey) documents of the sixteenth century and nineteenth-century modern statistics. Nothing seems to indicate a population explosion in Istanbul in this period. See, for example, İnalçık, "İstanbul," *EI2*, IV: 243-44; Mantran, *İstanbul dans la seconde moitié de XVIIe siècle*, pp. 44-66; Panzac,

is also significant that some of the fountains mentioned above, which were built following the expansion of the 1732 network to new areas, were among several others sponsored by the same patrons, at different times and in various locations, and seemingly unrelated to infrastructural improvements. Consider, for example, the total of 13 fountains built by Hācı Beşir Ağa, chief eunuch of the imperial Harem (*dār üs-sa'āde ağası*) from 1729 to 1745, scattered between Üsküdar, Eyüp, Beşiktaş, Fatih and the area of the palace of Topkapı.¹³³ It is equally difficult to account from this perspective for the unusually high number of fountains built in limited periods of time which did not witness any expansion of the water supply network. This is particularly marked in the period of six years following the court's return from Edirne to Istanbul, from 1703 to 1710, during which 37 fountains were built, and in the year 1728-29, which saw the building of no less than 48 fountains in the walled city and along the Bosphorus shores.¹³⁴

If we further consider that the sharp growth in the number of fountains in the first half of the eighteenth century was paralleled by an equally singular increase in their size and surface decoration, at least in the case of fountains sponsored by wealthy patrons (members of the court household and high-ranking members of the administration and the military), and that both quantity and size were gradually scaled down in the latter part of the century, to confine this

"La population de l'empire ottoman et de ses marges du XVe au XIXe siècle," pp. 119-37.

¹³³ In Üsküdar (1729), Fındıklı (1732), Kocamustafapaşa (1732, 1737, 1738), Eyüp (1738), five in Fatih, in the old market and near the Sublime Porte (1744), in Beşiktaş (1745), and Ayasofya (1745), Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, pp. 192-9.

¹³⁴ A list of these fountains is given in Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri*, pp. 265, 274, 267, 275.

phenomenon too narrowly to concerns for water provisioning seems impossible. Indeed, these developments, and others like the formation of a new monumental type of fountain, all of which coincided with the court's return to the capital city, point to a preoccupation similar to that reflected in the contemporary decentralization of the imperial palace along the conspicuous Bosphorus waterfront, or the amplification of public court ceremonials: namely, with the public display of the state's renewed presence and splendor.

4.1. Patrons of the Urban Space

Before we turn to the formal development of fountains, it is important to note that what partly accounted for their increasing number during this period was a growing practice of building patronage and pious endowments by individuals from the middle economic strata of the urban society, such as the lower ranks of the religious and military institutions, merchants and craftsmen, and most particularly, members of the bureaucracy. What is remarkable about the list of fountains built in the eighteenth century (see Appendix I: table 3) is the much wider spectrum of titles and ranks of patrons of fountains it includes than the list of the seventeenth century (see Appendix I: table 2).

Tanışik's documentation of 319 fountains for the period of 1703 to 1799 shows that members of the military, high and low ranking, holding the title of *ağa*,¹³⁵ constituted the largest social group of fountain endowers in the eighteenth

¹³⁵ The title of *ağa* was typically held by high-ranking members of the military but it was also occasionally used in reference to members of the janissary troops, Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, I: 21. It was also the title of the imperial Harem's chief eunuch, *Harem Ağası* or *Dār us-Sa'ādet Ağası*. A prominent example among these was Beşir Ağa, mentioned earlier as the patron of no less than 13 fountains. We will consider this patron more closely in the chap. 4.

century. They were followed by viziers, grand-viziers and navy commanders (*paşa*), as well as members of the religious elite (*efendi*) and the bureaucracy, whose greater lateral career mobility in this period places them in three title categories: *çelebi*, *efendi*, and *paşa*.¹³⁶ The presence of craftsmen and artisans on this list is equally noteworthy, especially if compared with earlier centuries (see Appendix I: tables 2 and 3). While there is no complete comparative study of the social distribution of building patrons (of fountains in particular) across centuries, several studies of pious endowments and building activity in the eighteenth century indicate a clear rise in the representation of social groups previously underrepresented among building patrons.

A rough classification of eighteenth-century pious foundations according to social groups ranks high-ranking members of the central administration first (37.45%), followed by members of the imperial household (21.86%), ulema (14.28%), and merchants and artisans (1.82%).¹³⁷ Aynur's study, confined to the reign of Aḥmed III, shows that patrons of fountains included high and low-ranking members of the religious, administrative and military groups, as well as craftsmen, and points to a growth in women's patronage during this period from 10% to 27%.¹³⁸ Both Zilfi and Abou el-Haj mention a sharp increase in the

¹³⁶ For the rising power of bureaucrats in the eighteenth century and references on this subject, see the Introduction. See also Itzkowitz's study of the phenomenon he called the "Efendi-turned-Paşa" in his article "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Realities," pp. 73-94. Both titles, *çelebi* and *efendi*, were used for scribes in the eighteenth century. In the sixteenth century, scribes appeared strictly as *çelebi*, and as *efendi* in the nineteenth. See, Pakalın, *Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri*, I: 342-45; 505-6.

¹³⁷ Yediyıldız, *Institution du vaqf au XVIIIe siècle en Turquie*, p. 133.

¹³⁸ Aynur, III. *Ahmed Devri*, pp. 70-71. Erünsal's study of eighteenth-century public and semi-public libraries in Istanbul shows that a large number of them was endowed by bureaucrats from the central administration, Erünsal, *Türk*

number of pious foundations (*waqf*, pl. *awqāf*) in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, especially of *mescid*, *medrese* (religious college), and public fountains established by members of the religious hierarchy, as one of their most significant sources of income -- as their wealth was inheritable because of their (theoretical, at least) immunity to confiscation.¹³⁹ The inclination of janissaries for pious endowments during the same period as largely motivated by financial reasons has also been noted, and should be regarded as a repercussion of their infiltration into the social fabric, and a reflection of the changing social structure.¹⁴⁰ But financial considerations aside, it is not far fetched to think that architectural patronage and the beautification of the urban space were also means of displaying status, social distinction, or excess of wealth, especially among individuals from those rising social groups.¹⁴¹ It is not surprising that in

Kütüphaneleri Tarihi. See also, Yediyıldız, *Institution du waqf au XVIIIe siècle en Turquie*, pp. 185-6; Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, pp. 26-7.

¹³⁹ Zilfi, "Elite Circulation," pp. 350-1; idem., *The Politics of Piety*, p. 67; Abou el-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State*, pp. 57-8. Abou el-Haj notes that pious foundations were crucial for the ulema, as they controlled the management of their wealth via their guardianship and the interpretation of the terms of their foundation deeds, *ibid*, p. 46.

¹⁴⁰ İnalçık mentions that many of those who held the title of Janissary were wealthy individuals who might have accumulated their wealth through trade, office holding rewards or pious endowments, the benefits of which they often managed to retain within family control, İnalçık, "Istanbul," pp. 231, 242. Pious endowments as a loophole of the Ottoman policy of confiscation of personal property (upon death or following the dismissal of court officials from office) is often emphasized in explaining the popularity of their practice. See for example, Abou el-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir," p. 446; Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie*, pp. 28-9. For specific court cases see, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 123-7. For pious endowments in the eighteenth century see, Yediyıldız, *L'institution du waqf au XVIIIe siècle en Turquie*.

¹⁴¹ See Martinon's definition of "luxe monumental," Martinon, "Luxe," *Encyclopedia Universalis*, pp. 128-30. A comparable argument has been offered in studies of women in eighteenth-century England, in which the relation between patronage and social identity focuses on the emergence of individuality. For relevant literature see, Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, p. xix. In the Ottoman context, Findley has drawn a similar relation between patronage, which

comparison with the more sizeable endowment projects of mosques or *medreses*, the relatively small and affordable fountain structures were particularly popular among these patrons.¹⁴²

4.2. Monumentality and Extravagance

With one significant typological exception, the *meydān çeşmesi*, to which I will return, most of the fountains (*çeşme*) of the eighteenth century were variations on the classical wall fountain of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century. Typically, these were appended to a central structure (mosque, *medrese*, *mektep* or boys' school) as part of its pious endowment. They were fitted into a street, mosque, *medrese*, mausoleum or cemetery wall, by way of a recessed niche framed by a round or pointed arch which was surrounded by a stone panel, usually bearing a foundation inscription (figs. 32 and 33). With the remarkable exception of the fountain and *sebil*¹⁴³ of Turhān Sultān at Yeni Cami (New Mosque) completed in 1663, whose overall monumental character matched the equally singular

he characterized as "the grand scale of hospitality and acts of charity," and ostentation and social distinction, Findley, "Patrimonial Household Organization," p. 230.

¹⁴² A breakdown of eighteenth-century endowed property by building types shows that 26% of all buildings endowed were fountains (*çeşme*). These were followed by Friday mosques (17.5%), boys' schools (*mektep*) (14.3%), and religious colleges (*medrese*) (10.5%), with neighborhood mosques (*mescid*) ranking last at 2%, Yediyıldız, *L'institution du vaqf au XVIIIe siècle en Turquie*, p. 82.

¹⁴³ The *sebil* can be best described as a spoutless "water tank" structure where water was distributed to the public free of charge, usually by an appointed person (*sebilci*). *Sebils* were most often built as corner structures which sometimes extended into a wall fitted *çeşme*. I will refer to these as *çeşme-sebil* or fountain-*sebil*. The discussion here will concentrate on the *çeşme*, the fountain with a water spout, which witnessed radical typological changes in the eighteenth century.

character of the patron's mosque, these seventeenth-century fountains remained largely modest, stern looking and often hardly visible (fig. 34).¹⁴⁴

In comparison to their classical prototypes, fountains of the first part of the eighteenth-century in particular strike one as unusually conspicuous and extravagant, disproportionate to (at least) our common perception of fountains as "minor" structures."¹⁴⁵ Aside from their overall bigger proportions and the significant enlargement of their parts, like the central panel or the entablature, what mostly contributed to this effect was the unprecedented sense of three-dimensionality that they projected. This was achieved through formal variations of the classical prototype: the framing of the central panel by means of mouldings, stalactites, a distinct white marble revetment, as in the fountain of Hâtice Sultân in Ayvansaray built in 1711 (fig. 35), or a slight outward projection, as in the fountain of Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa in Şehzade (1719), or İbnül'emîn Aḥmed Ağa in Kasımpaşa (1727) (figs. 36 and 37). In other examples, a bolder attempt was made at detaching the whole structure from its wall, as in the fountain of Raḳım Paşa built in 1715 in Rumelihisarı (fig. 38). Three-dimensionality was emphasized by the large projecting eaves of the pyramidal or domed roof, concave and convex surfaces and by and large, by a more

¹⁴⁴ For the complex of Turḥân Sultân at Yeni Cami, see, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, "Unfinished Business: The Mosque Complex of Yeni Valide Cami in Istanbul," pp. 105-73. For the socio-political context in which the complex was begun (by Şafiye Sultân) and completed (by Turḥân Sultân) see, Pierce, *The Imperial Harem*, pp. 206-10, 256-8.

¹⁴⁵ This reflects in the meager space that is usually devoted to fountains in survey works on Ottoman architectural history. See, for example, Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*; Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarîsi*; Akurgal, ed. *The Art and Architecture of Turkey*.

articulated and mannered treatment of elements and a more engaging façade (figs. 39 and 40).¹⁴⁶

The three-dimensional quality of fountains and their overall grandeur was further achieved by a new decorative vocabulary, characterized by the spread of decoration over the entire surface of the fountain in intricate low relief carving, usually highlighted by the painting and gilding of certain motifs (fig. 41).¹⁴⁷ The overwhelming ornamental profusion was magnified by the diversity and hybridity of the decorative repertoire, which combined familiar elements of the sixteenth-century classical vocabulary and new motifs. They included stalactite friezes, *muqarnas* capitals and niches, polychrome voussoirs, and other elements with a classical, "Baroque," but most often unqualified western feel, such as scallop shells, scrolls, floral capitals, roll, cable and quarter-round mouldings, convex and concave surfaces, and undulating entablatures. To these was added a whole panoply of round, pointed, ogee, dentellated or multifoil arches. New elaborate arrangements of Koranic inscriptions in panels, borders and friezes

¹⁴⁶ For further visual evidence, see, Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*; Şerifoğlu, *Su Güzeli: İstanbul Sebilleri*; Aynur, III. *Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*. Although most eighteenth-century *sebîls* and *çeşme-sebîls* retained much of the formal characteristics of classical models, they reflected a similar emphasis on three-dimensionality, with a finer façade articulation achieved through panelings and mouldings. With the exception of a few "unattached" structures such as Sinan's hexagonal *sebîl* nearby the Süleymaniye mosque (1587) or the wall-type *sebîl* of Rüstem Paşa (1562) the "classical" *sebîl* projected out of the wall in a three-quarter circle or polygon, pierced by large, latticed, segmental or pointed arches from which water was served to the public. They were surmounted by a dome or a flattened conical roof. For illustrations see, Şerifoğlu, *Su Güzeli*, pp. 26, 27, 30, 32, 66, 76.

¹⁴⁷ The original colors of these fountains have been completely lost. The only example that can be seen today are the painted tiles on the frieze of the fountain of Ahmed III at *Bâb-ı Hümayûn* (the outer gate of the Palace of Topkapı), now completely restored. The question of colors on fountains will be explored in more detail in chap. 4.

coexisted with the increasingly popular lengthy poetic inscriptions. Mannerist readaptations of geometrical and floral motifs in abstract patterns covered spandrel surfaces, or ran in bands along the frieze of the building or the frame of the central niche. Most often, these areas featured naturalistic still-life motifs of trees or flowers in vases and fruits in baskets, carved in low relief and set in rectangular panels or baroque cartouches (figs. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, and 48 a-b).¹⁴⁸

These motifs, featured as early as the late sixteenth-century in miniature illustrations and, in a few seemingly exceptional cases, on skirting tiles and tiled wall dados, as in the mosque of Takkeci İbrâhîm Ağa, built in 1592 near the city gate of Topkapı (figs. 49 and 50), found ample resonance in architectural ornament at the beginning of the eighteenth century. First appearing on wall paintings in the *yalı* of ‘Amcazâde Köprülü Hüseyin Paşa in Anadoluhisarı in 1699, and in the renovated dining room of Aḥmed III (*Yemiş Odası*) at Topkapı in 1705 (figs. 51 and 52), and reproduced in embroideries and on pages and book bindings of literary manuscripts (figs. 53, and 54 a-b), they became standard elements of the outdoor iconographic program of the first part of the century. They were eventually recast indoors, in elaborate murals, towards the end of the century (figs. 55 and 56).¹⁴⁹ Replicated in low relief carving on tombstones and

¹⁴⁸ The eclectic choice of decorative motifs and the apparent lack of a studied effort at formulating, or emulating, a specific style will be discussed in more length in chap. 4. For the decorative vocabulary of fountains of the first half of the eighteenth century, see, Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 374-5, 380-3, 391-2, 399, 410-1; Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme*, pp. 105-24; Kuran, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture," pp. 321-4; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences," pp. 175-8; Bates, "Eighteenth Century Fountains," pp. 293-7.

¹⁴⁹ See, Ther, *Floral Messages. From Ottoman Court Embroidery to Anatolian Trousseau Chests*; Demiriz, *Osmanlı Kitap Sanatında Natüralist Üslupta Çiçekler*;

on fountains as early as 1708 in the fountain of Hâcî Meḥmed Aḡa near the Süleymaniye (figs. 57 a-b and 58),¹⁵⁰ they reached unprecedented proportions in 1732-33 with the building of three of the most flamboyant fountains of the century: Şâliḡa Sultân at Azapkapı, Hekîmoḡlu at Akbıyık, and Maḥmûd I at Tophane. In the latter, a whole panoply of flowers and fruits was displayed in a series of panels, forming an arcade which ran the length of the frieze on all four sides of the fountain (figs. 59, 60, and 61).

4.3. A New Building Type: The "Fountain of the Public Square"

The magnificence and monumentality of fountains of the first half of the century, particularly pronounced in those sponsored by members of the ruling elite and the imperial household, was perfected in a new type of fountain, the *meydân çeşmesi*, literally, the fountain of the public square. A large, imposing, free-standing cubical structure, with waterspouts on one, two, or four sides, covered with a domed or pyramidal roof with wide projecting eaves, the *meydân çeşmesi* represented the most innovative and dramatic formal evolution of the Ottoman fountain to date. Their widespread appearance from the beginning of the eighteenth century has been noted by most scholars.¹⁵¹ However, with the exception of Aynur's recent study, limited to the period of Aḡmed III (1703-1730), we still lack a typological study of fountains built throughout the eighteenth century, which would provide us with information on the number, patronage

Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends," pp. 64-86.

¹⁵⁰ This fountain is, at least, the earliest surviving fountain on which these motifs appear.

¹⁵¹ See, Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, p. V; Eyice, "İstanbul (Tarihî Eserler)," *İsl.A.*, V/2: 1214/93-5; Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri*, pp. 63-6; Yenişehirlioḡlu, "Western Influences," pp. 175-6; Bates, "Eighteenth Century Fountains," p. 294.

and location of *meydān* fountains in particular. Table 4 (Appendix I) is therefore a first attempt at presenting this information in a systematic form. Moreover, no study has addressed the significance of *meydān* fountains as a new building type and the circumstances in which they flourished. To a large extent this oversight is due to the traditional inclination to regard imperial patronage as the initiator of new architectural trends, and in this case, to the common acceptance of the imperial fountain of Aḥmed III, built in 1728-29 outside the first gate of the imperial palace of Topkapı (*Bāb-ı Hümāyūn*), as the first example of *meydān çeşmesi* and an illustration of court extravagance in the "Tulip Period" (fig. 62). But its towering proportions and the magnificence of its ornaments notwithstanding, the fountain of Aḥmed III was merely an imperial adaptation of models dating back, at least, to the first decade of the century.

The earliest surviving *meydān* fountain of this period is that of Silāḥdār Muşṭafa Ağa, built in 1682 in Salacak (Üsküdar) (fig. 63, map 2).¹⁵² The fountains of İzmirli ʿAlī Paşa and İsmāʿil Ağa, both built in 1703 in Üsküdar, and today partially extant, may have been the first (documented) *meydān* fountains to be built following Aḥmed III's return to Istanbul (see Appendix I: table 4) (fig. 64).¹⁵³ In 1707, three years after the court's return from Edirne to Istanbul, and a few months after his appointment as grand-vizier, Çorlulu ʿAlī Paşa commissioned two *meydān* fountains, in Eyüp and Tersane, and another two of the same type three years later in 1710, in Yayla and by the city gate of Mevlanakapı (figs. 65 a-

¹⁵² More research on this fountain, and on its endowment deed (if it was endowed) would help to determine its original form.

¹⁵³ Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, II: 290-2; Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, pp. 129-30, 439.

b, 66, 67, and 68).¹⁵⁴ In 1709, a free-standing fountain was founded by Hâlıl Efendi in Üsküdar, and in 1711, another one of unknown patronage was built in Kısıklı (figs. 69 and 70).¹⁵⁵ From 1717 to 1727-28, another eighteen monumental *meydân* fountains were commissioned by members of the imperial household, the navy, the military, and high-ranking officials of the central administration, and four smaller scale free-standing fountains were built, two by Aḥmed III (figs. 71, 72, 73, and 74). While the patronage of monumental *meydan* fountains was largely confined to the higher financial bracket of Ottoman society, mostly members of the ruling elite, it also reflected the considerable power of certain individuals and groups within this elite, especially among *ağas* and *efendis* (see Appendix I: tables 3 and 4).

The trend for monumental, free-standing fountains continued uninterrupted until 1746 with the patronage of twenty-eight new *meydân* fountains within the city walls and along the shores of the Bosphorus (see Appendix I: table 4) (figs. 75, 76, 77, and 78). While the popularity of these fountains was sustained till the end of the century and into the nineteenth century, only a few revealed a scale-consciousness and an effort towards monumentality comparable to those of the early eighteenth century.¹⁵⁶ By and large, by the mid-eighteenth century,

¹⁵⁴ It was also called *Emine Sultân Çeşmesi*, after his wife (daughter of Muştafa II).

¹⁵⁵ Its current state is the result of several repairs and renovations, last of which, by ʿĀdile Sultân in 1886, Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri*, p. 121.

¹⁵⁶ These were the fountains of grand-vizier Muştafa Paşa at Edirnekapı (1752), Mehmed Saʿid Efendi in Karlıca (1780), Esmâ Sultân in Kadırğa, (1781) Sılâhdâr Yahya Efendi in Hasköy (1788), Süleymaniye (1792), Mihrişâh Vâlide Sultân in Kurtuluş (1799), and a handful others in the early part of the nineteenth century: the fountains of Muştafa Paşa in Eyüp (1808), Maḥmūd II in Boyacıköyü (1837), and Bezmiʿâlem Vâlide Sultân in Maçka (1839), Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, II: 142-6, 163, 189, 380-1; Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, pp. 208, 272-5, 532, 587, 604, 650, 768, 818.

meydān fountains began to assume far more modest proportions (figs. 79, 80, and 81). This was further achieved by an increasingly sober decorative vocabulary replacing the ornamental profusion of the early century, beginning in the reigns of ʿAbdülhamīd I and Selīm III, and the more consistent use of contemporaneous French neo-classical mouldings and baroque cartouches, which emphasized specific elements of the fountain, such as the central niche, the entablature, the pillars, and the roof (fig. 82).

We do not know, from the available documentation, whether the first examples of *meydān* fountains of the period might have been inspired by the only pre-eighteenth-century fountain of the same type (known to us) namely, that of Meḥmed II's grand-vizier Maḥmūd Paşa, built in 1453 behind his mosque and as part of a large complex. It would be interesting to determine whether eighteenth-century free-standing fountains were consciously modelled after it, in a deliberate reference to the glorious year of the conquest of Istanbul and as Kafescioğlu has recently noted, the first monumental public building within the walled city, built by the most central figure in the history of the city in the fifteenth century after Meḥmed II himself (fig. 83).¹⁵⁷ At any rate, that the emergence of the imposing *meydān çeşmesi* as a building type -- just like the development of wall fountains into highly ornate structures of monumental proportions -- flourished extensively in a limited period of thirty years following the return of the court to Istanbul, suggests that these small monuments for public display may have been intended as an expedient way of stamping the urban fabric with images of the court's renewed presence. Like the

¹⁵⁷ Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making," pp. 163-4. I would like to thank Çiğdem Kafescioğlu for bringing this fountain to my attention.

extraordinary development of the Bosphorus waterfront and its ostentatious architecture, and like the intensification of court ceremonials, the new public fountain reflected the same determination of the state to permeate the city with potent signs of its power and distinction. The necessity to reshape the urban structure of the capital in the aftermath of long periods of unattended rule provided the best opportunity for it.¹⁵⁸

retirement

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS: ELITE PATRONAGE / POPULAR SENSIBILITIES

In effect, what this intense patronage of fountains achieved was a clearer definition of the public space and the recognition of an increasingly active public arena; which also meant, ironically, a recognition of the new social realities (a more integrated and mobile society, less structured social markers and looser forms of sociability) which were all meant to be kept in check. While the scale and the iconography of the wall fountain, and the conception of the monumental, free-standing fountain in the first half of the century matured essentially under the patronage of the financially able urban elite, their urban significance, that is, their image as public monuments, was mainly shaped by the daily rituals and the recreational activities of ordinary people -- as will become evident in the following chapter.

¹⁵⁸ In chap. 4, we will see that this was not only implied by the grand scale and the ornamental extravagance of fountains, but it was literally expressed in their epigraphic contents. It would be worth investigating whether this type of fountain remained circumscribed within the limits of the capital or if it was reproduced in other provincial cities of the Ottoman empire. The available documentation of eighteenth-century Ottoman fountains in cities of the Balkans and the Arab provinces does not reveal any example of *meydān* fountains. See, Abdel-Nour, *Introduction à l'histoire urbaine de la Syrie (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*; Husayni, *Al-Asbilah al-'Uthmaniyyah bi Madinat al-Qahira, 1517-1798*; Mostafa, "The Cairene Sabil: Form and Meaning;" Raymond, "Les fontaines publiques du Caire à l'époque ottomane, 1517-1798;" Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*; Todorov, *The Balkan City in the 15th-19th Centuries*.

Behind all this is a question that I raised at the beginning of the chapter, namely, whether we can ascribe the urban and architectural transformations of eighteenth-century Istanbul to the imperial institution. As mentioned earlier with respect to the reconfiguration of Istanbul, it is still maintained as a commonplace in Ottoman studies that the eighteenth-century Bosphorus waterfront culture, from its emergence to its conception and aesthetics, was circumscribed within the sphere of the high ruling elite, and eventually diffused through all segments of the urban population. I would like to suggest that it was not. After all, residential settlements far predated the reestablishment of the court household and its entourage along the Bosphorus. Countless *yalıs* belonging to members of various social and religious groups, the high ruling elite, lower ranks of the religious hierarchy, the military, merchants, Muslims, Greeks, Armenians and Jews, were recorded by earlier Ottoman chroniclers and travelers.¹⁵⁹

Once we take into account this social diversity represented on the waterfront prior to the eighteenth century, the understanding of the eighteenth-century development of the Bosphorus as predicated upon the efforts, intentions and aspirations of the high ruling elite, eventually trickling down to all levels of society, becomes problematic. In fact, one could argue that the extensive palatial

¹⁵⁹ In the second half of the seventeenth century, Evliyā described the shores of the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus as filled with private gardens of waterfront residences and palaces (*bāğlar, bāğçeler, sarāylar, yalılar*), Evliyā, *Seyahatname*, fols 122a-147a. For a detailed account of imperial shore pavilions built in the sixteenth century for Selim I and Murād III, see, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 210-41. For examples of residences and garden palaces of members of the Ottoman high ruling elite, including grand-viziers, viziers, *ulema* and admirals, on the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus, see idem., "The Suburban Landscape," pp. 39-41, 50, ns.49, 53, 54.

patronage ultimately relocated the imperial household amid an already existing and socially diverse waterfront culture. One may further suggest that the official decreeing of the seasonal *villegiatura* along the waterfront in the early eighteenth century, by structuring and regulating the urban lives of ordinary people, was in fact an institutionalization, or an attempt at appropriation of already existing local traditions through their reconfiguration, on the part of the high ruling elite.

Surely the available documentation does not allow any conclusive answer to this question, nor does it offer much insight into the intentions of patrons concerning urban and architectural change. But certain clues should suffice to call at least for a revision of the question of transmission of sensibilities and traditions, between the Ottoman ruling elite and the urban middling society in the eighteenth century. I have already mentioned Rāşid's remark on Aḥmed III's desire to emulate the popular style of the city's buildings in the erection of his pavilions at Sarayburnu. In a letter to his grand-vizier İbrāhım Paşa, the sultan communicated his feelings about the stifling and formal atmosphere of the imperial palace: "As I enter the imperial room, forty imperial pages line up and crowd my way. There is absolutely no comfort [here] (...) I should keep three or four men and live in a small room."¹⁶⁰ Half a century later, the chronicler İzzī reported similar complaints by Maḥmūd I on the solidity and grimness of the palace of Topkapı.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ *Hāş oḡaya ıkayım kırk hāş oḡalı dizülır ayāğında ıkışır kaḡ'ıyyan rāḡat olmaz (...) ü dōrt ādem alıkoḡağā muḡtāc ve küük oḡada oḡurmalıyım*; cited in Ahmet Refik, "Sultān Aḡmed Sālışın Ḥayātına Dā'ır," p. 231.

¹⁶¹ İzzī, *Tārīḡ-i İzzī*, fol 200. An observation on the habits of French kings in the account of a seventeenth-century janissary's captivity by the French, strongly resonates with Rāşid's and İzzī's comments. The janissary approvingly remarked that contrary to the Ottoman sultan who cannot be reached behind the walls of his palace, the French king can be seen every day by his people; a

While Rāşid's comment refers most directly to an imperial taste drawing on popular sensibilities, Aḥmed III's epistolary writings and İzzî's anecdotal note signal the changing nature of the interface between court and popular architectural traditions, by revealing a similar "opening up" not only in imperial ceremonial, but also in imperial taste. These comments, as infrequent or elusive as they may be, have considerable implications on the architectural sensibilities upon which imperial style drew in this period. At least, they begin to throw doubt on the prevailing scholarly understanding of the transformation of imperial palatial architecture as profoundly influenced by its French counterpart.¹⁶² Once we situate these clues within the social realities of Istanbul in the eighteenth century, the following questions become inevitable: Did the increasingly conspicuous urban society inform the urban and architectural transformations of the period? And to what extent did "popular" sensibilities come into play in the shaping of aesthetic values? These questions will be central to my exploration of "public" spaces in the next chapter. We will see then how new meanings were imparted to old spaces and archetypes, such as the fountain, the *yalı*, the garden (private, and imperial), or the urban square, which albeit still largely sponsored by the ruling elite, begin to defy their definition as expressions of the imperial canon. The same questions will continue to surface throughout

custom which brings the people closer to him and magnifies their feelings of love towards him, MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. turc 221, fol 44a. I thank Cemal Kafadar for providing me a copy of the transcription of this manuscript.

¹⁶² This will be examined more carefully in chap. 4. For recent examples of this interpretation see, Esin, "Le Mahbûbiye," pp. 73-86; Batur, "Geç Osmanlı İstanbul'u," p. 160-3; Arslan, "Sa'dâbâd Sarayı," *DBIA*, 6: 388-9; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences," p. 165.

the following chapters to concurrently inform our understanding of the new architectural and iconographical vocabulary as well as the changing poetic expression in this period.

CHAPTER II:

THE ARBITRATION OF PUBLIC SPACE

"Come quick, look just once, there is no ban on the eye
Sa'dabad has now become garden upon hill, my love
With blots and scores it scarred Isfahan's *Chaharbagh**
Sa'dabad has now become garden upon hill, my love ...

There are [all] there, walks in the forests and river banks,
gardens and promenades in the wild, and solitary corners
Look at the mountain if you want and if you wish, walk to the garden
Sa'dabad has now become garden upon hill, my love"

From a *şarkı* by Nedim (c. 1725)¹

1. REPRESENTATIONS OF THE CITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

This chapter focuses on one vital dimension of urban change in Istanbul in the eighteenth century which I have left out of the previous chapter: namely, the outdoor public space. Though often evoked by contemporaries, by way of the activities it contained, it is hardly documented and hence, little understood as an aspect of the sub / urban landscape of the capital city in this period.² For these

¹ Gel hele bir kerecik seyr et göze olmaz yasâğ
Oldu Sa'dâbâd şimdi sevdiğim dâğ üstü bâğ
Çarbâğ-ı İsfahânı eylemiştir dâğ dâğ
Oldu Sa'dâbâd şimdi sevdiğim dâğ üstü bâğ...
Andadır seyr-i nihâlistan ü taraf-ı cüybâr
Andadır gülgeşt-i şahrâ andadır seyr-i kenar
İster iseñ kühu seyr et ister iseñ bâğa var
Oldu Sa'dâbâd şimdi sevdiğim dâğ üstü bâğ

Nedim, *Nedim'in Divânı*, p. 193; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," pp. 142-47.

* A reference to Shah 'Abbās's famed *Chahārbāgh*, a large avenue bordering an extraordinary succession of private gardens, built in Isfahan in 1596, to which we will return in chap. 4. For the *Chahārbāgh* see, for example, Alemi, "The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models," pp. 72-96.

² The only study that addresses the question of public space in eighteenth-century Istanbul, mainly from the perspective of urban form, is Cerasi's book *La città del Levante: Civiltà urbana e architettura sotto gli Ottomani nei secoli XVIII-XIX*; see, in particular, chap. 10: "Lo spazio aperto nella città," pp. 209-19. Some of the questions raised in this book were introduced in an earlier article, Cerasi, "Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIII-XIXth Centuries," pp. 36-49. Partly as a result of the nature of the sources available, and despite a marked interest in recent years in the social and cultural worlds of the non-elite

reasons alone, it deserves a separate investigation. In the preceding chapter, I have examined architectural and urban developments in this period in light of the Ottoman state's concerns to reckon with new realities upon its return to the capital city: a corroding social order, a depressed image of the state, and a delapidated city. I have also emphasized the dynamics between its efforts towards urban order, and changing practices and aspirations in the urban society, in ultimately shaping a phenomenal movement of "suburbanization."

This chapter is not meant as a reconstruction of the topographical make-up of outdoor public spaces. This would be the subject of a separate study. Its intent is to recognize and present an important dimension of urban life in Istanbul in the eighteenth century: important, insofar as new and flourishing daily, social, and recreational practices of a middling society were enacted in the urban fabric; and important, insofar as these practices partook of the process of reshaping the capital city in this period. As will become more evident in the following chapters, the significance of these developments lies also in their bearing on the formation of new aesthetic dispositions. In this chapter, I will chart some of the mechanisms by which new public spaces were shaped and defined as such, mainly by addressing the ambiguities and apparent contradictions which contemporary literary and visual sources bring up in their representations of gardens and urban squares.

urban population, the recent literature remains, on the whole, limited to a presentation of the waterfront gardens and buildings documented in Ottoman narrative accounts. To the dearth of material one should add the considerable confusion created by the complex web of patrons' homonyms, changing ownerships, re-naming of places upon repair and rebuilding activities, as well as contradictory information offered by different chroniclers -- all reflected in modern scholarship.

At a broader level, this chapter is also a first attempt at elucidating a growing consciousness of public life in cultural expression. Indeed, urban life in Istanbul most conspicuously infused the visual and literary representations of the capital city upon its urban reconfiguration and the accelerated development of its suburban waterfront which were launched at the turn of the eighteenth century. Public gardens and promenades must have been a vital component of the sub/urban landscape of Istanbul in the eighteenth century, if we only consider the frequency of depictions of boat rides, walks, excursions, and social gatherings in gardens, or picnics around fountains, particularly along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn waterfronts, by Ottoman and European observers alike:³

Je l'ai vue, cette belle prairie de Buyukderé, citée dans le pays comme une merveille! Cet endroit est très-fréquenté le dimanche; c'est le bois de Boulogne de Constantinople (...) Les jours de beau temps on y rencontre beaucoup de femmes turques, accompagnées de leurs enfans. Des esclaves portent le *pilau*, que l'on mange avec gaîté sur la pelouse.⁴

One of the most salient features of Ottoman visual representations of Istanbul in the eighteenth century is the appearance of a previously seldom visible "public" of men, women, and children of seemingly various social groups, out on the urban scene. Depictions of episodes of the public life of ordinary people, such as coffeehouse, bath, or garden scenes, occasionally encountered since the middle of the sixteenth century (figs. 84 and 85), became a firm feature of eighteenth-century visual images (figs. 86 a -b, 87, 88, 89, and 90). Outdoor recreation and entertainment became a favorite topos of Ottoman poetry, capturing the vitality of a blossoming garden culture in urban society. As intimated by Nedim's *şarıkı*

³ The sources are endless. Some of the most insightful ones are Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, vol. 4; P. Ç. İnciyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*; Thomas Allom and Robert Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*; Charles Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore...* 2 vols; James Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern With Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago*.

⁴ Ferté-Meun, *Lettres sur le Bosphore*, p. 105.

quoted at the beginning of this chapter, names such as Bebek or Sa'dabad, which we encountered earlier as icons of state magnificence, seemed often associated in contemporary consciousness with the recreation and entertainment of ordinary people.

As this subject will be further explored in the next chapter from the perspective of contemporary Ottoman consciousness, particularly as it was manifested in court poetry and mirrored in visual images, let me briefly examine it here in the context of European portrayals of the city. One remarkable feature of European visual representations of Istanbul is the shifting emphasis of artists from broad panoramic views of the city, punctuated by lofty domes and tall and slender minarets (figs. 91 and 92, see figs. 11 a-b), to close-ups of street, bazar, coffeehouse, fountain, and waterfront garden scenes (figs. 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, and 98). While the former, which continued to be produced, brought out the city's imperial grandeur, and undoubtedly, its topographical peculiarities (or otherness) by comparison to European cities, the latter highlighted the rich texture of its public life, deflecting its "monumental" aspect by focusing on episodes of people's daily and social rituals. To some extent, this blossoming interest in the lives and customs of Ottoman society may be attributed to a changed European perspective towards a no longer threatening, hence, less different and more congenial empire; and partly perhaps, it may be linked to the "scientific relativism" and the critique of ethnocentrism which flourished in the contemporary Enlightenment culture.⁵ One could also regard the popular genre of garden recreation scenes, in particular, as a repercussion of that of *fêtes*

⁵ For a study of the historical evolution of what Todorov called "l'ethnocentrisme scientifique" see, Todorov, *Nous et les autres*.

champêtres in currency in Europe at the time -- which, interestingly, occasionally incorporated "Turkish scenes" of courtly garden entertainment (fig. 99).⁶ But this shift is also quite revealing of a changing urban reality. Like the *fêtes champêtres* (whose emergence is viewed in European historiography within the context of modernity), these scenes bespoke the intensity of new and thriving forms of sociability and recreation of the Ottoman urban middle class .

It must be noted, however, that within this broad representational framework, some European travelers deplored the lack of public spaces and the absence of public life in the city: assessments which seem at odds with the numerous descriptions of public places and recreational activities they offer in their own accounts. Consider, for instance, the following observation by Michaud and Poujoulat: "Les maisons de Büyük Déré (...) forment, le long de la mer, un grand quai, qui le soir, se couvre de promeneurs;" against their general, clear-cut statement: "Constantinople n'a point de promenades publiques, car les Turcs ne se promènent pas."⁷ Such contradictions must account in large part for the travelers' eurocentric perspective, as is sometimes made evident in the comparative structure of their observations. This is most striking in Allom's (visual) and Walsh's (written) portrayal of the city in the early nineteenth century: on the one hand, it is replete with visual and textual depictions of gardens, promenades, squares, and fountains bustling with activity (figs. 100 and 101, see figs. 95 and 98), and on the other, it offers such observations as the following:

⁶ See for example, the chapter titled "Fêtes Galantes and Fêtes Publiques" in Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, pp. 45-74; Démoris, "Les fêtes galantes chez Watteau et dans le roman contemporain," pp. 337-57; Posner, "The Swinging Women of Watteau and Fragonard," pp. 75-88.

⁷ Michaud and Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient*, pp. 266, 230.

Many circumstances strike a stranger on entering Constantinople, and many objects different from those to which he has been accustomed in European Christian cities. Here are no straight spacious avenues, (...) no names to the streets; (...) no public spaces, for walking or amusement; no libraries or news-rooms; no club-houses, (...) no clocks on steeples on public buildings; (...) no companies flocking to and from balls; or parties or public assemblies of any kind, thronging the streets after night-fall, and making them as popular as noon-day.⁸

Such exceptions notwithstanding, European representations of episodes of outdoor recreation in Istanbul unequivocally reflected the participation of a cross-section of the urban population. This summary observation offered by the same English traveler Walsh is quite evocative: "[I]t was the agreeable recreation of all classes, Turks, Rayas, and Franks* to proceed either by land or water to some of the lovely valleys opening on the Bosphorus, and pic-nic on the grass."⁹ Dallaway's observation of the sartorial variety displayed in the garden of Kağıthane is a reflection on the social diversity represented in outdoor public life, as dress and head gear constituted visible markers of the Ottoman social structure: "When a concourse of people is here assembled, to survey them from one of the hills is extremely amusing (...) the infinite variety of Levantine habiliment, and the gay tints of their turbans, afford us a view brilliant and various in the extreme."¹⁰ In most of these depictions, men, women, and

⁸ Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 59-60; see also Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les art*, I: 403.

⁹ *to read: Muslims, non-Muslims and Europeans, Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, II: 34.

¹⁰ Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, pp. 118-19. A similar sense of diversity is conveyed by Pertusier's description of a crowd at the gardens of Toğat near Beykoz: "Il arrive (donc) qu'on y voit parfois un char, marchant au pas grave et nonchalant de deux boeufs, portant une troupe d'infortunées que l'ennui a chassées du harem, et que l'ennui opiniâtre poursuit jusque sous ces frais ombrage, traîné par le tyran commis à leur garde. (...) Ces mêmes lieux offrent souvent aussi des tableaux plus édifiants (...) Ce sont de graves Musulmans, à la démarche fière, au maintien noble et compassé, dont les grands

children (as in Ferté-Meun above), and a broad social, religious, and professional spectrum, shared the same public spaces and comparable forms of social practices.

Surely, this should not suggest that the notion of public life was unfamiliar to the urban middle classes prior to the eighteenth century and that residents of Istanbul suddenly gushed over the city's public scene. Taverns, squares, baths and cemeteries, enclosed and open markets, and coffeehouses, introduced to the city in the second half of the sixteenth century, all constituted a daily sphere of public recreation among ordinary people, and occasional subjects of description by contemporaries.¹¹ Particularly in the second half of the seventeenth-century, public promenades on the Bosphorus waterfront were recorded by Ottoman chroniclers of the city and at times, depicted by artists (figs. 102 and 103).¹² What accounted, then, for the predominance of public life in the visual and literary

air de tête s'accordent si bien avec les amples vêtements qui les drapent," Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 149-50.

¹¹ See for example, Evliyâ, *Seyahatname*, fols 32b-48b passim, 63b, 65b, 71a, 91a-198a passim, 213a, 215a; Kömürçiyân, *İstanbul Tarihi*, pp. 3, 4. These places were still popular subjects of depiction in the eighteenth century, mainly among European observers and in accounts addressed to an European audience, though on the whole, overshadowed by accounts of gardens and promenades. See for instance, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, II: 65-66, IV: 81-82; Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 174; Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 60; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 78; Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, II: 167; idem., *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 111.

¹² Describing the Golden Horn (Haliç) in the later half of the seventeenth century, Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyân wrote: "From Kağıthane up until the Bosphorus, there is hardly an empty patch of land and you saw all other places filled with gardens and mansions. There are countless villages, water-shore residences, kiosks and palaces. It is a recreational place for the rich and they wander and contemplate the pleasant sea. As for the shores, they are full of gardens ornamented with trees of all sorts, which makes them particularly favorable for promenades. From spring to the end of November, commoners go to these infinitely beautiful places for amusement and recreation" (*Kağıthane'den başlayarak Boğaz'a kadar, ancak bir kısım toprağın boş olduğunu, diğer bütün yerlerin bahçe ve konaklarla dolu bulunduğunu gördünüz. Burada sayısız köy, yalı, köşk ve saraylar vardır. Zenginler burada eğlenirler ve latif denizi temaşa ederler.*)

topoi of the eighteenth century? In this chapter, I will suggest that this consciousness reflected a point of maturation in the gradual transformations and modulations of the configuration of urban life, at that pivotal moment in the history of Istanbul's urban development in which they were occasioned to flare up, and to become forcefully etched on the map of the city. In other terms, the expansion of public spaces in the eighteenth century will be regarded as a response to new needs and desires in the urban society.

2. THE PARAMETERS OF URBAN LIFE

Most emblematic of the changing parameters of urban life in the eighteenth century, perhaps, were the changes that affected the office of the chief gardener, or *bostancıbaşı*, which involved the administrative redefinition of his role and of the responsibilities of the gardeners' corps under his command (*bostancı*, pl. *bostancılar*) (fig. 104).¹³ The responsibilities originally assigned to the corps of

Sahiller ise kâmilten türlü türlü ağaçlarla donanmış bahçe hâlinde olup bunlar çok müsaid seyran yerleridir. (...) Halk ilkbahardan kasımın sonunu kadar, bu güzelliğine doyulmaz yerlere eğlenmeğe gider), Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi*, p. 54. Evliyâ's detailed account of the laundry activities which took place along the stream of Kağıthane is particularly illuminating, especially as this became the site of the imperial palatial complex of Sa'dabad: *bir âb-ı hoş-güvârdır kim cümle-yi câmeşüyyân anda varıp destâr u kâmis serâvillerin gâsl edüp aslâ şâbûn sürmezler iki kerre gâsl edüp beyâz gül berk-i ter mişâl olur gâyet leziz şudur ba'zî hind tüccârları metâ'in bu Kâğıthâne'ye getürüp birer kerre şuya batırdıkları kifâyet eder*, Evliyâ, *Seyahatname*, fol 145a. In his opinion, the promenade of Kağıthane had no equal for the Arab, Persian, Indian, Yemenite and Ethiopian travelers who frequented it. It was a site of entertainment and social gathering, especially on holidays; it was also a popular excursion site for members of the guild of saddlemakers: (*°Arab u °acem'de hind ü yemen ü habeş seyyâhânları içre meşhûr âfâk bir teferrücgâhdır (...) bu nehriñ iki cânibi niçe biñ çınar u kavak u bid-i sernigünlar ile müzeyyen bir çemenzâr vâdidir (...) ve ta'îl günleri (...) niçe biñ pîr civân-ı 'âşikân-ı şâdikân bu cây-ı meserrete gelüp her biri birer güne cilvelenir ba'zî cânlar mañbûbları ile mezkûr nehre girüp şinâverlik edüp (...) ve (...) bir eşnâf-ı sarrâcân dañi bunda teferrüc edüp bu dañi teferrüc 'ibretnümâ olur ammâ her sene mâh-ı şa'bân'ıñ gürresinden âhırına dek İslambol kavmı Ramazân'a istikbâl takribiyle bu Kâğıthâne fezâsına haymeler kurup kâmil bir ay şeb-bûk nâmıyla zevk ü şafâ ederler*), *ibid*, fol 145b. On other waterfront promenades in the second half of the seventeenth century see, *ibid*, fols 18b-19a, 120a-146b passim, 171a, 188a.

¹³ The literature on gardeners and the chief gardener before the nineteenth century is limited to three encyclopedic entries and one article by Koçu focused

gardeners in the sixteenth century were largely confined to the upkeep of imperial gardens, at the Topkapı Palace as well as in the suburban imperial palaces along the Bosphorus. Their duties consisted of guarding the imperial palace, transporting material by sea for the construction of new imperial buildings, and steering the royal caique; and when the need arose, they were dispatched on military campaigns. By the seventeenth century, in addition to the surveillance of the private imperial domains, the tasks of the *bostancı* corps were extended to include the maintenance of "public order." Territorially, their domain included all the open spaces (gardens, promenades, meadows, and forests) located on the shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, along the coastal lines of the Sea of Marmara, and on the islands (see map 1). In addition to the upkeep of order, they were also responsible for the enforcement of hunting, fishing, as well as building regulations in all these areas.¹⁴

on the *bostancıbaşı* registers. See, Koçu, "Bostancıbaşı Defterleri," pp. 39-90; Sakaoğlu, "Bostancı Ocağı," *DBİA*, 2: 305-7; Uzunçarşılı, "Bostancı," *İsl.A.*, II: 736-8; idem., "Bostancıbaşı," *İsl.A.*, II: 338-9. English translations of the last two articles are found in, idem., "Bostandji," *EI2*, I: 1277-8; idem., "Bostandji-Bashi," *EI2*, I: 1279. The centrality of these figures to urban garden culture has yet to be addressed.

¹⁴ Uzunçarşılı provides a list of 61 suburban imperial flower and vegetable gardens in which gardeners were employed. These were located in and outside the city walls, along the shores of the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara. Gardeners were also assigned to imperial estates in the provinces, Uzunçarşılı, "Bostancı," *İsl.A.*, II: 737. Their number dropped from roughly 3,300 to 2,000 from the beginning to the end of the sixteenth century; and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they numbered 2,400, idem., "Bostandji," *EI2*, I: 1278. For observations and notices on the organization, duties and responsibilities of the chief gardener and his corps from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, see Evliyâ, *Seyahatname*, fols 33a, 48a, 55a, 66b, 67a, 73b, 74a, 135a, 136a, 138a-140b passim, 171b, 172b, 174b; Nâ'imâ, *Târih-i Nâ'ima*, IV: 386; Râşid, *Târih-i Râşid*, III: 85, 89, 144; Sılâhdâr, *Nusretnâme*, I: 223, II: 347; Uzunçarşılı, "Bostancı," *İsl.A.*, II: 737; idem., "Bostandji," *EI2*, I: 1277-8; idem., "Bostandji-Bashi," *EI2*, I: 1279; Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, pp. 129, 149; Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 149-82 passim; Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*, pp. 14-52 passim; Cerasi, "Open Space," p. 43; Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape," p. 46.

It is not clear when exactly this change took place, or whether it was the result of a series of gradual developments.¹⁵ One could speculate that the extension of the gardeners' duties to the public domain occurred during the long periods of absence of the court from Istanbul during the latter half of the seventeenth century. It may further be suggested that it responded to the general climate of "instability" in the city around this time, and reflected a strong preoccupation with the enforcement of public order -- a task traditionally assigned to a branch of the janissary corps headed by the *asesbaşı*, himself under the command of the Janissary Ağa.¹⁶ This would be corroborated by a miniature illustration from the early seventeenth century (1603-18), which portrays the *asesbaşı* and four janissaries arresting a couple caught on an illicit encounter on the waterfront (fig. 105). But in every respect, the redefinition of the role of the corps of gardeners as police and police of mores, to use Mantran's formulation,¹⁷ seemed to answer to certain changes which needed to be reckoned with in the praxis of public life. The *bostancıbaşı* was in charge of patrolling the shores on his boat and could inflict penalties and punishment in cases of crimes, delinquency, objectionable

¹⁵ A thorough examination of the collections of imperial edicts (*mühimme* registers) of the seventeenth century might shed light on this question.

¹⁶ We do not know, however, if crime, or theft rates, for example, were going up during this period. For the function of city police in the seventeenth century and the various offices involved see, Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, pp. 143-69; for the *asesbaşı* see, Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediyye*, pp. 901-2, 954; ed., "Asas," *EI2*, I: 687.

¹⁷ Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, p. 159. The role of the chief gardener as moral police was often mentioned by contemporary eye-witnesses. D'Ohsson, for example, remarked on the infrequency of prostitutes at night, noting that the city and its environs were policed by the Janissary Ağa and the chief gardener, respectively, D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 349-50; see also, Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 33, de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv, 26, 32-4, 61-2, 65.

public behavior, and undesirable forms of public recreation.¹⁸ Several accounts tell of the arbitrary measures that he sometimes took:

When rich women frequenting gardens for recreational purposes get caught, they are forced to surrender their belts, their earrings and bracelets [to the chief gardener] in order to redeem their souls. God forbid, should the chief gardener chance upon men and women singing on a boat: he would sink the boat without further ado.¹⁹

The *bostancıbaşı* operated under the direct authority of the grand-vizier and, in Eremya Çelebi's terms, acted as the sultan's representative (*vekil*) in matters of public surveillance.²⁰ As such, it was to him, among other police officials and legislative authorities (notably, the Janissary Ağa and the judge of the district concerned), that all sumptuary laws on matters of outings, dress-code and public behavior along the Bosphorus waterfront were addressed.²¹ These laws will be

¹⁸ The chief gardener took part in other policing functions as well: In a poem by Eremya Çelebi, for instance, we are told that when the young heroine Mrkada disappeared -- she had in fact eloped, it was the *bostancıbaşı* who served as the chief investigator to find her whereabouts in the quarter of Fener along the Golden Horn, Kömürçüyan, Eremya Çelebi *Kömürçüyan's Armeno-Turkish Poem "The Jewish Bride,"* pp. 112, 121. It would be interesting to examine, with respect to the "new" role of the *bostancıbaşı* as police of mores, the long-term transformation of the practice of enforcement of moral conduct in Istanbul, and in particular, the changes which affected the office of the *muhtesib*, who acted as police and moral police in the marketplace; for *muhtesib* see, for example, Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü* II: 572; Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, pp. 143-6, 299-329; idem., "Hisba: ii. Ottoman Empire," *EI2*, III: 489-90; Cahen and Talbi, "Hisba," *EI2*, III: 485-9.

¹⁹ *Bahçelerde eğlenmeğe gitmiş olan zengin kadınlar yakalandıkları vakit, canlarını kurtarmak için kemerlerini, küpelerini ve bileziklerini vermeğe mecbur kalırlar. Maazallah, bostancıbaşı denizde kadın ve erkek hanendelere rastladı mı, sorgu sual etmeden kayıklarını batırır,* Kömürçüyan, *Istanbul Tarihi*, p. 51; see also, Küçük Çelebizâde, *Târih-i İsmâ'îl 'e Aşım Efendi*, p. 61.

²⁰ Kömürçüyan, *Istanbul Tarihi*, p. 50.

²¹ For examples of imperial edicts addressed to the chief gardener (among other officials) in the eighteenth century, on matters of minority dress code, drinking in public places or specifically in waterfront gardens, or on the supervision of certain gardens against troublemakers, see Ahmet Refik, *Istanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 6, 131-2, 182; Koçu, *Tarihimizde Garip Vakalar*, p. 48.

explored in more detail in the following chapter, but a brief preview of their scope in the eighteenth century is in order here.

By and large, these sumptuary laws, promulgated in the form of imperial edicts and based mainly on *sharī'a* or Muslim religious law, dictated and enforced the terms by which social and recreational activities could be performed. As we will see later, though they far predated the eighteenth century, the rate at which they were enforced in this period was unusually high. They regulated, for example, visits to the bath and the market, rides in boats or carriages, and occasionally prohibited specific kinds of outings. They stipulated that certain areas in public gardens, or days of the week, be allocated to women for picnics, walks and excursions. Other decrees declared bans on coffeehouses and taverns, on grounds that they disrupted the social order, or as Barker-Benfield put it, because they constituted sites "for popular irreligion."²² Numerous sumptuary laws pertained to clothing regulations, of men, women and minority groups, and were commonly formulated on grounds of preserving social markers and regulating Ottoman subjects against innovation and the disturbance of social order. Other laws called for heavier security measures to be taken in certain gardens against specific groups, for instance, in the aftermath of an act of mischief or disturbance caused by some of their members.²³ They constituted, in other words, the normative sphere within which public life in the city was to be carried out.

²² Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, p. 52.

²³ See for example, Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, p. 131.

3. THE DELINEATION OF PUBLIC BOUNDARIES

3. 1. The Power of Ambiguity

Perhaps the most interesting and least admitted role of gardeners in the seventeenth and the eighteenth century was their apparent prerogative in the arbitration of the boundaries of public spaces: How else can we understand, for example, that European residents of the city could carry out their hunting activities in the private, imperial palatial gardens of Tōkāt (as evidenced in a 1750 imperial decree prohibiting these activities),²⁴ when it was the chief gardener himself who was responsible for both guarding imperial gardens and enforcing hunting regulations.²⁵ That gardeners kept a closed eye on certain regulations is not far fetched. For a suitable tip, they may have granted visitors access to the imperial gardens they guarded. Evidence of this comes across in the accounts of contemporary chroniclers and travelers. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, for instance, Eremya Çelebi reported that failing to bribe the gardener, some Greek individuals were barred from access to certain places of pilgrimage. Those who offered the most substantial bribes managed to escape his grip, he noted, but many ended up "running for their lives in the hills and the mountains."²⁶

²⁴ The edict was issued upon the submission of a petition by the residents of neighboring shore villages, claiming that European individuals strolling and hunting by gun and hounds, notably in the imperial gardens of Tōkāt (near Beykoz), was causing damage to these places (*Frenk kefereleri beş alti zağar ile varup ekseri bağlık bağçelerde ve Tokad bağçesinde ve ahalinin bağ ve bağçelerinde gezüp av avlanub (...) ve bağ ve bağçelerini harab ve gadri külli eylediklerin bildirilüb...*), Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, p. 170.

²⁵ D'Ohsson notes that the chief gardener and his first lieutenant, the bird hunting chief official (*kuşçubaşı*) were responsible for all matters regarding hunting and hunters, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 27; see also, de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, I: 34-5.

²⁶ *Rumlar, rüşvet vermeksizin ziyâretgâhlarına gidemezler (...) En çok para verenler onun [bostancıbaşının] elinden kurtulurlar, birçokları da, ölüm korkusundan dağlara ve derelere kaçarlar*, Kömürçiyân, *İstanbul Tarihi*, p. 51.

Whether or not bribery was always the motive for such actions, gardeners seem to have played a role in the arbitration of space. While on his way to the farm of Rāmī Paşa in Topcular near Eyüp, Pertusier conjectured:

[Nous] pourrons nous reposer à mi-chemin sous les platanes qui ombragent une fontaine dont le murmure engage à venir puiser son onde limpide. Le bostandgi en possession d'offrir du café aux promeneurs qui s'arrêtent à cette station, allume aussitôt son petit fourneau, et dans un instant va nous présenter à chacun une tasse, sans que nous ayons eu besoin de le lui commander.²⁷

There is no reason to think that these favors were extended only to foreign travelers or residents, though admittedly, many seemed to have nurtured friendly relations with the *bostancıbaşı* and gardeners of imperial palaces, as was occasionally reported in their accounts.²⁸ Seldom mobilized on military campaigns by the eighteenth century,²⁹ gardeners must have gradually integrated in the social fabric of the city and become acclimatized to the social practices in currency at the time. As most of their time was spent in the imperial or public gardens they guarded, either on duty or in their barracks, these grounds must have constituted, by default, a prime arena for their social and recreational life. Lady Montague, traveling in Edirne in the early eighteenth

²⁷ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 203-4. In the seventeenth century, Galland offered a similar account regarding the French ambassador: "Mr l'Ambassadeur fut à Onkiar Skelesi où le bostangi qui garde ce lieu l'aborda comme il se promenoit et l'invita d'aller se reposer à un sérrail qu'on nomme Tokat et Beykos," Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, II: 30; see also, le Ferté-Meun, *Lettres sur le Bosphore*, pp. 63-8.

²⁸ See for example, de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, I: 35; Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, II: 36.

²⁹ In one instance, in 1739, 3,000 *bostancı*s were mobilized to fight against the Russians, Sāmī, Şākir, Şubhī, *Tārīḫ*, I: p. 127. Already in the late seventeenth century, Cantimir remarked on the gardeners' sedentary life in the city: "Aujourd'hui que le corps des Janissaires est aisé à remplir (...) on a renoncé aux Bostanjis, qui demeurent attachés à la garde des Palais du Sultan, à la culture de ses jardins, & à ramer sur sa gondole, Cantimir, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, p. 316.

century, somewhat enviously observed that gardeners "seem[ed] to live very easily."³⁰ Describing an evening scene in a garden on the river bank, she noted:

Every twenty paces you may see one of these little companies listening to the dashing of the river, and this taste is so universal that the very gardeners are not without it. I have often seen them and their children sitting on the banks and playing on a rural instrument (...) with a simple but agreeable softness in the sound.³¹

Unlicensed as these may be, gardeners' interventions in the definition or redefinition of the boundaries of public access in what were essentially private domains intimates a certain ambivalence in the "status" of urban space or, in terms relevant to this study, in what exactly defined, both physically and conceptually, the notion of public space. What was the physical delineation of this flourishing arena, what was its scope, its layout and the processes of its development, and how were the boundaries between private and public space defined? Our knowledge in this regard remains very limited. Despite their frequency, contemporary accounts of social and leisure life and descriptions of gardens, promenades, and squares in eighteenth-century Istanbul seldom reflect what, in urban terms, constituted the limits of public spaces. Particularly in the absence of archeological evidence, it is impossible to offer even a partial topographical reconstruction of "public" spaces in the city in this period. Anecdotal depictions of urban and suburban gardens and squares by European residents and travelers, Ottoman poets, travelers, and self-appointed chroniclers, such as Evliyā and Eremya Çelebi for the seventeenth century or İncicyan for the eighteenth, have commonly focused on the social configuration of these settings, and on the range of leisure activities performed -- walks, excursions and picnics,

³⁰ Montague, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, p. 74.

³¹ *Ibid*, pp. 73-74.

gatherings of friends, of members of a guild or a sufi lodge, boat and swing rides.³² Like visual artists, while some may linger on the details of a garden's architectural or landscape feature, such as a fountain, a pool, a tree, or a particular type of vegetation, they offer neither a sense of the spatial dimension of the garden, nor of the relation of these elements to the garden's overall layout (see figs. 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, and 96). Not surprisingly, Ottoman imperial historians and chroniclers of events, mainly concerned with the affairs and events of the court, have emphasized the splendor of waterfront building activities and palace festivities. Rare glimpses into the public lives of ordinary people are limited to the regulated, or ritualized, forms of popular entertainment which were displayed in the context of religious and secular imperial celebrations, processions, and festivities, in celebration of a religious feast, a princely wedding, the birth or circumcision of a prince, a victorious campaign, the launching of a vessel, among others.³³

³² Among Ottoman chroniclers and travelers, it is in the writings of Evliyā and Eremya Çelebi for the second half of the seventeenth century, and Seyyid Mehmed Hâkim, İncicyan and d'Ohsson for the eighteenth century, that these types of observations are most commonly found.

³³ These activities typically consisted of watching court sponsored parades and processions, fireworks and performances; decorating and illuminating streets, residences, shops and stores; popular street performances, social visits to families and friends, promenades and excursions. Describing a guild (or military?) parade (*ordu geçidi*) through the city, Eremya Çelebi observed that the entire urban population lined up on both sides of the procession route, including "the high and the low ranks, the nobility and the populace" (*mafevk ve madun eşraf ve avam*), Kömürçiyān, *İstanbul Tarihi*, p. 294 (excerpt from his *Rūznāme*, pp. 245-50). Seyyid Mehmed Hâkim offered a lengthy and detailed description of the forms of participation of the common folk in the celebration of the birth of Hibetüllāh Sultān in 1758: In an atmosphere filled with noise and joy, they illuminated and decorated their shops and residences with chandeliers, brocades, and "artistically made images" (*muşannaʿ hayallar*), Mehmed Hâkim, *Vekāyīʿ-nāme*, fols 417-22; see also, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 408-12.

The following section does not claim to offer answers to these questions. Rather, it addresses these ambiguities in the definition of urban space (along public / private lines) as they transpire, upon close scrutiny, in contemporary visual and literary accounts, in prose and poetry. Because these ambiguities have been largely overlooked (and some of the vaguenesses and contradictions displayed in the sources, perpetuated over time in modern scholarship), the Bosphorus waterfront, for instance, tends to come across as a series of palaces, residences and gardens on the one hand -- ultimately, an imperial palatial setting -- and an undefined expanse of public waterfront on the other, spatially unresolved. My aim here is to bring some of these ambiguities to bear on the shaping of public spaces in this period: In other words, to highlight the mechanisms, official and unofficial, by which public boundaries were defined or negotiated.

Let us begin with a brief sampling of some of the ambiguities one encounters in narrative and poetic depictions of gardens. In a description of the waterfront gardens of Göksu, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, Evliyā begins by noting that these shores were mostly occupied by the private gardens of one Hālicızāde (Hālicızāde Bağçeleri). There, he continues, all the "beloved ones" came by boat and gathered under the trees for fun and entertainment (*cümle 'uṣṣākān kayıklar ile (...) varıp şecere-i tayyibeniñ sāyesinde taraf taraf 'uṣṣākān zevk ü şafā ederler*) and master craftsmen produced varieties of ceramic ware (*üstād kūze-kārlar gūna-gūn sifāl u kūzeler binā ederler*).³⁴ This passage is one of many by Evliyā describing places of gathering of the beloved ones and members of various guilds. In most of these cases, it is hard to tell whether the place depicted was a public promenade, a garden belonging to a *tekke* or sufi lodge, the outer court of a

34 Evliyā, *Seyahatname*, fols 140a-b.

mosque, or a private garden. In this case in particular, we do not know if the visitors were treading on H̄ālīcızāde's private land, or whether there existed a public promenade contiguous to it. Further compounding this ambiguity is an unresolved question of terminology, notably, Evliyā's use of the term *mesīre*. In a unique attempt to "decode" the implications of some of the terms and idioms used in reference to gardens, promenades, and open spaces in general, specifically in the writings of Evliyā, Gökyay has established the following distinction: He suggested that in contradistinction to *hadā'ik-i şultāniyye* (imperial gardens), *hünkār bağçeleri* (sultan's gardens), and *hāşş bağçeler* (imperial private gardens), used strictly in reference to imperial gardens, the words *mesīre* (excursion place, promenade) and *teferrücgāh* (recreational, excursion place, promenade) were meant for public promenades and gardens.³⁵

While these distinctions are tempting to maintain and have been indeed univocally accepted in modern scholarship, they are not always relevant. Evliyā himself mentions several *hānedān mesīreleri*, or imperial promenades, indicating that the term *mesīre* was not necessarily restricted to public promenades.³⁶ Similar evidence is offered by the poet Vehbī, in a chronogram on the garden of Çubuklu (Feyzābād, nearby Göksu) following its restoration by Aḥmed III's grand-vizier İbrāhīm Paşa:

³⁵ Gökyay, *Bağçeler*, p. 7. Parenthetical translations are based on the following dictionaries and lexicons: *Muntaḥabāt-ı Luğat-i 'Osmaniyye* from the mid-nineteenth century; Şemsüddin Sāmī, *Al-Mu'jam at-Turkī at-Turāthī*; and Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* from the late nineteenth century. Etymologically, the term *mesīre* derives from the Arab. *seyr*, to walk, to move; *teferrücgāh*, from the Pers. *gāh*, place, Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*; and from the Arab. *tafarruj* (from the root *f-r-j*), the act of viewing, observing, contemplating, Hans-Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary*.

³⁶ Evliyā, *Seyahatname*, fol 123b. In several instances, the word *mesīre* is used in the context of imperial gardens, such as *mesīre-i mandıra-ı Selim H̄ān*, *ibid*, fol 146b.

"Hereafter, may the name of this imperial promenade (*mesire-i hāşş*) to the world become the Abode of Prosperity"³⁷

Also writing in the first half of the eighteenth century, the imperial chronicler Küçük Çelebizāde pointed to certain *mesires* "so much more spectacular than all others, that they were truly fit for the sultan."³⁸ And in a chronogram (probably of his own composition), a contemporary chronicler reported that Maḥmūd I wished to set up an uplifting *mesire-gāh* (lit. promenade place) next to his newly built pavilion:

"He wishes a promenade (*mesire-gāh*) of such divine creation as to forever quell the dust of sorrow and expel boredom from the heart"³⁹

Even in the more "popular" celebrations of waterfront gardens and promenades, which gave far more consideration to the pleasures of drinking, courting, and singing than to the ruler's riches and magnificence, the term *mesire* cannot be automatically construed as a public promenade without supporting evidence. In the following *şarkı* by the poet Muḥlis, for instance, the word *mesire*, unless qualified, may be equally referring to a promenade in the imperial garden of Karaağaç, or alternatively, to an adjacent public promenade of the same name:

"The garden of this heart-capturing forest
is a pleasant promenade (*mesire*), an invitation to carouse

³⁷ *Ba'd-ezin bu mesire-i hāşşın
Nāımı olsun cihānda Feyz-ābād*
Seyyid Vehbī, "Tārīḥ" (1721), cited in Meḥmed Rā'if, *Mir'āt-i İstanbul*, p. 299.

³⁸ *İstanbul havālisinde olan feraḥ-fezā mesirelerin cümlesinden fā'ik-i seyr ü temāşası haḳḳā ki şevketlü pādişāha lāyık olmağın (...)*, Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmā'il 'Aşım Efendi*, p. 43. Also ambiguous is Şem'dānizāde's description of the imperial palace of Küçüksu, built in 1749 under Maḥmūd I. He mentions a large and pleasureable promenade, but does not indicate whether it was part of the imperial complex, or rather, a bordering public walk, as was the case, for example, in Sa'dabad: *Küçüksu bir büyük nüzhet-gāh-ı şafā oldu*, Şem'dānizāde, *Mür'it-Tevāriḥ*, I: 162.

³⁹ *Mesire-gāh-ı 'ālem böyle ister cüy-ı bārından
Gubār-ı ğam başılsun dil-melālet görmesün kaḫ'ā*
Anonymous, "Tārīḥ-i havz berā-yı kaşr-ı havz-ı kebīr der şoffa-ı hümāyūn - Kaşr-ı Sultan Maḥmūd" (1731), in Anonymous, *Risāle*, fol 65 (margin).

The shadow of this fruit-giving tree
gives joy and pleasure to the heart and the soul,
Like beautiful lips, it is a diversion for the heart,
The garden of Karaağaç attends to my grief"⁴⁰

While these ambiguities may be construed as reflections of tortuous narrative and poetic styles, amorphous vocabulary, or lack of sufficient information, I would like to suggest that they also mirror the often blurred boundaries between private and public space. These, in turn, reflected certain processes by which the public gradually established a right of use on essentially private areas, "appropriating" them, so to speak, through their daily practices and their social and recreational rituals. These processes were sometimes legitimate, other times not, and often, mainly "conceptual."

3.2. Private Space / Public Right of Use

The ambivalent portrayal of gardens as private enclosures and places of public recreation at once is frequently encountered in accounts of restorations and depictions of gardens restored. In his narration of Aḥmed III's revival of the imperial kiosks and his addition of a large pool (in 1720) in the previously neglected imperial gardens of Hüsrevābād,⁴¹ the imperial chronicler Rāşid noted the restless desire of the people of Istanbul to stroll about and see (*ārzū-yi temāşası bi'l-cümle İstanbul ehālisin bi-kaḍr edüp*) the newly renovated garden. Though this remark may be interpreted as mere rhetoric, a necessary exaggeration meant to compound Rāşid's own description of the beauty of the

40 *Hōş mesire-gāh olur 'işret-fezā
Bu nihāl-ı dil-sitānın bāğçesi
Cān u dile baḥş edüp zevk ü şafā
Bu dirāht-ı meyvedārın sāyesi
Kand-ı dil-ber gibi dil eğlencesi
Gām güzarım Karaağaç Bāğçesi*
Muhlis, "Şarkı," cited in A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şi'rinde İstanbul*, p. 115.

⁴¹ Rāşid, *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid*, V: 305-6.

place, the theme of public sightseeing in the wake of a renovation was one often echoed in poems of this period. Fāzıl's opening verses for his eulogy of the restored waterfront pavilion of Neşāṭābād by Selīm III (1793-94) read:

"Come, enjoy the heavenly spectacle of this Neşāṭābād,
especially this layout established out of a new invention
True: Colorless, and in such monochromatic garment,
its former appearance looked coarse compared to this new edifice"⁴²

In the middle of the century, the poet Nevres composed a lengthy chronogram on the pavilion of Feraḥābād (in Kandilli) upon its renovation by Maḥmūd I.

"Untouched by fortune, it had been thus, in such ruins
that [even] the architect would not have envisioned it restored
People go to Feraḥābād to see it, it's quite a spectacle
Well, look there [and tell me]: where [next to this] is Sa'dabad?"⁴³

Extolling the beauty of Feraḥābād, he also marveled at the sight of all the people strolling and watching the place -- a spectacle in its own right, as he declared in the second verse. His reference to Sa'dabad, which by that time was almost in ruins (but which in its heyday Nevres had also celebrated in verse), can thus be interpreted to mean that Feraḥābād not only outdid Sa'dabad in beauty, but also, by its ability to attract a larger and more astonished crowd.

Should we regard these observations from the perspective of a customary trend of public visitations to newly built or renovated imperial gardens, meant perhaps

42 *Gel temāşā-yı cinān et bu Neşāṭābād'dan
Bā ḥuşūş iḥdās olan bu tarḥ-ı nev-icāddan
Bî televvun ḥaḳḳ bu kim ol cāme-i yekreng ile
Eski taḳvimi kaba gördük bu nev bünyāddan*

Fāzıl Bey Enderūnî, "Tāriḥ berā-yı ḳaşr-ı cedid-i fireng-teşyiddir der sāhilḥāne-i Neşāṭābād ma'mūr-bād" (1795), *Divān-ı Fāzıl Enderūn*, MS. TSMK, H. 906, fols 67b-68a.

43 *Şöyle virānında etmişti sipihr-ḡidār
Edemezdi anı mi'mār taşavvur ābād
Feraḥ-ābād'a gider seyre temāşadır ḥalk
Hele seyr eyle bu ḳanda nerede Sa'dābād*

Nevres, "Tāriḥ-i ta'mir-i ḳaşr-ı Bāḡçe-i Tokāt ki bi-fermān-ı sultān Maḥmūd" (n.d.), *Divān-ı Nevres*, fols 38b-39a.

as a show of display of royal splendor? Were these gardens continuously open to the public? Or were they open on certain hours of the day or on certain days of the week? Was the public confined to certain areas? As regards the concept of public visitations in private gardens, we may consider this excerpt from Walsh's account of the imperial palace of Saʿdabad at the turn of the nineteenth century:

On these occasions [while the Sultan is visiting] the valley is (...) shut up with guards, and no stranger permitted to intrude: at other times, it is open to all classes, who come here to rusticate, particularly Greeks, on Sundays and festivals. There is a period, however, in which it is the thronged resort of every person seeking amusement; and the Golden Horn is covered with caiques from all parts of Pera and Constantinople. This occurs on St George's day in the month of May.⁴⁴

Albeit in a different context, Rāşid's description of the renovation activities in the gardens of Beşiktaş and Dolmabahçe in 1718-19 under Nevşehirli İbrāhīm suggests that such scenarios may not be far fetched. It also indicates that in certain cases, provisions were taken towards a clear demarcation of the limits of private gardens: Rāşid tells us that İbrāhīm Paşa's restoration of the walls and gates of the garden of Beşiktaş entailed the joining of the neighboring garden of Dolmabahçe (*zamm u ilhāk*) incorporating, as it were, the public landing dock of ʿArab İskelesi. He explains that at that point, the residents of Fındıklı, who habitually walked from the dock through these grounds, were granted a permit to cross what had become the imperial gardens of Dolmabahçe (ʿArab İskelesinden mürūr u ʿubūr ede gelen Fındıklı ahālisine Dolmabāğçe derūnundan mürūr u ʿubūra ruḥşat gösterilmeğın ...).⁴⁵

In this respect, we should also consider, by way of a partial explanation, that private gardens, imperial and non-imperial, were adapted to different functions

⁴⁴ Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 58.

⁴⁵ Rāşid, *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid*, V: 165-66.

over time. Such changes were concomitant to changes in land tenure, confiscations, neglect or restoration of a place, as well as to wider political circumstances. In the second half of the eighteenth century, for example, and especially with the precipitation of military events following the Ottoman declaration of war against Russia in 1768, a number of imperial gardens and public squares were turned into military training grounds, as in the cases of the public square of Tophane, and the imperial garden of Fenerbahçe.⁴⁶

The confiscation of state land (*mîrî*) formerly allocated to influential members of the ruling class who later fell from grace sometimes entailed the refurbishment of these grounds into public gardens.⁴⁷ According to İncicyan, the sixteenth-century imperial gardens of İncirli Bâğçesi (near Tōkāt), which had been parcelled out in the second half of the seventeenth century and distributed as state land to high ranking officials,⁴⁸ were renovated by Tāhir Ağa, a courtier of Muṣṭafa III, and extended into a public promenade along the shore.⁴⁹ The forest

⁴⁶ Under Selim III, a part of the square of Tophane was turned into a training ground for the troops of the New Order (*Nizām-ı Cedid*); the neighboring houses were used as military barracks, and the ambulant stalls were moved to the edge of the district of Galata, İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, pp. 95, 112. For Fenerbahçe see, Aktepe, "Fenerbahçe," pp. 364-368; Koçu, "Fenerbahçe," p. 5621-5.

⁴⁷ For *mîrî* land, allocation, ownership, landholding, see, İnalçık, *An Economic and Social History*, I: 103-131.

⁴⁸ According to Erdoğan, the last record of it as an imperial estate dates back to 1679, Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," p. 178.

⁴⁹ İncicyan reports that the garden was very popular, but because of the frequent instances of crime and improper behavior, and the chief gardener's firm measures against them, "its old joy was forgotten" (*eski şenliğini kaybetti*) and it was left unmaintained (*metruk bir hale geldi*), İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 127. In a recent study, Cerasi mentions the promenade of Yaḥya Efendi (in Beşiktaş) as another example of confiscated property turned into a public promenade; but unfortunately, he does not provide any source of information; see Cerasi, "Open Space," p. 47, n.11. The public promenade of Yaḥya Efendi was founded in Beşiktaş in the late seventeenth century, along with a mosque and a sufi convent, İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 127.

of Belgrad is another example of state land (*mīri*) opened to the public -- though neither the reasons for this development nor the circumstances in which it took place are clear. Judging from the descriptions of Lady Montagu, however, it must have become a public park sometime in the early part of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ An interesting case of property confiscation of formerly allocated state land is reported by Ayyānsarāyī in the second half of the eighteenth century. It involved the waterfront residence and garden of ‘Abdülhamīd I's *şeyhülislām*, Mehmed Es‘ad Efendi, in Emirgan (on the European side of the Bosphorus), following his forced exile in 1778-79. In 1781, the confiscated property was turned into a royal *waqf* by ‘Abdülhamīd I, who had a mosque, a bath, and several shops erected on its grounds; a few months later, he built a *meydān* fountain across from the mosque's courtyard, along the shore (fig. 106, see fig. 81).⁵¹ That ‘Abdülhamīd's foundation gradually entailed the development of an outdoor public space is documented by Miss Pardoe, who journeyed in the city under the reign of Maḥmūd II (1809-1839). By that time, according to her account, several coffeehouses occupied the space around the fountain, along the Bosphorus waterfront (fig. 107):

A long street, terminating at the water's edge, stretches far into the distance, its center being occupied by a Moorish fountain of white marble, overshadowed by limes and acacias, beneath which are coffee terraces; constantly thronged with Turks, sitting gravely in groups upon low stools not more than half a foot from the ground, and occupied with their chibouks and mocha.⁵²

⁵⁰ It was made famous by Lady Montague to her European audience, Montague, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, pp. 102-6. She was often quoted in this respect; see for example, de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, I: 25; Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 148-55; Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, pp. 96-97; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 147.

⁵¹ Ayyānsarāyī, *Hadikat ul-Cevāmi‘*, II: 137-38. For the mosque of ‘Abdülhamīd I in Emirgan see, Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 679; Demirsar, "Emirgân Camii," *DBİA*, 3: 169-70.

Ayvānsarāyī, writing in the years following the construction of the mosque -- he died a few years later in 1787 -- makes no reference to coffeehouses. Though the date of their opening is not clear, these may have been part of the income-generating shops for the maintenance of the mosque, built in the initial phase of the complex's construction.⁵³

Like the preparation for a campaign or the confiscation of allocated state property, the decay of imperial property (*hāşş*) could eventually entail the creation of a public space. This was the case of Fenerbahçe following the Patrona Hâlîl revolt in 1730,⁵⁴ and of the imperial kiosk and gardens of Kâlemler in Yeniköy. According to İncicyan, the latter had remained a favorite gathering place of criminals and vagabonds until Moldovalı 'Alî Ağa, the chief gardener under Muştafa III, founded barracks for the gardeners' corps (*bostancılar ocağı*) as a security measure (*emniyyet tedbiri olarak*) against troublemakers. Upon this act, parts of the gardens were turned into a public promenade.⁵⁵ Royal endowments reportedly occurred in the imperial gardens of Kandilli on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, and in Bebek, on the European side. We know that part of the garden of Kandilli was endowed as a royal *waqf* by Maḥmūd I in 1751-52, following a long period of neglect. After attending to the restoration of the delapidated imperial pavilion, Feraḥābād (renamed Nevābād), a mosque was built, and the remaining part of the land was parcelled and leased out. According

⁵² Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, II: 167; see also, idem., *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 111.

⁵³ For Ayvānsarāyī's life and works, see, G. Kut, and T. Kut, "Ayvansarayî Hafız Hüseyin b. İsmail ve Eserleri," p. 403. An examination of the initial and subsequent *waqfiyyas* (*waqf* deeds) of 'Abdülhamîd's mosque may shed light on this question.

⁵⁴ Aktepe, "Fenerbahçe," p. 364.

⁵⁵ İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 119.

to Şem'dānizāde, it subsequently developed into a village (*kaşaba*), with the construction of several *yalıs* and shops, and a bath.⁵⁶ Similarly, İncicyan tells us, the imperial gardens of Bebek, which over time had become a place of congregation of brigands, were endowed and revived by Aḥmed III and Nevşehirli İbrāhīm in 1725-26 with the construction of a bath, a market, and a mosque on the waterfront (fig. 108).⁵⁷ According to Küçük Çelebizāde, the place developed into a village in the course of a few months.⁵⁸ Though this has not been documented, it is possible to speculate that in these cases too, parts of the gardens were eventually turned into public parks or promenades. One could also suggest that, as the case of Emirgan intimates, the new "shore-mosques" of the eighteenth century may have had a significant role to play in the development of public spaces along the Bosphorus. As some travelers observed, the mosque's interior courtyard constituted an important recreational space for men, in which they lingered after prayer time to meet friends and exchange news.⁵⁹ The location of some of these mosques, as in Bebek, Kandilli, or Emirgan,⁶⁰ in open spaces on the Bosphorus shore may have encouraged a

⁵⁶ Şem'dānizāde, *Mür'it-Tevârih*, I: 161-62; see also, İzzî, *Tārîḥ-i 'İzzî*, fol 273; Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 687.

⁵⁷ İncicyan (from Şarraf-Hovannesyan), *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 116.

⁵⁸ Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārîḥ-i İsmâ'il 'Aşım Efendi*, p. 377; see also, Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 677. Cerasi suggests (again without reference to particular sources) that in the case of several confiscated properties which were subsequently endowed, the endowment stipulated that gardens belonging to these properties be opened to the public. Unfortunately I have not come across any such example yet; see Cerasi, "Open Space," p. 47, n.11.

⁵⁹ See for example, Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 189, II, 107; Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts*, I: 401.

⁶⁰ The shore mosque of 'Abdülhamid I in Beylerbeyi, built in 1778, may be another example, if we consider the similarity of its setting to that of the mosque of Emirgan, and the eventual establishment of coffeehouses in the space adjacent to it, along the waterfront. Again here, these coffeehouses were not mentioned

process of "overflow" of these social gatherings from the mosque's enclosed courtyard to the space around it along the waterfront -- perhaps even, into a less severely gendered arena.

It must be emphasized, as several of these examples indicate, that the pre-emption of social unrest was a significant factor in prompting the revival of both formerly neglected imperial gardens (as they had gradually deteriorated into arenas of mischief and delinquency), and others that were no longer attended, which could easily follow the same fate. The re-appropriation of these grounds by the authorities, and the "institutionalization" of public spaces, may have been then partly conceived as a measure to ensure the preservation of public order and discipline in the city. By doing so, these trends were also answering to the new social and recreational "demands" of the urban society. At this point, these clues can only open doors to a future in-depth inquiry on the specifics of ownership, possible changes in land status and occupancy in individual gardens and the reasons which might have prompted these changes. Considering the zeal with which one delapidated royal garden after another was refurbished, especially in the first half of the century, further archival documentation may point to a certain pattern of private gardens turning, in part or in full, into public parks.⁶¹ Research in *waqf* (pious endowment) deeds, tribunal court records (*şer'ic-i sicilleri*), imperial garden registers (*hâşş bağçe defterleri*), and imperial account books of construction and renovation expenses is likely to shed more light on

by Ayvānsarāyī; which indicates that they may have been a later development; see Ayvānsarāyī, *Hādikat ul-Cevāmi*^c, II: 171-81. For the mosque of Beylerbeyi see also, Batur, "Beylerbeyi Camii," *DBİA*, 2: 203-5.

⁶¹ It would also be interesting to look into comparable developments in contemporary cities of Europe, as regards the opening of royal gardens to the public (e.g. Luxembourg in Paris, Prater in Vienna) and public "encroachment" in private domain. See for example, for England, Warren, *Public Parks and Private Land in England and Wales*; Thompson, *Whigs, Hunters: The Origin of the Black Act*.

these questions, and ultimately, on one aspect of the expansion of the public space in this period, namely, the transfer of imperial gardens to public domain.

Let us return for a moment to the case of the imperial garden of Sa'dabad, in light of Walsh's report (quoted above) on the opening and closing days of public visitations -- on St George's day and on days of imperial visits, respectively. As informative as it may be, Walsh's account actually raises more questions than it answers. Was he referring to the enclosed imperial compound of Sa'dabad, or to the public promenade of Kağıthane? We could note here an observation by a college teacher, recorded in his personal diary, which indirectly suggests that the names Sa'dabad and Kağıthane were not used to refer specifically to the private, or the public areas of the site, but rather, interchangeably, to the place in general. He wrote that upon the completion of the palace of Sa'dabad the place, hitherto known as Kağıthane, became frequently referred to as Sa'dabad.⁶² Further, judging from Walsh's and other travelers' accounts,⁶³ his reference to the "valley" in the first sentence may not necessarily allude to the royal enclosure per se, but to the vicinity in which it was located, which included the celebrated public promenade of Kağıthane -- and one of the most popular subjects of description by contemporaries:

As we continued our drive, we passed a hundred groups of which an artist might have made as many studies. All was enjoyment and hilarity. Caiques came and went along the bright river; majestic trees stretched their long branches over the greensward; gay voices were on the wind; the cloud had passed away; and the sunlight lay bright over the hilltops. I know no spot on earth where the long, sparkling summer day may be more deliciously spent than in the lovely Valley of the Sweet Waters.⁶⁴

⁶² Şadreddin-zāde, Telhisi Muştafa Efendi, "Bir Osmanlı Efendisi Günlüğü," p. 8.

⁶³ valley, *valle*, *vallée du grand-seigneur*; see for example, Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 4, 58; Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, I: 321, 332; idem., *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 6.

Was the public promenade of Kağıthane, then, shut off on days of imperial visits? Was the general public granted access at all to the imperial garden on days of public festivities? What were ultimately the limits of public access in the garden of Sa'dabad? And how were the boundaries between the imperial complex and the public promenade defined?

Though we have sufficient textual and visual evidence of the layout of the imperial palace and garden of Sa'dabad and their immediate surroundings, the question of boundaries between the imperial garden and the public promenade remains unresolved. Eldem's plans, drawn after contemporary visual and written descriptions and an archeological study of the place, show that the promenade bordered the imperial palatial complex and extended along the stream all the way to the village of Kağıthane (see figs. 1 a-b).⁶⁵ This is corroborated by numerous sketches and illustrations of these premises from the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries (figs. 109 and 110; see figs. 94 and 95). The earliest of these is by Gudenus, and dates back to the first phase of the palace's construction under Aḥmed III (fig. 111). Both he and l'Espinasse (the illustrator of d'Ohsson's *Tableau* [fig. 94]) indicate that a low, part brick and part see-through trellis fence separated the private compound from the public space.

There is little that we can infer from these depictions on the actual limits of public access into the imperial palatial compound. L'Espinasse's engraving is particularly puzzling, as it represents a seemingly socially diverse crowd of men, women, and children, strollers and vendors, wandering on both sides and

⁶⁴ Miss Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, I: 331.

⁶⁵ For the reconstruction of the palatial complex from 1720 until the nineteenth century see, Eldem, *Sa'dabad*.

"through" the wall separating the public promenade and the private garden (fig. 112). Equally intriguing is the well-known illustration of Fāzıl Bey's *Zenānnāme* (Book of Women)⁶⁶ and another variant of the same scene⁶⁷ (both from the end of the eighteenth century) in which private and public grounds seem to be conflated (fig. 113, see fig. 89). These too depict a group of men, women, and children engaged in various activities, this time *inside* the royal enclosure, on the side of the central pool opposite to the Harem building (see fig. 1 b). In the absence of methodical ethnographic studies of the dresses, headgears, hairstyles, and postures represented in these images -- a subject far beyond this study -- a firm identification of the individuals portrayed seems impossible at this point. One could tentatively identify, by the relative elegance of some of the women's outfits, the women and children represented in the first illustration as members of the imperial harem in the company of their servants. Judging by the same criterion, the second illustration would more likely suggest a group of middle class "outsiders."

What is most remarkable, however, is the close correspondance between both illustrations, and contemporary narrative descriptions of garden recreation and outdoor activities of the urban society. Consider, for example, the following passage from a lengthy description of women's excursions to the Bosphorus waterfront gardens, by the French traveler Pertusier:

[E]nfin, elles assaisonnent le tout d'un dîné champêtre. Les vieilles se délectent ensuite ou se consolent avec la pipe; les jeunes parent leurs enfants, ou les balancent au moyen de leurs schalls suspendus en hamaque aux branches d'un arbre, ou bien encore arrangent leurs voiles de manière à laisser voir tout ce qui est du domaine des yeux (...) Ces lieux de réunions sont toujours animés par des bandes de musiciens qui

⁶⁶ Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, *Hübānnāme ve Zenānnāme*, MS., İÜK, Ty 5502.

⁶⁷ Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, *Zenānnāme*, MS., British Library, Or. 7094.

viennent au devant des ordres que souvent on ne leur adresse pas (...) On y rencontre aussi (...) des marchands de sucreries, de pâtisserie, des cafés ambulants, des serbedgis.⁶⁸

According to this description, both illustrations from the *Zenānnāme* seem to represent an episode of after-meal relaxation of ordinary women and children from the urban middling society, with the elder ones smoking their pipes, the younger ones amusing themselves on the swing, and musicians, flower and pastry sellers attending to their wishes and needs. This interpretation would perfectly correspond, then, with the miniatures' own context, that is, as illustrations of Fāzıl Bey's Preface to his *Zenānnāme*, a long poem centered around the pleasures of garden recreation among ordinary men and women -- to which I will return in the next chapter.

That public recreation could take place inside the garden enclosure of Sa'dabad is clearly intimated in the following description of the imperial garden by a French woman traveler:

Pour goûter un véritable plaisir, il faut venir, aux premiers jours du printemps, s'asseoir dans le pavilion situé au milieu de la rivière, [the topmost of three pavilions over the canal built by Maḥmūd I] admirer cette nappe d'eau qui s'étend devant vous à plus d'un quart de lieue: le bruit de cette cascade qui est à vos pieds, ces groupes de femmes turques, grecques, arméniennes, juives, dont les moeurs, les usages et les costumes sont si différent, et qui se livrent sans crainte à tous les divertissements qu'offre la campagne, font de cette promenade un coup-d'oeil ravissant.⁶⁹

Like this passage, several poems of this period, whether written in praise of the newly founded or recently restored Sa'dabad or merely in celebration of "popular" pleasures, throw considerable doubt on the assumption of well-defined, or guarded, boundaries between the private complex and the public

⁶⁸ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 328-31.

⁶⁹ Ferté-Meun, *Lettres sur le Bosphore*, p. 63.

promenade. Nedim's invitation of his young friend to partake of the pleasure of a stroll around the central pool, the fountain of *Nev-peydā*, and the imperial kiosk of *Cinān* in the imperial garden (see figs. 1 b and 89) in his *şarkı* composed in the most vibrant era in the history of Sa'dabad (between 1720 and 1730), may be one of the best illustrations of this point:

"Let's laugh, let's play, let's enjoy the pleasure of life
Let's drink the water of life from the fountain of Nev-peyda
Let's look at the the water of life flowing out of the dragon
Let's go, my swaying cypress, walk to Sa'dabad

Let's stroll gracefully by the pool,
Let's come and admire the spectacle of the kiosk of Cinān
Let's sing some, recite an ode
Let's go, my swaying cypress, walk to Sa'dabad

Let's get permission from your mother; say you're going to Friday prayer
Let's steal one day from the tyranny of fate;
Winding through hidden streets, let's go straight to the jetty
Let's go, my swaying cypress, walk to Sa'dabad"⁷⁰

70 *Gülelim oynayalım kām alalım dünyādan*
Mā-ı tesnīm içelim çeşme-i Nev-peydādan
Görelim āb-ı hayāt ağıtığın ejderhādan
Gidelim serv-i revānım yürü Sa'dābād'a

Geh varıp havz-ı kenārında hürāman olalım
Geh gelip kaşr-ı Cinān seyrine hayrān olalım
Gāh şarkı okuyup gāh gāzelhān olalım
Gidelim serv-i revānım yürü Sa'dābād'a

İzin alıp cum'a namāzına deyü māderden
Bir gün uğrulayalım çerh-i sitem-peroverden
Dolaşıp iskeleye doğru nihān yollardan
Gidelim serv-i revānım yürü Sa'dābād'a

Nedim, *Nedim'in Divanı*, p. 202; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," pp. 201-6.

3.3. "On the way to the fountain ..."

In contemporary consciousness, for sure, while Saʿdabad as well as many other imperial palaces undoubtedly continued to symbolize royal grandeur and magnificence, they had become profoundly associated with the lives, traditions, and pleasures of ordinary people:⁷¹

"Set out for a pleasure walk sometime to Feyzābād
On your way to Aşafābād hang around a while, o moon-face beauty"⁷²

Çubuklu, Saʿdabad or Feyzābād, typically represented by imperial chroniclers as sites of imperial palaces and gardens and flamboyant court festivities (as we have seen in the previous chapter) were hailed by contemporary poets as public spaces for convivial gatherings and entertainment. This discrepancy may be regarded in part as a reflection of two distinct literary genres or, one might say, of the different facets of urban life which contemporary observers chose to consider. And in this respect, the most valuable aspect of this poetry lies in the

⁷¹ From the same perspective, we can also wonder whether urban squares, such as the Hippodrome (traditionally the site of celebrations of princely weddings and displays of imperial horses), which connoted symbols of court authority and ostentation, had lost their courtly significance in popular consciousness; and had become increasingly associated with images of rebellion and discontent and ultimately, with the common people, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. See, for example, Rāşid's account of the rebellion of 1687 in which the Hippodrome and the square of Sultanahmed were used as assembly places by the rebels, Rāşid, *Tārīḫ-i Rāşid*, II: 17-19; see also, accounts of the Patrona Ḥalīl revolt in 1703, ʿAbdī, *Abdi Tarihi*, pp.31-40; Ahmet Refik, *Lāle Devri*, pp. 117-45. Cantimir, writing in the first half of the eighteenth century, described the Hippodrome (Atmeydān) as follow: "Il est aujourd'hui employé de nouveau à sa première destination, & sert à promener & exercer les chevaux du Grand Seigneur: il sert aussi aux rendez-vous des rebelles," Cantimir, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, IV: 387; see also, Pierce, *The Imperial Harem*, p. 68. Cantimir also reports, for example, that when Aḥmed III's grand-vizier, Çorlulu ʿAlī Paşa, was hanged by imperial decree, his head was displayed in the public place in front of the outer gate of the imperial palace of Topkapı: "[L]'ordre fut expédié de couper la tête à Chorluli, & de l'exposer dans la place publique, devant Babihumayun ou la grande porte du palais," Cantimir, *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, IV: 457.

⁷² *Gāhı Feyzābād'a doğru ʿazm edüp ile şafā
Aşafābād'a gelüp gāhı şalın ey meh-likā*
Nedim, *Nedim'in Divanı*, p. 199; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," pp. 174-7.

recognition of a public arena in spaces we have been used to regard as private, and oftentimes, imperial. At least, it should call for the revision of a silently accepted distinction (in modern historiography) between the "popular" social sphere of taverns, coffeehouses, and sufi lodges on the one hand, and the leisure space of the political/ cultural aristocracy in gardens, pleasure kiosks and pavilions on the other, in and before the eighteenth century. Though beyond the scope of this study, this issue will greatly inform our inquiry on the changing conception of gardens in the next chapter.

From a larger perspective, this divergence of perception or, more correctly, of representation, can be regarded as a literary counterpart to the continuous dynamics between the determination of the ruling elite to regulate the urban order (by way of legal and urban measures), and the emergence and maturation of forms of unstructured entertainment which, when not contained, threatened to erode the confines of this order.⁷³ As such, it mirrored different facets of the processes by which outdoor public spaces came into being in the eighteenth century, namely, out of the interplay of these regulations, patrons' building and restoration activities, and people's daily, social and recreational rituals.⁷⁴

⁷³ I do not mean to draw here a dichotomy between state authority and society, order and rebellion. In fact, as Zilfi has pointed, the rise of the *Ḳadızâdeli* movement and of self-proclaimed *mahdis* (messiahs) in the seventeenth century, like the high regard held for Murâd IV despite his random executions and punishments, were signs that the idea of restoring the social order in the capital was quite popular, Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, pp. 200-1. We have also encountered earlier individuals such as Şem'dânizâde and 'Abdî, who held similar aspirations in the eighteenth century; see chap. 1, ns. 4, 20.

⁷⁴ This is in line with Mare's and Vos's concept of a ritualized urban space, which they define as "the space which groups within the population appropriate to themselves by means of recognizable, repeated symbolic acts" -- by which they also mean, acts of daily lives, see the introduction in, de Mare and Vos, eds. *Urban Rituals in Italy and the Netherlands*, p. 1.

This interplay was clearly reflected in poetic representations of fountains:

"On your way to the fountain
Don't get pregnant by that debauched Bekir Paşa"⁷⁵

This verse by the late eighteenth-century poet Vāşif is an exasperated mother's plea to her mischievous daughter, conveying her concern over the wide-ranging implications of a trip to the fountain. This was part of the daily (or weekly) routine of most people. With the exception of some well-to-do households whose residences included a well or a fountain,⁷⁶ most everyone relied on neighborhood fountains for their daily water supply.⁷⁷ It was an inevitable activity which, as illustrations and vignettes of the same period illustrate, provided a context and a pretext for men and women to mix freely: an arena for unrestrained socialization, flirtation, and in this mother's mind, for the most unpredictable forms of encounters (figs. 114 and 115). The neighborhood fountain was an unguarded and ungendered outdoor social space which lay beyond the reach of social and behavioral regulations like, for example, those prohibiting the mixing of genders in public places. In many ways, of course, Vāşif's verse can be regarded as part of a universal folk lore on fountains. An old and timeless proverbial tale of Nasreddin Hoca slapping his daughter before she goes to the fountain to fetch some water expresses a similar sense of the

⁷⁵ Vāşif, *Muhammes*: "Mother's Advice to Her Daughter," cited in Chmielowska, *La femme turque*, p. 59.

⁷⁶ Several European observers have noted that houses of well-to-do families usually included a private fountain or a water-cistern (*şārnic*), but in general, the neighborhood fountain served for daily water supply; see d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 238; Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts*, I: 394; Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 242-3.

⁷⁷ These neighborhood fountains, usually more modest in size than those located in gardens and squares, are sometimes classified by modern scholars as *maḥalle çeşmesi* (neighborhood fountain); see for example, Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri*, pp. 63-6.

distractions which the fountain evoked. When asked about his reasons for acting so the Hoca replied: What is the use of slapping her after the jar breaks?

But Vāşif's verse cannot be dissociated from a new generation of poems in which fountains became emblematic of outdoor social life. They constituted an important topos of literary and visual representations of the city, in a period characterized by a continuous and vibrant patronage of fountains (as we saw earlier) in the city and the suburbs, in already densely populated areas and in new neighborhoods:

"How many loving, pleasant-tasting sources he made in every quarter
On the shore these fountain springs are mirrors of the world
May you live long, may your heart be filled with pleasure,
may the ruler of the world always be saved from evil!
The fruits of his goodness have often enrich the people
Now this sacred place has become a wondrous place of pleasure"⁷⁸

Primarily conceived within a series of ambitious infrastructural projects for the expansion of the water-supply network to urban residents, these hundreds of fountains must have generated more and more spaces of this sort. There is no evidence that these were intended as architectural monuments in the planning of outdoor spaces, like for example, fountains in Baroque Rome, or statues of kings in seventeenth-century Parisian squares.⁷⁹ Yet, both in their formal evolution

⁷⁸ *Her şūda kıldı 'āşıkāt nice 'uyūn-ı hōş-güvār
Sāhilde hōd ol çeşmesār āyine-i 'ālem-nümā
Hāk 'ömrünün eفزūn ede kalbın şafā-meşhūn ede
Āfāttan me'mūn ede şāh-ı cihānı dā'imā
Āşār-ı hayrı dem-be-dem etmekte halkı muğtenim
Şimdi bu cāy-ı muharrem oldu 'aceb cāy-ı şafā*

Sāmī, "Tārīh," composed for the fountain of Aḥmed III at Bāb-ı Hümāyūn)
Dīvān-ı Sāmī, fols 48-49.

⁷⁹ For the planning of urban squares in seventeenth and eighteenth-century European cities and a general bibliography on this subject see, Kostof, *A History of Architecture*, pp. 511-59; idem., *The City Assembled*; idem., *The City Shaped*. For Paris and Rome see also, Leith, *Space and Revolution*; D'Onofrio, *Le fontane di Roma*.

(with the emergence of the *meydān* fountain) and in their iconographical vocabulary, replete with trees, fruits and flowers,⁸⁰ they seemed clearly conceived as landscape elements. Not tucked away in the wall enclosure of a mosque or a *medrese* in the dense fabric of the inner city, but instead, prominently located in open meadows, gardens, marketplaces, urban and neighborhood squares, and along public promenades, eighteenth-century fountains gradually became part and parcel of the experiences and rituals of outdoor urban life (figs. 116, 117, and 118, see figs. 62, 93, 96, and 107). As Ferté-Meun observed: "Ici on se rassemble aux fontaines, comme en France aux Tuileries et au boulevard de Gand; le samedi c'est à *Kalinder*, [Kalender] le lundi à *Kerelek Bournou* [Kireç Burnu?] (...) Dans ce pays on dit: C'est le jour de *Kerelek Bournou*, il ne faut pas manquer d'y aller."⁸¹

A comparison between the epigraphic contents of fountains of the period preceding the fountain craze of the first half of the eighteenth century and those of this period reveals a shift of emphasis from the functional, to the social and recreational character of the fountain. Typically, poetic inscriptions from the sixteenth- to the late seventeenth century centered not on the fountain as a building, but rather, on the benevolent character of the fountain's patron in supplying water to the people; that is, on the fountain's principal function as a source of water. Standard tropes, such as "the source of munificence" (*‘ayn-i iḥsān*), represented the fountain as a metaphor of the patron. Given the primary intention of these inscriptions as poems of eulogy (composed in the form of

⁸⁰ The symbolic connotations of elements of the iconography of this period and contemporaries' interpretations of their meanings will be discussed in detail in the chap. 4.

⁸¹ Ferté-Meun, *Lettres sur le Bosphore*, pp. 100-1.

rhymed chronograms celebrating the completion of the building), fountains acted principally as suitable panegyric tools -- a subject which will be picked up in the last chapter.

Though, in keeping with this tradition, the themes of patron's munificence and water supply were commonly reiterated in later inscriptions and other chronograms of the eighteenth century, poets clearly recognized the place of the fountain in the urban landscape. In poetic depictions, the fountain began to emerge as a building in its own right, and as a central element in the delineation of a social and spatial enclosure:

"Since this site was a market and a place of assembly,
it required an ornamental fountain of the highest rank
This flowing limpid water graced the thirsty ones;
That striving patron truly exhibited glorious success" ⁸²

A similar impression is conveyed by visual representations of garden activities in this period, most often organized around a fountain structure; thus inscribing the social and recreational garden space in relation to it (see figs. 93, 96, and 107). As a public source of water and a spatial marker, fountains imparted an additional dimension to the garden experience and brought about new forms of interaction. Describing a picnic scene in the public garden of Kağthane, Walsh remarked: "The women assemble on one side round the fountain, and the men on the other, under the trees. Between, are the persons who vend refreshments to both indiscriminately."⁸³

82 *Bu mevki° çarsu u mecma°-ı nās olmağın bunda
Kemāl mertebe muhtāc idi bir çeşme-i zibā
Bu āb-ı pākı icrā eyleyüp °atşāna lütf etti
°Aceb tevfiķa muzher oldu o şāhib-himem hakķā*
Nedim, *Nedim'in Divānı*, "Tāriḫ-i çeşme-i Ağa-ı dār us-sa°adet ül-şerife" (1727), p. 100; Nedim, *Nedim Divanı*, pp. 181-82.

In this respect, the new type of monumental *meydān* fountain occupied a special place. The role of these unusually elaborate structures in the re-utilization of previously existing public spaces was particularly highlighted by contemporary chroniclers and poets. An account by Incicyan of the long-winded process of establishment of the *meydān* fountain of İřhāk Ağa (custom treasurer under Maḥmūd I) in Beykoz (fig. 119, see fig. 78) concludes by saying that upon its completion in 1746, the place turned into a summer-time recreational spot (*yazlık bir eğlence yeri*): People sat around the fountain, under its eaves (*suyun etrafındaki üstü kapalı yerlerde oturup*), and enjoyed the sounds of its gushing water.⁸⁴ On the same occasion, Şem'dānizāde remarked that "with the joyful fountain [of İřhāk Ağa], the [shore of Beykoz] was brought to life" (*müferrih binâ ile mahall-i merkûmu ihyâ eyledi*).⁸⁵

Visual images, textual descriptions and personal assessments of the monumental fountain of Tophane, built by Maḥmūd I in 1732-33 and dominating the shore of the Bosphorus across the imperial palace peninsula, exemplify the role of *meydān* fountains in the shaping of outdoor public spaces (figs. 120, 121, 122, and 123, see fig. 118). Evliyā's elaborate description of street scenes at Tophane in the second half of the seventeenth century, for instance, makes no allusion to the existence of a square (*meydān*). And despite the existence of the two fountains of Siyāvuş

⁸³Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 33; see also, Pertusier's description of picnics and dances around the fountain at Kireç Burnu, Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 46, II: 203-4; Incicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 112.

⁸⁴ Incicyan reports that as water had been cut off on the shore of Beykoz, Maḥmūd I spent a considerable amount of money to attend to some infrastructural problems before he finally ordered to have the fountain erected, Incicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 127.

⁸⁵ Şem'dānizāde, *Mür'i't-tevâriḥ*, I: 124.

Paşa (1632) and Silâhdâr Muştafa Paşa (1636) which he duly notes, he deplures the scarcity of fountains in "a town this size."⁸⁶ By contrast, accounts of eighteenth-century eye-witnesses centered on the "square of Tophane" (*Tophane meydânı*), and described the area as shaded by dense plane trees, facing a large marble fountain, and bordered by a line of coffeehouses; used as an open marketplace on certain days of the week, and a site of recreation and entertainment for crowds of grandees and commoners alike.⁸⁷ Poets' praises of the fountain of Maḥmūd I intimated that it was not until its construction that the square of Tophane came into its own:

"Tophane achieved with this fountain the splendor of display
The singers of welcoming greetings became one of its dwellers"⁸⁸

Like Naḥîfî's euphoric celebration of the square's ability to finally unveil itself to the public, by allusion to the welcoming sound of its gushing water, the numerous chronograms composed in the few months following its construction extolled its aesthetic and spatial virtues, and hailed it as a social arena and a place to rejoice:

"My heart longs and yearns for your company;
to see your radiant face is my strongest desire
Just think, a day at Tophane would be so suitable
Come, my crescent-browed one, let's make it our feast"⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Of the area of Tophane, Evliyâ also mentions the sixteenth-century mosque of Kılıç 'Alî Paşa and the fifteenth-century imperial canon foundry to north of it (*tophâne-i 'âmire*) built by Meḥmed II, which lent its name to the area, Evliyâ, *Seyâhatname*, fols 133a-134a.

⁸⁷ See among others, Kömürçüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi*, pp. 42-3; İncicyan, 18. *Asırda İstanbul*, pp. 95, 112; Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 8, 17, 21.

⁸⁸ *Buldu bu çeşme ile revnak-ı ferr Tophâne
Oldu sükkânı nevâ-senc-i tahiyyat-ı vürüd*
Naḥîfî, "Tarih-i çeşme-i Tophâne" (1732-3); cited in Ayvânsarâyî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*, p. 382.

⁸⁹ *Dil seniñ sohbetiñe tâlib ü râğibdir pek
Şevkimiz tal'at pür-nûriñe gâlibdir* pek
Hele Tophâne günü olsa münâsibdir pek*

4. TALES OF VOYEURISM AND EXHIBITIONISM ALONG THE WATERFRONT

"The angels of paradise crammed themselves to see you
The gazes of spectators (*ehl-i temāşā*) can't find their way to you"

From a *tārîh* by Nevres (1748)⁹⁰

"Come quick, look just once, there is no ban on the eye
Sa'dabad has now become garden upon hill, my love"

From a *şarkı* by Nedim (c. 1725)⁹¹

Nevres's address to the imperial pavilion of Beşiktaş and Nedim's beautiful glorification of the gratuity of visual pleasure play up a theme which has recurred throughout this chapter, and one which we do not typically admit in exploring questions of urban space: namely, public *visual* access. The recurrence of this notion in descriptions of gardens and open spaces and its significance to our inquiry on the delineation of public spaces partly derive from its common confluence in Ottoman terminology with the concept of "walking" or "strolling." This is encapsulated in the words *temāşā* (walking; seeing; also, a spectacle; an outing; a promenade; a planted garden); *seyr* (walking, moving; looking, seeing; a spectacle; a space moved through / a walk); and the idiom *seyr ü temāşā* (walking / looking).⁹² Though this certainly adds one more layer of confusion

Gel benim kâş-ı hilâlim bize bir 'id edelim
* *tâlibdir* in Evin. Nedim, *Nedim'in Divânı*, p. 198; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age" pp. 178-83.

⁹⁰ *Kudsiyan etmiş tezâhum seyriñe bir rütbe kim*
Ölamaz nazzâre-i ehl-i temāşâ râhyâb
Nevres, "Târîh-i sâhilsarây-ı dil-keş tarh-ı Beşiktaş" (1748), *Divân-ı Nevres*, fols 41b-42a.

⁹¹ *Gel hele bir kerecik seyr et göze olmaz yasâğ*
Oldu Sa'dâbâd şimdi sevdiğim dâğ üstü bâğ
Nedim, *Nedim'in Divânı*, p. 193; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," pp. 142-47.

⁹² *Seyr* from Arab.; *temāşâ* from Pers. Parenthetical translations are based on, Şemsüddin Sâmi, *Al-Mu'jam at-Turkî at-Turâthî*; and Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*.

to our attempt to delineate the boundaries of public space, it also helps us reflect on one important and unresolved aspect of change in the conception of private gardens in the eighteenth century.

We have seen earlier in the context of our discussion on the boundaries between Sa'dabad (the imperial palace garden) and Kağıthane (the public meadow and promenade) that the separation between the two consisted of a low masonry wall on the side of the promenade, and a fence or trellis enclosure on the sides bordering other parts of the public area (see figs. 111 and 112). That this enclosure was low enough to allow a partial view of the imperial compound is suggested in d'Ohsson's description of the promenade by a casual reference to the spectacle of the gilded domes (the three domed pavilions added by Maḥmūd I noted earlier) (see fig. 112):

Dans la belle saison, des citoyens de tous les ordres, de l'un et de l'autre sexe, vont quelquefois y prendre plaisir de la promenade. C'est une des promenades les plus agréables dans les environs de Constantinople (...) Des côteaux, des plaines, de petits pavillons avec des dômes dorés, des ponts légers sur une rivière peu profonde, qui se jette dans le Bosphore, des barques flottantes, enfin tout s'y réunit pour présenter le coup d'oeil le plus pittoresque et le plus imposant.⁹³

We also have evidence of the relative openness of eighteenth-century private gardens belonging to the middle classes. Artan's study of the court documents of this period shows that most waterfront gardens were located on the shore line between the *haremlük* and the *selāmlük* sections of the residence or, alternatively, extended under the raised *yalı* all the way from the edge of the back street to the shore.⁹⁴ In most cases, they were separated from the waterfront (or from

⁹³ D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, IV: 185.

⁹⁴ A sampling of court records by Artan for some neighborhoods located on the European side of the Bosphorus shows certain cases where one garden was

neighboring gardens, in the case of residences located inland) by a low wall (fig. 124).⁹⁵ In some instances, like in the *yalı* of Hādī Bey in Kandilli on the Asian shore, the building and the garden were completely exposed to the water (fig. 125).⁹⁶ Occasional depictions of eighteenth-century urban residences by contemporary chroniclers and artists show that in most cases, these walls were pierced with grilled or latticed windows, a consideration meant, Miss Pardoe suggested, "for the convenience of the Harem"⁹⁷ -- implying that, theoretically, while residents were protected from the unwelcome public gaze, they were still allowed to enjoy the visual prospects offered by the waterfront (fig. 126, see fig. 14). In certain cases, they were covered with a landscape mural which almost blended with the landscape (fig. 127, see fig. 27).⁹⁸ As evidenced in two seemingly contradictory representations of a Bosphorus scene of the early eighteenth century, each illustrating a different album of the *Ḥamse* of 'Aṭā'ī, walled and open gardens must have coexisted in this period (figs. 128 and 129). But most often, eighteenth-century visual images depicted the garden enclosures of private residences, both on the waterfront and inland, as partially open wooden fences, similar to those shown in the renderings of Sa'dabad by Gudenus and l'Espinasse (figs. 130 and 131; see fig. 127).

located to the front, and another, to the back of the *yalı*, on the side opposite to the shore. Seemingly, the type and the function of the garden partly accounted for its location: whereas the free-flowing *ḥadīka* and the *cüneyne* (often a parterre-garden), were located to the side or the front of the *yalı*, the *bostān*, (vegetable garden) and the *bāğ* or *kurūm* (used in court records in reference to vineyards), were commonly located to the back side of the residence, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 260.

⁹⁵ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 111, 319-20.

⁹⁶ Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, I: 288-91.

⁹⁷ Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 42.

⁹⁸ Both Sılāḥdār and Pouqueville described the outer side of the wall surrounding the garden of Dolmabahçe as decorated with a landscape mural, Sılāḥdār, *Nusretname*, p. 388; Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 307.

Compared with representations of suburban gardens from the sixteenth-century, these garden enclosures strike one as relatively skimpy and the gardens themselves, as unusually outward-looking. By contrast to sixteenth-century images, which underscored their private, secluded quality of gardens, typically depicting them as bordered by a double row of tall cypresses, which were in turn surrounded by a masonry wall⁹⁹ (fig. 132, see fig. 4), eighteenth-century representations captured the remarkable openness of the private gardens of their time to their public surroundings. An illustration from the second decade of the century, showing two men peeking into a garden gathering of women, is a potent expression of the extent of transparency between private and public areas (fig. 133). Even more expressive, and certainly more graphic, is 'Aṭā'ī's illustrated tale (from the same period) of an exhibitionist exposing himself through the fence of a private garden populated by women -- an act which brought upon him severe punishment, as the women at their loom teamed up to tie his penis to the fence (fig. 134).

In the context of the eighteenth-century suburban development in particular, this development throws light on our understanding of how the Bosphorus waterfront assumed its most public character to date, at precisely the moment it was undergoing its most radical building activity in the form of private palaces, residences and gardens. For contrary to what much of the visual imagery of the period suggests, and the frequency of descriptions of garden outings and walks and excursions along the Bosphorus may intimate, the shore was only in parts

⁹⁹ This is also conveyed in written accounts of the period; see, for example, a description of the sixteenth-century garden of Karabāli by the Austrian embassy attaché Lubenau, in Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape," p. 33.

physically accessible to the public: much to d'Ohsson's sorrow, as he lamented the absence of a continuous public promenade along the shores:

mais quel tableau plus enchanteur encore ne présenteroit pas ce Bosphore (...) si l'une et l'autre de ses rives ombragées par une grande allée d'arbres, (...) offraient dans toute leur longueur un passage libre à tous les voyageurs, et une promenade publique aux citoyens de la Capitale et des environs!¹⁰⁰

For one, the proximity of several palaces and more modest residences to the edge of the water could not allow it (fig. 135; see figs. 6, 7, 14, and 27). Dallaway tells of a room in the palace of Beyhān Sultān "built over the water with a grate through the floor that the ladies might amuse themselves with fishing."¹⁰¹ And Miss Pardoe marveled at the daring proximity of residences to the water:

In many instances the buildings are raised along the extreme edge of the shore, and are unprotected, even by a terrace (...) they hang over the water in a singular manner. Nor do they always enjoy this privilege with impunity (...) and it not unfrequently happens, that the wind failing (...) and the current impelling it onward with a force which it is unable to resist (...) and the most ridiculous accidents are the result. But the inhabitants will not sacrifice a positive enjoyment to a probable evil; and thus they build their water-palaces (...) daringly.¹⁰²

But if the waterfront was only partly accessible to the public, it offered unrestricted visual access into private domains. This was achieved not only by the characteristic openness of its geographical setting but by the cumulative effect of its geography, the layout of its residential settlements and the distinctively translucent nature of its architecture. The element of voyeurism intrinsic to Nevres's and Nedim's verses (quoted at the beginning of this section) is repeatedly intimated in visual images, and frequently expressed by European

¹⁰⁰ D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 253.

¹⁰¹ Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, pp. 138-9.

¹⁰² Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 42.

travelers sailing on the channel or strolling on the shore (figs. 136, see figs. 6, 14, and 135).¹⁰³ While taking a boat ride on a full moon, Casanova reported:

[L]a lune donnant en plein sur les eaux du bassin, nous vîmes trois nymphes qui, tantôt nageant, tantôt debout ou assises sur les degrés de marbre, s'offraient à nos yeux sur tous les points imaginables et dans toutes les attitudes de la grâce et de la volupté (...) vous devez deviner le ravage que ce spectacle unique et ravissant dut faire sur mon pauvre corps.¹⁰⁴

Even if this particular scene might have been a figment of Casanova's fantasies, the visual and aural access into the private world of waterfront residents was often reported by less flippant travelers. In a Greek neighborhood, Walsh observed "gay groups of laughing female faces, [standing at their window] holding a cheerful and unrestrained communication with any passenger;"¹⁰⁵ and "sounds of music continually issuing from [the *yali* of Esmā Sultan], particularly at night" which attracted "multitudes of boats, and caïques of all sizes, filled with company of every grade which crowd the Bosphorus before it."¹⁰⁶

Though it would be unreasonable to think that no architectural measures were taken by waterfront residents to obstruct the intrusive gaze of the Bosphorus

¹⁰³ One should bear in mind that boats were a main means of transportation in the city. From Walsh's perspective, "In a country where there are neither roads nor carriages, these boats are the only conveyance for the lower order of people," Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 5. Besides, the rental of caiques for leisurely rides on the Bosphorus must have been a highly popular form of public recreation, as evident in visual representations, and as described, for instance, by Ferté-Meun: "Le temps était superbe, et personne, je crois, n'était resté dans son habitation. On aurait pu se croire sur le quai Voltaire, un jour de réjouissance publique. Des bateaux remplis de musiciens sillonnaient le Bosphore," Ferté-Meun, *Lettres sur le Bosphore*, p. 125; see also, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, IV: 194-95; de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, I: 4-5.

¹⁰⁴ Casanova, *Mémoires*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁵ Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 66.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, I: 69; see also, de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, I: 62; and Flachet, whose account is very similar to Casanova's, Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts*, I: 434.

public, or that the issue of privacy meant little to them, there are indications from cases studied along both sides of the channel that the "visual" separation between public and private space was less severe than one would tend to assume,¹⁰⁷ and that ultimately, the competition between waterfront residents and the transient public for the visual prospects offered by the Bosphorus often brought about situations which lacked a comfortable transition between public and private spaces. Allom's engraving of the shore of Bebek on the European side of the Bosphorus channel illustrates a typical setting whereby a public promenade or quay (*rihtim*) lay right in front of a row of shore residences, underneath their projecting kiosks (fig. 137, see fig. 21). Similar public quays were reported in Büyükdere and other neighborhoods along the Bosphorus shore by Pouqueville and Michaud and Poujoulat.¹⁰⁸ As the Bosphorus constituted the main access to the shore, entrances to residences were located on the shore side and private boathouses, built on the ground floor of the *yali*, often projected out all the way to the edge of the water.¹⁰⁹ This meant that in areas where the shore was open to the public, strollers crossed over these private structures by means of girder bridges, landing for a moment at close proximity to, and at eye level with, the first level of fenestration of waterfront residences (fig. 138). Such levels of visual intrusion must have been emphasized by the peculiar zoning features of the suburban waterfront, particularly by the use of residential ground floors for

¹⁰⁷ I am thinking of the widespread assumption of inward-looking residential neighborhoods inherent to the notion of "Islamic city," (the Grunebaum thesis) which albeit dated and oftentime challenged, remains a paradigm in the literature on Islamic cities. For examples and a critical assessment of this literature see, Abu-Lughod, "The Islamic City," pp. 155-76.

¹⁰⁸ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 309; Michaud and Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient*, p. 266.

¹⁰⁹ In certain cases, additional entrances were located on, or off the back street, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 275.

✓ commercial purposes.¹¹⁰ And conceivably, it must have been further enhanced by the manner in which public promenades were conceived: not as structured, self-contained spaces, but rather, as is suggested in eighteenth-century images, as free-flowing landscaped areas, unobstructed with formal layouts or perspectival schemes to call the attention of strollers or govern the course of their walks (see figs. 97, 107, 117, 131).

5. CONCLUSION

The recurring theme of this discussion, and indeed of the whole chapter, might be best described by the term *décloisonnement*, that is, mainly, the process of opening up, and shedding physical boundaries. This notion is embedded in the public character of the eighteenth-century Bosphorus waterfront. It also characterized the increasing openness of private gardens in Istanbul in this period: both formally, by the relative transparency of their enclosure, and from an urban viewpoint, by the gradual crystallization of public spaces in formerly, or still principally, private domains. This notion, along with its implications of display and "exhibitionism," also mirrored concurrent developments in residential architecture which were discussed in the previous chapter, namely: the extensive fenestration and the general transparency of wood-frame construction, and the increasing elongation of waterfront residences along the open shore. As noted earlier, a good deal of the public flavor of the eighteenth-century waterfront was effected by the distinct airiness of its architectural landscape. The overall redeployment of the city and its imperial center along its open waterfront gateway, the increasing public imperial ceremonials which

¹¹⁰ Artan notes, for example, the frequent mention of bakeries (*fırın*, pl. *furūn*), shops (*dükkān*, pl. *dekākin*), taverns (*meyhāne*, *şerbethāne*), and stores (*mağaza*) in the court documents of Yeniköy, on the European side of the Bosphorus, Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," pp. 229-30, 237, 276.

ultimately accompanied this move, and the opening of royal gardens to the public, as a public display of restored old riches on the part of the state, may all be read from the same perspective.

The theme of *décloisonnement* will be taken one step further in the next chapter, in the context of our investigation of the changing conception of the gardens in Ottoman consciousness, to show how it mirrored not only the changing city's topography, but also, the new parameters of an urban garden culture. Through this discussion, the notion of *décloisonnement* will be elucidated in all that it suggests, namely, the ideas of opening and casting off boundaries, as well as permeability and social and cultural "inclusiveness." There (and in the last chapter) I will explore its significance as a central dimension of contemporary architectural and cultural sensibilities, and its strong resonance with the broader social climate of eighteenth-century Istanbul.

CHAPTER III:

IN AND OUT OF THE POETIC CANON: GARDENS AND GARDEN RITUALS

"With the arrival of spring the beauty of Kağıthane
bloomed; its court became the envy of the world
He had thus drawn Iram on the face of the universe;
If only Şeddad had seen the looks of Kağıthane!
The grieved ones are naked to enter its river;
It recalls the Judgment's crowd, the gathering at Kağıthane
Even if its trees were pens and its water, ink,
it wouldn't fit in the books of stars, all praise of Kağıthane
Careful, don't let sins be recorded in the book of legends;
O pious one, don't be lured into the desire of carousing at Kağıthane
I loved a handsome ink seller; should he respond
I would write him a letter inviting him to Kağıthane
With that beauty's pink body so fair,
his seat of coquetry was likened to Kağıthane
If all the young boys of Istanbul gathered in it, they would fit;
It is like a lover's heart, the space of Kağıthane
Ey Sürürî, what if it is forbidden to women
With the young boys we do the friendly gathering at Kağıthane"¹

That a garden should be the subject of this *ğazel* by the late eighteenth-century poet Sürürî (1752-1814) is hardly surprising: The garden is one of the most ubiquitous subjects, themes and sources of inspiration of Ottoman court poetry.

1. *Neo-bahār ile gelüb zinet-i Kāğıthāne*
Oldu mahsūd-i cihān sāhat-ı Kāğıthāne
2. *Resm ederdi İrem'i şafha-ı kevne böyle*
Olsa Şeddād'a 'ıyān hey'et-i Kāğıthāne
3. *Nehrine girmek için sühtegān 'uryandır*
Añdırır mahşeri cem'iyet-i Kāğıthāne
4. *Şıgmaz eşcārı kalem ābı mürekkeb olsa*
Kütüb-i menkıbete midhat-ı Kāğıthāne*
5. *El-ħazer defter-a' mālîna yazdırma günāh*
Ētme zāhid heves-i 'işret-i Kāğıthāne
6. *Bir mürekkebcı güzel sevdim icābet etse*
Ederim nāme yazub da'vet-i Kāğıthāne
7. *Penbe-āsā teni olmağla beyāz ol şūhuñ*
Olunur cilve-gehi nisbet-i Kāğıthāne
8. *Cümle etfāl-ı Stānbül āna cem' olsa şıgar*
Kalb-i 'āşık gibidir vus'at-ı Kāğıthāne
9. *Ey Sürürî n'ola old'ise yasāk nisvāne*
Tāzelerle ederiz şohbet-i Kāğıthāne

Sürürî, *Divān-ı Sürürî*, Part 3: *Gazliyyāt*, p. 45.

* *menkıbet* in printed text, should be *menkıbete* (dative form) following the verb *şıgmaq*.

Through scores of meanings and tropes, and as the setting *par excellence* for the convivial gatherings of a cultured elite (*meclis*) in which poetry was recited and heard, judged, appreciated, and sometimes rewarded, the garden has been a recurrent motif of classical poetry,² exemplified in the lyric form of the *ġazel*.³ To a large extent, it was a product and a reflection of this particular social and cultural world. As it reenacted and idealized a specific episode of its life (the *meclis*) it also reflected its values and aspirations, and served as a metaphorical embodiment for many of the concepts and ideals these presumed: love, beauty, intoxication, power, sovereignty, security, and largely, a world ideal -- and perpetuated them over time.

This intimate relation between poetry and garden will serve as a context to examine the parameters by which the garden as a space, and the garden experience, were being redefined in the period of intense building activity, urban transformations and expansion of public open spaces which started at the turn of the eighteenth century (and which I have presented in the previous chapters). This chapter will explore the changing conception of gardens as it matured in the context of linguistic, formal, and contextual developments in court poetry in the eighteenth century, mainly by the adoption of colloquial idioms and folk genres and the assimilation of "popular" themes and subject matters. I will stress, however, that this change was not contingent upon changing poetics; but was

² There is no precise periodization of "classical poetry." Though quite dated, Gibb's classification it is still tacitly accepted: According to him, the classical period would begin with the formation of the empire in the middle of the fifteenth century, going into a high classical period from 1520 (the beginning of the reign of Süleymān I) to the death of Nābī in 1712, Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vols. 2, 3.

³ The *ġazel* is a lyric poem in couplets, generally of four to fourteen lines. It developed as an oral tradition and featured in written form in individual poets' anthologies (*divān*).

largely a reflection of its contemporary social and urban environment. While the value of poetry is that it clearly reflected concurring developments in literature, architecture, and urbanism, the garden will be presented as a locus within which these concurring changes were articulated, and the surrounding spatial and social environment in which they matured. In other words, I will suggest that if read within the literary *and* the urban culture of their time, Sürürî's *ğazel*, and the discursive practice to which it belonged, captured an important shift in Ottoman aesthetic disposition.

1. GARDENS, POETS, AND THEIR PUBLIC

To a large extent, Sürürî's *ğazel* is a product of the classical canonic garden: Its poetic images -- spring's enactment of the garden's beauty (verse 1), the garden for the attainment of love (verses 6-9), the interwoven ink motif (verses 4-6) evoking the poet's immortality, and the exemplary fair-skinned beloved (verse 7) of poetry's classical beauty -- are not foreign to the classical tradition.⁴ Nor are his use of poetic tropes, most notably, his paradisial allegories (verses 2-3) equating Kağıthane to the legendary garden of Iram, its stream to the river of paradise, and its crowd to the Day of Judgment;⁵ and his allusions to posterity

⁴ For the implications of ink in poetry see, Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade*, p. 234. For spring constructs in garden imagery see, Meissami, "The World's Pleasance," p. 158. For ideals of physical beauty in classical poetry see, Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 70-3; Meissami, "The Body As Garden," 245-8.

⁵ Iram (verse 2) refers to the legendary garden of Iram, said to have been built by the king Shaddād bin ʿĀd in emulation of the garden of paradise. Further allusions to paradise can be easily construed throughout the first five verses: The term *maḥşer*, which means crowd, also alludes to the crowd on the Day of Judgment. In this context, the river of Kağıthane can be read as a simile for the river of paradise; and the ink motif, in light of the ink's traditional metaphor for (the guarantor of) poets' immortality. For Iram see, Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, pp. 218-9; Nedim, *Nedim'in Divanı*, p. 263; Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade*, p. 77, Meissami, "The World's Pleasance" pp. 164, 167. For the river of paradise see, for example, Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade*, p. 83. For recent

and the afterlife (verses 4-5), notably by warning the pious to secure their rewards by forsaking the garden's worldly temptations. However, these warnings (whether meant ironically or as a rhetorical attempt at self-redemption), are quickly disregarded; for Sürürî's preference clearly lies not in other-worldly salvation but in the pleasures of his real Kağıthane. To this, he devotes the second half of the *ğazel* (verses 6-9), in a sudden shift in theme, diction, referential system, and "environmental inspiration," located in the reality of the surrounding suburban landscape of Istanbul. What clearly distinguishes this *ğazel* from its earlier prototypes are two features, at once discursive and conceptual: one, an interwoven narrative empty of metaphorical inferences; two, references to a popular garden culture and a new social and urban environment.

Sürürî identified this environment by name: It is not any garden, but the garden of Kağıthane, located on the Golden Horn, which is the main subject of the poem and its recurring melody, prominently featured as its rhyming word (*redif*). The appearance of names of gardens in immediate reference to existing urban and suburban gardens of Istanbul, especially those along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn waterfronts, is perhaps the most conspicuous novelty introduced in the poetic discourse on gardens in the eighteenth century. This is especially striking if compared with the invariably nameless garden of classical poetry, often implied metaphorically (e.g. season of spring, friendly gathering) or obliquely referred to by some of its standard elements (e.g. rose and nightingale).⁶ Already in the early decades of the eighteenth century, poets

interpretations of the garden in classical poetry see, especially, Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 143-74; Meissami, "The World's Pleasance," pp. 153-85; idem., "The Body As Garden," pp. 245-67.

⁶ See for example, Bâkî, *Bâkî Divânı*, pp. 2-6, 24-5, 31-4, 73-4. Other examples, from the poetry of Fiğânî and Taşlıcalı Yahya Bey, are cited in Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 102-6, 123-5.

often payed homage to gardens such as Göksu, Hisar, and Sa'dabad by repeatedly mentioning them in their poems, at times qualifying and comparing them with others.⁷

"The grandees of Istanbul took off
Every one of their *yalıs* rejoiced
They went for fun to Hisar,
for a stroll to Göksu and Sarıyer"⁸

These may have been the most popular suburban gardens in that period, or perhaps, individual poets' own favorites, as it seems to be the case with (Rumeli?) Hisar for Nābī and Sābit (quoted above), and Sa'dabad for Nedīm:

"Göksu's ambience is displeasing and now Çubuklu is very crowded;
What if we had him row the two of us alone to Sa'dabad, my love?"⁹

This near-cult of place-names is epitomized in Fennī's *Sāhilnāme*, a long *mesnevi*¹⁰ composed in the mid-eighteenth century. Structured as a linear journey along the Bosphorus waterfront, Fennī enumerates all its gardens, devoting one verse to each, beginning in Galata and moving methodically up the European shore to Sarıyer, across the channel and all the way back to Fenerbahçe on the Üsküdar peninsula (see map 1). Names of gardens are the leitmotif of this *mesnevi*,

⁷ See for example, Pala, *Divan Şiirinde Boğaziçi*, pp. 25-37; Nedīm, *Nedīm'in Divānı*, pp. 191-204.

⁸ Çıktı İstanbul'un mevālisi
Her birinin şeneldi yalısı
Gittiler zevk için Hişārlar'a
Göksu seyrine Şariyarlar'a
Sābit, excerpt from a *mesnevi*, cited in A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şi'rinde İstanbul*, p. 60.

⁹ Göksu bir nā-hōş hevā şimdi Çubuklu pek zihām
Sevdiğim tenhāca çekdirsek mi Sa'dābād'a dek
Nedīm, *Nedīm'in Divānı*, p. 154; Nedīm, *Nedim Divanı*, p. 286.

¹⁰ The *mesnevi* is a long narrative poem in rhymed couplets.

occasionally integrated into the poetic vocabulary as new sources of puns and word-plays:¹¹

"My ravaged heart fell for another young boy
as I was not going to see Bebek ...
Come, let's find together a clandestine spot,
The sea is rough at Baltalimanı today, o swaying cypress
Fate made us lament in grief;
Let's go to Emirgan and enjoy ourselves in the rose garden
He who wants to be free from the cruelty of fate
should drink wine alone with his beloved in İstinye
Grief comes back when you remember
old times with the young boys of Yeniköy
Oh! so what if the hidden spectacle of Tarabya
makes the main drinking companion forget the world?"¹²

If assessed in light of its limited life-span from the middle to the end of the eighteenth century, the "genre" of *Sâhilnâme* (Shore-Book) can be viewed as the most pointed poetic tribute to the phenomenal transformation of the city's suburban waterfront in the first half of the century.¹³ And despite its markedly

¹¹ In the first verse cited below, for instance, Fennî uses the literal meaning of *Bebek*, "baby," also the name of an imperial garden and neighborhood on the European shore of the Bosphorus, Fennî, *Sâhilnâme* [fol 73], in Tansel, "Dîvân Şâirlerimizden Fennî'nin Boğaziçi Kıyılarını Canlandırın Mesnevîsi: *Sâhil-nâme*," p. 338.

¹² *Oldu muhtâc gönül tıfl-ı civân-ı gayre*
Gitmeyince Bebek'e merdüm-i didem seyre ...
Gel seniñle bulalım saklanacak mahfi mekân
Balta Limanı bu gün dalğalık ey serv-i revân
Bizi beğlik gam ile etti felek şivende
Mirgün'a varalım zevk edelim gülşende
Rüzgârın siteminden kim olur âzâde
İçe dildâr ile İstinye'de tenhâ bâde
Gelicek yâde diliñ doğrusu derdin yeñiler
Tâzeler ile Yeni Köy'deki eski demler
Yâ unuttursa n'olur pîr-i muğâna deyri
O sanem ile olan mahfi Tarâbya seyri

Fennî, *Sâhilnâme* [fols 73-74], in Tansel, "Dîvân Şâirlerimizden Fennî'nin Boğaziçi Kıyılarını Canlandırın Mesnevîsi: *Sâhil-nâme*," p. 339. For a complete transcription of the poem see, *ibid*, pp. 335-45 (in *facsimile*, fols 73-6).

¹³ Two *Sâhilnâmes* are known to us: Fennî's, and İzzet Efendi's, composed in the second half of the eighteenth century and written as a *nazîre* or "parallel" to Fennî's *Sâhilnâme* -- a poetic tradition by which a poem, or certain features of a poem, are used to compose a new one. For a modern Turkish transcription of

rhetorical character, Fenni's *Sāhīlnāme* may be regarded as the first literary topographical map of the contemporary city's waterfront.

Conceivably, these references could be grasped by anyone familiar with the general topography of Istanbul; just like references to particular elements and characteristics of specific gardens could be comprehended by those who frequented them:

"Let's look at the the water of life flowing out of the dragon
Let's go, my swaying cypress, walk to Sa'dabad"¹⁴

The dragon in Nedīm's *şarkı* (song),¹⁵ for example, referred specifically to the bronze fountain with three dragonheads located in the central pool of the imperial garden of Sa'dabad (see fig. 139), and would be understood as such regardless of, indeed despite any further metaphorical inference the dragon could evoke.¹⁶

¹⁴ 'İzzet's *Sāhīlnāme* see, A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şi'rinde İstanbul*, pp. 129-32; see also, Baysun, "Boğaziçi İskelelerine Dair Bir Kaside: İzzet Efendi'nin Sahilnamesi."

¹⁴ *Görelim āb-ı hayāt aştığın ejderhādan
Gidelim serv-i revānım yürü Sa'dābād'a*
Nedīm, *Nedīm'in Divānı*, p. 202; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," pp. 201-6.

¹⁵ The *şarkı* is an urban popular form of short stanzaic poetry meant to be sung.

¹⁶ In his edition of Nedīm's *divān*, Halil Nihad noted the poet's unusual usage of the dragon as the source of the water of life, as the dragon mouth is typically associated with venom or fire, Nedīm, *Nedīm'in Divānı*, p. 263. For the dragon in sixteenth-century poetry see, Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, pp. 139-40. The three dragonheads crowning the waterspout at Sa'dabad seemed an exact replica of those which surmounted a column at the Hippodrome, described as "one of the most curious relics of antiquity" by the nineteenth-century traveller Henri Post, and which had disappeared by that time. According to Tournefort, two of them had been taken off in 1700 under circumstances which he does not explain; the third one had allegedly been chopped off by Murād IV or Meḥmed IV in the second half of the seventeenth century, Post, *A Visit to Greece and Constantinople*, pp. 328-29.

Through many inventive twists and variations on standard tropes of the classical repertoire, poets gradually imparted to the garden a new corporal dimension:

"Don't show the nightingale this attractive painting, lest
he should forget, by seeing it, his garden's original model"¹⁷

In this verse, Nābī uses the traditional allegorists of love in the garden setting of classical court poetry, the nightingale and the rose (the lover and the beloved)¹⁸ to simultaneously act out the materiality of ornaments and underscore their mimetic quality. The latter is further intimated by the word *nağş*, which stood for the acts of painting, engraving, for design and ornament, and according to Islamic mythology, as a metaphor for the creation of life, in allusion to the Beginning and to God's creation (*nağş*) of this world.¹⁹ In a similar appreciation of the mimetic power of ornament, Nedīm's depiction of a fountain in a chronogram for the garden of navy commander Muştafa Paşa overrates the material object by disclaiming the mythical power of the Cup of Jem, a traditional trope in garden representations:

"Its color and painting make such a picture that it is impossible to acquire
the pleasure of the tulip in its depiction [even] from the red cup of Jem"²⁰

¹⁷ *Bu nağş-ı dil-keşi gösterme bülbüle yoksa
Bunu görür unuttur nüsha-ı gülistânın*
Nābī, "Tarih-i hâne-yi 'Ali Beg [Muhaşşıl] der Haleb ül-Şehbâ" (1703), *Divân-ı Nābī*, p. 89.

¹⁸ For the rose and the nightingale see, Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, pp. 82-4; Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 102-3; Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade*, pp. 612, 175, 178-81; Meissami, "The World's Pleasance," pp. 158-9, 164-6.

¹⁹ I want to thank Selim Kuru for pointing out the broader meaning of the word *nağş* in Islamic mythology. An eighteenth-century definition of the term is offered in Mütercim 'Aşım's dictionary: "To create (*halk*), form or design (*taşvir*). As regards living beings (*mahlûk*), it is the power of imagination (idea formation, *mühâyele*) in visual representation, 'Aşım, *Tercüme-i Burhân-ı Kâti'*, cited in Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, p. 309. This and the value of mimesis in architectural appreciation will be addressed in more length in chap. 4.

²⁰ *Nigâr ü nağşı bir resim üzre kim bulmak değil mümkün
Şafâsın lâle-yi taşviriniñ peymâne-yi Cem'de*

The Cup of Jem,²¹ the world-seeing cup (*peymāne-i Cem, cām-ı Cem*), traditionally referred to the passing wine cup, a standard element of the garden gathering (*meclis*), and allowed its members to see the world, past, present, and future. For Nedīm however, neither this microcosmic ideal of a private and secure world, nor even its intoxicating value or the other-worldly privileges it offered, seemed more gratifying than the sheer visual pleasure evoked by the fountain's palpable ornament .

By interpolating a physical dimension to the garden, and a sense of its colors, textures and architecture, into a largely metaphorical and allegorical network of images and references (e.g. power, sovereignty, in Nedīm; sublimated love, in Nābī) these verses provided a layer of unequivocal meanings formulated on the bases of real referents -- which a public uneducated in the tradition of classical poetry, and fairly acquainted with its own contemporary sub/urban landscape, could absorb and appreciate. This is not to say that the classical discourse on garden was merely conceptual; rather, that its referents could be directly identified, and its imagery appreciated, only by those who shared the full scope of its experience and its rituals, which poetry recounted, enhanced and idealized.

A lot has been said and emphasized in modern scholarship on the innovations which permeated *divān* poetry (court poetry)²² in the course of the eighteenth

Nedīm, *Nedīm'in Divānı*, p. 97; Nedīm, *Nedim Divanı*, p. 164. For the tulip / red cup simile see, Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade*, pp. 167, 387, ns.40, 42.

²¹ Jem, or Jemshīd, king of a pre-Islamic Persian dynasty. For the tropes of *cām* and *cām-ı Cem* see Nihad's glossary in, Nedīm, *Nedīm'in Divānı*, p. 279; A. S. Levend, *Divan Edebiyatı*, pp. 336-42; Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, p. 88; Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 123, 126-7; Meissami, "The World's Pleasance," p. 164.

²² The expression *divān* poetry is a direct reference to the *divān*, or the written record of a poet's complete corpus of poetry. The terms *divān* and court poetry are used by scholars interchangeably in reference to the *academique* of, and

century: Most significantly, the incorporation of Turkish colloquial language, conventions and discursive practices into various forms of classical Ottoman poetry, notably in *ğazels*, *kaşides*, and narrative *mesnevîs*;²³ and the institutionalization of "folk" genres, such as *türkü*²⁴ and *şarkıs*, by their inclusion in *divāns* (collections of poems) of individual poets.²⁵ To some extent, one can

training in the classical tradition, and as distinct from the tradition of folk poetry, and generally (though not necessarily) to poetry sponsored by members of the court and its entourage; see for instance, Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, 21, n.1. Though this distinction is useful to maintain to point to two different traditions, I do not wish to imply any "high" and "low" polarity (by which sufi poetry, self-taught or amateurish poetry, aspiring poetry, or minorities' poetry in languages other than Ottoman would be excluded). Nor do I imply any strict division between the two traditions at any point in time, as was suggested by Silay in the following comments: "this linguistic and literary difference followed the very lines which divided the empire into different social classes. The product of an author would obviously have reflected his social class (...) The classical poets -- with few or no exceptions -- had absolutely no intention or desire to be received on a large scale," Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, p. 13. The social and regional diversity of poets alone (as indicated in poets' biographies) suffices to throw doubt on these claims. It must also be noted that to a large extent, these claims are in keeping with some of the biases which have governed much of the early republican (e.g. early Köprülü) and orientalist (e.g. Gibb) scholarship on Ottoman court poetry. For a brief discussion on this subject, see the first chapter in Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*. For poetry outside the classical tradition see, Köprülü, *Türk Sazşailerî*; Boratav, *Türk Halk Edebiyatı*; idem., *Folklor ve Edebiyat*, 2 vols; Öztelli, *Halk Türküleri*; Başgöz and Glazer, eds., *Studies in Turkish Folklore*.

²³ Though usually attributed by modern critics to Nedim (d.1730), the celebrated poet of the court of Ahmed III, such innovations had already permeated the humorous *mesnevîs* of Şābit (d. 1712), a poet who produced mainly outside court auspices, Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, IV: 14-29; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," p. 87. For linguistic changes in eighteenth-century court poetry (mainly, the role attributed to Nedim in this regard) see, Mazioğlu, *Nedim'in Divan Şiirine Getirdiği Yenilik*; Tanpınar, "Nedim'e Dair Bazı Düşünceler," pp. 169-73; Banarlı, *Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, 2 vols; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," pp. 93-112, 234-56; Başgöz, "Nedim'de Halk Edebiyatının İzleri," pp. 285-6; Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 29-89, 108-20.

²⁴ The *türkü* is a song in syllabic meter popular in the folk tradition.

²⁵ A *divān* typically consisted of the complete corpus of *ğazel* arranged by alphabetical order of the last letter of the rhyming word; *kaşides* (eulogy poems); and small sub-sections for short stanzaic poems. In the eighteenth century, *şarkıs* and *türkü*s were added to these. Another development of the period, as we will see in chap. 4, was the addition of a separate section devoted to *tevārih-i manzūme* (rhymed chronograms).

ascribe the sense of "externalization" characteristic of these verses on gardens to the conspicuousness of their language and at times, its folksy simplicity. This may be true for most of the poets quoted above; but it hardly applies to some, like Nābī (d. 1712), whose poetry was hailed as an exemplar of the classical canon by later literary critics, and was firmly associated with the florid style of Persian poetry contemporary of his time;²⁶ a characteristic which, in fact, did not earn him much appreciation among the younger generation of eighteenth-century poets. In a critique aimed at the poet's diction, Ġālib (d. 1799) ridiculed the hyperbolic character of his "Persianate" style:

"A narrative of Persianate couplets
 One long chain of successive genitives
 Though for bureaucrats' prose pretty varnish
 It's nothing but tedium in Turkish"²⁷

²⁶ I am referring here to the early phase of the so-called *sabk-i hindī* (Indian style) which flourished among poets of the Safavid court and culminated with Şā'ib, whose work Nābī is said to have emulated, see Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, III: 328-30. For *sabk-i hindī*, see de Bruijn's entry in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, "Sabk-i Hindi," *EI2*, VIII: 683-85.

²⁷ Translation by Holbrook. Cited in Holbrook, *The Unreadable Shores of Love*, p. 80. For a thorough and engaging analysis of Ġālib's literary criticism and standards of poethood, as articulated in a "Digression" in his narrative poem *Ḥüsn ü 'Aşk* (Beauty and Love), see *ibid.* Interestingly, Nābī too had voiced some accusations against poets of his time and had his own qualms over the mishandling of poetic language and classical imagery by some of his contemporaries:

"Oh! seller[s] of foreign expressions in [their] poetry!
 A collection of *ğazel* is not a dictionary's copy"
 (*Ey şî'iri miyânında şatan lafz-ı ġaribi*
Divân-ı ġazel nusşa-ı kāmüs degildir)

cited in A. S. Levend, *Türk Dilinde Gelişme*, p. 78.

Elsewhere he reproved the style of novices:

"Watch this, most of the unversed poets' poetic discourse
 is about locks and hyacinths, rose and nightingale, wine and cup...
 Don't recite poetry of empty words,
 Don't pull out your net fish-less from the water"
 (*Baksañ ekşer sühan-ı şā'ir-i hām*
Zülf ü sünbül gül ü bülbül mey ü cām...
Söyleme şî'r-i tehî ma'nādan
Ağırñ çekme balıksız mādan)

based on Silay's translation, in Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, p. 65-6.

It is also important to point out that questions of poetic language and diction, of what constituted good poetry, as well as larger issues of innovation and originality (which I will examine more thoroughly in chap. 4) remained a source of considerable dispute, hammered away by poets in their own poetry throughout the century. In his *kaşide* on poetic discourse, "written in order to ridicule and admonish contemporary poets who talked nonsense," Sünbülzāde Vehbî's (d. 1809) showed considerable contempt towards those who chose to write in the manner of folk poets:

"How many rhyme-seekers choose to follow
with love and passion, the way of 'Āşık 'Ömer
Help! Into songs of Gevheri²⁸ have turned, these days
rare and jewelled pearls in the service of poetry"²⁹

To be sure, the power of immediacy of the new garden discourse came across more readily through the unencumbered diction of such poets as Sābit, Nedīm, Seyyid Vehbî, Fāzıl Bey, or Sürürî (quoted above), all of whom had, in varying degrees, experimented with colloquial idioms and forms. But the concurrence of these changes, namely, poetry's relative loss in "erudition," and garden representations' heightened sense of corporality, may not have been fortuitous.

²⁸ Gevherî and 'Āşık 'Ömer were two folk poets active in the seventeenth century. For examples of their poetry see, Elçin, *Halk Şiiri Antolojisi*; see also Ayvānsarāyî's entry on 'Āşık 'Ömer in which he quotes a chronogram commemorating his death in 1707-8, Ayvānsarāyî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*, p. 426.

²⁹ *İktifâ eylediler meslek-i 'Āşık 'Ömer'e*
'Aşk u şevkile nice kâfiye-cüyâ-yı sühan
Gevheri güftesine döndü bugünlerde meded
Gevher-i nâdire-i lü'lü'-i lâlâ-yı sühan

Sünbülzāde Vehbî, "Kaşide-i Kelâmiyye (Sühân) ki der şadâret-i Hâlıl Pâşâ berâ-yı nuş u istizhâ-yı şâ'irân-ı hezeyân-güyân-ı 'aşr bâ emr u irâde inşâd kerde est," *Divân-ı Vehbî*, p. 114. Sılay erroneously translates *iktifâ* ("conforming to, following or choosing to follow") as "satisfied with": *iktifâ*; see, Sılay, *Nedīm and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, p. 130. It should be noted here that colloquial language and idioms were amply used by Sünbülzāde himself, occasionally in his *divân* poetry and in a more saturated form, in his *Şevk-engiz* (Desire-arousing), Schmidt, "Sünbülzāde Vehbî's *Şevk-engiz*," pp. 9-37.

One may suggest that the audience this poetry addressed did not necessarily justify the use of some of the esoteric metaphorical associations that the garden traditionally implied; in other words, that these changes responded to the givens and requirements of a changed social environment.

How significant was the question of audience in eighteenth-century literary circles, and how fundamental it was to the literary developments in this period, are questions which have seldom been raised in modern scholarship and which are difficult to answer at this point. In one case at least, the idea that *divān* poetry could, and should, be accessible to a socially and culturally diverse public was straightforwardly spelled out: In the Preface (*Muḳaddime*) of his long *mesnevi*, the *Hübān-nāme* (Book of Beauties), Fāzıl Bey explained his preference for simple diction and unambiguous imagery:

"I wrote none of the metaphorical language
So that my beauty could understand"³⁰

Fāzıl's beauty, a not-so-literate young Greek man, was in fact the requester of this book, and of its eventual sequel, the *Zenān-nāme* (Book of Women). Both were essentially meant for the purpose of his own edification in matters of men, and women of the world, respectively.³¹ The Preface of the *Zenān-nāme*, a step-by-step handbook of seduction, written in the intimate imperative form, seems directly addressed to him and one could say, to the social and cultural segment of the urban population which he represented:

30 *Yazmadım hiç luğāt-ı mevḩūmi*
Tā ki ol şūḩun olā meḩḩūmi
Fāzıl Bey Enderūni, *Hübānnāme*, fol 4b.

31 See, Fāzıl Bey Enderūni, *Zenānnāme*, fols 77-81. The bulk of each of the two poems, *Hübānnāme* and *Zenānnāme*, consists of a collection of descriptions of men and women, respectively, from different regions of the empire and other foreign nations.

"The lady instantly greets you
Take her hand, my love
Accept the hanging hand
Show that anger-stirring face
Don't let your rosebud-lips answer her
Rise and hasten in anger
Get the tri-oared boat ready
Let them see you at that moment in the sea...
Reproachefully, they tell each other:
You angered that rosy-cheeked"³²

The simplicity of its language no doubt suggests that it engaged a more inclusive social sphere than the cultured members of the society. This is even more significantly reflected in the mundane nature of the poem's topic, and in the familiarity of its characters and their practices (ordinary men and women lingering in the park) to equally ordinary people.

For sure, the appropriation, re-configuration and re-circulation in "canonic" guise of themes, literary forms and vocabulary presumably familiar to ordinary people (by verbal transmission) must have made *divān* poetry more readily accessible to a wider and more diverse audience than the archetypal *meclis*, or literary (garden-) salon: typically, a gathering of friends and companions (most often male) of comparable literary sophistication. To some extent, it is possible to conjecture that literary salons of eminent patrons and members of the cultured elite might have attracted friends or family members of diverse social

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- 32 56. Sañadır işte selām etti hānım
Eline alsaña ābū cānım
57. Sen kabūl eyleme dest-āvizi
Göster ol çehre-i hışm-engizi
58. Vermesün gonca femiñ aña cevāb
Kıl guzūbāne kıyām ile şitāb
59. Ola üç çifte kayık āmāda
Seni görsünler o dem deryāda...
64. Birbirine dereler cerb u 'itāb
Sen o gülçehreyi kıldiñ iğzāb

Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, "Zikr-i muqaddime-i manzūme," *Zenānnāme*, fol 80. The numbers refer to the place of this excerpt in the poem (based on MS. İÜK, Ty 5502) and identify its place in relation to other excerpts quoted below.

milieus, as these poets' came out of a wide social and professional spectrum: the high and low ranks of the administrative bureaucracy and the religious elite, various *sufi* associations, and albeit to a lesser extent, the military, artisans and odd-jobbers (tavern singers, acrobats, fortunetellers, etc).³³ We know of literary salons held in the sixteenth century in the gardens of members of the middle class, including a vinegar-maker and a janissary, which conceivably might have reunited friends from the same professional backgrounds.³⁴ Though in all likelihood, the *meclis* was neither inaccessible to individuals outside a select circle of literati, nor restricted to certain social groups, its attendance must have relied a great deal on individuals' own professional ties and social networks. Moreover, by virtue of its private nature alone, the *meclis* presumed on the part of its members considerable fluency in the poetic tradition and the ability to partake of the assembly's discourse.

From this perspective, one may regard the institutionalization of certain poetic forms like the *türkü* and the *şarkı*, together with the phenomenal appearance of

³³ Poets' social / professional backgrounds were commonly noted by biographers. For the sixteenth century see, for example, 'Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'ir üş-Şu'arâ*; Latîfi, *Latîfi Tezkiresi*; for the eighteenth century, Mirza-zâde Mehmed Sâlim, *Tezkire-i Sâlim*; 'Akif Bey Enderûnî, *Mir'ât-ı Şi'ir*; see also, Koçu, *Yeniçeriler*, pp. 137-40; Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, II-IV; Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, p.160.

³⁴ 'Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'ir üş-Şu'arâ*, fols 176b-177b, 293b-295b. The socio-cultural diversity of these gatherings may also be reflected in the recitation of different forms of poetry which cut across the court / folk line: The sixteenth-century biographer 'Aşık Çelebi refers, for example, to popular *türkü*s sung in a gathering of the city's learned, in the private garden of a member of the middle class, 'Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'ir üş-Şu'arâ*, fol 294a. More systematic research in Biographies of poets, some of which offer rich anecdotal material on poets' social and professional lives -- this is particularly true of sixteenth-century biographies, would allow us to enhance our knowledge of the social and cultural constituents of these gatherings; and to finetune certain notions, such as the "democratizing characteristic" of eighteenth-century court poetry, advocated by some scholars; see Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," pp. 111, 251-2; Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, p. 67, n.10.

court poetry, mainly in the form of *kaşides* and chronograms, on inscriptions of private and public buildings -- a hugely overlooked development of the eighteenth century which will be addressed in the next chapter -- as powerful manifestations of a process of "urbanization" of court poetry. As some poems were sung (like Nedim's *şarkı* on Sa'dābād) and others conspicuously displayed on buildings (like his chronogram for Muştafa Paşa's garden) it is not far fetched to think that during an evening at a tavern or a coffeehouse,³⁵ or a picnic around a fountain, these poems were sung or recited to individuals of different levels of literacy. Given the wide range of features they offered (music, rhythm, tangible references and more complex metaphors) they must have been widely appreciated, though admittedly, in varying degrees of involvement and profundity.³⁶ Besides, with the prospering garden culture and the radical

³⁵ Our knowledge of the kind of poetry recited or sung in coffeehouses remains limited. Koçu mentions the recitation of mixed genres, such as *ğazel* and *destān* (epic poems), in addition to musical and singing performances, Koçu, *Garip Vakalar*, p. 58. The occasionally mixed clientele of coffeehouse (reported in some Ottoman and European accounts and reflected in story-teller's plots from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) suggests that different levels of culture and literacy may have often coexisted in these places. See for example, Nutku, "Original Turkish *Meddah* Stories," p. 173; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 81-82; Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 60; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 78.

³⁶ This is in line with Andrews's suggestion that classical lyric poetry, or any literary work, did not have to be fully understood in order to be appreciated. Andrews defines the "primary audience" as one that shared a similar background to that of the literateur, and the "secondary audience," whose members did not have a complete semantic understanding of a work but could appreciate it a different level, Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 176-83. From a more personal perspective, I would even suggest that the strong musicality of Ottoman poetry, that is, not only of sung poems, but of the overall effects of rhyme and especially rhythm (by the alternation of long and short vowels) of poems in general, was yet another level at which these poems must have been appreciated by the lay public. The standard use of court poetry for the purpose of parody in *karagöz* (or shadow theater) street performances, similarly suggests a certain level of understanding of poetic puns and language by the lay public, for whose benefit these plays were primarily performed. For excerpts from sixteenth- to eighteenth century shadow theater "scripts" featuring Hacivat's declamations in rhymed prose, see Ritter, *Karagös*, vol. 2; And, *A History of Theatre*, pp. 34-40;

expansion of the outdoor public arena in the eighteenth century, more and more literary salons, such as that described by Mirza-zāde Sālim on the hills of Duygār in Üsküdar,³⁷ might have been conducted in public gardens, and in settings more permeable to the general public.

By emphasizing these developments, we should not downplay a much earlier, equally radical, albeit short-lived attempt at redefining poetry's classical canon, both in terms of its diction and sources of inspiration. In the movement referred to as *türk-i basit* (simple Turkish), which emerged in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, poets such as Maḥremî and Nazmî experimented considerably with poetic language, unloading it of its Persian and Arabic elements, and interpolating Turkish colloquial dialects.³⁸ Others, such as Mesihî, Revānî, and Cafer Çelebi, drew heavily on their own personal experiences and on the city's social and leisure life. Further, one may regard the emergence of a new genre of *mesnevî*, appropriately titled *Şehr-engiz* (City's Desires -- or more specifically,

Andrews and Markoff, "Poetry, the Arts, and Group Ethos," pp. 41-7. On the subject of audiences, literacies, and forms of appreciation and interpretation, we may also recall (in a big leap in time, space and intellectual universe) Ginzburg's sixteenth-century miller from Friuli, Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*; see also, for some critical studies on these questions in the context of early modern and modern Europe, LaCapra, "The Cheese and the Worms," pp. 44-69; Radway, "Interpretive Communities and Variable Literacies," pp. 465-86; Bourdieu, "Sport and Social Class," pp. 357-73

³⁷ According to the eighteenth-century biographer, pleasure lovers gathered for a *meclis* on the hills, nearby a water stream similar to that of Kağıthane, in presence of the poet Ḳabūterî Meḥmed Çelebi; see, Mirza-zāde Meḥmed Sālim, *Tezkire-i Sālim*, p. 586. A similar scene was described by a janissary in his memoirs in the seventeenth century. There, a group of military companions gathered around him in the garden of Qasr al-Ayn in Cairo, after a game of *cirid*, to listen to the story of his captivity in France and his observations of the country, MS. Bibliothèque Nationale, supp. turc 211, fols 1-3.

³⁸ For the linguistic movement of *türk-i basit*, see Köprülü, "Millî Edebiyat Cereyânının İlk Mübeşşirleri," pp. 271-315; Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, pp. 279-94 passim; Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 14-21; Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 57-8.

"That which and those who in the city arouse one's desire"),³⁹ in which these poets extolled the virtues of drinking, taverns, coffeehouses, and young male or female beauties, as an expression of the urban consciousness of their own time; as it mirrored a new dimension of urban life, brought about with the emergence of places of social and recreational life such as the coffeehouse.⁴⁰

In terms of their reception, however, poets such as Revānī or Mesīhī fared rather poorly; and in this respect, the difference between this movement and its eighteenth-century counterpart was immense. Whereas these were criticized by their contemporary literary critics for the unappealing character of their raw and popular style (largely regarded as a reflection of their debauched lifestyles), eighteenth-century poets like Nedīm, Sürūrī or Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī were praised for their fresh style or eulogized for the innovative expressions and popular overtones which infused their poetry.⁴¹ One should also acknowledge here the role of patrons in encouraging and promoting new tastes, styles, and a broader sphere of inspiration which encompassed ordinary people's lives. That Nedīm, for example, continued to write his lighthearted *şarkıs* under the sponsorship of

³⁹ For *Şehrengiz*, see A. S. Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehrengizler*. For a sketchy overview of the lives and works of Revānī, Mesīhī, Ca'fer Çelebi and others who experimented with language and form, and their place in the poetic circles of their time, see Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, II: 172-346 passim.

⁴⁰ The first coffeehouse was opened in Istanbul in 1551-52. It was appropriately celebrated in the following chronogram: "The coffeehouse is a place of entertainment" (*Qahvehāne maḥall-ı eğlence*), cited in Ayvānsarāyī, *Mecmu'â-i Tevârih*, p. 429.

⁴¹ For critiques of the sixteenth-century poets by contemporary biographers, see for example, Latifi's and 'Aşık Çelebi's entries for Mesīhī and Revānī, Latifi, *Latifi Tezkiresi*, pp. 310-3, 372-6; 'Aşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'ir üş-Şu'arâ*, pp. 122b-123b, 240a-241b. For eighteenth-century biographers on the poetry of Nedīm and Fāzıl Bey, see for example, Mirza-zāde Meḥmed Sālim, *Tezkire-i Sālim*, p. 664; 'Akif Bey Enderūnī, *Mir'ât-ı Şi'ir*, fols 24-6, 36.

Ahmed III and his grand-vizier Nevşehirli İbrâhîm is quite significant.⁴² Though this should not be too narrowly construed as a reflection of the patrons' personal literary (or worldly) inclinations, it may be indicative of the bearing of patronage on the legitimation of certain literary genres and forms or styles of diction in court poetry at different times. As for Fâzıl Bey, despite his long-standing title of *enderûni* (from the inner palace, *enderûn*) he had left, or was banished from, the palace in 1782-83 after a turbulent love affair.⁴³ That in the years that followed, he found in an ambitious, high-ranking and seemingly highly cultured bureaucrat, Ebubekir Râtib Efendi,⁴⁴ an appreciative patron for his *Hübânnâme* (1792-93), *Zenânnâme* (1793-96), and for his explicitly sexual and (possibly) autobiographic *mesnevî*, *Defter-i 'Aşk* (1795-96), is all the more interesting; for it reminds us of the rising eminence of certain individuals within the ruling elite, by pointing to their growing involvement in cultural patronage and possibly, in the formation of new tastes. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the intricacies of

⁴² It is also significant that several *şarkıs* were composed by sultan Selim III himself later in the century, under the pen-name of İlhâmî, see, A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şi'rinde İstanbul*, pp. 140-2.

⁴³ For a brief outline of Fâzıl's life see, for example, Schmidt, "Fazıl Beg Enderuni," pp. 183-84.

⁴⁴ In 1791-92, Ebubekir Râtib Efendi rose from the post of *tezkire-i evvel* to that of *yeniçeri kâtibi* (secretary of the janissary corps). The same year, he was appointed to take part in an embassy to Vienna. His broad cultural horizon and interests are reflected in his embassy account, replete in observations of the cultural and entertainment scene in the city; and in this respect, one of the most insightful Ottoman travel accounts of the eighteenth century, *Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi*, MS. TSMK, E.H. 1438. It is upon Ebubekir's return from Vienna that Fâzıl Bey began to work on the *Hübânnâme*. It would be interesting here to know whether Ebubekir's own European experience had some influence on the wide geographical scope covered in this work (the Ottoman empire, several European cities, Russia and America) and later again, in its sequel. In 1795-96, the date of the production of *Defter-i 'Aşk*, Ebubekir was appointed *reis ül-küttâb*. For a summary of his career, see Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, pp. 154-62. For an understanding of the relative importance of the positions he occupied see, Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nin Saray Teşkilâtı*, pp. 208, 417, 419; Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri*, III: 25-7, 491, 629-30.

literary patronage in and before the eighteenth century remains very limited.⁴⁵ But if we bear in mind that the diffusion of social and financial power in this period brought about a decentralization of building patronage across the social spectrum (as we saw especially in the case of fountains), we could wonder if a parallel process took place in the context of literary patronage. In other terms, it would be interesting to know whether some court poets sought sympathetic patrons outside the high ruling elite, within the middle ranks of the bureaucracy or the military or among wealthy merchants; and tried to accommodate, and gratify, the interests and literary tastes of a socially and culturally diverse network of men and women.

What distinctly characterized the eighteenth century, then, was not so much the transformations which lay within the realm of poetry, as it was perhaps the new literary dispositions of the public. What I mean to emphasize, therefore, is not that poetry evolved from a self-referential semantic field which had little bearing on social realities, to a sudden propensity for literary realism which compelled them to draw on their surrounding environment.⁴⁶ Rather, what ensured the

⁴⁵ Contemporaneous biographers often mentioned the names and ranks of individual poets' patrons. Statistical compilations of such information from important Biographies of poets should allow us to trace possible changes in the practice of patronage and patrons' social milieu.

⁴⁶ I am referring here to the argument purported by some literary historians that what distinguished the poetry (and much of the artistic production of the period) was a burst of realism, characterized (by Evin, for instance) as part of "a rational outlook, which enabled the Turks to recognize the need for innovation (...), the basis of the Turkish Westernization," Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," p. 66; see also, *ibid*, pp. 55-66; Sılay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 73-8. While I do not disclaim the heightened sense of realism in eighteenth-century poetry, it was not what lay at the source of its transformation; nor was it necessarily or strictly a sign, or result of westernization, but rather, of internal changes in the socio-cultural environment which produced it. What these claims indirectly imply is a sort of imperviousness of court poetry to surrounding realities prior to this period. Rather, I tend to agree with Tanpınar and (more recently) Andrews, in that

survival and appreciation of efforts at redefining the classical canon of poetry in the eighteenth century was that these efforts were sufficiently tuned to the public's horizon of expectations,⁴⁷ as these were all part and parcel of a changing social environment. One can also speculate here that the disappearance of the sixteenth-century *şehir-engiz* was another manifestation of changing literary dispositions. *Şehir-engiz* as a genre became obsolete not because it could no longer encompass new modes of urban life. Rather, as colloquial language and mundane themes permeated different forms of poetry by the eighteenth century, its *raison d'être*, as a genre which sanctioned such "innovations," had lost its relevance.⁴⁸

The new poetic discourse on gardens should be regarded from the same perspective: It was informed by, produced by, and possibly addressed to, an environment vastly different from that of the classical period, in that it implored consciousness, appreciation, and the cultivation of an affinity for plebian matters -- recognizing and accommodating more readily a broad social, professional, gendered, and cultural spectrum of the urban population.⁴⁹

classical poetry was far from disconnected from its own social environment; see Tanpınar, *19. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, pp. 1-33; idem., "Nedim'e Dair Bazı Düşünceler," pp. 169-73; idem., "Eski Şiir," pp. 177-8; Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 14-8, 176-9. I will stress, however, that this social environment was largely confined to the cultured circles of the ruling elite.

⁴⁷ "Horizon of expectations" has been defined by Jauss in his reception theory as the criteria of appreciation used by readers to judge literary texts in different periods; see Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. I use the term here specifically with regard to the writings of poets' biographers in their *tezkire*, as the most formal written record of literary criticism.

⁴⁸ The last "real" *şehir-engiz* known to us was composed by Brusavî on the city of Bursa at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Later *mesnevîs*, such as Fâzıl's Book of Men / Women, or Sünbülzâde's *Şevk-engiz*, have been regarded by some literary historians as derivatives of the *şehir-engiz* genre; see Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, IV: 238; Schmidt, "Sünbülzâde Vehbî's *Şevk-engiz*," pp. 34, 184.

"If all the young boys of Istanbul gathered in it, they would fit;
It is like a lover's heart, the space of Kağıthane"

This verse from Sürürî's *ğazel*, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, is a beautiful illustration of this change. His garden of Kağıthane as the lover's heart draws on a classic metaphor: the garden as one of the places which sanctioned the encounter of the lover (the poet) and his beloved.⁵⁰ In classical poetry, the latter was most often personified by the *sāḳī* (the cup-bearer), "the focus of emotional attention and a prime contributor to the state of intoxication"⁵¹ in the context of the *meclis*, conviviality, conversation, wine drinking, music and poetry. Sürürî's beloved, however, does not belong to the *meclis* imaginary, but rather, to the wide panorama of Istanbul's young boys. His socially inclusive vision of the garden (Kağıthane's bigger heart, so to speak) alludes to something widely different from the sublimated love between the poet and the *sāḳī*, and to a more lustful pursuit -- a garden imagery more contemporary of his time, as illustrated in the following verse by Nedim on the garden of Şevkâbâd (The Abode of Desire):

"Each one of its alleys was a sinecure to gay life and pleasure;
the tip of each of its palm trees, the hard currency of times of desire"⁵²

⁴⁹ This is also evidenced in the flourishing themes of the private and daily lives of the middle classes in Ottoman literature, the two most notable examples of which are the late seventeenth-century *Hamse* of Atayî and the late eighteenth-century *Muhammes* of Vâsîf. The question raised by Artan with regards to an early eighteenth-century illustrated album of Atayî's *Hamse*, on the audience and clientèle to which this album might have been targeted, could indeed be addressed in broader relation to a changing literary (and artistic) taste; see Artan, "Mahremiyet: Mahrumiyetin Resmi," pp. 91-4.

⁵⁰ For the garden as the beloved see, Meissami, "The Body As Garden," pp. 254-67; Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 91-101, 109-42.

⁵¹ Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, p. 125. For *sāḳī* (or *sakḳā*) in classical poetry see, *ibid*, pp. 123-7; Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, pp. 358-9.

⁵² *Her hıyābanı müft-i 'ayş u tarab*
Her bün-i naḳlı naḳd-i vakt-i murād
Nedim, *Nedim'in Divānı*, pp. 127-8; Nedim, *Nedim Divanı*, p. 138.

We could also recall here Fenni's *Sāhīlnāme* (a passage of which I quoted earlier), a poem which in its structure and its inclination for word-puns seems to somewhat draw on the *şehir-engiz*. The difference, however, is that the names of tavern and coffeehouse beauties (the central theme of *şehir-engiz* and the source of every pun) are here substituted for names of suburban gardens, reflecting, one might suggest, the shifting locus of popular pleasures from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

2. "URBANIZATION" OF THE GARDEN IDEAL

"See what pleasure and delight of good company in the world can be and see the outings at Sa'dabad, once the religious festival [begins]

My spoiled child, don't fool me by saying that you have seen it all
You haven't yet really seen that captivating rose garden
Come, my swaying cypress, let the wretched Nedim take you about
and see the outings at Sa'dabad, once the religious festival [begins]"⁵³

What predominates all the verses quoted so far is the image of the garden as a public hang-out: an image which is conspicuously absent from earlier poetic imagination. Because the garden "ideal" of classical poetry and the deluge of imagery that poets turned to continuously refine and enrich it have been the subject of a few recent studies, I will not dwell on them here.⁵⁴ I only wish to

⁵³ *Bak nedir dünyāda resm-i şöhet-i zevk ü şafā*
Seyr-i Sa'dābādı sen bir kere 'id olsun da gör
Tıfl-ı nāzım cümle gördüm deyü aldatma beni
Görmediñ bir hoşça sen dañi o dil-cū gülşeni
Serv-i nāzım gel Nedim-i zār gezdiresin seni
Seyr-i Sa'dābādı sen bir kere 'id olsun da gör
Nedim, *Nedim'in Divanı*, p. 192; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," 138-41.

⁵⁴ Four recent studies of the garden in classical poetry, Ottoman and Persian, must be noted here: For the poetic vocabulary of gardens and a social, or "ecological" interpretation of the garden in Ottoman classical lyric poetry, see, Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*: pp. 45-6, 109-74. For paradisial allegories see, Schimmel, "The Celestial Garden in Islam," pp. 13-39. For an interpretation of the relationship between garden and body, and the garden as a metaphor for love in

emphasize how a fundamental aspect of this ideal translated almost unequivocally in poetry, as in visual art, into an enclosed, select and private garden setting (figs. 140 and 141). Much of the meaning embodied in the classical garden, many of the metaphorical associations it implied and the poetic images it governed were embroidered around these notions:⁵⁵ most notably, the garden as a private sanctuary, removed from the constraints of public decorum; and the garden as a microcosm of a beautiful, secure and orderly world, distinct and separated from the loathsome, vulnerable and chaotic.⁵⁶

As classical poetry focused primarily on the distinctive social world of the cultured elite, exemplified by courtly and princely cultures, the garden it portrayed necessarily bore elements of these cultures. The relatively socio-culturally exclusive and typically gendered setting was represented through standard garden-elements (the rose, the nightingale, etc.) and symbolic associations, and a system of signs and images which conveyed a set of well-structured and nearly codified activities: These included wine drinking, eating, conversing, musical performances, all enacted in visual images (see figs. 140 and 141), and the recitation of this very poetry, which ultimately ritualized (or idealized) the garden experience. The "cultural exclusivity" inherent to the classical discourse on gardens concealed the presumption that leisure and pleasure were the prerogatives of these elite assemblies. This was suggested, for

Persian poetic imagery, see Meisami, "The Body and Garden," pp. 245-68; *ibid*, "The World's Pleasance," pp. 153-85.

⁵⁵ Andrews pointed out some of the ways in which the association of garden with selectiveness and exclusivity reflected in other literary domains, for example, in the use of the garden terminology (*ḥadīqa*, *bāġ*, *bāġçe*) in reference to select groups (learned men, poets, viziers, etc.) in the titles of Biographical dictionaries (*tezkires*), Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 152, 207, n.13.

⁵⁶ For a beautiful rendering of the complexity of these concepts see, Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 120-1, 151-8.

instance, in the common identification of members of these gatherings as *ehl-i ʿizz* (people of glory and rank), *ehl-i dil* (learned people, or people of the heart, close friends), *ehl-i nezāket* (people of refinement), *ehl-i zevk* (people of taste, of refinement, of pleasure), and *ehl-i şafā* (people of pleasure).⁵⁷

In a biographical entry on the poet Deli Birāder, the sixteenth-century biographer ʿĀşık Çelebi described the garden of a vinegar maker, Sirkeci Bahşı, as one of the literary salons popular at the time: "On holidays it was a seat of friendly gatherings for the learned (*ulemāya şohbetgāh*) and at other times, a place for carousing for the elegant folk, wise ascetics and learned poets" (*zūrefā-yı erkāne ü rindān-ı ʿurfāna u şuʿārā-yı dānişmendāne ʿişretgāh idi*). "Like the evil eye, troublemakers kept their distance from the garden's outskirts and the common folk and the illiterate ... away from the garden gathering" (*erzāl ü itvāl* çeşm-i bed gibi dāman-ı gülşeninden dūr ve ʿuvām u çühhāl ʿāyn-ı hasad gibi çemn-i encümeninden maşdar*... * idi*).⁵⁸ Neither this account, nor its contemporary literary and poetic representations of gardens, suggest that gardens for the public were not part of the urban landscape of sixteenth-century Istanbul. But ʿĀşık Çelebi's description intimates that the notion of a public hang-out, along with its implications of an unqualified crowd of participants and unstructured forms of sociability and recreation, was relegated to the other side of the garden enclosure. As such, it represented the very antithesis of the private, enclosed and "exclusive" garden

⁵⁷ The word *dil* means at once language (tongue) and heart. Onay explains *ehl-i dil* as the knowledgeable and learned people, Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, p. 139; Andrews, as "people of the heart" or close friends, Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp. 158.

⁵⁸ *Not legible in *facsimile*. ʿĀşık Çelebi, *Meşāʿir üş-Şuʿarā*, pp. 294a. In another entry, ʿĀşık Çelebi offers a similar description of a garden of the urban middling class, Efşancı Bāğçesi, noting that it was frequented by the learned and the talented ones, most notably, Süleymān I and his grand-vizier İbrāhīm Paşa, *ibid*, fols 160b-161a.

ideal -- the ultimate forum for court poets, as their equally cultured audience could fully appreciate the subtlety of their images and novelty of their poetic puns.⁵⁹

While the classical garden ideal remained a topos of the eighteenth-century poetic discourse, mainly in celebrations of courtly social and cultural gatherings in lyrical poetry, the garden as a social space for ordinary men and women became its leading motif. To add one more illustration to the numerous ones already quoted, it would be appropriate to select a passage from Fāzıl's *mesnevî*, which brings together several of the themes evoked and recreational activities mentioned in earlier poems: promenades, swing rides, reading, singing, gossiping, social intercourse and amorous encounters:

"From under the veil they laugh
The other, talking nonsense, watches, blushing with shame
Those laughters and coquettries, that gaze
when they look at you... o! [like] hunters' eyes
One of them begins with a song
so as to tantalize you
One of them runs to endear you
and behind her, [her] mantle falls
As a swing is set up by the water spring
there, two [of them] sit down, lavished
One of them coquettishly rocks the swing
and then reads beautiful songs
When she swings, her gown opens
for you to see every corner
She exposes her trousers-string
for you, perhaps, the secrets of the treasury...
To you the maiden comes gently
holding a bunch of flowers in her hand"⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The architectural correspondance of these images is highlighted in Necipoğlu's reading, for example, of sixteenth-century imperial garden pavilions as "private settings where courtly culture was cultivated," Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape," p. 2. Imperial gardens, she suggests, were "in keeping with the conception of the garden in Ottoman court poetry as a metaphor for an inner sanctuary where one was free to cultivate leisurely behavior and display emotions suppressed in public life," *ibid*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ 46. *Zîr-i yaşmağdan o eyler hände*

To the vitality, movement, and activity that permeates this poem and others we have encountered earlier, contemporary images of gardens, public and private, by Ottoman and European artists alike, provided the visual counterpart. All the essential elements of the garden culture of eighteenth-century Istanbul were represented: an informal space, anonymous figures, active participation in the garden experience by way of a range of activities -- solitary drinking, musical gatherings, love making, swinging, smoking, chatting, strolling, picnicking, buying and selling, and so on (figs. 142 a-b, 143, 144, and 145, see figs. 89, 90, 93, 94, 95, 107, 109, 110, 113, 133, and 134). These features made them remarkably different from the still and posed scenes of courtly and princely garden entertainment of the sixteenth century (see figs. 140 and 141). Strikingly full of movement, they captured live-shot instants of the leisure of men, women and children and a wide sartorial spectrum indicative of their social diversity. One might suggest that this flowing movement, which has become so intrinsic to visual representations of gardens in this period, was a visual expression of the vigor, energy and unruliness of outdoor public life. Not surprisingly, the "public

-
- O biri hā ki bakar şermende*
47. *O gülüşler kırılışlar ol nigāh*
Göz avcıla saña bakdıkca evvāh
48. *Birisi şarkıya eyler ağaz*
Saña tā kim olalar harf-endāz
49. *Saña nāz etmek için kimi koşar*
Arkasından daği ferrāce düşer
50. *Serde gāhice şalıncağ kurula*
Oturur anda iki mübtezele
51. *Biri nāz ile şalıncağ şallar*
Okunur anda güzel şarkılar
52. *Şalladıkca açılır kaftanı*
Saña göstermek için her yanı
53. *Gösterir 'ukde-i şalvārı saña*
Belki gencine-i esrārı saña...
55. *Saña cāriyye gelür āheste*
Bir elinde getirür güldeste

Fāzıl Bey Enderünî, "Zikr-i muḳaddime-i manzūme," *Zenānnāme*, fol 80.

garden" was a frequently encountered backdrop to tales of courtship and convivial assemblies (especially among women) in the "folk" cultural repertoire: in plots of shadow theater (*karagöz*) and story telling (*meddāh*) and in folk and amateurish prose and poetry, in Turkish and other languages of the urban minorities. The public garden setting seemed a suitable one not only to narrate, or parody, episodes of the recreational lives of urban residents, but even to convey particular messages and concerns of urban life. In a novella written in Armenian, the Armenian city chronicler Eremya Çelebi related the adventures-turned-sour of a group of young Jewish women gone for a picnic to a public garden and raped by Turkish shepherds.⁶¹

The remarkable, if offensive (as Fāzıl claimed), presence of women actively partaking of eighteenth-century Ottoman poetic (and visual) narratives is worth noting here (see figs. 89, 113, 133, 134, 142 a, 143, 144, and 145). It is not that women had been completely absent from Ottoman poetry. There were, for example, autobiographical references in the poetry of two women poets of the sixteenth century, Mihri Hātūn and Zeynep Hātūn.⁶² But especially by the second half of the eighteenth century, women assumed a consistent presence in *divān* poetry, and one highly symptomatic of the changing social world that poetry reflected and addressed. Already in the first decades of the century,

⁶¹ Sanjian and Tietze's Introduction, in Kömürçiyān, *Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyān's Armeno-Turkish Poem "The Jewish Bride,"* p. 86. An Armeno-Turkish poem by Eremya titled "The Jewish Bride," makes references to a specific neighborhood promenade, Hünkār Tahtı, in the Greek neighborhood of Fener in İstanbul, *ibid.*, p. 30. For depictions of scenes of eighteenth-century garden culture in folk poetry, and in *karagöz* and story tellers' plots, see for example, Köprülü, *Türk Sazşâirleri*; Elçin, *Halk Şiiri Antolojisi*; Güney, *Halk Şiiri Antolojisi*; Ritter, *Karagös*, vol. 2; And, *A History of Theatre*; Nutku, "Original Turkish Meddah Stories," pp. 166-83.

⁶² Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, II: 130-8; see also, for a different interpretation of women poets' writings, Silay, "Singing His Words," pp. 197-213.

Nedīm had introduced two female members of his companion's family in the context of an outing to the garden of Saʿdabad, in what appears to be a conscious effort at "breaking the canonic rules;" for after all, their intervention in the overall scheme -- love / pleasure / Saʿdabad -- was hardly necessary:

"Come quick, look just once, there is no ban on the eye
Saʿdabad has now become garden upon hill, my love
With blots and scores it scarred Isfahan's *Chaharbagh**
Saʿdabad has now become garden upon hill, my love ...

There are [all] there, walks in the forests and river banks,
gardens and promenades in the wild, and solitary corners
Look at the mountain if you want and if you wish, walk to the garden
Saʿdabad has now become garden upon hill, my love"

"Yesterday, your fortunate sister was here;
You too, come sometime, don't forsake your place in my heart
Let it be my fault, let your mother slap me if she hears
Saʿdabad has now become garden upon hill, my love"⁶³

That the representation of women in poetry constituted a break of the rules, possibly jeopardizing a career, was a thought articulated by poets later in the century.⁶⁴ Gradually, though, anonymous women, and largely, previously

⁶³ *Anda ede dünkü gün hemşire-i saʿdehleriñ
Sen de gel gâhice hâli kalmasın cāna yeriñ
Şuç benim olsun beni döksün duyarsa mâderiñ
Oldu Saʿdâbâd şimdi sevdiğim dağ üstü bâğ*

Nedīm, *Nedīm'in Divānı*, p. 193; Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," pp. 142-7. Silay's claim that the emergence of women in Nedīm's poetry was an indication of the poet's secularist leanings, as her presence as the "beloved" would have been precluded by "Muslim ideology," seems questionable. One could perhaps suggest, rather, that traditionally, as poets' primary audience consisted principally of men, it was them that they first and foremost addressed. See Silay, *Nedīm and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 78-83. Also questionable, given the absence of gender specificity of Ottoman language (an issue which Silay explores in his book, *ibid*, pp. 90-107) are his interpretation of some of Nedīm's verses as clearly addressed to a beloved woman, *ibid*, pp. 60-1, 71, 79, 86, n.3. Other unjustifiably gendered translations of Nedīm's *şarkıs* are found, for instance, in Evin, "Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age," pp. 131, 133, 157, 161, 228, 230.

⁶⁴ Fāzıl Bey's first reaction to his friend's request for a poem describing women of the world was expressed in his Preface to the *Zenānnāme* in the following verse:

"We're poets! this is a disgrace to our honor!
Harlots cannot enter our poetic works"
(*Şâ'iriz şeyn verir şānīmiza*)

underrepresented voices, characters, and types -- watchful mothers, charming sisters, naughty daughters, of a nondescript "middle class," at home, in carriages, on the street, in gardens and so on -- emerged in a wide range of genres. These included *mesnevîs* narrating episodes of the middling society's public and family life, like Fâzıl's Preface, or Vâşif's *Muhammes* ("A mother's advice to her daughter / The daughter's reply"); books of science and philosophy, like Erzurumlu İbrâhîm Hakkı's *Ma'rifetnâme* which featured poems on his notion of female beauty; pornographic tales in verse, as in Sünbülzâde Vehbî's *Şevk-engiz* (Desire-Provoking); and short parables and stanzaic poems such as those by Sünbülzâde and Sürûri.⁶⁵

By and large, with the disintegration of the select garden idiom, social distinctions too began to melt away. Designations such as *ehl-i şafâ* and *ehl-i*

Fâhişe giremez divânımıza)

Fâzıl Bey Enderûnî, *Zenânnâme*, fol 76. Given his reconsideration and ultimate writing of the poem, Fâzıl's interjection can be interpreted as an attempt to situate himself first within the classical tradition, before committing to any sinful innovation. It is interesting that around the same time, Sünbülzâde Vehbî reflected on the negative reception to the presence of women in his and Nedîm's poetry, in one of his poems; see, Schmidt, "Sünbülzâde Vehbî's *Şevk-engiz*," p. 13. My suggestion that poets deliberately and consciously broke canonical rules is of course preliminary and should be further explored, not only with respect to the introduction of women's voices in poetry, but to other innovations in poetic form and themes. A similar conscious break in the rules of musical composition (*makâm*) in the mid-eighteenth century has recently been suggested by Feldman, in the work of the Greek Zaḥaria, a classical music composer and church singer (d. c. 1760), Feldman, *Music of the Ottoman Court*, part 2: Makam, pp. 195-299. By the second half of the eighteenth century, several changes were being introduced in Ottoman classical music, following a trajectory similar to that of court poetry. Apart from classical compositions (*beste*), the repertoire of contemporary "classical" composers such as Dede Efendi (b. 1775), for instance, included popular dance tunes (*köçekçe*), Öztüna, "İsmail Dede Efendi," I: 302-8; see also, compilations of musical scores from this period, Ergün, Salgar, and Aytan, *Dede Efendi Besteleri*, pp. 110-119. I should thank Ahmet Ersoy for pointing out this parallel with music.

⁶⁵ For some of these examples see, Gibb, *A History of Ottoman poetry*, IV: 289-304; Levend, *Divan Edebiyatı*, pp. 233-35; Schmidt, "Sünbülzâde Vehbî's *Şevk-engiz*;" see also, Chmielowska, *La femme turque dans l'oeuvre de Nabi, Vehbi et Vasif*.

zevk mentioned above began to lose their precision and their direct implications of selectiveness. In the following chronogram by Nābī, for instance, the expression *ehl-i şafā* vaguely alludes to a nebulous crowd of visitors in the outdoor prayer place of Seyyid Mehmed Ağa:

"Has such a two-sided place been [ever] seen [before], that is at once a prayer place, and a promenade for the people of pleasure
 One cannot find [a place in which] the two sides combine in such manner
 May they all effortlessly attain what their heart desires...
 All visitors find [there] their share of benefit:
 Groups of pious people and [others] of pleasure seekers...
 Nābī labored over a [suitable] description; his chronogram said:
 This captivating place is both a promenade and a prayer place"⁶⁶

That Nābī chose to highlight the double function of this place is worth noting here, as not only gardens, markets, and urban squares were extolled by poets for the social interaction they brought about. Indeed, in their representations of spaces traditionally designated for religious purposes, such as the *namāzgāh*, or outdoor prayer place (fig. 146),⁶⁷ what poets dwelled upon was the leisure

⁶⁶ Böyle zā 'l-vecheyn bir mevzi° görülmüş mü k'ola
 Hem 'ibādet-gāh u hem cevlān-gah-ı ehl-i şafā
 Cānibeyni böyle müstecmi° bulunmaz bir maḥal
 Kim ola dil-ḥuvāhına herkes muştaksız resa...
 Intifā°ından olurlar her gelenler ḥuşsa-yāb
 Zümre-i erbāb-ı tāt°at fırka-ı ehl-i hevā...
 Gūş edüp evşāfını Nābī dedi tārīhini
 Hem mesire hem muşalla bu maḳām-ı dil-guşā

Nābī, "Tārīḫ-i muşalla u mesire-gāh-ı Seyyid Mehmed Ağa" (1707), *Divān-ı Nābī*, p. 101.

⁶⁷ These spaces, also known as *muşalla* (from Arab. prayer place), typically consisted of a raised platform (*şoffā*) shaded by a plane tree and sometimes including a standing mihrab. They were described by d'Ohsson as follow: "Dans les environs des villes, dans les campagnes, ainsi que le long des grandes routes, on rencontre de pareils signaux (...) Auprès de la plupart se trouvent ou de grands puits ou de belles fontaines, qui sont principalement destinés aux purifications requises avant la prière. Ce sont autant des monuments de la piété des grands et des personnes opulentes. Tous ces signaux sont placés sur des terrasses ou des plate-formes (...) on les appelle *Mussala* ou *Namaz-Kiakh*, c'est-à-dire, oratoires ou lieux d'adoration" d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, II: 95. In some cases, a pulpit (*minbar*) was added, and the space served for the Friday congregational prayer and sermon. For descriptions of earlier *namāzgāh*, see for example, Evliyā, *Seyahatname*, fols 124b, 127b, 138a; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, II: 245-6.

extension, one might say, of religious rituals. The following anonymous chronogram, inscribed on a fountain in a *namāz-gāh* at Haydarpaşa, for instance, reads largely like a glorification of a beautiful garden. Not until the last verse does it finally pay tribute to the sacred character of the place:

"How wonderful! The leisure place is such a piece of sublime paradise
that even the court of the garden of providence is no match to it
The benevolent patron built two sources of flowing water
Those who drink a cup of its pleasant water find eternal life
To make a place of repose for the tired visitors
is right; this place required such a garden layout
The prayer is: may they be granted their wishes, be humble and pray
May they attain redemption, guidance and salvation"⁶⁸

It is significant that only few of these *namāz-gāh* were located in halting stations (*menzil*) at the gates of the city, such as in the case of the fountain-*namāz-gāh* of Esmā Sultān built in 1779 at the port entry of Kadırga,⁶⁹ or in prominent imperial squares in the center of the city, as in the seventeenth-century Okmeydanı⁷⁰ (figs. 147 and 148). Rather, unlike most of their earlier prototypes, they were

68 *Habbezā nüzhet-fezā kıt'a-ı huld-i berin*
Kim nazir olmaz ana şahın-ı kazâ-yı gülsitân
Sâhibü'l-hayr etti icrâ iki mâ-i müstefâz
Nüş eden bir kâsesin bulur hayât-ı câvidân
İstirâhat etmeğe bi-tâb olan züvvâr için
Doğrusu muhtâc idi bir böyle tarha bu mekân
İsteyen alsın vuzû' kilsin namâz etsin du'â
Eylesin taḥşil-i ğufrân-ı Hüdâ-yı müste'ân

Anonymous, inscribed in 1776, cited in Ayyânsarâyî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*, p. 377.

⁶⁹ The *menzil* was a transit place used for the purpose of a short pause and was not meant as an overnight halting station. For *menzils* along caravan and campaign roads see, Eyice, "İstanbul-Şam-Bağdad Yolu," pp. 83-110; Özergin, "Üsküdar," pp. 111-31.

⁷⁰ Okmeydanı, the archery ground above Kasımpaşa, was the largest *namāz-gāh* with a *minbar* within the walled city. It was built by Murād IV for the purpose of public prayers. Though it was mostly associated with the army and the archers' guild, exceptional public prayers were held there at times of natural calamities and troubles in the empire, d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, II: 245-6; Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, p. 356; Eyice, "İstanbul (Tarihî Eserler)," *İsl.A.*, V/2: 1214/75.

built in the most social and recreational areas: along waterfront promenades, such as İbrâhîm Paşa's on the shore of Çubuklu in 1720, or in large meadows used as picnic and excursion spots, like the fountain-*namâzğâh* of İshâk Ağa in Beykoz, built in 1749 (fig. 149).⁷¹ Where one might expect mention of a mihrab in celebration of an outdoor prayer place, it is leisure that was invoked instead. Hence, this anonymous chronogrammatist's attempt to lure the public into performing its religious duties by mere evocation of the recreational nature of the garden:

"Turn towards this beautiful leisure-promenade
Come [you] visitor, do not miss the hour of duty"⁷²

3. GARDEN CULTURE AND PUBLIC DISPLAY

"And if you wish, o life-giving soul
that to you all sorts of women be drawn
Praise be to God, may the Lord assist you
The power of seduction is a comely gift
In the season of roses come for a pleasure trip,
especially to the region of Kağıthane"⁷³

Beyond their recognition of a public arena, poems such as Sürûri's *ğazel* (quoted at the beginning of this chapter), or Fâzıl's *muḳaddime* to the *Zenânnâme* (quoted above in parts), highlight different facets of the practices and principles which defined the parameters of garden culture in their own time, at the end of the

⁷¹ Gölbilgin, "Boğaziçi," *İsl.A.*, II: 684.

⁷² *Teveccüh kıl bu nüzhetgeh maḳâma
Gel ey zâ'ir geçirme vakt-ı farzı*
Anonymous (c. 1776), cited in Ayvânsarâyî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*, p. 377. For other examples see, Özergin, "Üsküdar," pp. 111-4, 120-1.

⁷³ 25. *Sen de isterseñ eyâ rûḥ-i revân
Ki saña meyl ede eşnâf-ı zenân*
26. *Hamdû-lillâh saña kılmış mevlâ
Kuvvet-i câzibe hüsn-i 'atâ*
27. *Mevsim-i gülde buyur seyrâne
Bâ-ḥuşûs cânib-i Kâğıthâne*
Fâzıl Bey Enderünî, "Zikr-i muḳaddime-i manzûme," *Zenânnâme*, fol 79.

eighteenth century. The concluding verse in Sürürî's *ğazel* is not only an intimation of his own sexual preferences. It can be read directly, as an applause, or more likely, as a deferential protest, against a background of legal measures addressed to the social and recreational trends in currency at that time. These prescribed the terms by which, and the time and the space in which certain activities (riding in boats and carriages, hanging about gardens, coffeehouses and taverns, drinking, smoking) could be pursued -- in this case, they marked a gender separation in public gardens or perhaps, banned women from their frequentation:

"Ey Sürürî, what if it is forbidden to women
With the young boys we do the friendly gathering at Kağıthane"⁷⁴

The frequency of sumptuary laws in the eighteenth century has often been noted in recent scholarship to highlight the dwindling ethics and morals of the time -- especially in the so-called Tulip Period -- a phenomenon said to be triggered by the court elite and diffused among members of the society at large. A sketchy outline of this view has it that moral and behavioral corruption among urban residents was greatly encouraged by the party-mindedness of grand-vizier İbrâhîm Paşa and his frivolous pursuits: particularly, as some of the festivities set up under his auspices were not only intended for the benefit of the court but invited the participation of the populace at large.⁷⁵ Commentators from later

⁷⁴ Sürürî, *Divân-ı Sürürî*, Part 3: *Ğazel*, p. 11. It is difficult to infer from the available documentation to exactly what law Sürürî referred. His *ğazel* is undated and his productive life stretched roughly the length of the second half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth; he died in 1813; for his life and work, see Ebu'z-ẓıyâ, "Sürürî-i Müverrih," pp. 3-54.

⁷⁵ For an outline of the "Tulip Period," see the Introduction. The most recent article on this subject, and the only one which actually fleshes out these views within a broader social perspective, is Zilfi's "Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718-1730," pp. 290-303.

periods have not failed to stress the grand-vizier's role in the spread of immorality and depravity in this period.⁷⁶ Other developments, like the considerable *décolletage* of women starting in the 1720s, may also be regarded within the same sphere of moral, or behavioral "decadence," specifically among women (see figs. 133 and 142a). Yet, issues of morality in a twelve-year period alone do not provide sufficient explanation to the significance and potency of these laws, or to the circumstances in which they were deployed; nor do they account for their practice before and after this time.

Certainly, at the most general level, these laws were meant to ensure, by repeated enforcement, the maintenance of order and discipline in the city, similarly, one may suggest, to the regulatory measures which governed the popular rituals accompanying imperial celebrations and festivities. Indeed, eye-witnesses report that during these events, places of social gathering were most carefully surveilled.⁷⁷ Oftentimes, women were allocated specific spots to follow

⁷⁶ The deliberate destruction of his Sa'dabad in the 1730 Patrona Hâlil revolt has also been interpreted as an expression of anger against a regime abandoned in worldly pursuits. But to a certain extent, these accusations seem indirectly pointed against Nevşehirli's miserably failed Persian campaign; and meant as blame for the wasted time and energy which the empire could have put into strengthening its military position in the face of an increasing Russian threat. As such, they raise the question of Nevşehirli's relative responsibility for later military catastrophies. At any rate, it seems ironic that his reign, so profoundly deplored by some contemporaries, should turn into such a cult ("Tulip Period") in modern scholarship. In addition to Şem'dânizâde's virulent accounts of festivities given at Kağıthane and other places around the city mentioned earlier, see the later accounts of Muştafa Nûri, *Netayic ül-Vukuat*, 3: 33-40. On the fostering of sexual immorality by Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa see, Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era," pp. 292-3.

⁷⁷ Seyyid Mehmed Hâkim, for example, reports that during the 1758 celebrations for the birth of Hibetüllâh Sultân, daughter of Mustafa III, order was given to ban women from going to town and the market and from strolling in gardens and promenades (*Yine vâki' şehri-i âyından mukaddemce eyyâm-ı şehri-i âyında nisvân tâ' ifeleri müslim ü ra'ıyyet-i kâyine men-kânat şehir ü bazârda u taşra mesirelerde geşt ü güzârlârı bi'l-külliyeye memnû' olmak üzere (...) tenbih-i ekid buyurulup.*), Mehmed Hâkim, *Veķâyî'-nâme*, fol 423. In an entry of his diary dated the fifth day of Ramazân in 1732, Telhîsî Muştafa Efendi expressed his annoyance over the

parades and festivities, as their gathering in public crowds was considered a source of tension.⁷⁸ And by and large, every public celebration, religious and secular, entailed a number of popular rituals, or ritualized forms of leisure, decreed by imperial law and subject to penalty upon infraction.⁷⁹ Describing a three-day imperial celebration in 1673, Galland remarked:

A Galata et à Constantinople, toutes les boutiques demeurèrent ouvertes pendant la nuit avec des sofas qui avançaient dans les rues (...) garnis des plus beaux coussins et de tapis de Perse et ornés de feuillages et de feuilles de clinquant d'or (...) sans qu'aucun Chrétien, ny Grec, ny Arménien, ait pu s'exempter de cette dépense sous peine de cinquante coups de baston donnés sur la plante des pieds.⁸⁰

security measures taken that month. Once again (he wrote), like the year before, the authorities are pressing and bothering the people (*tazyik ve tâ'ciz vâki' oldu*). Not only did they once more decree that shops and baths be shut down until the morning; but they warned that during night prayer time, individuals going elsewhere than the mosque will be arrested and punished, Şadreddin-zâde Telhişi Muşafa Efendi, "H. 1123 (1711) - 1184 (1735) Yıllarına ait bir Ceride," pp. 529-30.

⁷⁸ Flachet described such a scene where women "sont rangées des deux côtés des rues, sur les murailles de la place des mosquées, ou aux fenêtres des maisons," Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts*, I: 433-4. In his *Sürnâme* ("Book of Feast") on an imperial wedding in 1758, Haşmet commented on women's excessive desire to watch public spectacles, and reported that they were banned to gather around the *bedesten* and in places of assembly, and were allocated specific areas instead, Kafadar, "Women in Seljuk and Ottoman Society," p. 200. D'Ohsson offered a different account on this matter: "On ne doit pas s'imaginer que dans ces jours de réjouissances et de liberté publique pour tous les citoyens indistinctement, les femmes sortent de cet état de solitude auquel elles sont condamnées. Elles ne participent à la joie universelle qu'à travers les jalousies de leurs croisées, et de celles qu'on leur ménage alors dans l'intérieur des maisons; trop heureuses, lorsqu'elles obtiennent de leurs maris l'agrément de sortie en voiture pendant le jour, pour se promener en ville, et voir, sans être vues, les décorations des grands hôtels, des marchés et des places publiques!" d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 412; see also, Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts*, I: 401, de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, I: 99, III: 7.

⁷⁹ Lighting up oil lamps at night during the religious month of Ramadan is the most frequently mentioned ritual in contemporary accounts. See, for example, Küçük Çelebizâde, *Târîh-i İsmâ'il 'Âşim Efendi*, p. 372; Mehmed Hâkim, *Veķâyî'-nâme*, fols 417-8; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 408-9; de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, I: 101, 135.

⁸⁰ Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, I: 210. Seyyid Mehmed Hâkim reported on individuals' excessive spending of their personal savings for the decoration of their houses and shops, for the celebration of the birth of Hibetüllâh Sultân (daughter of Muşafa III) in 1758, Mehmed Hâkim, *Veķâyî'-nâme*, fols 417-422.

In fact, one may even suggest that both the amplification of public royal celebrations beginning in the eighteenth century, and the increasingly elaborate popular rituals which accompanied them, were attempts at developing controllable and "ordered structures" of popular entertainment -- counteracting and subverting, perhaps, other flourishing forms of unmediated entertainment. The rich panoply of popular rituals that these imperial ceremonials institutionalized ensured, as Zilfi put it, "visible conformity to the will of authority," and represented "[the] dictum for social order, *yerli yerlinde*, each man in his proper place."⁸¹

Insofar as they controlled order in the city, sumptuary laws, like these measures, also defined the parameters of urban life. That the intensification of laws on outings, dress-code, drinking, smoking, the frequentation of taverns, coffeehouses and gardens (and various other aspects of public life) coincided with the expansion of the sphere of sociability and the consolidation of a middling society on the urban scene, suggests that beyond loosening morals, they were meant to regulate certain forms of social behavior and recreational practices. Sumptuary laws, which dated back at least to the second half of the sixteenth century, thus spanning a long period of transformations in the urban social structure, may be regarded as reflections of palpable changes in, among other things, habits of consumption, social practices, and entertainment life of the urban society over a period of two centuries, and of the emergence of new types of public spaces.⁸² From this perspective, their significance to the realities of the

⁸¹ Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 200, 200, n.25.

⁸² This is most clearly illustrated by the frequent bans on coffeehouses following their introduction to the capital city (1551), in the second half of the sixteenth century and the seventeenth, as they were considered central places of social unrest; see, Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, p.106; Kātib

eighteenth century cannot be dissociated from earlier periods, and other efforts at restoring law and social order, both on the part of the state and other essentially "popular" movements.⁸³ If on the one hand, the magnification of public celebrations in the eighteenth century seems to suggest that the state was

Çelebi, *The Balance of Truth*, p. 60-1; Evliyā, *Seyahatname*, fol 63b; Sertoğlu, "İstanbul," *İsl.A.*, V/2: 1214/5, 8; Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, p. 91, 102; Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, pp. 135-44; idem., "The Kadızadelis," p. 257; Kafadar, "Janissaries and Other Riffraff" (unpub. paper), pp. 6, 12-3. For eighteenth-century bans on taverns and coffeehouses see, for example, Şem'dānizāde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I: 21; Rāşid, *Münşe'ât-ı Rāşid*, fols 40-41; Mehmed Hākım, *Vekāyi'-nāme*, fols 423, 482; Çeşmî-zāde, *Çeşmî-zāde Tarihi*, p. 25; D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 79-81. Other bans were occasionally reported by contemporary chroniclers. Eremya Çelebi, for example, writing between 1673 and 1681 in the reign of Mehmed IV, lamented the ban on excursions to the Bosphorus promenades, adding that it caused much grief to the people (*diğer mesireler olduğu gibi buraya da gezip tozmak yasak edilmiştir. Halk bu yasaktan dolayı çok müte'essir olmuştur*), Kömürçiyān, *İstanbul Tarihi*, p. 31. For sumptuary laws prohibiting boats rides and regulating the frequentation of gardens see, for example, Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 131-2, 170, 174-5; Koçu, *Türk Giyim*, p. 9; Çağman, "Family Life," pp. 203-4. For edicts regulating visits to baths and markets under Ahmed III see, Umur, "Kadınlara Buyruklar," pp. 205-7. Several decrees were specifically aimed at women's social practices, see *ibid*; Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1000-1100*, pp. 28, 29, 39, 40, 41, 42. For a selective compilation of sumptuary laws from the late sixteenth century to the late eighteenth century see, Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1000-1100*; idem., *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*. For clothing regulations, see below.

⁸³ I think here particularly of the policing measures imposed by Murād IV, and of the whole *Kadızādeli* movement, in the seventeenth century; see, for example, Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, pp. 137-71; idem., "The Kadızadelis," pp. 251-69. I do not agree here with the dichotomous shift from a seventeenth-century "theater of piety and politics/power" to the "Tulip Period's theater of leisure and consumption" purported in Quataert's reading of Zilfi's suggestion of a new "competition" between the two climates in the eighteenth century; see, Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829; see also, Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era," p. 295. I suggest, rather, that the two coexisted all along, as different manifestations of the increasing visibility of the non-elite in the urban socio-political and cultural spheres. This is in line with Kafadar's reading of the *Kadızādeli* controversies on coffee, tobacco, and various aspects of social behavior in the seventeenth century, which he argues were "pitted against (...) incursions into the social space, against the new, 'urf- and kanun-laden, configuration of the public sphere which seemed too ready to recognize "innovations" as acceptable custom," Kafadar, "Janissaries and Other Riffraff," p. 12.

"less fearful of the populace"⁸⁴ than in the period of fiery social unrest which characterized much of the seventeenth century, on the other, the frequent enforcement and tightening of the law, by the repeated promulgation of imperial edicts in the same period, may indicate otherwise.

In other terms, these laws were conceived as precautions against the implications of new currents and habits of public life, and it is these that they most directly addressed. As such, they fully acknowledged the existence of a growing public arena. One of the most symptomatic acts of this recognition was the new dress code imposed on young (and attractive) novices in the janissary corps (*civelek*) in the latter half of the seventeenth century, which consisted of an unappealing veil made of wicker tassels completely covering their faces, and meant to protect them from harrasement in public places (figs. 150 a-b).⁸⁵ Likewise, repeated mention and identification of fashionable public places in eighteenth-century imperial edicts on matters of clothing and outings, and in contemporary commentaries on women's dress and behavioral exuberance, intimate that public behavioral ethics were the issue at stake in the promulgation of these laws.⁸⁶ To the extent that that they aimed at restoring order in the capital city, they were

⁸⁴ Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era," p. 296. Aksan, on the other hand, has pointed to the ease of public disorder in the eighteenth century, especially after the Patrona Hâlîl revolt in 1730, Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman*, p. 120-21.

⁸⁵ In the process of their integration in the urban social fabric, janissaries no longer resided in barracks, but in *garçonnières* (*bekâr odaları*) and inns (*hâns*); they were major patrons of coffeehouses and mingled in various social circles, Koçu, *Türk Giyim*, p. 56. For the integration of the janissaries in the social fabric of Istanbul see, Kafadar, "Yeniçeri - Esnaf Relations: Solidarity and Conflict," idem., "Janissaries and Other Riffraff."

⁸⁶ Commenting on one such edict promulgated in 1725, Küçük Çelebizâde, for instance, noted the particular impudence in outfit and demeanor of women who regularly frequented the gardens of Sa'dabad (*Sa'dâbâd'a iyâb u zehâb eşnâsında nicesinin hey'et ü kıyâfetlerinde olan vakâhet*), Küçük Çelebizâde, *Târîh-i İsmâ'îl 'Âşım Efendi*, pp. 375-6; see also, Koçu, *Garip Vakalar*, pp. 35-6.

pointedly targeted to those aspects of urban life which clearly exhibited signs of change in the customs and aspirations of the urban society. In the eighteenth century, the frequent tightening of previously existing laws, and the promulgation of new ones, were predominantly concerned with two arenas of urban life: clothing and the blossoming garden culture.

Before we turn to this issue, a brief note should be made here of the extent to which compliance to these laws was maintained and enforced -- a question for which only tentative suggestions can be offered at this point.⁸⁷ A close correspondence can be found sometimes between the terms dictated in certain laws and some contemporary representations of scenes of recreation in gardens and public places. Describing the essential elements of outdoor excursions at Kağıthane, Walsh, for example, remarked: "When parties proceed to those picnics, even the members of a family never mix together. (...) The women assemble on one side round the fountain, and the men on the other, under the trees."⁸⁸ Seemingly, as one early seventeenth-century miniature suggests, even the more remote and concealed spots on the waterfront did not always escape the yoke of police and legal authorities (see fig. 105). Other accounts of penalties, and of different forms of punishment inflicted upon infraction of the law, intimate that these were meant as public warnings. There were reports, for instance, of collars too wide (according to the dress code) chopped off of

⁸⁷ This subject would require a systematic study of these laws against contemporary accounts of infractions, penalties, and punishment in historical narratives, and of cases deliberated at the court, as recorded in the court registers.

⁸⁸ Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 33-34. In the same period, Pertusier reported that two days of the week were allocated for women's outings: "ce jour [vendredi], ainsi que le mardi, est accordé au beau sexe pour faire les visites, des promenades ou des parties de bain, selon que le caprice le lui conseille," Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 7.

women's coats by janissaries while they were walking on the street. The enforcement of a law in 1725 to cut the European-style collars off of women's dresses worn in public had Telhîsî Muştafa Efendi approvingly comment in his diary: "This is a strike right on target! May God allow it to continue and persist!"⁸⁹ In 1730-31, Şem'dânizâde reported that upon the infraction of a decree dictating that desire-enhancing outfits (*şehvet-engîz kiyâfet*) not be worn by women on the streets of Istanbul, the daughter of one wicked Emîne (*Şeytan Emînesi kızı nâm*) was drowned in the sea in broad daylight -- an event which gave ample satisfaction to Şem'dânizâde, as he concluded: "not only did it reform women's outfits but it also mended their souls" (*avratların bîrûnları şöyle dursun derûnları dahi islâh eyledi*).⁹⁰

Given that these regulations were often reiterated, and judging from eye-witnesses' accounts on episodes of legal infractions and a general concern for social order in the city, expressed through dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs (as Şem'dânizâde and Muştafa Efendi pointedly expressed), it would be safe to assume that these measures could not contain every dimension of urban life. Nor could they police, as we have seen earlier, the spontaneity by which places such as the neighborhood fountain, the *namâz-gâh*, the marketplace, or the cemetery could develop into legitimate pretexts (water supply, prayer, shopping,

⁸⁹ *isabet amma ne isabet Allah devam ve sebat vire*, Şadreddîn-zâde Telhîsî Muştafa Efendi, "H. 1123 (1711) - 1184 (1735) Yıllarına ait bir Ceride," p. 523; translated by Kafadar, "Self and Others," p. 129. Another restriction on women's dress in 1721-22 is also reported in Telhîsî's diary, Şadreddîn-zâde Telhîsî Muştafa Efendi, "H. 1123 (1711) - 1184 (1735) Yıllarına ait bir Ceride," p. 521. And reporting on an incident he witnessed between Osmaniye and Süleymaniye, Pertusier wrote: "c'est un tchiaousch ou instrument de la police criminelle et municipale, qui vient se rogner de quelques doigts le collet de ce feredgé élégant, sans égard pour le sexe, et sûrement pour le rang de celle qui le porte," Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 89.

⁹⁰ Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I: 26.

visitations) for unguarded and often ungendered forae of social encounters, entertainment, and as Lady Montague put it, for a great deal of women's *intrigues gallantes*.⁹¹

Fāzıl's *Muḳaddime* can be regarded as a testimony to these loopholes, or to a gap between the state's regulative efforts and actual realities. Narrating the potential encounter of a young man with a group of women in the public garden of Kağıthane, it portrays an ungendered setting and forms of social intercourse among men and women which correspond to a reality widely different from that implied by these sumptuary laws, or that reflected in Sürūrī's *ḡazel* and travelers' depictions of garden recreation.⁹² Admittedly, the poem does not claim to be more than one long imagined scenario to guide Fāzıl's young friend into the world of the other sex. But it is significant that Fāzıl should choose a public garden for this motive, when a more clandestine setting in which such intercourse could be construed within the realm of the private (a private garden, a concealed bank, or a house of prostitution -- settings which were integral to his narrative repertoire)⁹³ would have equally served his purpose.

⁹¹ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, pp. 71-2. Besides Vāsıf's verse on a young girl's trip to the neighborhood fountain quoted in the previous chapter, Pertusier noted, for example, that cemeteries in Istanbul were favored areas for prostitutes, Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 434-35. Elsewhere he described scenes of recreational life that took place in the city's cemeteries, *ibid*, I: 370-73, 392; see also, Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts*, I: 431-32; Allom and Walsch, *Constantinople*, pp. I: 23-25; Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, I: 138.

⁹² I have mentioned earlier Walsh's observation about a picnic scene in the public garden of Kağıthane, Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 3. See also, *ibid*, I: 25, 33-4; Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 46.

⁹³ A brief account of women's daily life written by the Baron de Tott at around the same time suggests that "illicit" encounters between women and men took place in the most remote and concealed spots on the waterfront: "Si les rues sont remplies de femmes qui vont et viennent librement pour leurs affaires (...) il ne faut pas en conclure avec Milady Montagu que les intrigues galantes sont favorisées dans les boutiques, où les femmes s'arrêtent quelquefois; elles y

But Fāzıl's *Mukaddime* is more than a counseling guide on the principles of seduction. It reflected very specifically on the ethics of flirtation suited to *public* places. Highly popular in its own time,⁹⁴ it must have read like a manual of public garden behavior, in which every detail of clothing and demeanor, social and courtship skills and *faux-pas* was carefully outlined:

"Rub the scent of its branches over your eyebrow
Wrap the Lahuri shawl over your head...
Display the coral red and gilt waistcoat
and the knife around your waist
Flaunt the jewelled watch-chain over your chest
With only that net draw her to you
Brandish [these] two arms and that leg:
One of them, silver ingot, the other, stuffed gourd
Drink one or two cups of wine
as to let your two eyes look bloodshot
Towards whichever gathering of women
walk, o swaying cypress
Don't walk stumbling like an old man
Let every step of yours be a lion's
When you walk to the place, tremor
When you shake hands, clamor...
And from under the fes show the tuft of hair
show them the looks of Rüstem...
They are attracted to the most suitably handsome
and offer their heart to him this way
Here and there, open that fes coquettishly
From your hair, my beauty, scatter the scent of ambergris"⁹⁵

seraient facilement observées. Ce n'est aussi que dans la campagne, ou sur les rivages de la mer les plus écartés, que le désordre va chercher un asyle, en s'étourdissant sur le danger d'y être découvert par les gardes qui furent les lieux les plus cachés," de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, I: xxxij-xxxiii.

⁹⁴ Several manuscripts are found today in various libraries.

- ⁹⁵ 28. *°Itr-i şāhūleri sūr kâş üzre*
Şāl-ı lāhūri ola bāş üzre...
30. *Ola mercānli yelek şırma tırāz*
Ola belde yaṭağānıñ mümtāz
31. *Ola göğsüñde mücevher küstek*
Sañā ol āğla gelsün kes tek
32. *Açık olsun iki bāzū o bacak*
Biri sım-külçe biri dōlma kabak
33. *Nūş edüp bir iki cām-ı gülgün*
Tā ki olsun iki çeşmiñ pür hūn
34. *Ḳangı meclisde ki var cem^c-i zenān*

The significance of clothing in Fāzıl's narrative, and his attention to dress, headgear, hairstyle, perfume, in reference to male and female dress alike,⁹⁶ are worth emphasizing here, for they mirrored the importance of dress both as a main item of the legal discourse and as a locus of socio-cultural change throughout the century. Clothing regulations addressing the preservation of distinctions within the *re'aya* and edicts against their transgression far predated the eighteenth century.⁹⁷ However, the frequency at which previously existing

Yürü o cānibe ey serv-i revān
35. Uft u hīzān yürüme pīr gibi
Ola heb hütvelerīñ şīr gibi
36. Yürüdükce yere bir zelzele ver
Şalladıkça koluñu velvele ver...
38. Zir-i fesden daħi perçem göster
Anlara hey'et-i Rüstem göster...
40. Meyl ederler güzeliñ eşbehine
Cān verirler daħi anıñ rehine
41. Cā-be-cā ol fesi bir nāz ile aç
Perçemiñden güzelim 'anber saç

Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, "Zīkr-i muqaddime-i manzūme," *Zenānnāme*, fols 77b-81a.

⁹⁶ Such references are dispersed throughout the poem, see passages quoted earlier.

⁹⁷ *Shari'a* law (Muslim religious law) and ancient *dhimma* rules (for different religious minority groups in the Muslim world) were the two legal roots for these edicts. For the *dhimma* system see, for example, Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 15-16. Contrary to Quataert's suggestion that the first sartorial law targeted to the *re'aya* was promulgated in the 1720s (Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," p. 407), there is evidence of such regulations already in the latter part of the sixteenth century, for instance, in the years 1567-68 and 1577. I should thank Cemal Kafadar for sharing his personal research notes on sixteenth-century *mühimme* registers (collections of imperial edicts). See also, for the year 1580, Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1000-1100*, pp. 51-52; another edict, dated 1578, is mentioned in, Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie*, p. 35. Muştafa 'Alī's concern with the issue of dress-code within the ruling class also indicates that it was not always maintained during his own time, at least within this group, Tietze, "Mustafa Ali on Luxury," pp. 580-81. Abou el-Haj refers to both 'Alī's and Koçi Bey's commentaries on the lack of enforcement of clothing regulations in the late sixteenth- and seventeenth century, and views the easing rigidity of signs of social distinction as an indication of increasing social mobility, Abou el-Haj, *The Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century*, p. 37. Surprisingly, the literature on Ottoman sartorial laws is relatively poor; see, Binswānger's chapter on discriminative measures against minorities in

sartorial laws were enforced, and other new clothing regulations, promulgated throughout the eighteenth century is quite remarkable. Repeatedly, in 1721, 1725, 1726, 1727, 1730, 1734, 1748, 1754, 1756, and several times again under Muştafa III (1757-1774) and Selim III (1789-1807), these laws, which often addressed specific groups, notably women, or Jewish or Christian minorities, appealed for the enforcement of the dress code chiefly on moral, disciplinary, and economic grounds, and for the preservation of a well demarcated social hierarchy. That innovative clothing items or new details in design and style blurred the boundaries of social stratification was clearly enunciated in some of these imperial edicts, as in 1758, in a law against the adoption of the "Frankish-style dress" and the often imported yellow shoes (reserved to Muslims) by minority groups.⁹⁸ In this respect, these legal enforcements were in keeping with the larger program of the state's re-legitimization which followed Aḥmed

the Ottoman empire in the sixteenth century, Binswänger, *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im Osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts*, pp. 160-93; and Quataert's recent article, which focuses primarily on clothing laws as disciplining tools on the part of the state, Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," 403-25. One should also note here the widespread application of clothing regulations in the west throughout history for the same purpose (at the most general level) of ensuring the preservation of visible markers of social distinctions. For examples of an immense literature on this subject see, *Consumption and the World of Goods*, edited by Brewer and Porter, London, 1993; Perrot, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton, 1994; Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England*, Baltimore, 1926; Sponsler, "Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws," *Clio* (Spring 1992): 265-83; see also, Braudel, *The Structures of Everyday Life: Civilization & Capitalism 15t-18th Century* I: 311-33.

⁹⁸ Another edict, promulgated in 1756, criticized those shameless women who went about town in provocative outfits "which stirred the nerve of desire", luxuriously adorned in innovative dresses, or trying to emulate Christian women. It declared that precaution should be taken to maintain the distinction between the outfits of Muslim, and Jewish and Christian residents; and issued a ban on new and unusual dress styles, Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 182-83. For other examples of sartorial regulations in the eighteenth century see, for instance, *ibid*, pp. 86-88; Koçu, *Garip Vakalar*, p. 63; Özkaya, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kurumları*, pp. 145-57 *passim*; Umur, "Kadınlara Buyruklar," pp. 206-7; Çağman, "Women's Clothing," p. 258; Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," pp. 407-12.

III's return to the capital city, and with its efforts towards the restoration of a desired social order -- signs of which we have seen in the repeated tightening of buildings' color codification and in the regulation of the suburban development. The particularly high frequency of sartorial laws in the first decades of the century may then account in part, as an edict dated 1725 plainly declared, for the state's neglect of clothing matters during long periods of campaign and absence from Istanbul in the second half of the seventeenth century.⁹⁹

But the persistent reiteration of sartorial regulations in the eighteenth century was also answering to a new reality, in which signs of dissolving social, professional, and ethnic distinctions may have had further ramifications. Based on Ottoman and European costume albums and descriptions by European travelers from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, Çağman recently observed that women's outdoor clothing, which had remained almost unaltered for two centuries, started to noticeably change at the beginning of the eighteenth century.¹⁰⁰ New pastel colors emerged. A broad collar was added to the *ferace*, uncovering the neck in the process. The veil, worn more loosely, became increasingly transparent. The traditional headdress began to assume more lavish

⁹⁹ Özkaya, *XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kurumları*, p. 155. Likewise, an edict in 1725-26 banned the use of a type of women's cap, observing that some indecorous women were taking advantage of the sultan's [temporary] absence from the capital city to wear caps in the fashion of those worn by infidel women, Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 86-8.

¹⁰⁰ The typical items of women's outdoor clothing were the *ferace*, the veil and the headdress. The *ferace*, originally an upper-class male dress, became a unisex garment and by the eighteenth century, a specifically female dress item: it was a collar-less, wide sleeve, ankle-length coat opening down the front, in silk in summer and in wool, sometimes fur-lined, in winter. Women also wore the *yaşmak*, consisting of two pieces of fine white muslin covering their head, and over it, a *peçe* or black veil, which covered their face. Green and bright color fabrics could only be worn by Muslim women. See, Çağman, "Women's Clothing," p. 256-7; Scarce, "The Development of Women's Fashion," pp. 199-206.

styles and proportions, and by the second half of the century, women's hair was worn loose.¹⁰¹ On the whole, throughout the century, dresses continued to gain in extravagance and to become more loose in coverage. Innovations and new tastes in fashion in this period were not restricted to women, as Flachet, first merchant at the court in the middle of the eighteenth century, observed: "Les hommes (...) veulent des draps de belles couleurs. Ce n'est que depuis quelques années qu'ils se plaisent à voir des nuances légères & des couleurs fines et dégradées dans les étoffes de soie."¹⁰² Developments in outdoor sartorial style were amply reflected in costume albums representing men and women of the middle classes, a genre (which dated back to the late sixteenth century) to which Fāzıl's illustrated albums of his Books, *Hubān-nāme* and *Zenān-nāme* belong. Single figure studies of women in particular, since the 1720s, of painters such as Levni and later, Buḡāri,¹⁰³ meticulously depicted the details of hairdo, headgear,

¹⁰¹ Çağman, "Women's Clothing," pp. 256-58. For fashion changes in the eighteenth century see also, idem., "Catalogue," pp. 260-87; Scarce, "The Development of Women's Fashion," pp. 199-219. These novelties did not fail to attract the attention of contemporaries. D'Ohsson remarked: "Aucune femme ne se couvre le sein, surtout en été, qu'avec sa chemise qui est ordinairement de gaze fine, bouroundjeouk," d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, IV: 152. See also, among others, ibid, II: 147-50; Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 192-3. In highlighting these changes, one should also account for the wider exposure to European fabrics on the local market, with the expansion of western trade with the empire since the turn of the century. For trade in this period, see, Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699;" and McGowen, "The Age of the *Ayans*, 1699-1812," in *Economic and Social History*, vol.2: 1600-1914, pp. 433-743 passim; Mantran, "L'état ottoman au XVIIIe siècle;" and "Les débuts de la question d'Orient," in *Histoire de l'empire ottoman*, pp. 264-86; 421-58; Panzac, "International and Domestic Maritime Trade in the Ottoman Empire during the 18th Century," pp. 189-202; Yılmaz, "Relations économiques de l'empire ottoman dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle," pp. 31-67; idem., "XVIII. Yüzyıl Tekstil Dünyasından: Hindistan ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Pamuk-İpek Karışımı Kumaşları," pp. 775-807. In fact, more than once (e.g. in 1720, 1729, 1774), attempts were made to curb the demand for European fabrics by establishing competing Ottoman cloth factories and, in one instance at least (1729), with the stated aim of reproducing their designs, Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie*, p. 89.

¹⁰² Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts*, I: 434-5.

dress, fabric, and accessories, tracing the signs of a changing fashion in their own period (figs. 151 a-c, 152, and 153).¹⁰⁴ One can also sense an awareness of what exactly was in vogue in the capital city, in Erzurumlu's choice of a "souvenir from Istanbul" to bring back to his wives. In a letter in four parts written during his stay in the city around the middle of the eighteenth century, he promises each of his four wives back home what he refers to as the "Istanbul Coat" (*İstanbul gömleği*), a silk garment which he must have perceived as a sign of a distinctly urban fashion.¹⁰⁵

From this perspective, Fāzıl's keen attention to clothing in his Preface, though strikingly new in poetic expression, was not uncharacteristic of its time. But the interest of the *Muqaddime* lies beyond its ethnographic value. By underlining the significance of dress in contemporary consciousness, it also highlights the implicit relation of clothing with public display and the notion of self-image. These notions were equally underscored by Pertusier, who traveled in the city around the same period. His observation: "Tous ces détails de toilette prouvent (...) que le désir de plaire se venge de la contrainte qu'on lui impose, en exerçant

¹⁰³ For Levni and Buḥārī see, for example, Ünver, *Levni*; Sakisian, "La peinture à Constantinople et Abdallah Boukhari," pp. 191-201; Çağman, "Catalogue," pp. 262-75; Çağman and Tanındı, *Islamic Miniature Painting*; Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginning of Western Trends," pp. 64-8; idem., "XVIII. Yüzyılda Minyatür Sanatı," 3: 839-62; Mickelwright, "Musicians and Dancing Girls," pp. 153-68.

¹⁰⁴ There is one illustrated album of Fāzıl's *Hübānnāme ve Zenānnāme* (dated 1793), MS. İÜK, Ty 5502; and one which only includes the *Zenānnāme*, MS. British Library, Or. 7094 (dated 1776-77; attributed by Mickelwright to post-1793, Mickelwright, "Musicians and Dancing Girls," p. 163, n.32). Another costume album dated from the 1720s has been published by Ünver, *Geçmiş Yüzyıllarda Kıyafet Resimlerimiz*. For brief historical outlines of this genre and visual material see, for example, Scarce, "The Development of Women's Fashion," pp. 199-219; Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginning of Western Trends," pp. 64-8.

¹⁰⁵ Erzurumlu İbrāhīm Hakkı, "Dört Hanıma Yazdığı bir Mektup," pp. 75-76.

secrètement son autorité,"¹⁰⁶ clearly illustrated the tight dynamics between fashion and the regulative sphere within which it was allowed to flourish. Like Fāzıl's *Muḳaddime*, it reflected, one might suggest, a growing vanity, an increasing awareness of clothing, and a consciousness of fashion as an autonomous expression of self-representation. As Barker-Benfield has remarked in the context of an emerging woman's identity in eighteenth-century England, fashion was for public display, and consciousness of it implied a consciousness of public identity.¹⁰⁷ By virtue of what Fāzıl chose to accentuate in his portrayal of a public garden scene, he shed some light into the finer nuances of the concerns and preoccupations intrinsic to these sartorial laws, offering thus a broader perspective on the development of gardens as a vital component of urban life in this period, as a forum for the reification of new forms of social distinctions and cultural aspirations among the middling classes.

4. CONCLUSION

In this respect, Fāzıl's *Muḳaddime* may be viewed as a metaphorical illustration of an evanescent "Ottoman world order" which the state aspired to restore,¹⁰⁸ and as a poetic confirmation of the obsolete nature of the classical garden ideal -- the beautiful, enclosed, secure, and orderly world. It belonged to a discursive tradition which saw the garden as an urban reality, and a public arena within which potent manifestations of the lifestyles, social practices, and cultural trends of an urban society in currency at the time seemed to continuously challenge the notion of urban order. It portrayed the garden as a not-so-orderly, hardly

¹⁰⁶ Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, II: 194-5.

¹⁰⁷ Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility*, pp. 173-87.

¹⁰⁸ For the notion of Ottoman order and references on this subject, see the Introduction.

containable, and socially inclusive space; an image which brings to mind a notion encountered earlier with respect to the garden's formal and urban developments, that is, its increasing *décloisonnement*: from a walled enclosure to an open space; and from a private to a public space. Here, it is the full spectrum of ideas embodied in the notion of *décloisonnement*, namely, openness, permeability, unconstraint, vitality, and shedding off marks of distinction, which characterized the conception of gardens as it was articulated in poetry in the eighteenth century.

I have emphasized in this chapter that the changing representation of gardens from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth was neither an outcome of changes in poetic diction nor of poets' *imaginaire*, but closely mirrored concurrent social and urban transformations. By defining the garden as a locus of contemporary urban life within which these changes were articulated, it indirectly pointed to the increasing significance of a middling society in affecting the course of the urban developments of this period, most notably, the extraordinary expansion of public gardens. I have further suggested that poetry followed a parallel trajectory of *décloisonnement* (or "urbanization") to that which it depicted in its discourse on gardens, signalling, similarly, a change in the nature of the interface between court and popular canons. In other terms, the increasing permeability of the poetic canon to "popular" forms, genres, and subject matters was part and parcel of the same social environment that bred the new conception of gardens: an environment which accommodated a broader, socially and culturally diverse public, and a new range of sensibilities and expectations. How these sensibilities informed the new horizon of aesthetic dispositions vis-à-vis the architectural and decorative idiom of the period is what I will turn to in the last chapter.

CHAPTER IV:

SENSES AND SENSIBILITIES

"Excellent, the house of art and skill! Wonderful! the joy-enhancing place from which, at every glance, a beautiful expression appears!
Do not think it is the current which halts the boats here:
Those who see its beauty stop for a while, bewildered and mad with love
This waterfront dwelling is an incontestable ode to spring
This captivating, exceptional design was its opening verse"

From a chronogram by Nedim, *Tārīḥ berā-yı ḥāne-i Kapūdān Muştafa Pāşā* (1725)¹

The extraordinary boom of a genre of poetry devoted to architecture, and its widespread use on building inscriptions, are two developments of the eighteenth century which have not been addressed in either their literary or their architectural contexts. The potential implications of the latter on the *décloisonnement* of Ottoman court poetry, that is, its wider exposure to the literate and the lay public, have been alluded to in the previous chapter and will be picked up again later. But my main concern here is the bearing of these developments on the question of Ottoman architectural consciousness, and on our understanding of architectural change in Istanbul in the eighteenth century.

In this chapter, I examine the parameters of architectural sensibility in eighteenth-century Istanbul based on a close reading of a corpus of *tevārīḥ-i manzūme*,² or rhymed chronograms written in celebration of buildings and

¹ *Zihî beyt-i muşannaʿ ḥabbezā cāy-ı neşāt-efzā
Ki her baktıkça andan zāhir olur bir güzel maʿnā
Akındı şanma tevķif eyleyen zevrakları bunda
Kalūrlar bir zamān ḥüsnün görenler vāleh ü şidā
Bu sāḫilḥāne bir nazm-ı müsellemdir bahāriyye
Ana beyt-i 'l-kaşid oldu bu dil-cū tarḫ-ı müsteşnā*
Nedim, *Nedim'in Divanı*, pp. 98-99; Nedim, *Nedim Divanı*, pp. 167-68.

architectural events, which matured into a distinct sub-genre of poetry in this period. I will refer to them as building or architectural chronograms. By virtue of the nature of these poems as chronicles (*tevārîh*) of events, their source of inspiration derived directly from surrounding realities. Partly because of this, and partly because of their immense popularity among poets in the eighteenth century, they offer the most substantial and richest expression of architectural appreciation for this period: a form of architectural discourse, that is to say, with its own formal, thematic, and tropological conventions.

This chapter does not aim at providing an anthology of eighteenth-century architectural chronograms,³ nor does it treat these poems as sources of documentation to reconstruct what is largely a lost architectural world. In this regard, they present certain limitations: The occasional absence of a title or a clue to identify the object of their praise, especially in the absence of supporting visual or archeological evidence; the blurred line, at times, between descriptive and symbolic attributes; and the multiple meanings often conveyed by terms central to the art and architectural vocabulary at hand, are the most significant and will become more evident as we proceed. Yet, it is important to note that the documentary value of chronograms may be considerable: first and foremost, because they chronicled the building activity of a certain period; second, in some cases, they offer evidence of buildings, or of certain formal and decorative features that are completely lost to us.⁴ Several kiosks from the first and short-

² Approximately 250 chronograms from published and unpublished *divāns* and collections of chronograms (*mecmū'a-ı tevārîh*).

³ This will be the subject of a separate project.

⁴ Very few scholars have called attention to the documentary value of chronograms. See İpekten and Özergin, "Sultan Aḥmed III. Devri Hadislerine Ait Tarih Manzumeleri," pp. 133, 134, n.5, 136; and Togan, *Tarihte Usul*; see also, for a rare example of a study in Ottoman architectural history based partly on a

lived palatial complex of Sa'dabad, for instance, are known to us through a chronogram by Nedim.⁵ This is not to mention the numerous residences of "lesser patrons" which are chronicled in these poems and hardly ever reported in other sources. Furthermore, certain images, easily dismissable as poetical conceits, may ultimately call our attention to aspects of buildings which have otherwise left little or no trace of their existence. The issue of colors on buildings' exterior wall ornaments is one example which I will examine later. At least, then, these poems allow us to imagine and visualize certain buildings in new ways, and from perspectives we may not be accustomed to explore. That, however, is not my main concern here.

This chapter is rather more concerned with the significance of poets' perceptions and modes of architectural appreciation than it is with the potential credibility of their depictions. Though architectural chronograms constituted the most momentous written statements on the architecture of their time, their principal goal was not so much to offer a faithful representation of buildings, as it was to highlight what was deemed most worthy of praise. In this chapter, I therefore examine the specific building features poets noted, and the attributes, images, and tropes they used to convey what they saw, with the intent of uncovering a common scheme of architectural perception. Further, I explore the predominant criteria they applied in their depictions of artistic and architectural beauty and excellence. While some of these criteria and forms of representation were not altogether new, I will argue that their preponderance in the eighteenth-century

building chronogram, Esin, "Le Maḥbûbiye, un palais ottoman 'alla franca'," pp. 73-86.

⁵ Nedim, "Kaşide der vaşf-ı me'âlim ve me'âzir-i Sa'dâbâd-ı nev-bünyâd," *Nedim'in Divânı*, pp. 52-53; Nedim, *Nedim Divanı*, pp. 75-78; see also, Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, pp. 6-7.

architectural discourse, the novel associations they gained in the context of the building and decorative vocabulary of their time, and more generally, the unprecedented number of poems dedicated to architecture, all signalled the formation of a new architectural sensibility.

I should emphasize here that the questions addressed in this chapter bear not only on the issue of reception (or horizon of expectations), but also on the definition of "beauty" in eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture, on contemporaries' apperception and understanding of buildings' expression and meanings, and to a certain extent, on the (re-)interpretation of the intentions of building patrons. Indeed, while poets' reflections and emotions were mainly expressed in the first person (imparting these texts with an authoritative eye-witness element), they were occasionally formulated through the ideals or aspirations of building patrons. Nedim, for example, chose to celebrate the beauty of an imperial kiosk built for Aḥmed III in 1726 in the "Old" Imperial Palace, through the wishes of its founder Nevşehirli İbrāhīm Paşa:⁶

"At the same time, he [Nevşehirli] also ordered that for the ruler,
on this beautiful and attractive site, a new pavilion be built;
That it be done in abundance of pleasure, in glamor,
in happiness and joy, peerless on the face of the world;
That the flowers of the delicate tree painted on its wall
be colorful and merry; and its fruits, be the apple of hope"⁷

⁶ This was the first palace built by Meḥmed II in Istanbul, and completed in 1455. As the Topkapı Palace was started soon after, it quickly became known as the Old Palace (*Eski Sarāy*) by fifteenth-century contemporaries. Though it functioned largely as a secondary annex to the Topkapı, there were building and repair activities documented until the nineteenth century. In this chronogram, we learn that the building of Aḥmed III's pavilion was ordered by the grand-vizier in the process of the rebuilding of the halberdiers' residence (*teber-dāran mekānı*) which had been ravaged by a fire. I have not come across any documentation of this pavilion. Küçük Çelebizāde, whose chronicle covers the year 1726, mentions only one imperial pavilion built that year for Aḥmed III at the Arsenal Palace (*Tersāne*) on the Golden Horn, Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmā'īl 'Āşım Efendi*, pp. 427-8.

Finally, insofar as poetry in this period was informed by a relatively diverse gamut of tastes and interests (as was argued previously), it will be suggested that the poetic discourse on architecture mirrored the attitudes and aesthetic dispositions of a representative segment of its contemporary society.⁸ Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, chronograms in particular drew on a field of tangible visual references, equally accessible to the literate and the lay person. As most of them were meant to be inscribed on buildings, and thus, addressed to a wide and eclectic audience, one could also conjecture that poets tuned their architectural sensibilities to those of their public: for a sympathetic response to their aesthetic judgments meant, ultimately, appreciation of the poem itself.

1. EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY *TEVĀRİH-İ MANZŪME*

"In short, they have polluted the world with chronograms:
So many corrupt and dirty, nonsensical poetry!"⁹

The term *tārīh-i manzūme* (lit. history in rhymed verse, pl. *tevārīh-i manzūme*) refers to a poem (usually in the form of a stanza or a *kaşīde*) chronicling a particular event and ending with a chronogram (the last hemistich), or to the

⁷ O esnāda buyurdu tā ki şāhinşāh için daḥi
Bu zibā menkī-i dil-cūda bir kaşr-ı cedīd olsun
Yapılsın şöyle kim feyz-i şafāda dil-güşālıkta
Meserette ferahta rüy-i ‘ālemde vaḥīd olsun
Anın dīvāri üzre nakş olan nāzik nihālenin
Bahāri reng ü şādi meyvesi sīb-i ümīd olsun
Nedīm, "Tārīh-i teberdāran der sarāy-ı ‘atīk" (1726), *Nedīm'in Divānı*, p. 87;
Nedīm, *Nedīm Divanı*, pp. 172-3.

⁸ One would like to know more as to exactly how representative poets were of their society's voice. Our current knowledge on literacy, sociology, and linguistics in the eighteenth century is relatively thin, and further research in these areas would shed more light on this question.

⁹ Hāsılı ‘ālemi tārīh ile telvīş etti
Nice murdār u mülevves hezeyānlā-yı sūḥan
Sünbülzāde Vehbī, "Ode for poetry, written by imperial order and decree during the grand-vizierate of Ḥalil Paşa, for the purpose of ridiculing and admonishing those poets of this age who speak nonsense," cited in Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 128-154.

chronogram itself. The numerical value of a *tārīḥ* had to equal the date of the event celebrated, following the system of *ebcediyye*, or numeration of the letters of the Arabic alphabet. While the beginnings of this tradition are obscured by several legends, *tevārīḥ* seem to have been widespread in the medieval Muslim world, and there is ample documentation of pre-Ottoman Turkish chronograms.¹⁰ Ottoman *tevārīḥ* were composed in celebration of major events, such as enthronements, births, weddings, the commemoration of the death of an important individual (these formed the distinct category of *vefeyāt* -- deaths), military victories, peace treaties, or the construction or renovation of a building.¹¹ On such occasions, we are told, many poets were invited to compete in coming up with the wittiest or the most appropriate versification, probably in the form of a one-liner to which a poem might later be appended.¹² The most successful chronogram would be selected for the building inscription.

¹⁰ For the different legends surrounding the origins of *ebcediyye*, for parallel traditions in Syriac, Coptic, Greek, and Latin alphabets, and for a presentation of all the different and complex systems of numeration, supplemented by an extraordinary range of illustrations, mainly from the Ottoman tradition, see Yakıt, *Ebced Hesabi ve Tarih Düşürme*, Istanbul, 1992.

¹¹ See for example, Ayvānsarāyī, *Mecmuâ-i Tevâriḥ*, in which he compiled a large number of *vefeyāt* and chronograms of buildings founded by important men and women, mostly from the eighteenth century.

¹² Şem'dānizāde reports, for example, that upon the completion of the pavilion of Küçük-su in 1750-51, sultan Maḥmūd honored it with a visit and invited a large group of poets to present their compositions: "Odes of praise (favorable to the place) by over fifty poets were presented. But the constable of Rumeli-hisarı selected Râsiḥ's chronogram (...) a two hemistich - double chronogram:

"Since the glorious Maḥmūd Ḥân founded it,
Küçük-su became a great pleasure promenade"

Bu mevkiye muvâfik elliden ziyâde şu'arâdan kasâyid sunulmuşidi. Lâkin Rumeli-Hisarı Dizdarı Râsiḥ'in târihi râciḥ oldu. Beyt:

*Çün ihyâsı olup Sultan Mahmud Hân-ı cem-câhun
Küçük su bir büyük nüzhet-gâh-ı safâ oldu*

iki misra' iki târihdür, in Şem'dānizāde, *Mür'i't-Tevâriḥ*, I: 162. The same story was reported by the chronicler İzzî, *Târîḥ-i İzzî*, fol 273. For a similar poetic competition initiated by Ḥekimoğlu 'Alî Paşa upon the completion of one of his mosques, and won by the poet Rîza (d. 1747), see Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, IV: 90.

The considerable development of building chronograms in the eighteenth century was partly a result of the rising popularity of the genre of chronograms itself, which culminated with the prolific poet Sürürî at the end of the century.¹³ Nearly three-quarters of his *divan* are filled with *tevârih*, showing an extraordinary development from earlier centuries, when poets' anthologies most usually included one or two chronograms, if at all. Chronograms were concise, amusing, and seemingly easy games, or riddles, in which many poets displayed their wit, and their ability to blend glorious eulogy with humourous puns. Court poets, amateurs of poetry, chroniclers of events, building patrons, sultans, everyone indulged in these literary arithmetics, no doubt attracted by their playfulness.¹⁴ Chronograms were often used by historians and chroniclers as

¹³ For Sürürî see, Ebu'z-zîyâ, "Sürürî-i Müverrih" ("Sürürî the chronogrammatist / chronicler / historian") in *Muntaḥabât-ı Taşvîr-i Efkâr*, pp. 3-54.

¹⁴ The effect of this popularity on the quality of poetry was highly deplored by Sünbülzâde Vehbî in the late eighteenth century. A verse from his "Ode for poetry, written by imperial order and decree during the grand-vizierate of Ḥalîl Paşa, for the purpose of ridiculing and admonishing those poets of this age who speak nonsense" was quoted at the beginning of this section. He also wrote:

"Like a child learning the alphabet, despite a thousand numerations,
he cannot turn a poor chronogram into meaningful poetry
By his own calculations he improvized a puzzle;
That wretched one believes he produced a poetic riddle
In ignorance they scratch their lines in the marble,
wishing to inscribe their "science" on poetry's unyielding heart...
The market price of chronograms has dropped to six para;
Poetic goods have gotten cheaper in this bazar"

based on K. Silay's translation.

(Tıfl-ı ebced gibi târih-i rekîkin edemez
Bîñ hisâb etse yine dâhil-i ma'nâ-yı sühân
Uydurup kendi hisâbınca hemen ta'miyyeye
Zann eder yaptı o biçâre mu'ammâ-yı sühân
Sikkeyi cehlile mermerde kazar ol rakımıñ
İtseler nakşını dâğ-ı dil-i hârâ-yı sühân...
Narhı altmışlığa indi hele târihleriñ
Pek ucuzlandı bu bazar da kâlâ-yı sühân...)

Transcribed by Silay; cited in Silay, *Nedîm and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 128-154. The playfulness of chronograms must have encouraged many to test their skills at such compositions. The German scholar J. Karabaček, for instance,

expedient tools to describe or evoke the beauty of a recently completed building.¹⁵ The first thirteen pages of the diary of the *müderris* (college teacher) Telhîşî Muştafa Efendi are filled with chronograms of his own composition, chronicling various events including his own birthdate.¹⁶ We also know of the famous (and famously failed) attempt of Aḥmed III to compose a *tārîḥ* for an inscription on his fountain at Bâb-ı Hümâyün.¹⁷ Short by four years, it was apparently corrected by the poet Vehbî (by the simple addition of one long-syllable word, *aç*, "open"), and attached to his *kaşide*, *Tārîḥ-i çeşme ü sebîl der pîşgâh-ı Bâb-ı Hümâyün* ("Chronogram on the fountain and *sebîl* in the court of the

reconstituted in his own language and by his own rules the chronogram of the fountain of Aḥmed III at Bâb-ı Hümâyün:

"gebet Vnd wasser VereInen slch Innen
zV segenswVensChen fVer ahMet khan" (VVIIIIVCVM = 1728).

Karabaček, "Der Ahmed's-Brunnen," in *Die Neue Freie Presse - Internationale Ausstellungs-Zeitung* (May 28, 1873): 1-3. I should thank Ahmet Ersoy for this amusing reference.

¹⁵ For instance, in his chronicle of the events of 1753, Seyyid Hâkim reported the completion of the imperial library of Maḥmūd I by quoting a short stanza in Arabic, which praised the sultan's contribution to education and knowledge. It ends with the following chronogram:

"Sultan Maḥmūd the munificent built a Hall of books" (1753)
(*Dâr kutubîn qadd banâ as-Sultân Maḥmūd an-nadi*)

Mehmed Hâkim, *Vekâyi'-nâme*, fol 75; see also the numerous chronograms on the gates, kiosks and pavilions at the palace of Topkapı quoted by İzzî, *Tārîḥ-i İzzî*, fols 123-24.

¹⁶ Şadreddîn-zâde, Telhîşî Muştafa Efendi, "Bir Osmanlı Efendisi'nin Günlüğü," p. 77. I have also mentioned earlier his apparent knowledge of contemporary chronograms, as he noted poets' new usage of the name Sa'dabad in reference to the place traditionally known as Kağıthane, upon the erection of the imperial palace of Aḥmed III, *ibid*, p. 81.

¹⁷ That the sultan composed an inscription for his fountain was noted by Telhîşî Muştafa Efendi in the personal diary of at the time, and reported later in the account of the English traveler Dallaway; see Şadreddîn-zâde, Telhîşî Muştafa Efendi, "Bir Osmanlı Efendisi'nin Günlüğü," p. 242; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, pp. 20-1. The full anecdote appeared in, Marie de Launay, *L'Architecture Ottomane / Uşûl-i Mi'mârî-yi 'Osmani*, Istanbul, 1873, pp. 60-1.

Imperial Gate [of the Topkapı Palace]). The final oeuvre was inscribed in full on all four sides of the fountain (see fig. 62).¹⁸

The continuous production of chronograms led to the new practice of anthological collections. These, vaguely entitled *mecmû'a-ı tevârih* (collection of chronograms), mostly consisted of computable hemistiches by individual poets, or by various poets under the reign of a particular ruler or grand-vizier. They were divided by themes, beginning with enthronements and including princely births, circumcisions and weddings, victorious campaigns, and so on.¹⁹

Chronograms devoted to architecture occupied a separate section, titled "Monuments of benefactors" (*âşâr-ı aşhâb-ı hayrât*), and divided according to buildings types, the range of which (especially by comparison to that usually covered by earlier chronograms: mainly, mosques, *medreses* and fountains) is quite astounding: Countless palaces, pavilions and kiosks, waterfront palaces and residences, houses of members of the administration and the bureaucracy,

¹⁸ The poem is also included in Vehbî's *divân*, Vehbî, *Divân-ı Seyyid Vehbî*, fols 28a-b. The correct chronogram reads:

Aç besmeyleyle iç şuyu Hân Aḥmed'e eyle du'a*

"Invoking the name of God, turn on [the tap], drink the water,
and pray for Aḥmed Hân"

* Though modern translations of this verse seem to agree on this meaning, the word *aç* could also mean "invoke, or start with," in which case the chronogram would read simply:

"Invoking the name of God, drink the water, and pray for Aḥmed Hân"

¹⁹ I have come across nine anthologies dating from the early, middle, and later parts of the eighteenth century. These include three collections covering the reign of Ahmed III (IÜK, MSS., Ty 2465; Ty 213; Ty 114); one of Mahmūd I (IÜK, MS., Ty 203); one of Mustafa III (IÜK, MS., Ty 9730); and one covering the grand-vizierate of Hekîmoğlu 'Alî Paşa (IÜK, MS., Ty 2962). There is one published anthology of chronograms: *Ayvânsarayî, Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*, edited by F. Derin and V. Çabuk (Istanbul, 1985). Unfortunately, this work is largely overshadowed by the author's earlier "encyclopedic" book on the mosques of Istanbul, *Hadîkat ul-Cevâmi'*, also published. Both books, seemingly with no pre-eighteenth-century precedent, reveal the author's keen interest in the religious and public building patronage and the architectural landscape of his time.

mosques, *medreses*, schools, fountains, *sebils*, baths, libraries, shops, caravanserais, bridges, gardens and promenades (fig. 154). Restorations, reparations, and enlargements added to the numbers and kinds of opportunities for such creative compositions. And it was not uncommon for a poet to compose several chronograms in celebration of the same building, an indulgence surely concomitant upon the extent of the favors which their patrons bestowed on them. Nedîm wrote at least nine chronograms for the waterfront palace of navy commander Muştafa Paşa (*Bâğ-ı Feraḥ / Yalı-ı Nüzhet-fezā*) and at least five others for the *yalı* of Mehmed Kethüda Paşa,²⁰ in lengthy poems (as opposed to one liners) that ranged from 10 to 45 verses. Such long chronograms, which were occasionally composed from the fifteenth century onward, gained currency in the seventeenth century²¹ and became a standard feature of eighteenth-century architectural chronograms. It is in this elaborate form of full-fledged poems that *tevâriḥ* most usually appeared on building inscriptions in this period. While this practice dated back at least to the early sixteenth century, as is evidenced, for example, in Süleymân I's kiosk of Sulṭāniye (near Beykoz) and the

²⁰ Nedîm, *Nedîm'in Divānı*, pp. 75-7, 95-9, 101-2, 103-5, 123-6, 243-5.

²¹ See, for instance, the anthology of the mid-seventeenth-century poet Cevrî, which includes numerous long chronograms composed in celebration of fountains, mosques, palaces, residences, and pavilions, Cevrî, *Cevrî: Hayâtı, Edebî Kişiliği, Eserleri ve Divanının Tenkidli Metni*, pp. 287, 290-1, 293-8, 300-2, 306-7, 321-5, 329-32, 335-42. See also, the late sixteenth- early seventeenth-century poet Ca'fer Çelebi's odes for the mosque of Ahmed I in his *Risāle*, Ca'fer Çelebi, *Risāle-i Mi'māriyye: An Early Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture* (facsimile with translation and notes by H. Crane), pp. 19-22, 65-7, 73-6, fasc. fols. 3v-5r, 52v-54r, 60v-61r; and Gökyay, "Risale-i Mimariyye - Mimar Mehmed Ağa," pp. 164-5, 168-70. One of the notable examples of long architectural chronograms from the fifteenth century is Veliyyüddin Ahmed Paşa's ode to Mehmed II's Çinili Kiosk at the imperial palace of Topkapı, discussed below; see Ahmed Paşa, "Kaşide berây-ı sarây-ı cedîd," *Ahmed Paşa Divanı*, pp. 32-3. Other poems by Tacizâde Ca'fer Çelebi, Kabûli, and Hamîdî were also composed for this kiosk; see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. 216-7, 299, n.25. Ca'fer Çelebi's ode to the Çinili Kiosk is one several poems written in celebration of imperial buildings, all included in his *Hevesnâme* (Book of Desire); see A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şi'irinde İstanbul*, pp. 15-31.

Pearl Kiosk at the Topkapı Palace,²² its prevalence in the eighteenth century, in private and public buildings, imperial and non-imperial, constituted a remarkable development.

To some extent, the consolidation of building chronograms into a distinct sub-genre of Ottoman poetry in the eighteenth century must have been encouraged by the concurrence of two factors: first, the general acclaim for the genre of chronograms; and second, the intense building, repair, renovation, and rebuilding activity which characterized this century. Neither of these factors, however, provides a sufficient explanation for these developments; nor do they bear on other, thematic transformations which I will discuss shortly. We may recall, for example, the extraordinary architectural patronage of Süleymān I, which never prompted any comparable explosion of building odes. One could suggest that the popularity of the genre and the compilation of anthologies of chronograms in the eighteenth century may have been, in part, the result of a dogged effort by influential patrons to chronicle, in a more "encyclopedic" fashion than the traditional chronicles in prose, the major events of their reign or

²² Poetic verses in the Sultāniye kiosk, exalting courtly pleasures and extolling the virtues of the kiosk's location on the waterfront, were recorded by Galland who traveled in the city in the seventeenth century, Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, II: 132, 142. Other examples of poetic inscriptions (as opposed to single verses or couplets, Koranic verses, or excerpts from Hadith literature) on imperial palaces and pavilions can be found in the seventeenth-century Circumcision Room and the pavilion of Aḥmed I in the Harem of the Topkapı Palace. For descriptions of the Circumcision and Pearl kiosks, and the pavilion of Aḥmed I at Topkapı see, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. 182-3, 227-30, 292, n.122. For documented examples of poetic inscriptions on fountains and mosques from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, see Mehmed Râ'if, *Mir'ât-i İstanbul*, pp. 49-50, 63-64, 74, 78, 133, 174, 185, 186-7, 188-9, 198-9, 201-2, 208, 274-5. Of a total of 77 fountains from the sixteenth century, and 130 from the seventeenth, documented by Egemen, 8 from the sixteenth century and 17 from the seventeenth display rhymed chronograms of 6 to 9 verses; see Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, pp. 52, 70, 73, 161/6, 279, 285, 320, 467, 479, 541, 562/5, 565, 568, 573, 576, 597, 621-2, 666, 674, 753, 771, 814/7, 827.

their years in power. From this perspective, then, the prominence of architecture, especially marked in the anthologies, would be highly significant, mirroring the importance of building patronage as a tool of self-representation, not only among sultans and grand-viziers, but other individuals from rising social groups, both in and outside the ruling elite. As buildings were essentially construed as "representations" of their patrons in this poetry, it may be argued that the developments of architectural chronograms, magnified by their fashionable usage as building inscriptions, bespoke a new mode of representation of which (as we will see) the artefact itself, and its formal and iconographical vocabularies, increasingly partook. They reflected, in other terms, a changing architectural consciousness.

2. ARCHITECTURAL REPRESENTATIONS AND THE INSCRIPTION OF MEANINGS

Tevārîh were essentially compositions with a political intention (the eulogy of a powerful individual) mediated by literary skills; a short-cut, one might say, to the more "respectable" and elaborate written ode, the *kaşîde*.²³ Architectural chronograms were no exception. Up to the second half of the seventeenth century, patron eulogy usually constituted the overriding, if not the sole, theme of chronograms celebrating an architectural event. More concerned with the patron than the artefact per se, these short poems seemed to be no more than

²³ Examples of young aspirants exhibiting their talents with a short chronogram or a *kaşîde* to attract the attention of powerful patrons were occasionally recorded in poets' biographical dictionaries. Unlike the *kaşîde*, however, *tevārîh* were hardly ever considered a measure of poetical merit, even though a few poets (such as Deli Birāder in the sixteenth century and Sürürî in the late eighteenth) were praised for their skills in the genre. This must partly account for the relative dismissal of chronograms in recent scholarship. See for example, Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. I; Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque*; Andrews, *An Introduction to Ottoman Poetry*.

formalized panegyric devices. Those inscribed on buildings played the role of foundation inscriptions, ranging from a single hemistich recording the patron's name and the foundation date, to slightly more elaborate poetic puns praising the patron's largesse, acknowledging the public benefits of the establishment, and highlighting its contingency upon the goodwill of its founder. Direct or indirect praise of the patron typically included mention of his or her munificence (*şāhib/şāhibat ül-ḥayrāt*), references to the "pious foundation" (*ḥayr ü ḥasenāt*), or in the case of a fountain, for example, to the "thirsty public" (*li 'l-ʿātışın*):²⁴

"The munificent [one] (*şāhib ül-ḥayrāt*), the deceased former grand-vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Paşa"²⁵ (see fig. 33)

The range of poetic imagery largely consisted of architectural metaphors of the patron's excellence and virtues, and recurrent tropes such as "exalted fountain" (*çeşme-i ʿālī*), "source of beneficence" (*ʿayn-ı iḥsān*), and "dazzling loftiness" (*ʿulviyā ḥātif*).

"May he be rewarded for [his] benevolent act
He built this flowing source for the sake of the thirsty ones"²⁶

In some examples of early Ottoman chronograms, praise of the building and the patron alternated in a relatively equitable manner. These may be regarded as derivatives of the contemporary Timurid poetic tradition, mainly evidenced in building inscriptions, in which paradisiacal and cosmic allusions of buildings

²⁴ This is based mainly on Egemen's documentation of 207 fountains and Ayyānsarāyī's of 37 fountains from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; see Ayyānsarāyī, *Mecmuʿa-i Tevâriḥ*; Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*; see also Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, 2 vols.

²⁵ *Şāhib ül-ḥayrāt Şadr-ı esbak merḥūm Köprülü Meḥmed Paşa*
Inscribed on the fountain of Meḥmed Paşa Köprülü in Çemberlitaş (1661), cited in Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, p. 581.

²⁶ *Cezā-yi ḥayr-ı iḥsān bulsun*
Bu ʿaynı kıldı cārī behr-i ʿatşān
Anonymous, inscribed on the Çatal fountain (1550), cited in Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, p. 237.

(ceiling, vault, *muqarnas*) and their abstract ornamental revetments constituted the central themes. A chronogram-*kaşide* from the fifteenth century, written by Veliyüddin Ahmed Paşa for the Çinili (Tiled) Kiosk of Mehmed II, built in his new imperial palace (of Topkapı) (*sarāy-ı cedid*) in the Timurid-Turkmen idiom, is one of the best known examples of this tradition. Many images in this ode, particularly cosmic references, may be understood in part, at least, against the visual vocabulary of the kiosk -- most notably, its "emerald" dome decorated with stars, whose heavenly qualities were also recorded in the kiosk's foundation inscription.²⁷ But in part too, one can read in the building attributes that the poet chose to emphasize, namely, lofty, celestial, prosperous, and paradisiacal, direct metaphors for the rank, benevolence, perfection, and felicity of the patron:

"O celestial pavilion! O exalted vault!
 In every respect, the paradisial sanctuary resembles its gate
 There is no roof in heaven as prosperous as yours
 There is court in paradise as lofty as yours
 The noble rank of your threshold is the exalted seat,
 and your gate, the eternal destination, is the ultimate aim
 The seven skies are a footing to your place of ascent
 The nine great [celestial] domes, a vault to your *ivān* ...
 The cypress on your wall that the artist painted
 was [fit to be] likened to the tuba tree of paradise...
 Is this a pool, or the fountain of the sun which warms the world?
 Is this a court, or the polished glass which sees the world?"²⁸

²⁷ Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 216. For a description of this kiosk and its representations in poetry, see *ibid*, pp. 212-7. Other contemporary Ottoman poems based on the same representational scheme included those by Cafer Çelebi mentioned above, excerpts of which are transcribed in A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şi'irinde İstanbul*, pp. 15-31. For a discussion of the broader "semantic horizons" of the post-Mongol period within which the parallel between buildings and the cosmic order was inscribed, see Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll - Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture*, pp. 116-22.

²⁸ *Ey kaşr-ı felek-rif'at ü vey tāk-ı mu'allā*
Her bāb ile benzer kapına cennet-i me'vā
Gerdunda ne şakfın gibi bir beyt ola ma'mūr
Cennetde ne ferşin gibi bir ferş ola a'lā
Hem zāt-i 'imād eşigin mesned-i 'ālī
Hem menzil-i maqşūde kapın maqşad-ı aqşā ...
Mirqātına bir pāye yedi çerh-i mutabbik
Eyvānına bir tāk dokuz kubbe-i 'uzmā ...

Such symbolic allusions to the rank, prestige, power, and sovereignty of building patrons remained central motifs in architectural chronograms throughout the eighteenth century, often carried out by means of subtle variations on traditional tropes. In the following chronogram by Nedim on the waterfront palace of Muştafa Paşa, navy commander under Aḥmed III, the tall and graceful ones (an anthropomorphic euphemism for cypresses) stood in line to pay their respect to the glorious patron.²⁹ His emphasis on the location of the pavilion between two seas (in verses 2 and 3) may be a reference to an old image of imperial sovereignty -- one which was clearly expressed in a title attributed to Meḥmed II: "Sultan of the Two Continents and the Two Seas."³⁰

*Ol serv ki divārına nakş eyledi nakḳāş
Teşbih olunmağa yarardı ana tūbā ...
Bu havz mı ya çeşme-i ḥurşid-i cihān-tāb
Bu ferş mi ya cām-ı cihān-bīn mücellā*

Aḥmed Paşa, "Kaşide berāy-ı sarāy-ı cedid," *Ahmed Paşa Divanı*, pp. 32-33. The date of the poem provided by A. N. Tarlan in this edition, 1456 (h. 861), may be erroneous -- the result of a miscalculation of its chronogram -- as it antecedes the date offered in an inscription (now lost) by nine years (1465 [h. 870]); see a similar date given by A. H. Çelebi, whose transcription may be based on Tarlan's edition, A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şîrinde İstanbul*, pp. 13-4. For the foundation of the Çinili Kiosk see, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 213. For symbolic imagery in sixteenth-century poetry (mainly with respect to mosques), see Cāfer Çelebi, *Risāle-i Mîmāriyye: An Early Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture* (facsimile with translation and notes by H. Crane); Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," pp. 169-80; idem., "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," pp. 92-118; Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," pp. 173-243.

²⁹ A similar image is encountered in the early sixteenth century, as for instance in a comparison by the poet Cafer Çelebi of "the orderly row of cypresses and fruit trees (...) [in the Outer Garden of the Topkapı Palace] to obedient servants lined up around the sultan's palace to serve him," cited in Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. 201-2. Graceful stature, generally of the beloved one, was one of the most common images implied by the cypress. In particular, *serv-i sehî*, the straight cypress, referred to a specific type of double-head erect cypress, and could be charged with erotic connotations. For cypress symbolism see, Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, pp. 162-4; Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade*, pp. 162-4.

"Those who see [it] correctly compare it to a place abounding
in tree-lined avenues
With a green mantle on, the tall and graceful ones looked as though
they stood in line
Walk and look, look, the extent of that pool is such that the new pavilion
seems as though surrounded by the sea on both sides
A raging sea on one side and a sweet pond on the other;
This pavilion is a unique gem between those two seas"³¹

New images, more revealing of the building and the decorative styles of the period, embodied analogous symbolism. In an image by Nābī particularly appropriate to the fashionable waterfront setting of residences in this period, the waves of the sea rush out to kiss the skirt of the beloved *yalı*. Clearly, the building here acted as a metaphor for the high-ranking patron, whose eternal prosperity was further highlighted by the conflation of the buildings' floral ornaments and the garden of paradise:

"Wonderful! the imperial mansion is such a matchless dwelling
that the spectacle of its layout despoils grief from the human heart...
He who sees the spectacle of its ornaments will not depart;
He who enters the garden will not leave its [space]; it is a paradise-like
refuge
By the perfection of [its] grace it looks like a beloved one, for
continuously, the sea shore does not cease to kiss its skirt"³²

³⁰ Necipoğlu notes that upon Mehmed II's decision to build his first palace over the Byzantine acropolis, both Bidlīsi and Tursun Bey described the site as one which offered prospects of "the two continents and the two seas," an image that was kept alive in the Conqueror's epithet "Sultan of the Two Continents and the Two Seas," displayed on the foundation inscription of the imperial palace's gate, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 13.

³¹ *Hıyāban-zārına dōğru nigāh eden kıyās eyler*
Sehī kaddlar kabā-yı sebz ile şaff bağlamış guya ...
Temāşā kıl şu havzırñ vus'atın bak kim bu kaşr-ı nev
Muḥāṭ olmuştur iki cānibinden baħr ile guya
Biri deryā-yı şūr u birisi deryāçe-yi şirin
Bu kaşr o iki baħrınñ arasında gevher-i yektā

Nedim, "Tāriḥ-i Bāğ-ı Feraḥ u sāhilsarāy-ı cedid" (1728), *Nedim'in Divānı*, pp. 95-97; Nedim, *Nedim Divanı*, pp. 196-98.

³² *Hoşā kāşāne-yi şāhāne menzilgāh-ı bi-hemtā*
Ki eyler seyr-i tarḥı kalb-ı insāndan ğamı yeğmyā...
Nukūşun seyr eden gitmez temāşāyı gülistāna
Giren çıkmaz derünundan mişāl-i cennet-i me'vā
Kemāl-ı hüsn ile bir dil-rübāya benzer anıñ cün

Universal sovereignty is another theme often encountered in poetry. In an early example (dated 1690) Nābī pointed to what may have been an expansive view from the house (*hāne*) of Hüseyn Ağa. His reference to the Arab lands and the former Eastern Roman empire is a symbolic indication of the range of vision of Hüseyn Ağa, a metaphor for his power and perhaps even for his (imaginary) universal dominion -- allusions which again recall the image of sovereignty over the two continents and the two seas that was invested on Mehmed II, and infused contemporary descriptions of his first imperial palace:³³

"Its layout is elegant, its surface pleasing
Its form is charming, its construction of new-invention
The countries of Rūm* and the boundaries of Baghdad
can be seen from the windows on both sides"³⁴

A similar idea of world dominion is conveyed in a chronogram by Nedīm on the palace of the influential eunuch of the imperial Harem, Beşir Ağa, by an analogy of its window panes to a looking glass, or more literally, to a mirror showing the world (*cihānnümā*). The symbolic implications of this analogy are sustained by repeated allusions to the patron's rank and supremacy, both literally (verse 2) and allegorically, compounded by paradisial references (verses 2 and 3): the

Dem-ā-dem ? būs eder dāmānını durmaz leb-i deryā
Nābī, "Tārīḥ-i yalı-yı Kara İbrāhīm Pāşā der zamān-ı mirāḥōru" (1683), *Divān-ı Nābī*, pp. 83-4.

³³ See footnote 29 above. For the significance of the view as a metaphor for universal dominion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see, Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making," pp. 102-4; Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. 184-241, respectively .

³⁴ *Ṭarḥı nāzık zemini nāziktir*
Hey'eti hoş bināsı nev-icād...
Görünür cânibeyn-i revzenden
Kişver-i Rūm u ḥiṭṭa-ı Bağdād*
Nābī, "Tārīḥ-i hāne-yi Hüseyn Ağa der Haleb ül-Şehbā" (1690), *Divān-ı Nābī*, pp. 85-6.

* The former Eastern Roman empire, mostly Anatolia.

palace was so perfect and its ceiling so high, that the top of its roof approached the sky.

"Excellent, the captivating and exalted palace! Its charming layout was entirely matchless, pleasing and close to the heart
Excellent, the champion, the new house of rank and glory!
The wing of the bird of paradise was neighbor to its rooftop
Well done, the lofty celestial vault is so filled with ornament
and intricate work
that it is a refuge for happiness and prosperity
The intricately ornamented pavilions are adorned with Kashan tiles
as though every one of their corners was a beautiful and charming garden
The pavilion had such a degree of brilliance that one would think
that every one of its glass panes was a mirror showing the world
Each of its captivating rooms, the new plan of its building, were truly such
that they achieved the articulation of the meanings of joy and felicity
Being in ruin, as a result of [noble] endeavors it became prosperous
The attractive building enhanced the beauty of this shore"³⁵

These emphatic eulogies were doubtlessly commensurate to the favors lavished by patrons on poets, and at least in the case of Beşir Ağa, to his notable prominence both in the affairs of the state and as a patron of culture. As such, they should be taken as reminders of the rising power of certain individuals and positions within the ruling elite:³⁶ For what is really interesting and unusual here

35 *Zihî vâlâ sarây-ı dil-güşâ kim tarh-ı matbû
Serâpâ bi-nazîr-ı dil-keş-i rûh-ı âşina oldu
Zihî nev-âşiyân-ı şâh-bâz-ı izz ü devlet kim
Ferâz-ı bâminin hem-sâyesi bâl-ı hümmâ oldu
Zihî bâlâ rivâk-ı tāk-ı pür-zîb ü tekellüf kim
Der ʿâlisi ikbâl u sîrûra mültecâ oldu
Munakkâş kaşrlar kâşânelerle zeyn olup guya
Anın her güşesi bir gülşen-i hüsn ü behâ oldu
O rütbe kaşrınıñ işrâkı var kim zann eder âdam
Ki her bir câmi bir âyine-yi ʿâlem-nümâ oldu
Anıñ her beyti dil-cû tarh-ı nev bünyâdı haqqâ kim
Edâ-ı maʿna-ı yümn ü meserrette resâ oldu
Harâb olmuş iken âsâr-ı himmetle olup âbâd
Binâ-ı dil-keşi bu sâhile zinet-fezâ oldu*

Nedîm, "Târih berâ-yı sarây-ı dil-guşâ" [sarây-ı Dâr us-Saʿâde Ağası Beşir Āgâ] (1728), *Nedîm'in Divânı*, pp. 99; Nedîm, *Nedîm Divanı*, pp. 199-200.

³⁶ We have already encountered this figure in the context of his impressive patronage of fountains, in chap. 1. On Beşir Ağa, his influence and his building patronage, see Şemʿdânizâde, *Mürʿiʿt-Tevârih*, pp. 10, 16, 17, 23, 24, 29, 31, 38, 123, 124, 130, 133, 135, 139, 152; İzzî, *Târih-i ʿİzzî*, fol 59; Muştafa Nûri Paşa, *Netayic ül-Vukuat*, III: 54; Flachat, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts*, I: 402, 503-6; II:

is that such imagery, traditionally used in reference to the ruler (in poetry at least) should be laxly invested on two *ağas*.³⁷ This point, to which I will return, may also suggest a less differentiated system of signs of "social distinction," at least, in contemporaries' perceptions.

3. FROM PATRONS TO BUILDINGS

The interest and originality of architectural *tevāriḥ* composed in the eighteenth century (beginning, roughly, in the later chronograms of the poet Nābī) lay far beyond their quality of panegyrics. Eulogy of the building patron may have remained indeed the fundamental reason for such compositions,³⁸ and its eloquent articulation, a measure of the poem's success. However, patrons no longer constituted the focal subject of architectural chronograms, nor even the predominant mode of building depiction -- that is to say, the building as a metaphor for the patron. In several poems, building and patron became two distinct subjects of praise. One of the most conspicuous themes of eulogy of the patron's munificence in the eighteenth century, undoubtedly a reflection of the intense building activity, was the scope of his or her building patronage. This theme was pursued independently of the building celebrated. In his long poem for the palace of Sa'dabad, Seyyid Vehbī summed up the extraordinary building,

23-27. Itzkowitz dates the rising power of the chief eunuch of the imperial Harem to the so-called "sultanate of women" in the seventeenth century; their excessive power was curbed in the mid-eighteenth century by the grand-vizier Koca Rāgīb Paşa; see Itzkowitz, "Men and Ideas in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," pp. 20-21.

³⁷ It is very likely that Hüseyin Ağa held an important position. He may have been chief of the janissary troops stationed in Aleppo, or an *ağa* from the palace. In eighteenth-century Aleppo, the title of *ağa* was also invested on merchants and tax-farmers; see Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity*, pp. 51, 53, 57.

³⁸ This is reflected, for instance, in the way buildings were identified as *āsār-ı aṣḥāb-ı ḥayrāt* (monuments of benefactors) in the title of the section on architecture in anthologies of chronograms compiled in this period.

repair, and restoration activities of Aḥmed III in and outside the capital city. Noting his pious deeds in the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and in Jerusalem, and his foundation and restoration of public spaces and buildings, he highlighted at once his piety, his advancement of knowledge, and his contribution toward the beautification of the urban space and the well-being of his people:

"How many fortresses and fortifications he repaired! Above all, he restored the city walls of Istanbul from one end to another, buildings in the Holy Cities and the exalted city of Jerusalem, and [performed] many similar benevolent acts of superior felicity: The imperial palace of Galata and the gate* in the square, especially the noble library edifice
How may attractive parks, how many imperial promenades, how many prosperous places [built] by various ancestors** found the manifestation of their creation during his reign..."³⁹

Praise of the patron through architectural symbolism became increasingly intertwined with, and overshadowed by, images and metaphorical constructs which owed their inspiration to the physical aspect of the building: architectonic representations, that is to say, which operated independently from those of their patrons. This thematic shift was enhanced by the consistently long format of chronograms, whereby the body of the poem was mainly devoted to a depiction of the artefact. If in many cases, a chronogram of average length (10-15 verses) opened and ended with a eulogy of the patron, in many others, poets omitted

39 *Niçe kılâ° u ḥuṣûn yaptı bâ-ḥuṣûs etti
Hişâr-ı şehri-i Sitanbûli ser-tâ-ser âbâd
'Îmâret-i Harameyn-i Şerîf ü Kuds-i Münîf
Daḥî bunuñ gibi çok ḥayr-ı bâhir-ül-es°âd
Sarây-ı ḥâşş-ı Galata u dergeh-ı meydân*
°Ala-l-ḥuṣûs kütüphâne-i şeref-bünyâd
Niçe ḥadâyîk-ı dil-keş niçe mesîre-i ḥâşş
Niçe emâkin-i âbâd-ı sâ'ir** ecdâd
Anın zamân-ı teşrîfinde buldu nakş-ı zuhûr..."*

* It is not clear what gate (or porch?) this refers to.

** not entirely legible.

Vehbî, "Kaşîde ü târiḥ-i dil-guşâdır medḥ-i Aḥmed Ḥân kısra u âbâd; evşâf-ı nev-bünyâd-ı Sa°dâbâd" (n.d.), *Divân-ı Seyyid Vehbî*, fols 19-22.

the opening eulogy and concentrated on the more "descriptive" part of the building itself, marginalizing what had traditionally been the poem's essential focus. Interestingly, this did not seem to have jeopardized poets' chances to see their chronogram displayed on an inscription stone, as we learn, for example, from Dallaway's comments on the renovated palace of Neşāṭābād in 1792: "some lines are inscribed in praise of this retreat, which commence with this strong ejaculation: "O God! O God! What delightful place is this?"⁴⁰ This was Fāzıl's chronogram, composed the same year in celebration of the palace's renovation, and the building of a new fish pond in its garden. Its first couplet read:

"O god! O god! what a *yalı* this is!
 What a soul-reviving, what a delightful pavilion!
 This is the pavilion of paradise; or is it the garden of Iram?
 It is not of this world; I wonder: what is it?"⁴¹

Besides confirming the grandeur of patrons to the public, therefore, these inscriptions initiated it, so to speak, into the art of architectural appreciation; mirroring, reinforcing or explicating the intentions, expressions, and meanings of the building in words, and often inscribing them with new semantic layers. In this sense, they not only transferred the symbolic messages encrusted in these buildings into less ambiguous, more literal territories, but also turned them into open texts, which spoke of themselves to the public at large. The following excerpt, for instance, is part of a 27-verse long chronogram entirely devoted to

⁴⁰ Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, pp. 138-9.

⁴¹ *Allah allah bu ne sāhilhānedir*
Bu ne cān-efzā ne hoş kāşānedir
Kaşr-ı cennetdir bu yā bāğ-ı İrem
Kim bu dünyānıñ değıl ā yā nedir
 Fāzıl Bey Enderūnı, "Tāriḥ-i balıkhāne der sāhilsarāy-ı Neşātābād" (1792), *Divān-ı Fāzıl Enderūn*, MS. TSMK, H. 906, fols 66b-67a.

the depiction of a kiosk in the imperial palace of Topkapı, possibly the kiosk of Revan of Murād IV, renovated by Maḥmūd I in 1731:

"Wonderful, the exceptional layout of the royally honoring pavilion
which truly makes the sea of the world a soul-reviving spectacle!
It was as though a beloved's silver body stood at the corner of the pool
to acquire pleasure; it was like a paradisaical sanctuary
He who sees the roses and flowers on its marble
would forsake a garden promenade and a pretty rose garden
In its delightful terraced plan its valley is an effect of beauty
There is manifest charm all over its ornate style
The golden moon crescent of its decorated dome is captivating and
highest ranking
Instantly the lines of the waves of the sea [become] a glorious page*
Don't think that the pavilion is standing over the rim of the pleasure-
giving pool
Its ground is elevated, its court is the rank and grandeur of universal
majesty
The imperial range of vision is the whole world and its contents"⁴²

Though praise and eulogy were without exception the discursive modes in these poems, what poets chose to note, dwell upon or particularly highlight to convey the extent of their appreciation in so many words (first to their patron and then to the wider public) is revealing of what they observed, what struck them as

42 *Zihî kaşr-ı şeref-bağ-ı hümayün tarh-ı müsteşnâ
Ki seyr-i cân-fezâsı âlem-i âb ettirir haḳḳâ
Kenâr-ı havuzda guyâ ki bir simin beden-i dil-ber
Durup kesb-i şafâ eyler mişâl-i cennet ül-me'vâ
Gül-i nesrîn ü ezhâr-i ruḥâmın eyleyen seyrân
Olur müsteğni-i gül-geşt-i bâğ u gülşen-i ra'nâ
Letâfet münderic tarhında vâdisi helâvet-kâr
Melâhet-âşikâr üslûb-i matbû'unda ser-tâ-pâ
Müzeyyen kubbe-i zer-mehcesi ser-levhâ-ı dil-keş
Sutûr-i mevce-i âbı hemen bir şafha-ı ğarrâ*
Leb-i havz-ı şafâ-bağ-şâde vâki şanma o kaşrı?
Sû-dibâsı düşünmüş piş-gâh şahınına zibâ
Zemini mürtefi' rifet-i kibr-i şevket-nümâ şahını
Nazar-gâh-ı hümayün ser-ta-ser dünyâ u mâ-fihâ*

Hafzî, "Târiḳ (...) berây-ı kaşr-ı havz-ı kebir der şuffa-yı Hümayün / Kaşr-ı Sultan Maḥmūd" (1731), in Anonymous, *Risâle*, fol 65a-b (margins).

* *şafha-ı ğarrâ*, "the illustrious page," could mean a page over which the titles of eminent individuals are recorded.

It is possible to identify Hafzî's "kiosk of the large pool" as Murād IV's Revan kiosk, fronted by a large pool and a marbled terrace. In the chronicle itself, the kiosk is referred to as *kaşr-ı şafâ* ("the pleasure kiosk"), fol 65a.

most expressive of the building's beauty or best representative of the glory of its patron. It would be difficult to provide here an exhaustive list of all the aspects of buildings which poets mentioned in their chronograms. A glossary of terms related to buildings (form and iconography) and gardens (Appendix 2) should help provide a more comprehensive idea of their scope, albeit in a condensed form. The architectural vocabulary used by poets to describe or express what they saw is a subject which alone would deserve a study in its own right and which is beyond the scope of this inquiry.⁴³ In the following section I will point to those features, aspects, parts, and elements of buildings which were most often noted, in order to delineate a general framework (which further illustrations will gradually refine as we proceed) from which I can then assess the scope of poets' observations and the nature of their perceptions.

One of the subjects frequently mentioned in eighteenth-century chronograms pertains to the qualities of the surrounding environment of buildings: the sweetness of the climate, the purity of the air, the fragrance of the earth, or the vastness of the building's grounds. Topographical details, such as the garden's terraced layout in the above-cited excerpt by Ḥafzī (verse 4), are rarely encountered. More commonly, poets outlined the general picture of a residence's outdoor area by cursory observations on, or elaborate imagery around, some of its components: spatial enclosures, like courtyards, tree-lined alleys or hunting grounds, and landscape elements and features, like pools,

⁴³ I mean here both the breadth of qualifying attributes and the more "technical" building terminology. What were the words used, for instance, for door as opposed to gate, for window as opposed to window casement, for cornice, slanted roof, etc. Clearly, the kind of specialized vocabulary poets had at hand would greatly determine the accuracy and precision of their depictions. A comprehensive study of the artistic and architectural vocabulary in currency in this period, in poetry and prose writings, would certainly enhance our understanding of architectural depictions in contemporary sources in general.

fountains, garden kiosks and pavilions, flowers parterres, or types of trees and flowers. In an example quoted earlier, for instance, Nedim described the cypress-lined alleys (*hıyābān*) and the pool in the back court (opposite the waterfront) of the *yalı* of Muştafa Paşa in Çengelköy. In the following stanza, Fāzıl focuses on a new breed of tulips he saw in the garden of one Şemsüddin Efendi:

"He made a garden like paradise, as if
 an ornate green satin cloth lay over the ground
 That eminent man of refinement had planted a tulip breed,
 the like of which (this garden's breed) no one had seen
 While I was thinking of a name for that new golden red tulip bloom,
 I said to the friends: Let it be called the dawn of the sun"⁴⁴

Poets occasionally mentioned the building's location by reference to a square or a nearby mosque, for example, in the case of a fountain.⁴⁵ More often, the general siting of a building could be directly (or not so directly) inferred from one or a set of interrelated images. One can read, for instance, in Hāfiz's references to the kiosk's "elevated grounds" and the "imperial range of vision it offered" (last verse) allusions to a kiosk perched up on a hill overlooking the sea: possibly, one of the kiosks of the outer garden of the Topkapı Palace, on the Sarayburnu

44 *Cennet gibi bir bāğçe yaptırdı ki guyā
 Ferş etti zemīn üzre munakkaş yeşil atles
 Bir lāle yetiştirdi o ser-levha-ı irfān
 Kim görmedi bu bāğda mānendini hiç kes
 İsmiñ düşünür iken o nev-lāle surhuñ
 Aḥbāba dedim ismi denilsün şafak-ı şems*

Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, "Berā-yı tesmiye-yi lāle-i nev," *Divān-ı Fāzıl Enderūn*, MS. TSMK, H. 906, fol 61a.

45 "By building this outstanding fountain in the square of the Imperial Gate, the knowledgeable Ottoman sultan gratified the thirsty people"

(*Yapıp bu çeşme-sārı sāha-ı Bāb-ı Hümayūn'a
 'İtāş-ı nāsı sirāb eyledi şāhenşeh-i efhām*)

Şākir, "Tārīḥ-i çeşme-i āḥer-i Ḥazret-i Aḥmed Ḥān" (1728), *Divān-ı Şākir*, MS. İÜK, Ty 1238, fols 69b-70a.

promontory, towering over the Sea of Marmara. Images alluding to the location of waterfront houses or palaces were usually more direct:

"[Neşāṭābād] reflects on the sea as the sea reflects on its wall;
This is a silver mirror shaped out of steel"⁴⁶

Reference to a dwelling's location seemed especially significant insofar as it implied a pleasant view, or enhanced the beauty of the dwelling's surroundings.

This is repeatedly implied in the following verses by Fāzıl on Selim III's renovation of the palace of Neşāṭābād in Kuruçeşme:

"With this extensive view, in this location, this ornamental pavilion
is truly a seed [planted] right over the surface of the ground
This exquisite place is the pavilion of the ruler of the world
He bestowed it to [his] illustrious sister...
On the edge of the sea, this pavilion is the glory of illuminations
In the aqueous constellation, it is a match to the glowing moon...
In its front court, the sea lays its water brocade
so that the ruler of the universe honors it for a gaze"⁴⁷

Construction, morphology, and dimensions are some of the buildings' aspects most consistently picked up by poets. They remarked on the general form and appearance of a building,⁴⁸ the harmony or symmetry of its layout or façades,⁴⁹

46 °Aks eder deryāya deryā °aks eder divārine
Simden āyinedir bu ol beri fülāddan

Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, "Tāriḥ berā-yı kaşr-ı cedid-i fireng-teşyiddir der sāhilḥāne-i Neşāṭābād ma'mūrbād" (1795), *Divān-ı Fāzıl Enderūn*, MS. TSMK, H. 906, fols 67b-68a.

47 "Bu nezāretle bu mevki°de bu gāḥ-ı zibā
Doğrusu rū-yi zemīn üzre hemen bir dāne
Kaşr-ı ḥākān-ı cihāndır bu maḥal-ı ra°nā
Ani baḥş eyledi hemşire-i ālişāne...
Leb-i deryāda bu kaşr şeref-i şu°le-nişār
Burc-u ābide nazir oldu meh-i ruḥşāne...
Pişgehinde şu-dībāsı düşetmiş deryā
Tā ki teşrif ede ol şāḥ-ı cihān seyrāne

Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, "Tāriḥ-i kaşr-ı Neşāṭābād mubārek-bād" (1792), *Divān-ı Fāzıl Enderūn*, MS. TSMK, H. 906, fols 66a-b.

48 "How beautifully the master designed this sublime establishment
whose the graceful form bewilders the gazing eye"
(*Ne ḥōş resm eylemiş üstādı bu ṭarḥ-ı mu°allāyı*

the proportions of certain elements like columns or pillars, and the overall plan and design (*tarh, resm*) of a building or part thereof:

"Look at the pleasant design and the matchless style of the design!
Look at the grand-vizier's endeavor and at the art of creation!"⁵⁰

Chronograms are replete with praise of heights of roofs and domes of fountains and residences, through images often augmented by paradisiacal allusions and centered on themes of eminence, prosperity, and heavenly fortune. A building's skeleton and its foundations are occasionally mentioned in reference to the solidity of its construction. And ample reference is made to building materials, mostly wood, iron, silver, gold, as well as granite and marble surfaces, both carved or polished:

"Excellent, the soul-reviving water of life! Where it flows,
roses, instead of fire, carve its solid granite"⁵¹

Ki hüsn-i şüreti hayrân eder çeşm-i temâşâyı
Sünbülzâde Vehbî, "Târih diğér berâ-yı ân-ı hâne-i vâlâ" (n.d.), *Divân-ı Vehbî*, pp. 12-13.

49 "Its ground is pleasing and its layout symmetrical;*
The imperial piece is an exquisite royal dwelling"^{**}
(*Zemîni dil-nişîn u tarhı mevzûn**
*Mülûkî kit'â bir şeh-beyt**-i ra'nâ*)

Sünbülzâde Vehbî, "Târih diğér berâ-yı ân-ı kaşr-ı dil-güşâ" (n.d.), *Divân-ı Vehbî*, p. 6.

* *mevzûn* means symmetrical, balanced, proportionate, and in a more general sense, harmonious.

** also means the opening or master distich of a poem. Such playful puns, based on terms common to the architectural and literary lingo like *şeh-beyt*, or *beyt* (house, verse), *mişrâ* (door panel, distich), *divân* (anthology of poems, central hall, also council chamber -- the function and the space), were frequently used by poets, and offered wonderful opportunities to praise their patron and boast their own genius at once.

50 "Vaz'-ı resmi dil-güşâ ü tarz-ı tarhı bi-bedel
Himmat-i Şadr-ı güzîn ü san'at-ı icâdı gör
Nahîfî, *Kaside*, "Berâ-yı pâdişâh-ı âlempenâh sultân Ahmed Hân Sâlis der zımn-ı Sa'dâbâd" (c. 1721), cited in A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şîrinde İstanbul*, p. 98.

51 *Zihî mâ-ül-hayât-ı cân-fezâ kim aktığı yerde*
İçinde gül çıkar ateş yerine seng-i hârânıñ
Nedîm, "Târih çeşme-i Şadrâzam Dâmâd İbrâhîm Pâşâ" (1727), *Nedîm'in Divanı*, p. 89; Nedîm, *Nedîm Divanı*, pp. 176-77.

Depictions of building details and decorative elements constituted the most substantial part of most chronograms. It is by the cumulative effect of these representations, even if often by way of laconic observations and sinuous references, that the building took shape. Doors and gates, windows and glass panes,⁵² arches and vaults, domes and finials (as in Ḥafzī's "golden moon-crescent of [the] decorated dome" [verse 5]), porches, porticoes, roofs and ceilings, pillars and columns, and decorative elements such as cornices and *muqarnas*,⁵³ were those most often highlighted. And as will be evident in the examples quoted below, most honored of all were the building's surface ornaments: These included inscriptions,⁵⁴ ceramic tiling (as in Nedīm's observation above: "The intricately ornamented pavilions are adorned with Kashan tiles"), and carved and painted ornamental motifs over the roofs, canopies, domes, ceilings, and interior and exterior walls.

52 "And suppose that the [window] obstructed the view in, still, the light of the setting sun would enter through the glass"

(İçiniñ seyrine sedd olsa da farzā revzen
Zevālī mihr-i munir yine girir cāmundan)

Fennī, [tāriḥ] (1732), *Divān-ı Fennī*, MS. İÜK, Ty 58, fol 136.

53 "Masterful porches! Charming *muqarnas*! Colorfully decorated vaults! Sparkling stained glass! Ornate, exquisite windows!"

(Muşanna'ı suffalar şirin muqarnas taḳlar rengin
Münakkaş cāmlar-ı revşen müzeyyen revzen-i ra'nā)

Nābī, "Tāriḥ-i yalı-yı Kāra İbrāhīm Pāşā der zamān-ı mirāḥōru" (1683), *Divān-ı Nābī*, p. 84.

54 "To allude to the perfection of its beauty, in gold ink, people of the pen write such beautiful names [of God] on its top"

(Kemāl-ı hüsnüne telmiḥ için zer-halle böyle
Yazar ehl-i kalem bālāsına esmā'-ı ḥusnayı)

Sünbülzāde Vehbī, "Tāriḥ diğēr berā-yı ān-ı ḥāne-i vālā" (n.d.), *Divān-ı Vehbī*, pp. 12-13.

4. VISUAL EFFECTS AND SENSORY ILLUSIONS

"O good fortune! the beloved palace is so filled with ornaments and royalty
that the gilded roses of its ceiling are the crest of envy of the

glittering moon
Like a sultan's heavenly sphere, the lofty pavilion is sublime
Excellent, the auspicious house! Wonderful, the adorning mansion!
Its marble is clear as a mirror; the surface of its ground polished;
So what if I said: with that face, it looks like the pavilion of Solomon...
If the [pool's] water-jet, abundant with drops, struck that lofty porch,
the *ivān*, filled with designs and images, turns into April clouds
Its marble is so limpid, that over the silver-colored ground
every drop returns to shed over the rolling pearls
Its air is pleasant, its water, clear, its design, admired
Its foundation is comely and charming, its style and plan, royal
When the illuminated glass emits rays of light, their radiance falls back
into the mine of ruby of its limpid water

The pleasure of looking at that beautiful, beloved, heavenly fountain
was the main principle of comfort to the restless soul
The painted flowers never perish, like roses of paradise,
no matter how often one compares them to the court of a rose garden
Its designs are so full of effects and so full of art and skill, that
the spectacle of its rose motif always confuses the nightingale
The sea is a beautiful page, the waves are its lines;
That unique pavilion is foremost among the most eminent in titles of rank
Or else, it is a censor full of ornaments
that the treasurer of the time carries to these feastful four-pillared domes
This is the new ornamented pavilion; this is the beloved place
This garden is like the garden of Iram, a sample of the garden of paradise
The flowers on its gate and wall are always moist and fragrant
Their roses do not need the abundant rain of the [sky]"⁵⁵

55 *Zihî devlet sarây-ı dil-keş-i pür-zib-i şāhāne
Ki dāğ-ı reşkdir gül-mih-i sakfı mihr-i raḥşāne
Mu'allā kaşr-ı vālā-yı felek-sā-yı şehinşāhi
Hoşā ferḥunde menzil ḥabbezā zibende kāşāne
Ruḥāmı şāfidir āyine-veş ferşi mücellādır
N'ola benzer disem ol vechile kaşr-ı Süleymāne...
Urup fevvāre ol vālā rivāka katrebār olsa
Döner eyvān-ı pür-naqş-ı nigār ebr-i nisāne...
Ruḥāmı öyle şāfi kim o ferş-i sim-gün üzre
Döner her katre kim rizān ola lü'lü-i ḡaltāne...
Hevāsı dil-güşā ābı muştāfā resmi müstaḥsen
Esāsı ḥüb u dil-keş tarz ü tarḥı pādişāhāne
Münevver camlar pertev şalıp olduḡça tāb-efken
Döner ol āb-ı şāfin menbā'-ı kân-i bedahşāne...*

*O zibā selsebil-i dil-keşin zevk-i temāşası
Olur sermāye-i rāhat dil-i bi şabr-ı sāmāne
Hemişe naqş-ı ezhārı gül-i cennet gibi solmaz
Nice teşbih eder ādem anı şahın-ı gülistāne*

These passages by ʿĀrif Süleymān Bey, probably composed in the wake of Maḥmūd I's building of the kiosk of İftāriyye (better known as *Bayıldım Köşkü*) in the palace of Beşiktaş in 1748 (see fig. 3), may not illustrate the full breadth of observations recorded by poets in their chronograms. However, they clearly outline some of the structural and thematic characteristics of architectural representations in eighteenth-century chronograms. The poem (a total of 22 verses) is thoroughly devoted to the glorification of the palace and of the new kiosk in particular. It includes neither an opening, nor a closing eulogy of the patron, save an imperial reference (*şahenşāh-ı zī-şān*, the glorious Ottoman sultan / king of kings) in the last line (the poem's chronogram). It allocates one, sometimes two verses, to different parts and features of the building, bouncing from one corner of the palace to another in a seemingly arbitrary manner. Indeed, ʿĀrif's exploration moves from the detail of a rose motif over the pavilion's ceiling to the building's general appearance, switches back to its marble flooring, and rapidly from the pool's waterspout to a porch, to the decorative program of the *ivān*, and back to the marble floor. Then, noting the overall qualities of the pavilion, its design, foundations, style, and plan, the purity of the climate and the water in the pool, he unexpectedly shifts his attention to the window panes, and turns back to the water pool.

*Nüküşü ol kadar pür-kār ü pür-şan^c at ki hemvāre
Verir seyr-i gül-i taşviri şūriş ʿandelibāne
Sutūri mevceler bir şafha-ı garrā olup deryā
O kaşr-ı bi-bedel ser-levhadır bālā-yı ʿünvāne
Yaḥud bir micmer-i pür zibdir ki ḥāzin-i devran
Getirmiştir bu bezm-i pür kubab-ı çār-erkāne
Bu nev-kaşr-ı münaḳkaşdır bu menzil-gāh-ı dil-keşdir
Bu gül-zār-ı İrem-veşdir nümüne bāğ-ı rizvāne
Der ü divārının ezhāri hemvāre mutarrādır
Değildir gülleri mühtāc feyz-i ebr-i bārāne*

ʿĀrif Süleymān Bey, "Der vaşf-ı kaşr-ı sarāy-ı Beşiktaş" (n.d.), cited in A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şi'rinde İstanbul*, pp. 123-24.

The absence of a comprehensible sequence, whether directional (e.g. linear, interior / exterior) or from general to detail or vice-versa, is quite striking and may be somewhat disorienting, at least to a modern eye. Upon closer scrutiny, however, the structure of the poem, or one could say, the poet's perceptual scheme, becomes more evident. For ʿĀrif's seemingly disjoint impressions (only at times subtly connected by symbolic associations) are governed by a clear sequence of visual effects and illusions produced by one, or the combination of certain formal and decorative features. In the example just mentioned, for instance, the pavilion's floor, the porch, the *ivān*, the windows, the pool, and the carving and painting on the walls are all connected through a delicate artifice of water and reflections: The jet of water gushing out of the pool, which reflects the red-painted glass of the windows, nearly touches the porch's ceiling; then, trickling down the walls of the *ivān* to water its carved and painted flowers, it falls back down on the polished marble floor which, one is led to assume, magnifies the whole effect by mirroring it over its surface. His representation of the kiosk of Beşiktaş illustrated a thought summed up elsewhere by Münib:

"There is art manifest in it, which is illusion upon illusion"⁵⁶

⁵⁶ *O divānhāne kim beyt ül-kaşid-i nazm-ı şevketdir
Hayāl-ender hayāl-ı şun'a vardır onda istiḥād*
Münib, "Tārīḥ," *Münşe'ât ve Tevārīḥ-i Manzūme*, fol 33a.

4.1. Gold and Glitter

"Its color and glitter produce fantasies
The beauty of its design is the effect of a vision"⁵⁷

Visual effects officiated the primary rapport between poets and buildings. As in ʿĀrif's association of the pavilion's windows and the pool, poets arranged and re-arranged the forms, shapes, and dimensions of a building, its various components, textures, colors, and materials in relation to one another, in such a way as to project the most dazzling visual effects. Sources and enhancers of luster and glitter played an important part in these orchestrations. The variegated surface of marble, polished mirrors, clear or stained glass, gold and silver nails and studs, gilding, and colors of surfaces and decorative motifs on walls, domes, vaults, and ceilings, constituted the full panoply of features from which poets selected, mixed and matched those which in their eyes, most aptly illustrated the sensational effects the building produced:

"It is not the rainbow! the vault is hanging
off the top of its ceiling an effect of color combination of new creation"⁵⁸

These constituted, in other words, the most immediate experience by which poets perceived a building and described what they saw. They were fundamental tools of their architectural apprehension, and one might also suggest, the most important requisites of architectural beauty. These were, after all, those of the building's features singled out by poets as evidence of the beauty they had sought to glorify. To allude to the poetic inscription along the interior base of the dome of a palace, for example, Sürūrī highlighted its radiant golden

57 *Reng ü t̄ābı muḥaṣṣıl-ı evhām*
Hüsn-i ṭarḫı netice-i ḥūlyā
Nedim, "Tārīḫ-i Divānhāne der Tersāne-i ʿāmire" (n.d.), *Nedim'in Divānı*, p. 240.

58 *Değil kavı-ı kuzah taḥsînle çarḫ etmiş āvize*
Ser-i bāmında bir kālā-yı reng-āmiz-i nev-icād
Sünbülzāde Vehbî, "Tārīḫ-i ḥāne-i Oṣmān Pāşā der vaḫt-ı defterdārı" (n.d.), *Divān-ı Vehbî*, p. 12.

color by a simple analogy to the gleam of the moon, the ultimate metaphor for beauty -- the beauty of the beloved's face:⁵⁹

"Don't think it's the new moon! With a golden reed, the artist of the time recorded a description of its ceiling along the rim of the celestial dome"⁶⁰

With this range of bright, brilliant, and reflective building surfaces and materials, and natural elements such as the sun, the moon, the rain, and the rainbow, residences and fountains were evoked in continuous flux, changing their appearance with each season and climate, and each hour of the day and the night.

"Is it the garden of paradise, that house on the waterfront?
Truly, whoever saw its form thought it was a dream...
Its design is charming, its location, pleasant; it is immersed in light
The eye of the world has not seen [anything] like it before...
The blaze of the water and the light of its limpid pool
give every fish in it the glow of a moonlight
The requisites of pleasure were perfected inside this palace
Every [one of] its houses was the gatekeeper of the wind of grace"⁶¹

Though some of these images may be construed as mere poetical conceits, I will suggest that they also closely mirrored a certain architectural reality. Like Fāzıl Bey, Miss Pardoe marveled at the sight of the marble fountain of Tophane on a

⁵⁹ For the symbolism attached to the image of the moon see, Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, pp. 2, 48, 279, 418, 440; Schimmel, *A Two-Colored Brocade*, pp. 43-44, 207-10, 333-4.

⁶⁰ *Meh-i nev şanma kilik-i zerle ressam-ı zamân eyler
Kenâr-ı kubbe-yi eflâke vâsf-ı tākını tahrîr*
Sürûri, "Târîh ta'mir-i sarây" (1775), *Divân-ı Sürûri*, Part 1: *Tevârih*, p. 69.

⁶¹ *Bâğ-ı cennetmidir ol hâne leb-i deryâda
Vâkı'an şeklini kim görse şanır rü'yâda...
Resmi hoş mevki'i hoş nûra olup müsteğrak
Görmedi çeşm-i cihân mişlini bundan esbak...
Havz-ı pâkizesinin şü'le-i âb ü tâbı
Ânda her mâhi verir bârîka-ı mehtâbı
Bu sarây içre tamâm oldu şafâ esbâbı
Oldu her hânesinin bād-ı şabâ bevvâbı*

Fāzıl Bey Enderûni, "Berâ-yı temâşa-yı Neşâtâbâd'a" (n.d.), *Divân-ı Fāzıl Enderûn*, MS. TSMK, H. 893, fols 89a-b.

bright sunny day: "Its rich and elegant arabesques are beyond all praise; and, when the sun is shining on them, almost look like jewels."⁶² Likewise, Byron depicted the color mutations effected by the reflecting light over the walls and the window panes of a later Beylerbeyi Palace:

"Mother-of-pearl and porphyry and marble
Vied with each other on this costly spot...
And the stain'd glass which lighted this fair grot
Varied each ray"⁶³

It is also significant that the spectacular effects of water, light, colors, and reflective surfaces, by which ʿĀrif chose to depict the kiosk of Maḥmūd I, were invariably picked out by chroniclers. Describing the same palace of Beşiktaş in 1766, following Muştafa III's repairs in the wake of an earthquake, Çeşmi-zāde saw proof of the ruler's imperial rank and glory in the variegated, mirror-like surface of its marbled pillars (*sütūn-ı ruḥām-ı āyine-fāmında peyker-i şevket ü şān hüveydā*).⁶⁴ Similarly, Küçük Çelebizāde's portrayal of Saʿdabad consisted mainly of a description of the gilded domes (*muṭallā ḳubbeli*) of the three garden pavilions of Maḥmūd I, and of the white, bright, silver-like marble (*mānend-i sim ḥām-ı sefid*) of the water cascades (see fig. 112).⁶⁵ The fairy aura of the Bosphorus suburbs, with their waterfront residences reflecting in the water at night, was a scene frequently portrayed by contemporary European observers, and seemingly relished by their inhabitants: "To be seen in all its beauty," wrote Pardoe, "the Bosphorus should be looked upon by moonlight. Then it is that the

⁶² Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, II: 287. A slight variant of this observations is included in idem., *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 73.

⁶³ Cited in Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 57.

⁶⁴ Çeşmi-zāde Muştafa Reşid, *Çeşmî-zāde Tarihi*, p. 53.

⁶⁵ Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārîḫ-i İsmāʿîl ʿĀşım Efendi*, p. 42.

occupants of the spacious mansions which are mirrored in its waters, enjoy to the fullest perfection the magnificence of the scene around them."⁶⁶

4.2. Ornamental Effusion and the Display of Virtuosity

"Come and measure with geometrical calculations [if you can]
what extraordinary efforts artists and craftsmen have poured over that
adorning building!"⁶⁷

Though we lack the evidence to confirm the documentary credibility of these poems, these highly theatrical representations, in which light and mirror games played a significant role, appropriately conveyed the dramatic display of eighteenth-century waterfront residences. The profusion and extraordinary variety of their surface decoration, which poets particularly highlighted, seemed in perfect harmony with their "exhibitionist" character, effected (as discussed earlier in this study) by their ample fenestration and their increasingly open and elongated plan (see figs. 6, 19, 20, 136). Whether based on reality or on the illusory tricks of visual perception, poets' emphasis of these "display-conscious" façades, at times almost mimicking their exuberance in words, as in Nedim's verse below, is quite significant:

"With thousands of ornaments and luster and a hundred thousand
adornments and embellishments,
Meḥmet Keṭḫüda Paşa built this waterfront house"⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, I: 170. See also idem., *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, pp. 43, 57; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 154; Castellan, *Lettres sur la Grèce, l'Hellespont et Constantinople*, p. 157.

⁶⁷ *Hesāb-ı hendese ile var kıyās et kim ne miḫdārı
Tekellüf etmiş ehl-i şan'at ol zibende bünyâne*
Sürürî, "Tārîḫ-i kaşr-ı Beyḫān Sultān" (1800), *Divān-ı Sürürî*, Part 1: *Tevārîḫ*, p. 49.

⁶⁸ *Hezārān zīb ü ferle şad hezārān zīb ü zinetle
Bu sâḫilḫāneyi yaptı Muḫammed Keṭḫüda Pāşā*
Nedim, "Tārîḫ-i diger" [Sarāy-ı Meḥmed Keṭḫüdā Pāşā] (1722), *Nedim'in Divānı*, pp. 124-25; Nedim, *Nedim Divanı*, p. 154.

Doubtless, as is suggested by several passages cited so far, this ornamental excess was viewed as a measure of architectural excellence. Nedim wrote: "... the lofty celestial vault [is] so filled with ornaments and intricate work / that it is a refuge to happiness and prosperity;" and on the kiosk of Beşiktaş, 'Ārif observed: "... the beloved palace is so filled with ornaments and royalty / that the gilded roses of its ceiling are the crest of envy of the glittering moon." Often, poets appealed to the notion of spectacle to convey similar impressions: "He who sees the spectacle of its ornaments will not depart," remarked Nābī; and 'Ārif marveled: "Its designs are so full of effects, and so full of art and skill, that / the spectacle of its rose motif always confuses the nightingale."

What compounds the overwhelming feeling of ornamental effusion in these residences are poets' continuously shifting viewpoints, and the absence of opposition between inside and outside in their depictions of wall and ceiling surfaces. This is inherent, for instance, in the unqualified usage of the words *duvar* for "wall," or *sakf* and *ṭāk* ("vault, arch, niche, roof, or sky") for roof and ceiling. But regardless of the precision of the vocabulary, it is often difficult to confirm the location of the surface described, simply because of the "physical" continuity between interior and exterior which certain images, assisted by the playful effects of reflective surfaces, imply. Such is the case, for instance, in Sürūrī's warning (cited earlier) not to mistake the luminous golden inscription along the interior base of the palace's dome, for the light of the moon. Similarly, in Seyyid Vehbī's image below, in which pearls are brought in by the waves of the sea to form silver nails on the ceiling's wooden panelling,⁶⁹ the exterior walls of the *yalı* are treated as perfectly transparent surfaces:

⁶⁹ The silver nails here probably refer to those mentioned by Lady Montagu in reference to the ceilings of contemporary residences, which she described as

"He built this waterfront dwelling; this exhilarating pavilion formed a mole of ambergris to the seashore, to the Bosphorus, to the world Those who see the design of the captivating ceiling with its silver nails would think that the waves of the sea threw perfect pearls ashore"⁷⁰

Certainly, in part, this apparent lack of distinction between interior and exterior in poets' representations was a product of their creative constructs. However, as Fennî's depiction of the palace of Hacı Mūsā (cited below) sharply evokes, these images also strongly pointed to the generous openness of residential façades, by which fragments of their interiors were thoroughly displayed to the passers-by:

"It is a pavilion with such an ornamental design that every one of its windows is like a peacock skillfully exhibiting the back of its wings"⁷¹

Though not entirely with the same degree of appreciation, Walsh remarked on such collaborations between interiors and exteriors in the production of visual effects: "The gaudy glare of the gilded apartments within are reflected through an open casement with an almost painful and dazzling lustre, particularly if the sun shines, so as to repel the gazer."⁷²

"wainscoted with cedar set off with silver nails or painted with flowers,"
Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, p. 85.

70 *Bu sâhilhâneyi yaptı bu kaşr-ı dil-guşâ etti*
Leb-i bahra Boğâz'â rûy-i arzâ hâl-i 'anber bu'
Gören gülmîh-i siminlerle şakf-ı dil-guşâ resmin
Kenâra attı şanır cûş-i deryâ bir şâdef-ıncu

Vehbî, "Târih-i sâhilhâne-i Müftî 'Abdullâh Efendi" (n.d.), *Divân-ı Seyyid Vehbî*, fol 32.

71 *Böyle bir kaşr-ı münakkaşdır ki her bir revzeni*
Guyiya tâvüsdür açmış şan'âsından kanâd

Fennî, "Târih" [kaşr-ı Hacı Mūsâ] (1732), *Divân-ı Fennî*, MS. İÜK, Ty 58, fols 137-38.

⁷² Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, II: 33. It is worth noting here that several European travelers remarked on the gilded interiors of residences of the well-to-do from the beginning of the century. Around the mid-century, for example, Flachet wrote: "Tout est peint et doré chez les riches," Flachet, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts*, I: 395; see also among others, Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, pp. 85, 89, 118, 141; Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, II: 33. By contrast, one encounters no descriptions of gilded exterior walls in palaces and residences in this period. These begin to surface in depictions of nineteenth-century buildings, such as the palaces of Beylerbeyi and Dolmabahçe, both built under

The importance of public display was not only evoked in representations of waterfront residences and palaces. It was also strongly implied in depictions of contemporary fountains. It is even tempting to suggest that it underlay the puzzling identification of fountains as "pavilions" (*kaşr*) in some celebrations of imperial monumental fountains of the early part of the century. Upon the completion of the fountain of Aḥmed III at the Gate of the Topkapı Palace, Seyyid Vehbî wrote (see fig. 62):

"May this *muqarnased* pavilion, this arch of the color of chrysolite* always remain a vestige of the world!"⁷³

It may not be surprising that these new cubical, monumental *meydân* fountains should have been perceived as pavilion-like structures, at least in the first years of their emergence. Square in plan, topped with a pyramidal roof sometimes crowned with additional domical structures and projecting in wide eaves, they were far more akin in form and scale to the familiar *kaşr* than they were to the typical wall or corner fountain (fig. 155, see figs. 62, 76, 77, 78, 116, and 118).

But this euphemism was not limited to the formal characteristics of *meydân* fountains. It also pointed to their extraordinary display of artistic craftsmanship and infinite sweep of decorative features which included, among others, inscription bands and panels in various calligraphic styles, *muqarnases*, low-relief geometric and floral motifs, and ceramic tiles. To this rich sampling of the

the reign of Maḥmūd II in the first half of the nineteenth century; see for example, Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, pp. 57, 94.

73 *Hemişe ola tā ki 'ālemde bir pā*
*Bu kaşr-ı muqarnaş bu tağ-ı zeberced**
Vehbî, "Tārîḥ-i çeşme" [Bâb-ı Hümâyûn] (n.d.), *Divân-ı Seyyid Vehbî*, fols 34-35; see also, *Divân-ı Seyyid Vehbî*, fols 28-29; and a chronogram by Şâkir, cited in Aynur, III. *Ahmed Devri*, p. 245.

* This could be a reference to the green ceiling of the canopy and/or a symbolic allusion to the heavenly quality of the fountain.

ornamental styles of the period, one should add an important dimension which is today entirely lost, namely, the gilding and bright colors of these fountains which poets occasionally evoked with the terms *reng* (color) and *rengin* (colorful, beautifully colored, and beautiful):

"Morning and evening get the glaring light of its heart
The hyacinth in its painting is the color (*reng*) of a colorful (*rengin*)
garment"⁷⁴

Miss Pardoe portrayed the late eighteenth-century fountain of Şāliḥa Sulṭān at Azapkapı as "beautifully and profusely painted with arabesques" (see figs. 47 and 59).⁷⁵ Castellan's description of the fountain of Tophane by Maḥmūd I (see figs. 46, 61, 77, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123) is particularly evocative in this regard, and offers valuable speculation as to the technical aspect of these wall paintings:

Les ormenens dont elle est surchargée, sculptés en relief, peints et dorés, sont tellement mutipliés, qu'il est difficile de s'en former une idée nette par la description: c'est un mélange de niches, de compartimens en formes de pilastres, couronnés par plusieurs rangs de frises, dont l'une représente une colonnade soutenant des arcades, qui contiennent des vases d'or remplis de fleurs et de fruits, sculptés en relief, et peints de couleurs naturelles. (...) [N]éanmoins on doit s'étonner qu'étant exposée à l'air salin de la mer, aux vents humides et à la réverbération du soleil, les couleurs dont elle est revêtue, aient conservé un aussi vif éclat. Je ne suis pas sûr qu'elles aient été préparées à l'huile; mais ce qui m'a été affirmé par une personne digne de foi, c'est qu'on passe sur les dorures une couche d'huile d'aspic, qui les met à l'abri de l'humidité, sans leur faire perdre leur brillant. (...) [A]u total, ce monument est plus remarquable par sa richesse que par sa beauté: il (...) effraie plus les regards qu'il ne les satisfait, malgré la profusion d'or, de lapis et de carmin dont il est revêtu.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ *Cūş-i envār-ı zamīrinden alır şubḥ u masā
Naḳşının sūnbūli hem-reng-i libās-ı rengin*
Nābi, "Tārīḥ" (1710), *Divān-ı Nābi*, pp. 98-100.

⁷⁵ Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 37.

⁷⁶ Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée, l'Hellespont et Constantinople*, II: 236-8; idem., *Lettres sur la Grèce, l'Hellespont et Constantinople*, II: 177-9. I thank Gülrü Necipoğlu for pointing to this reference and lending me access to her notes. Surprisingly, Ottoman contemporaries rarely noted the colors of ornaments on exterior building walls. I have only come across one cursory observation, by Küçük Çelebizāde, of the inscription of two chronograms by the poet Neyli Aḥmed Efendi, painted in red color over the *ivān* of a pavilion in Tophane, built

In the minds of contemporaries, these fountains represented quintessential models of outstanding craftsmanship. Numerous observers remarked on the most ornate among them, such as those in Tophane, Bâb-ı Hümâyûn, Üsküdar, Kabataş, and Galata (see figs. 39, 44, 46, 48b, 61, 62, 74, 76, 77, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122, 123).⁷⁷ They were deemed the most "eye-striking" ones,⁷⁸ or as Walsh had it, those over which "the Turks seem to have exerted all their skill in sculpture."⁷⁹ Telhîşî Muştafa Efendi's brief account of his trip to the fountain of Aḥmed III at Bâb-ı Hümâyûn conveyed a similar appreciation of the excellence of its workmanship, testifying to a sensibility beyond the "imaginative" world of poetry or the taste for the "picturesque" of European observers. He wrote in his personal diary:

In order to get informed about the matchless eight-cornered fountain, the construction of which had begun four or five months ago by His Excellency the venerable sultan [Aḥmed III], we proceeded in its direction and walked about and contemplated it. Indeed it is [something] precious; a work of art whose craftsmanship has not been seen [before]; everyone who sees it remains stunned.⁸⁰

by Ahmed III in 1723: *iki târiḥ tāmıdır ki nevişte-i kitâbe-i ivân la'lı fâmi kılınmıştır, Küçük Çelebizâde, Târiḥ-i İsmâ'îl 'Aşim Efendi, p. 97.*

⁷⁷ These were the fountains of Maḥmûd I, Aḥmed III, Ḥekîmoğlu 'Ali Paşa, and Bereketzâde.

⁷⁸ İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 25.

⁷⁹ Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, I: 7. This perception was alive in nineteenth-century architectural consciousness as well. In an effort to exemplify certain aspects of Ottoman architecture in the treatise which accompanied the 1873 Vienna exhibition, *L'Architecture Ottomane / Uşûl-i Mi'mâri-yi 'Osmanî* (Istanbul, 1873), the fountain of Aḥmed III was used as a paragon of Ottoman craftsmanship. A doctoral dissertation about this treatise is being currently prepared by Ahmet Ersoy.

⁸⁰ *Dört beş ay önce saadetli Padişah hazretlerinin Bâb-i Hümâyûn önünde yaptırmaya başladıkları sekiz köşeli eşsiz çeşme bitmek üzere olduğundan bugün varıp temaşa eyledik. Gerçekten nadide ve eşi görülmemiş bir eserdir ki her gören hayran kalır* (dated August 10, 1729), Sadreddin-zâde, Telhîşî Muştafa Efendi, "Bir Osmanlı Efendisi'nin Günlüğü," p. 242. It would be interesting to probe the significance of such "architectural tours" in the life of Muştafa Efendi. Was his trip to the

The phenomenal display of intricate work, wide-ranging artistic mastery, and ornamental exuberance on eighteenth-century fountains, so uncharacteristic of earlier prototypes, rather strongly resonates with the character of earlier imperial kiosks and pavilions: what Necipoğlu described as "showcases for the decorative arts of the time" (fig. 156).⁸¹ It may even be worth noting here a possible decorative link between fountains in the eighteenth century and sixteenth and seventeenth-century pavilions, namely, in the low-carving marble relief. This technique, by which the walls of later fountains were covered, were featured in more modest scale in earlier decorative panels, as in the court of the seventeenth-century Revan kiosk of Murād IV in the outer garden of the Topkapı Palace (fig. 157). As favored court poets must have been intimately acquainted with these private "pleasure pavilions," to which the sultan retreated in his leisure hours, the fountain-*kaşr* euphemism may have well been intended as a direct analogy between the formal and decorative idioms of the two building types: public *meydān* fountains as private royal pavilions turned inside out. No longer only accessible to a select few, they displayed in full their art and skill to the public at large, bespeaking the means, distinction, and "sensibilité pour le beau"⁸² of their patrons -- not only sultans, but grand-viziers, *kethüdas*, palace and military *ağas*, *ulema* and bureaucrats.

fountain of Aḥmed III prompted by sheer curiosity, a passion for fountains, a taste for architecture, or a sense of pride he took in keeping up with the (imperial?) building activity in the capital? At any rate, one may easily surmise that this was one of the pleasurable moments of his recreational life, which he felt worthy of recording in his diary, like his visits to friends and family members, his fishing expeditions, or his appreciation of specific food items, of which he also kept record.

⁸¹ She refers here to the seventeenth-century Baghdad and Revan kiosks at the Topkapı Palace, built by Murād IV between 1635 and 1638 to commemorate his victories over the two cities, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 192.

4.3. Fruits and Flowers and the Sensory Power of Mimesis

"[The] gilded ceiling polishes the dust from the mirror of the moon
Leaf by leaf, the painted flowers exude the scent of living pleasure"⁸³

The sense of artistic mastery, of fountains and residences alike, was most forcefully conveyed by poets through impressions informed by analogy to reality. The stunning resemblance of fruits, trees, roses, and tulips painted on wood or carved on marble surfaces to their natural models, was a popular theme which poets embellished with a myriad constructs, and in which they wove the most imaginative scenarios. It has been suggested that fruit motifs, and their use in combination with trees and flowers, were "a clear allusion to the images of paradise set forth in the Koran."⁸⁴ While such interpretations may easily be inferred from some poetic imagery, I would like to emphasize that in the minds of contemporary poets, these motifs drew the power of their appeal out of their resemblance to reality. They were images of life and the living world: virtual gardens, as poets had it. In Ḥafzī's long poem quoted earlier, for example ("He who sees the roses and flowers on its marble / would forsake a garden promenade and a pretty rose garden"), allusion is made to the vigor of the design's realism by suggesting that the carved flowers artfully substituted for the experience of a real garden. The equation between superb craftsmanship and mimesis was directly expressed by ʿArif in a verse also mentioned earlier: "Its

⁸² This was Pertusier's interpretation of the magnificent craftsmanship of these fountains, which he used as illustrations to argue against those who had suggested a lack of sensibility for architectural beauty among the Ottomans, Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, I: 249, 322, 383.

⁸³ *Sakf-ı zerini siler āyine-i mehden ğubār*
Berk berk naqş-ı ezhārı verir bŭy-i tarab
Nābī, "Tārīḥ-i binā-yı kaşr-ı Silahdār İbrāhīm Pāşā der Ḥaleb" (1706), *Divān-ı Nābī*, p. 78.

⁸⁴ Denny, "Reflections of Paradise in Islamic Art," p. 39.

designs are so full of effects, and so full of art and skill that / the spectacle of its rose motif always confuses the nightingale."⁸⁵ Partly, such conflation of illusion and reality may be construed as a literary device to convey the artistic genius of building patrons, and their ability to nearly attain God's creation. In his celebration of the kiosk of Maḥmūd I, 'Arif goes beyond the analogy of ornament and garden, pointing to the superiority of the building to nature: "The painted flowers never perish, like roses of paradise." By its permanence, Maḥmūd I's creation emulated God's own. Though in the tradition of the genre of chronograms, these ideas were more commonly intimated by means of building metaphors, the appeal of "mimetic" art far predated eighteenth-century Ottoman sensibilities; and mimesis constituted an important criterion of artistic perfection and visual perception in the medieval Muslim world. Emphasis on the illusive effects of artistic excellence and art's emulation of nature, however, centered mainly around the visual power of abstract geometric ornaments.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ This and the previous images seem markedly inspired by earlier poems by Nābī, one of which was mentioned in the previous chapter. In the other he wrote:

"He who sees the spectacle of springful ornament (*naḳṣ*) on its ceiling
Would forsake the sight of a rose garden"

Gören nümāyış-ı naḳṣ-ı bahār-ı tāvānın

Eder müşāhedē-i gülsitāndan istiḡnā

Nābī, "Tārīḫ-i ḥāne-yi Yeşilli Meḥmed Efendi der İstanbul" (1680), *Divān-ı Nābī*, p. 87.

⁸⁶ The parallel established between buildings and their decorative patterns with God's cosmic order in Aḥmed Paşa's *kaşide* for Meḥmed II's Çinili Kiosk (mentioned earlier) and the Timurid poetic tradition in which it was grounded, should be seen as an aspect of this broader understanding of perfect art as the emulation of nature. This is discussed in length in Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll - Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture*, pp. 117-23. It would be interesting to investigate the importance of the concept of mimesis in the context of the formation of Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal artistic canons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially, given their shifting emphasis from the Timurid-based geometrical ornaments to predominantly "semi-naturalistic" floral idioms. Examples from Mughal poetic descriptions of the Taj Mahal in the rhymed histories of the reign of Shāh Jahān, by Kalim (*Pādshāh Nāmā*) and Qudsi (*Zafar Nāmā*), testify to the significance of mimetic art in this period. From Kalim:

What imparted a new resonance to the concept of mimesis in the eighteenth century, both as a measure of artistic beauty and a predominant form of apperception, was its specific association with the new realistic decorative vocabulary of this period. The novelty of eighteenth-century poetic analogies of art to nature lay therefore in the "descriptive realism" they acquired from their new referential framework.

Beyond its evocation of artistic excellence, the force of mimesis lay principally in the sensory effects and illusions it evoked:

"Its pomegranate drawing fell off the wall into its own reflection:
One side turned its fish into roses, the other made it broil
By the moon cup, from the golden mouth of the moonlight's fountain,
these corporal tulips are perpetually satiated"⁸⁷

This rather unusual image by Nevres on Maḥmūd I's kiosk in Beşiktaş, based on a pun over the word *gül-nār* for pomegranate (meaning literally "rose-fire"), has the tumbling motif split itself in two halves: spreading roses on one side of the sea, and blazing the fish on the other by the intensity of its fiery-red color. Aside from its emphasis on the bright red color of the fruit, this image brings into

"Pictures become manifest from every stone;
Take a look at the garden in the mirror --
They have inlaid stone flowers in marble,
Which surpass reality in color if not in fragrance...
Every stone is brought to shining life,
Whether figures or patterns of waves and bubbles"

And from Qudsi:

"Here the rose of forgiveness blooms in abundance,
Refreshing even the angelic celestials by its fragrance"

Translated by Begley and Desai, cited in Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illuminated Tomb*, pp. 83, 85. I thank Gülru Necipoğlu for pointing out these references.

87 *Resm-i gül-nārın düşüp divārdan 'aksine
Oldu gül bir cânibi bir yānı mähiniñ kebāb
Tas-ı mehle çeşme-i zer lüle-i mehtābından
Şol mücessem lāleler olmaktadır reyyān-ı āb*

Nevres, "Tārīḥ-i sāhilsarāy-ı dil-keş tarḥ-ı Beşiktaş" (1748), *Divān-ı Nevres*, fols 41b-42a.

sharp relief the motif's three-dimensional quality. One can almost imagine with Nevres the fleshy pomegranate jutting out of the wall, and about to drop down by the pulse of its own weight (fig. 158). Though poets never clearly identified these motifs, such representations could only translate the new realism inherent in the "flower-and-fruit" iconography -- those flowers, fruits, and trees in pots, vases, and baskets, framed in panels or bands and which (as we saw in a previous chapter in the context of fountains) appeared on wall surfaces at the beginning of the century (see figs. 46, 47, 48, 58, 59, and 60). Given the lack of evidence of carved fruit and flower motifs over the exterior walls of palaces in this period, and despite the nature of Nevres's image, one is led to conjecture that the pomegranate he depicted was painted over an interior wall in the kiosk of Maḥmūd I. It may have been akin to that which Pouqueville observed in the contemporary waterfront palace of the Baron Hubsch in Büyükdere: "a grenadier of the size of life painted in fresco upon the wall."⁸⁸ And the optical illusions it created must have been similar to those evoked by Lady Montagu in relation to the decorated ceiling of a contemporary pavilion in Edirne, "painted with all sorts of flowers, falling out to gilded baskets, that seemed tumbling down."⁸⁹

Visual effects and *trompes-l'oeil* hardly covered the full scope of sensory effects evoked by the mimetic quality of wall ornaments. Smells, sounds, and tastes were all described by poets, as integral to their experience of buildings, and highly remunerating sources of pleasure.

⁸⁸ Pouqueville, *Travels in Greece and Turkey*, p. 309.

⁸⁹ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, p. 89.

"In the mind of the thirsty ones, the sweet taste of its sugar cane water remains a while; is it smeared with wine?
Those who drink from its water smell the abundant fragrance of colorful, painted roses here and there; is this a heap of ambergris?"⁹⁰

In Nevres's perception, the fountain of Tophane (both as a source of water and an object on display) was an intoxicating experience deriving from the combination of the sweet, wine-tasting water it provided and the musky fragrance of its painted roses (see figs. 46, 61, and 77). The following verses by Sünbülzāde are likewise punctuated with allusions to life and living matter: Besides the association of the word *naķş* (painting, carving, ornament, motif) with the creation of life (an allusion to the Creator) which I have noted in the last chapter, the term *mücessem* for form (verse 1) equally conveyed the idea of corporality, of the roses coming to life -- an image perpetuated in the next verse by reference to their misty skin.

"Had Behzad seen its adorning ornaments (*nukūş*)
with a hundred artful (living) forms, his eye would be bewildered
If the nightingales were the producers of melody in its *ivān*, it would be fit;
The painted / carved roses look like dewy roses of new-sprung
happiness"⁹¹

In this elaborate fantasy bringing back together the familiar rose and nightingale, Sünbülzāde recreated the architectural setting of the *ivān* in the house of Cihān-zāde as a joyful and prosperous spring garden, experienced through the sounds, colors, and textures of its landscape.

90 *Lezzet-i şir-ney-i ābı dimāğ-ı teşnede
Bir zamān bākı kalır āğıştā-ı şeker mi bu
Nüş eden ābından istişmām-ı büy-i feyz eder
Cā-be-cā gül-naķş-ı rengin tūde-i anber mi bu*
Nevres, "Bera-yı tārīḥ-i çeşme-i Sultān Maḥmūd Ḥān yirmi dōrt receb (...)" (n.d.), *Dīvān-ı Nevres*, fol 36a.

91 *Muşannaʿ şadd mücessemle nukūş-i zinet-efzāsın
Göreydi mücib-i hayret olurdu çeşm-i Behzād'a
Sezādır nağme-perdāz olsa ivānında bülbüller
Muşavver gönçalar benzer gül-i sirāb-ı nev-şāda*
Sünbülzāde Vehbî, "Tārīḥ-i ḥāne-i muḥaşşıl-ı Aydın Cihān-zāde der ... Hişār" (n.d.), *Dīvān-ı Vehbî*, p. 13.

4.4. The Canonization of Sensuous Pleasures

"How can this sublime pavilion not prolong man's life!
That expression of joy and pleasure was the motive of its construction"⁹²

Though these images belonged to the realm of the imaginary, the significance of sensuous evocations in this poetry is that they added a virtual corporality to the visual aspect of the building: a sense of the smells, tastes, textures, and sounds by which the building became more congenial to its viewers:

"Every one of its gates and walls are as though attractive fabrics,
each woven on the loom of the pleasure of the world"⁹³

As in this reference by Nedīm to earthly woven fabrics, Sünbülzāde's image of singing nightingales, or Nevres's allusion to the ambergris scent of painted flowers (mentioned above), the sensory effects of ornaments were mostly intimated by analogies to textiles, melodies, perfumes, or even food. Like Sürūrī's comparison of a *yalı* with a *rahat lokum* to evoke its "saccharine" beauty, these analogies with familiar sensations reinforced the immediacy of poets' perception of buildings, and the vigor of their contact with what they saw.

"His charming pavilion gave such sweetness to the Bosphorus
that if I compare it to a *lokum*, don't say this is idle talk"⁹⁴

92 *Nice artırmısun bu kaşr-ı vālā ādemiñ 'ömrün
Ki bā'ışdır ānuñ bünyādına ol nuṭṭ-i rūḥ-efzā*
Nedīm, "Tārīḥ-i diger berā-yı saḥilsarāy-ı Kapūdān Pāşā" (1725), *Nedīm'in Divānı*, pp. 243-44; Nedīm, *Nedīm Divanı*, pp. 216-17.

93 *Birer mensūc-i dil-keşdir der ü divāri kim guya
Dokunmuş her biri bir dest-gāh-ı zevk-i 'ālemde*
Nedīm, "Tārīḥ berā-yı beyt-i Kapūdān Mustafa Pāşā der leb-i yemm" (1725), *Nedīm'in Divānı*, pp. 97-98; Nedīm, *Nedīm Divanı*, pp. 164-65.

94 *Kaşr-ı şirini Boğāz'a bir helāvet verdi kim
Rāḥat-ul-halkūma beñzetsem deme efsānedir*
Sürūrī, "Tārīḥ-i kaşr-ı sāhilḥāne-yi 'Osmat Beg" (1799), *Divān-ı Sürūrī*, Part 1: *Tevārīḥ*, pp. 88-89.

In this respect, the remarkably new building / body analogy in poetry (and the occasionally erotic subtext which accompanied it, as in the following chronogram by Nedim on Muşafa Paşa's *Bağçe-i Vefā*) should not be surprising; and may be viewed as the ultimate metaphor of the pleasure of intimate experience between poets and buildings:

"Its three exalted porches bewitched it with happiness, delight, and desire
as though they were a three-sided talisman.
If this captivating water-jet had no ceiling, its water
would gush out to the heavenly sphere as far as the eye can see
O! this limpid pool across from the elegant pavilion
is as though a beautiful beloved, holding a mirror in front of it
And behind it, that refined pavilion of new creation
is seduced to the heart, madly in love with its pure and captivating layout
Especially that splendid soul-nourishing *selsebil*:
Its playful purity is like a coquettish young man"⁹⁵

As an operative mode of architectural appreciation in eighteenth-century poetry, then, the glorification of sensory matter -- whether the visual spectacle of glitter and decorative profusion, or the perfume of a painted flower -- should be regarded as a magnification of the primarily visual experience of buildings. Fanciful and illusive as our poets' analogies and constructs may be, they should not be dismissed as "mere poetry," nor should they be regarded strictly as intrinsic to the poetical idiom or the literary fashion of the period. Though we

95 *Sürür u inbisât u şevki etti kendüye teşhîr
Olup guyâ müselleş vefk ol üç şuffa-ı vâlâ
Ya bu fevâre-i dil-cû ki şakî olmasa âbi
Çıkar tâ âsumânın tâkına medd-i nigâh âsâ
Ya bu havz-ı muşaffâ karşısında kaşr-ı zibânın
Tutar* âyine bir maḥbûb-i ra'nâ pişine guya
Anın daḥi verâsında o nâzik kaşr-ı nev-bünyâd
Ki tarḥ-ı pâk dil-cûsine dil-meftûn ḥired-şeydâ
Huşûsâ kim o fâḥir selsebil-i rûḥ-perver kim
Şafâsı gerden ḥûy-kerde-yi ḥûbân gibi ra'nâ*

Nedim, "Târîḥ berâ-yı kaşr-ı Kapûdân Muşafa Pâşâ der Bağçe-i Vefâ" (1727), *Nedim'in Divânı*, pp. 103-105; Nedim, *Nedim Divanı*, pp. 183-85.

* *tunar* in *Nedim'in Divânı*.

lack the necessary archeological or visual evidence to thoroughly scrutinize them against their architectural referents, there are clear indications that they reflected a real preoccupation with the sensuous pleasures of architecture. This was mostly manifest in the residential architecture of their time, and resonated throughout contemporaries' descriptions of dwellings' and palaces' interiors. Lady Montagu's optical illusions of flower baskets falling off the walls of a kiosk (cited above) were but the crowning element of a range of sensory experiences, procured by a combination of natural, decorative, and iconographical elements:

[The kiosk was] built round with gilded sashes; (...) the jessamines and honeysuckles that twisted round [the tree] trunks [near it] [shed] a soft perfume, increased by a white marble fountain playing sweet water in the lower part of the room, which fell into three or four basins with a pleasing sound. The roof was painted with all sorts of flowers falling out to gilded baskets, that seemed tumbling down.⁹⁶

By their formal, spatial, decorative, and iconographical programs, eighteenth-century residences, and *yalıs* in particular, seemed primarily conceived for the cultivation of sensory pleasures: Broad and extensive windows maximizing the view outside, jutting kiosks, belvederes, each identified in relation to its specific viewpoint (*taht-ı semā, cihānnümā, mehtābiyye, seyirgāh*); other spaces such as the *bülbülhāne* (house of the nightingales),⁹⁷ consecrated to the pleasures of the ear; fountains and basins, whose "tikking of water," as Dallaway described it, gave "a high satisfaction to the Turkish ear;" reflective surfaces, like the fashionable mirrors, stained glass, gilding, polished and colored marble; and illusory paintings of fruits and flowers on walls and ceilings, to which were added landscape friezes and cartouches in the second half of the century (fig. 159, see

⁹⁶ Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, pp. 88-9; see also *ibid*, p. 85; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 171-3; Toderini, *De la littérature des turcs*, III: 61-2; Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*, I: 211-2; *idem.*, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, p. 43; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 24; Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, pp. 108-11.

⁹⁷ Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 263.

fig. 56). Gradually, and by the turn of the nineteenth century, these landscape scenes developed into wall-size murals mostly representing idyllic Bosphorus scenes of trees, water, boats, parterres, fountains, pools, *yalıs*, kiosks and pavilions, conflating interior and exterior, and appropriating the view outside by replicating it in elaborate *trompe-l'oeil* effects (figs. 160 and 161, see fig. 124).⁹⁸ The Bosphorus shores became an icon of pleasure-loving life, and came to serve as one of the most common images on walls of buildings that cultivated sensuous pleasures.

⁹⁸ The introduction of landscape scenes in Ottoman painting dated back to the early eighteenth century and spread in different media, as for example in paper cut-outs and lacquer painting. It also featured in backgrounds and friezes in the genres of portraiture and costume representations. The murals were produced in a type of *fresco a secco*, different from the western fresco technique and following an Ottoman traditional technique of painted brushwork tracery (*kalem işi*), Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginning of Western Trends," p. 69. Modern scholars have stressed the European influence evident in these murals: first in the introduction and development of the natural landscape iconography, and second, in the awareness of three-dimensionality by attention to light and shade and perspectival effects. Further research on the extent of this influence or its assimilation into traditional genres and techniques, and on the popularity and widespread use of murals across the Ottoman empire, is still awaited. For references on late eighteenth-century murals see, *ibid*, pp. 69-86; *idem.*, *Batılulaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700-1850*; *idem.*, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," pp. 711-35; Atasoy, "I. Mahmut Devrinden Kalma bir İstanbul Evi," pp. 10-16; Esin, "Sadullah Paşa Yalısı," pp. 11-25. For Edirne see, Osman, *Edirne Evleri ve Konakları*. For the Arab and Balkanic provinces see, Maury, Revault, et al., eds. *Palais et maisons du Caire, vol. II: Epoque ottomane*; Kiel, *Studies on the Ottoman Architecture of the Balkans*; Péev, *Alte Häuser in Plovdiv*, vol II; Carswell, "From the Tulip to the Rose," pp. 328-58; Duda, "Painted and Lacquered Woodwork in Arab Houses of Damascus and Aleppo," pp. 247-66.

5. THE APPEAL OF NOVELTY

"The wise architect was madly enamored with its charming design
Behzad was stunned by the new invention of its colorful ornaments"⁹⁹

Behind poets' stated bewilderment at the virtual reality of painted and carved fruits-in-bowls and flowers-in-vases, one must recognize an element of surprise deriving from the novel, unusual spectacle that these new motifs must have offered in the architectural landscape of the city. If this point was left out of the previous discussion, it is because the notion of innovation deserves particular attention: first, because it constituted a significant criterion of architectural apprehension in eighteenth-century poetry which was not only limited to these motifs; and second, because of the overriding equation of this notion with the idea of westernization in modern historiography; that is to say, the common perception of western influence as key to the architectural innovations of the eighteenth century, and further, of Europe as a predominant model for change.¹⁰⁰ One relevant example here is the recent, far-fetched suggestion that the natural fruit and flower motifs should be regarded from the perspective of a growing western secular trend, "as keys to understand the nature of westernization in Ottoman visual arts" in the eighteenth century.¹⁰¹ What such

⁹⁹ *Resm-i matbū'ına dil-şifte-i mi'mār-ı hıred
Naqş-ı rengin-i nev-icādına hayrān Behzād*
Nevres, "Tārīh-i ta'mir-i kaşr-ı Bāğçe-i Tokāt ki bi-fermān-ı sulţān Maḥmūd ..."
(n.d.), *Divān-ı Nevres*, fols 38b-39a.

¹⁰⁰ See for example, Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*; idem., "Influences de l'art européen sur l'architecture ottomane au XVIIIe siècle," pp. 149-57; Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyılda İstanbul*; Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım*; Eyice, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı ve Türk Mimarisinde Avrupa Neo-Klasik Üslubu," pp. 163-89; Bates, "The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture," pp. 167-81; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture," pp. 153-78; Esin, "Le Maḥbūbiye, un palais ottoman 'alla franca'," pp. 73-86; for garden design see, Cerasi, *La città del Levante*, pp. 209-19. For an outline of the main arguments on eighteenth-century westernization put forth in modern scholarship, see the Introduction.

¹⁰¹ Bates, "Eighteenth-Century Fountains," p. 294.

claims overlook, however, is that (as was pointed out in chap. 1), although these motifs surfaced as an architectural decorative idiom at the turn of the eighteenth century, their emergence in the Ottoman visual arts dated back at least to the latter half of the sixteenth century. They were featured, for instance, in a miniature illustration of Lokman's *Sūrnāme-i Hümāyūn* (Imperial Book of Feast) dated 1582, in ceramic tile panels and skirting tiles in the mosque of Takkeci İbrāhīm Ağa, built in 1592 near the city gate of Topkapı, and later, in the Circumcision Room (*Sünnet Odası*) at the Topkapı Palace, renovated by İbrāhīm I (1640-1648) (fig. 162; see figs. 49 and 50).¹⁰² Furthermore, it would be difficult to completely discount the possibility of an "eastern" decorative link, namely, with the Mughal tradition, in the flourishing low-relief marble carving technique in which these motifs consistently appeared on exterior walls in the eighteenth century (fig. 163). One could also investigate whether the increasingly pronounced realism of these motifs since the seventeenth century may have been channeled from Europe via the "western-style" botanical representations in currency in the Mughal empire at that time (figs. 164, 165, and 166 a-b).¹⁰³

¹⁰² For the emergence and the "canonization" of the seminaturalistic floral idiom in the sixteenth century see, Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture," pp. 194-216. She regards these motifs as a departure from the abstract, Timurid-Turkmen decorative repertoire in currency in the fifteenth century. She points to a similar development in the seventeenth-century Mughal empire, whose artistic vocabulary was also rooted in the "international" Persianate idiom; see idem., *The Topkapı Scroll - Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture*, pp. 114-5, 217-20.

¹⁰³ For reference see, Swarup, *Flora and Fauna in Mughal Art*; Falk and Digby, *Paintings from Mughal India* (Exh. Cat.), pp. 76-7; Titley, "Piante e giardini nell'arte persiana, moghul e turca," pp. 137-42. It is worth noting here that apart from the problematic raised by Bates's interpretation of these motifs as signs of westernization, one may also call into question the common understanding of "secularism" strictly within the context of westernization, as an intellectual trend which caught up in the Ottoman world in the eighteenth century -- an understanding which reflects in her argument. This question was raised recently by Kafadar, who pointed to a process of Ottoman "desacralization" in the sixteenth-century public sphere and other manifestations of this trend, notably in

5.1. Innovation and Westernization

This is not to downplay the infiltration of European (mostly French Baroque, Rococo, and neo-classical) features into the Ottoman decorative vocabulary, and their gradually more consistent appearance, in combination with more conspicuous architectural elements, especially in the last quarter of the century (as we have seen earlier in the context of fountains and residences). Rather, I want to emphasize, based on the evidence offered by eighteenth-century chronograms, that innovation and inventiveness were operative criteria of architectural appreciation in this period, regardless of stylistic genealogies. It is noteworthy, for example, that Seyyid Vehbî duly recognized the virtue of the *meydân* fountain as a new building type. In his chronogram, inscribed on the *meydân* fountain of Aḥmed III at Bâb-ı Hümâyün, the first truly monumental imperial fountain of this type (see fig. 62), he wrote:

"By making this site prosperous and this design, a new invention
(*nev-icâd*),
by delighting the soul of Huseyn, he built a source of pure water
You [built] it in the palace's square, you prayed for its thirsty ones,
you built the pavilion as though it were near the river of paradise"¹⁰⁴

Innovation was a predominant theme of eighteenth-century architectural chronograms. From a literary viewpoint, this trend may be regarded as a derivative of the "aesthetic of the new" characteristic of the ornate "Indian" poetic

the legal sphere, that were rooted in the Inner Asian tradition; see Kafadar, "The Ottomans and Europe," pp. 222-3.

¹⁰⁴ *Bu mevki'î âbâd edüp bu tarḥı nev-icâd edüp
Rûḥ-i Hüseyin'i şâd edüp etti sebîl-âb-ı şafâ
Yaptıñ sarây meydânına kıldıñ şalâ 'atşânına
Cennette kevser yanına guya ki kaşr ettiñ binâ*

Vehbî, "Târiḥ-i çeşme ü sebîl der pişgâh-ı Bâb-ı Hümâyün" (1729), *Divân-ı Seyyid Vehbî*, fols 28-29.

bedî and *ibdâ* (original, and to invent from scratch, to innovate: from the Arab. *bid*: creation, novelty) were the most recurring terms and formulations used by poets to suggest innovation. Like Seyyid Vehbî (above), Nedîm qualified the design of the palace of Meḥmed Kethüdâ Paşa, built in 1721-22 in Bahçekapı, as one of "new creation" (*tarḥ-ı nev-icâd*).¹⁰⁷

"If the glorious and high-ranking ones make a building, may them
[always] build this way!
If it is such, then let it be, the inventive (*nev-icâd*) pure design!"¹⁰⁸

The chronicler Küçük Çelebizâde noted the formal inventiveness (*nev-icâd*) displayed in Nevşehirli's pavilion of *Hürrem-âbâd* in Sa'dabad, and praised the layout of its water cascades and garden pavilions as unprecedented and original (*bedî ü't-tarḥ*).¹⁰⁹ Similar qualities were perceived by Şabit in the palace of Beşiktaş:

"In Beşiktaş, as requested by the cradle of the universe,**
this lofty *ivân* of magnificent design was an innovation (*ibdâ*)"¹¹⁰

İzzî applauded the "fresh design" (*resm-i tâze*) of Maḥmūd I's pavilion in Küçüksu, renovated in 1751.¹¹¹ Similarly, in one of his chronograms, Nedîm

Nedîm, "Der ta'rif-i Bâğçe-yi Fenâr der şehri Üsküdâr" (1727), *Nedîm'in Divânı*, pp. 64-65; Nedîm, *Nedîm Divanı*, pp. 209-10.

¹⁰⁷ Şem'dânizâde, *Mür'i't-Tevârih*, I: 129-30.

¹⁰⁸ *Yaparsa böyle yapsınlar binâ-ı ehl-i izz ü câh*
Olursa böyle olsun bâri tarḥ-ı pâk-ı nev-icâd
Nedîm, "Târiḥ-i diger" [Sarây-ı Meḥmed Kethüdâ Pâşâ] (1722), *Nedîm'in Divânı*, p. 124; Nedîm, *Nedîm Divanı*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁹ Küçük Çelebizâde, *Târiḥ-i İsmâ'îl 'Âşım Efendi*, pp. 44, 42.

¹¹⁰ *Beşiktaş'da murâdî* üzre o mehd-i deverân***
Olundu bu bedî ü't-tarḥ ivân-ı büleñd ibdâ
Şabit, "Târiḥ-i Sarây-ı Beşiktaş," *Divân-ı Şabit*, fol 69b.

* *murâd* in this edition, probably a copyist's error.

** most likely a reference to the Queen Mother.

¹¹¹ İzzî, *Târiḥ-i İzzî*, fol 273.

alluded to the fresh idiom exhibited in Nevşehirli's restoration of the palace of Neşâtâbâd in 1725-26:

"There is charm in its fresh (*tāze*) and captivating design
Come, my padişâh, to the newly built Neşâtâbâd!"¹¹²

Describing the new palace of Maḥmūd I (Maḥbūbiyye), built in 1735-36 on the shore of the Sarayburnu peninsula, Şem'dānizāde pointed to the innovative design of the pavilions: *nev-tarḥ-kaşrlar* ("the pavilions of-innovative-design"),¹¹³ These were likewise admired by the poet 'Abdī:

"The engineer made the pure work a design of new invention
Sinimmār* was conquered by surprise before its imaginative plan"¹¹⁴

The chronicler 'İzzī conveyed the same idea through a wide range of terms and expressions. He talked about "the new invention of rare and attractive forms, and shapes unheard of" (*rūsūm-ı nā-dīde-i maḥbūl-ı 't-ṭibā' ve eşkāl-ı nā-şenīde-i nev-iḥtirā'*), and of "the invention of so many exemplary new-born pavilions and novel designs" (*nev-resm ü nev-peydā nice kaşr-ı 'ibret-nümā iḥtirā'*).¹¹⁵ These descriptions sharply contrasted with those of the "old buildings" (*ebniye-i kadīme*) of the nearby Topkapı Palace which, 'İzzī explained almost dismally, were erected "for the sake of solidity and sobriety" (*berāy-ı raşānet ü rezānet*), and "in

112 *Letāfet var bunun da tāze-tarḥ-ı dil-gūşasında*
Neşâtâbâd-ı nev-bünyāda gel şevketlü hünkārım
Raḥmī, "Şarkı," cited in A. H. Çelebi, *Divan Şi'rinde İstanbul*, pp. 107-8.

113 Şem'dānizāde, *Mür'ı't-Tevāriḥ*, I: 39.

114 *Mühendis kār-ı tab'-ı pākı kıldı resm-i nev-icād*
Sinimmār ḥayālī-tarḥ ile ḥiret-ālūde
'Abdī, [tāriḥ]; cited in 'İzzī, *Tāriḥ-i 'İzzī*, fol 202.

* Sinimmār was the legendary architect of the pavilion of *Havernaḥ* of the Babylonian king Bahram.

115 'İzzī, *Tāriḥ-i 'İzzī*, fol 201. For the full description of the palace of Maḥbūbiyye see, *ibid*, fols 199-202.

the manner of the old masters and in the old / ancient style" (*kār-pīşin ü şarż-ı mütakaddimîn*).¹¹⁶

Poets also referred to what they recognized as stylistic (*şarż, üslûb*)¹¹⁷ novelties in the formal character of a building, or in its decorative and iconographical repertoires. Like Nevres (in the verse quoted at the beginning of this section) Nābî noted what he perceived as new in the decorative idiom of the palace of Hüseyn Ağa in Aleppo:

"The frieze of its painting in the new style
bewildered Manî and Behzad"¹¹⁸

Sürürî (below) noted the new and unique style of the palace of Aynalıkavak. His roundabout allusion to the "different sort of beauty" the palace acquired following the repairs conducted by 'Abdülhamîd I's grand-vizier, Koca Yūsuf Paşa, may also be read as a hint to the building's innovative style:

"There are no ruins left in his time on the surface of the ground
Just like the house of the celestial sphere, they [all] acquired a new
style (*şarż*)
By order of Yūsuf, minister of the court,
Tersane's building became another [sort of] beauty; its style (*üslûb*)
was unique"¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 201.

¹¹⁷ These terms, which meant style, idiom, manner, and expression, were not new to the period and were already in currency in the Ottoman architectural vocabulary from the sixteenth century onward. See for example, the sixteenth-century historian Celalzāde's description of the mosque of Şehzāde in, Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," p. 173; see also, a seventeenth-century inscription in the *Sünnet Odası* (Circumcision Room) in the Topkapı Palace, which reads: *tāze bir şarż-ı müfferih olmaya resm-i kadim* ("its rejoicing new style that should not be in the old mode"); cited and translated in, idem., *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. 194, 294, n.30.

¹¹⁸ *Naş-ı nev-şarżınıñ pervāzı
Hiret-efzā-yı Mānî ü Behzād*
Nābî, "Tāriḥ-i ḥāne-yi Hüseyn Aġā der Haleb ül-Şehbā" (1690), *Divān-ı Nābî*, pp. 85-6.

In fact, one may assume, based strictly on other surviving buildings founded by ʿAbdülhamîd I around the same time, that these innovations may have comprised certain European formal or ornamental features (see figs. 80, 81, and 82 a-b).¹²⁰ It has been recently suggested that similar references to novelty and to the "extraordinary / unusual" style and design (*tarz-ı ʿacîb; resm-i dil-ferîb*) of the short-lived palace of Maḥbûbiyye by the chronicler ʿİzzî were evidence of a distinctly western palatial style -- a claim supported by a nineteenth-century mural painting of an unidentified palace on the shore of the Sarayburnu peninsula (see fig. 2).¹²¹

In the case of ʿAbdülhamîd's Aynalıkavak and Maḥmûd I's Maḥbûbiyye, such interpretations could only be corroborated by further evidence, unfortunately unavailable. But the recurrence of poets' elusive treatment of "western" formal or iconographical elements in several other, better documented buildings, begins to call into question the significance of the concept of "westernization" in contemporaries' perception and appreciation of innovation. Consider, for

119 *Harâbe kalmadı rû-yi zemîn üzre zamânında
Mişâl-i beyt -i maʿmûr-i felek tarz-ı cedid oldu
Vekîl-i saltanat destûri Yûsuf-nâmuñ emriyle
Binâsı hüsn-ü diğêr buldu üslûbî ferid oldu*
Sürûri, "Târîḫ berâ-yı binâ-yı sarây-ı Tersâne-yi maʿmûre" (1786-7), *Divân-ı Sürûri*, Part 1: *Tevârîḫ*, p. 12.

120 The palace of Aynalıkavak in Tersane had been subsequently renovated and enlarged several times under Selîm III, Maḥmûd II, and ʿAbdülhamîd II. For a chronology of the building, repair, renovation, and enlargement activities in this palace, see Koçu, "Aynalı Kavak Sarayı," *İA*, pp. 1610-15. Koçu included in his entry a few other, beautiful chronograms by Sürûri, written on the same occasion; see also Artan, "Aynalıkavak Kasrı," *DBİA*, 1: 485-6; Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*, pp. 9-15.

121 Esin, "Le Maḥbûbiye, un palais ottoman 'alla franca'," pp. 73-86. Esin misreads the chronicler's name as ʿAzmî. The following reference, cited in her article: ʿAzmî, *Târîḫ*, Istanbul, h. 1199, should be instead: ʿİzzî, *Târîḫ-i ʿİzzî*, h. 1199 (1784). Here, the selection of references from the original text (following Esin's renderings in French) are mine.

example, the following passages from a chronogram by Fāzıl Bey on the extension of Neşāṭābād (*Ağalar Dā'iresi*), the residence of Ḥatıce Sultān (sister of Selim III), undertaken by the German architect Melling in 1793-94 (fig. 167):

"Come, enjoy the heavenly spectacle of this Neşāṭābād,
 especially this layout established out of a new invention
 True: Colorless, and in such monochromatic garment,
 its former appearance looked coarse compared to this new edifice
 This is a pure-faced beloved of proportionate beauty
 Its symmetrical form is more delightful than a boy's graceful stature
 He came and laid its creation in this form
 From the ancestors, none of the masters have seen [such a] design
 May its design remain! [Its] new colors and novel ornaments
 have never been seen by either Mānī or even Behzād
 I did not find in my deficient mind any imperfection to this new pavilion
 There are so many extraordinary foreign things in the world !"¹²²

122 *Gel temāşā-yı cinān et bu Neşāṭābād'dan*
Bā ḥuşuş ihdās olan bu tarh-ı nev-icāddan
Bî televvun ḥakk bu kim ol cāme-i yekreng ile
Eski taqvimi kabā gördük bu nev bünyāddan
Sāde-rū bir dil-rubādır kim tenāsub üzredir
Hey'et-i mevzūni ḥōşdur kāmet-i şimşād'dan...
Geldi tarh etti āniñ şeklince bu icādi kim
Resmini görmüş değil üstādlar ecdāddan
Resmi dursun ānda elvān-ı cedid ü nakş-ı nev
Hiç ne Mānī'den görülmüşdür ne ḥūd Behzād'dan
Bulmadım 'aql-ı kaşirimce bu nev-kaşra kuşūr
Şol-kadar var ki cihān içre ğarib-i bigāne*

Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, "Tāriḥ berā-yı kaşr-ı cedid-i fireng-teşyiddir der sāhilḥāne-i Neşāṭābād ma'mūr-bād" (1795), *Divān-ı Fāzıl Enderūn*, MS. TSMK, H. 906, fols 67b-68a.

* The range of meanings of the word *ġarib* would be equivalent to that of "uncanny:" from wondrous to utterly strange. It carries in both cases the connotation of "foreign-ness." Interestingly, its Arabic root *ġ-r-b*, "to depart," is also the root of the noun *ġarb*, "west." Its usage by 'Azmi, for example, in reference to European habits (*Avrūpa'nın ġarib-ādetindedir...*), in his travel account to Berlin (1790) contemporary to Fāzıl's poem, clearly suggests within its own context the meaning "strange, foreign," Ahmed 'Azmi Efendi, *Prusya Sefāretnāmesi*, fol 14a. Though a similar meaning in Fāzıl's poem could lend itself to an interesting, and certainly more critical, view of Melling's Neşāṭābād, suggesting that by comparison to all the strange things in the world, his building seemed perfect to the poet's "deficient mind," it seems very unlikely, given the primary goal of chronograms as poems of eulogy. We have encountered earlier, other equally equivocal, terms and expressions in 'İzzi's description of the Maḥbūbiyye palace: *'acib*, which like *ġarib*, could be understood as wonderful or weird; "extraordinary" or "uncanny" would best convey its meaning; and *dil-ferib*, lit. heart-deceiving, could imply astonishment and perplexity.

Innovation and inventiveness constitute the overriding themes in this passage. Throughout, Fāzıl noted all the different aspects of the building that he perceived as novel: its design "of new invention" (*nev-icād*), its new symmetrical (*mevzūn*) form,¹²³ the new (*nev, cedid*) decorative repertoire it featured, and its unusual "colorless-ness" (verse 2), doubtlessly a reference to the white color of its marble, as opposed to the brightly painted (mostly dark red) façades of princely palaces. Clearly, these observations corresponded to Melling's distinctively new treatment of the building: his use of ionic capitals and others decorated in the egg-and-tongue pattern, new "garland"-motifs in relief panels and along the frieze, sculpted urns in recessed, shell-arched niches, round and trifoiled window arches, the monumental central pediment, the ovolo moulding of its architrave, and the overall harmony and symmetry of its neo-classical façade (see fig. 167). Fāzıl Bey's allusion to Mānī and Behzād, the archetypal figures of "eastern" artistic excellence,¹²⁴ could be read here as an expression of defiance on his part, as though invoking their names to further highlight the novelty of Melling's Neşāṭābād, and perhaps even to suggest that by its sheer inventiveness, western art had outdone its eastern counterpart.

However far we can stretch our interpretations, and for all of Fāzıl's expressed admiration for the building and the innovativeness it displayed, not once does he pointedly refer to its "European style," in the manner, for instance, of fifteenth-century chroniclers like Tursun Beg or Kemālpāşāzāde, both of whom had plainly identified the towers built by Meḥmed II in the new palace of Topkapı as

¹²³ The term *mevzūn* also means harmonious or proportionate; my reading of it as "symmetrical" was informed by the visual evidence we have of the palace.

¹²⁴ These were two figures from pre-Islamic history: Mānī, the legendary Chinese painter (and founder of the Manichean religion), and Behzād, his Persian equivalent.

frenḡi (European) in style.¹²⁵ To attribute this absence of stated recognition to a lack of sufficient awareness or visual cognition on Fāzıl's part would seem inappropriate. His own title to his ode to Melling's Neṣāṭābād testifies to his knowledge of the fact that it was the work of a European architect. It reads: *Tāriḡ berā-yı kaşr-ı cedid-i fireng-teşyiddir der sāḡilḡane-i Neṣāṭābād ma' mūr-bād*, or "Chronogram on the new pavilion which is a European construction, in the felicitous waterfront residence of Neṣāṭābād."¹²⁶ It is also tempting to surmise that Fāzıl may have deemed the "western element" conceptually un-canonical to the poetic tradition -- as we have seen earlier was his contention about women. However, his own poetry, most notably his descriptions of men and women of various European cities, in the *Ḥūbānnāme* and the *Zenānnāme* respectively, would suffice to write off such a possibility. Besides, Nedim had already introduced, in the first half of the century, terms like *Frengistān* (for Europe), as well as a new, curiously "western" aesthetic of male beauty (blond and blue-eyed: *zūlf-i zer, çeşm-i kebūd*) -- which was perpetuated in Seyyid Vehbī's imagery.¹²⁷

In fact, from a survey of nearly 300 poems related to architecture, including chronograms, *kaşides*, *ḡazels* and *şarkıs*, and spanning the full length of the eighteenth century, one does not encounter any one reference to the term *frenḡi*, or any direct allusion to a "European style." Significantly, this is equally reflected

¹²⁵ Necipoḡlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p. 14.

¹²⁶ Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, *Divān-ı Fāzıl Enderūn*, MS. TSMK, H. 906, fols 67b-68a. This title is far too idiosyncratic to have been a later copier's edition. Unfortunately, the poem is not included in the other manuscript I have consulted (MS. TSMK, H. 893) to allow a more precise judgment.

¹²⁷ For Nedim's reference to *Frengistān*, see a transcription of one of his *ḡazels* in Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, p. 72. For allusions to blond and blue-eyed beauties see, for example, a transcription of a *türkü* by Nedim in, *ibid*, pp. 60-61; and Nedim, *Nedim Divanı*, p. XIX. For similar references in Seyyid Vehbī's poetry see, Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, pp. 110-11.

in prose writing, in chroniclers' occasional observations on particular buildings, and in the "buildings' biographies" compiled by Ayyānsarāyī in *Ḥadīkat ul-Cevāmi*^c (The Garden of Mosques),¹²⁸ which covers mainly mosques, *medreses*, and fountains of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. Their accounts of the mosque of Nurosmaniye (1749-55),¹²⁹ for instance, the first religious building in Istanbul to display moulded cornices, scrolls, perfectly round arches, and engaged columns with fluted capitals, seem in this respect rather incommensurate with the image of the mosque portrayed in modern historiography, as the archetypal illustration of western stylistic aspirations in eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture (figs. 168 and 169). Neither Ayyānsarāyī, in his "encyclopedic" entry on the mosque in *Ḥadīkat*, nor the Ottoman chroniclers of the latter half of the century, nor even Aḥmed Efendi, secretary of the mosque's construction comptroller and author of a lengthy account of its building process, *Tārīḥ-i Cāmi^c-i Şerīf-i Nūr-i ʿOsmānī* (The History of the Nurosmaniye Mosque),¹³⁰ make a single reference to a European connection, be it with regards to its stylistic features, or to the ambitions of its first patron, Maḥmūd I. Like Fāzıl on Neşāṭabād, however, they all address the innovative character of the Nurosmaniye, and highlight those features they recognized as novel to the mosque idiom of their city. Aḥmed Efendi referred to the Nurosmaniye as "the honorable mosque in a new style" *cāmi^c-i şerīf-i nev-*

¹²⁸ Ayyānsarāyī, *Ḥadīkat ul-Cevāmi*^c, 2 vols.

¹²⁹ The Nurosmaniye mosque was founded by Maḥmūd I and completed by his successor ʿOsmān III after his death. It is part of a larger complex which includes a *medrese*, a soup kitchen, a fountain-*sebil*, a library, a mausoleum and shops. For references see, for example, Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, pp. 384-87; Kuban, "Nurosmaniye Külliyesi - Kütüphanesi," *DBİA*, 6: 100-104; idem., *Istanbul: An Urban History*, pp. 149-51. Unfortunately, we still lack a comprehensive study of the mosque which would address the two phases of its construction and the contents of its endowment deeds.

¹³⁰ Aḥmed Efendi's account, *Tārīḥ-i Cāmi^c-i Şerīf-i Nūr-i ʿOsmānī*, was first published in *Tārīḥ-i ʿOsmānī Encümeni Mecmū^cası* (1918): 3-51. It was reprinted (with the original pagination) in Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye in Istanbul*.

tarz,¹³¹ and characterized the profusively ornamented fountain-*sebîl* at the outer gate of the complex as "a skillfully crafted fountain of unique beauty" (*muşannaʿ-kâr ü nâ-dîde bir çeşme-sâr*) (fig. 170).¹³² Later in the century, the city's chronicler İncicyan praised the style of the mosque and noted its superiority to all other mosques in the city. He singled out its marble pillars (most of them square in section and engaged, their capitals blending with the moulded cornice), its windows (unusually numerous, and including round or cinquefoil arches), and the capitals of its columns (plain and fluted), as some of its most appealing features (see figs. 168 and 169).¹³³ In his brief entry, Ayvânsarâyî noted the mosque's grandiose royal ramp and loggia (*hünkâr mahfili*), the epitomy of a development which had begun in the mosque of Aḥmed I (1609-1617), and an element which he may have (rightly) construed as a symbol of the mosque's royalty.¹³⁴

Here again, I do not wish to suggest an absence of awareness on the part of Ottoman observers of the western "flavor" exhibited in the Nurosmaniye, but only to question its significance within the larger context of innovation, especially by comparison to the accounts of European contemporaries. I am particularly referring here to a curious story encountered in some European travel accounts of the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth -- and

¹³¹ Aḥmed Efendi, *Tārîḥ-i Cāmiʿ-i Şerîf-i Nûr-i ʿOsmâni*, pp. 14, 26.

¹³² *Ibid*, p. 26.

¹³³ İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 50.

¹³⁴ Ayvânsarâyî, *Ḥadîkat ul-Cevāmiʿ*, pp. 22-3. For the development of royal ramps and lodges see, Kuran, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture," p. 313; for their royal symbolism see, Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," pp. 212-17.

invoked in many variants by recent scholars.¹³⁵ The earliest of these is offered by Dallaway, who traveled in the city during the reign of 'Abdülhamid I (1774-1789). He reported that Maḥmūd I "had good taste in architecture; and having procured designs of the most celebrated European churches, wished to have adopted the plan of one of them [for the Nurosmāniye mosque], but was dissuaded by the ulemāh."¹³⁶ Another, later version by Walsh (probably based on Dallaway's or another travel account) had it that:

in order to make it [the Nurosmāniye] more splendid than that of any of his predecessors, he [Maḥmūd I] sent architects to collect the models of the Christian cathedrals in Europe, that his mosque might be constructed from the perfections of them all. This heterodox intention, however, was opposed by the Ulemāh, who denounced it as a desecration of a temple dedicated to the Prophet; and while he hesitated in his plans, and before he had matured the whole design, death overtook him, and he left the mosque unfinished.¹³⁷

Whether or not our travelers fabricated the story in its entirety, whether perhaps their accounts were based on hearsay about the unusual character or the new style of the mosque, are questions that are impossible to resolve at this point. But it seems curious that not even a hint of such intentions on the part of Maḥmūd I should be dropped by a chronicler of this period; or even more so by Aḥmed Efendi, who by virtue of his job as assistant to the building's comptroller, and of his obvious interest in the mosque's construction -- his initiative to record

¹³⁵ See for example, Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, p. 383; Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım*, p. 28; Renda, *Türk Resim Sanatı*, p. 19, n.13; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture," p. 158; Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," p. 59; Bates, "The European Influence," p. 178; Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie*, p. 41; Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History*, p. 351. Levey seems the only one to have questioned the veracity of this information; see Levey, *The World of Ottoman Art*, p. 121.

¹³⁶ Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 62.

¹³⁷ Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople*, II: 12.

its process in writing seems to have been unsolicited -- would have presumably been aware of such a significant fact.¹³⁸

The interest of this discrepancy between Ottoman and European observations is that it calls into question not so much the stylistic references of the end product of the mosque, as it does a fundamental intention of investing the Nurosmaniye with a distinctively western air. While this difference might be reconciled by further archival documentation on this mosque, it does draw, from the perspective of contemporary architectural consciousness, an important line between two distinct ideas: first, an unequivocal aspiration for the emulation of a European architectural culture -- what is usually referred to as "westernization" in modern scholarship; second, an inclination for novelty featuring, among other innovations (e.g. excessive fenestration, monumental royal ramp), selective motifs and elements from a European architectural vocabulary (e.g. ionic capitals, round arches).

It is noteworthy that similar speculations on the part of European observers have surrounded the stylistic innovations displayed in Aḥmed III's Saʿdabad, another celebrated "monument" of eighteenth-century Ottoman ideals -- of openness towards the West and in this case, of the "Tulip Period's" courtly pleasure pursuits. According to numerous European travelers and residents, Saʿdabad would have been modeled after a contemporary French palace, based on plans brought back by the Ottoman ambassador to the court of Louis XV, Yirmisekiz Meḥmed Çelebi, by commission from the grand-vizier Nevşehirli

¹³⁸ One would also think that the highly critical chronicler Şemʿdānizāde would have delighted in commenting on such an "act of profanity;" however, he offers only a few cursory remarks on the mosque, Şemʿdānizāde, *Mürʿiʿt-Tevârih*, I: 31.

İbrâhîm Paşa in 1720 -- that is, the year the construction of Sa'dabad began.¹³⁹ The early eighteenth-century French ambassador Bonnac, and each of Dallaway, the Baron de Tott, Pertusier, and the Comtesse of Ferté-Meun around a century later offered, in turn, a French model for the palace: alternatively, Versailles, Fontainebleau, or Marly.¹⁴⁰ Despite the dubious lack of concensus on one specific model of inspiration on the part of these authors, my intention is not to undermine the credibility of their accounts. Although, as Eldem pointed out, such claims hardly correspond to the earliest (1740) visual evidence we have of some of the buildings (those which survived the 1730 Patrona Hâlil revolt: the Harem, the kiosk and the fountains [see figs. 14, 16, and 71])¹⁴¹ the lack of

¹³⁹ On the embassy of Yirmisekiz to France and his travel account, see Veinstein, *Le paradis des infidèles*; Göçek, *East Encounters West*. His account was published in 1757 in a French translation by Julien Galland, *Relation de l'ambassade de Mehmet Efendi à la cour de France en 1721...*; and in a modern Turkish edition by Rado, *Fransa Seyahatnamesi*. To my knowledge, we do not know which books and illustrations were sent from Paris following Yirmisekiz's embassy. A set of twelve engravings of the palace of Versailles had already been acquired in 1714, that is before the accession of Nevşehirli to the grand-vizierate. Göçek suggested that these must have served as visual aid to the construction of Sa'dabad, Göçek, *East Encounters West*, pp. 75-6. İrepoğlu's survey of European books and drawings acquired by the imperial palace in the eighteenth century shows that a considerable bulk of these acquisitions related to contemporary French palatial architecture and gardens, and included architectural treatises, drawings and books of Italian architecture, İrepoğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine Kütüphanesindeki Batılı Kaynaklar Üzerine Düşünceler," pp. 57-72. Today, these are housed at the Topkapı Palace Museum Library.

¹⁴⁰ Bonnac, *Mémoire sur l'ambassade de France*, (Versailles), pp. 84-85; Ferté-Meun, *Lettres sur le Bosphore*, (Versailles), pp. 62-3; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, (Fontainebleau), p. 118; de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, (Marly), p. 4 (this could be an editorial note from 1785); Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople* (Versailles), I: 58; Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques* (Marly), I: 337. These three palaces have also been randomly used for similar suggestions in a few recent studies, which by relying on the same sources (principally, major European travel accounts and in some cases, modern Turkish renderings of Ottoman chronicles), form together a self-contained corpus of literature based largely on its own chain of evidence. See for example, Eyice, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı ve Türk Mimarisinde Avrupa Neo-Klasik Üslubu," p. 168; Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da*, p. 19; Esin, "Le Maḥbûbiye," p. 74; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences," pp. 157-58, 168, n.6; Göçek, *East Encounters West*, pp. 75-9.

evidence on what other buildings in the palatial complex (e.g. the pavilion of Hürremâbâd, or the dignitaries' houses along the stream of Kağıthâne) may have looked like cannot allow us to be conclusive on this point.¹⁴² Seyyid Vehbî's references to the inventive mind of Aḥmed III and to the different kind of splendor exhibited at Sa'dabad, in his long *kaşide*-chronogram, may have been, after all (as we saw in earlier examples), allusions to a new and distinctly western style:

"Above all, he gave it another [kind of] splendor
This unequaled pavilion is a building fit for the sultan...
The inventive royal mind produced
this imperial plan and created that admirable design"¹⁴³

Not surprisingly, neither Vehbî and his contemporary Nedîm (who composed two long odes and several *şarkıs* about Sa'dabad),¹⁴⁴ nor the court chroniclers Râşid and his successor Küçük Çelebizâde,¹⁴⁵ offer any clue on the possibility

¹⁴¹ Eldem suggests, however, that the waterworks may have been modeled after Fontainebleau, albeit on a much smaller scale, Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, p. 6. On the other hand, a reference by İncicyan on the similarity of the waterworks at Kağıthâne to those created by Süleymân I in the garden of Tökât (near Beykoz) could suggest a more local model of inspiration for Aḥmed III; see İncicyan, 18. *Asırda İstanbul*, p. 126.

¹⁴² Esin argued, for example, that the residences of Ottoman notables at Sa'dabad were the first example of an "alla franca" residential style. Noting the role of Yirmisekiz's embassy in the conception of Sa'dabad in general, she mainly based her claim over a reference by Râşid, in which he described these houses as built "in the arrangement and design of *hişâr* waterfront residences" (*hişâr yaluları resm ü tertibinde*), Râşid, *Târiḥ-i Râşid*, V: 445. She suggested that the expression *hişâr yaluları* was used in reference to the "western-style" sequence of colonnaded façades, Esin, "Le Maḥbûbiye," p. 74. I would rather read it as a vaguer allusion to the *yalı* as a building type, with the term *hişâr* implying a fortress-like belt of *yalıs*, or referring to the suburbs of Rumeli or Anadolu Hisarı -- as a euphemism, that is, for the Bosphorus shore.

¹⁴³ °Ale-l-ḥuşûş aña revnak-ı diğەر vermiş
Bu pâdişâha sezâ kaşr-ı bî-bedel bünyâd...
Ki oldu mühterî-i ḥâtır-ı hümayûni
Bu tarḥ-ı hâş ile ol resm-i şeh-pesend icâd

Vehbî, "Kaşide ü târiḥ-i dil-guşâdir medḥ-i Aḥmed Hân kısrâ u âbâd evşâf-ı nev-bünyâd-i Sa'dâbâd" (n.d.), *Divân-ı Seyyid Vehbî*, fols 19-22.

¹⁴⁴ See Nedîm, *Nedîm'in Divânı*, pp. 52-7; 191-204 passim.

that the planning of Saʿdabad may have been informed by a western model, or that it may have been related in some way to the architectural knowledge brought by Yirmisekiz from his embassy to France.

5.2. Measuring Up With Persia

In fact, quite interestingly, it was in the "East" that Ottoman observers sought to appropriate architectural models of identification, most vigorously so until the reign of Maḥmūd I (1730-1754). I am not only pointing here to the symbolic allusions to legendary monuments of the eastern world, as in Küçük Çelebizāde's analogy of the pavilion of Ḥurremābād at Saʿdabad to the famed pavilion of Ḥavernak (*kaşr-ı Ḥavernak*) -- a traditional trope in Ottoman literature.¹⁴⁶ I am mainly referring to the actual, specific architectural achievements invoked by poets and chroniclers to illustrate or represent the challenge matched by their own:

¹⁴⁵ See Rāşid, *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid*, V: 443-49; Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmāʿil ʿĀşım Efendi*, pp. 42-5.

¹⁴⁶ Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmāʿil ʿĀşım Efendi*, p. 42. *Kaşr-ı Ḥavernak* was the legendary palace of the Babylonian king Bahram, built by the architect Sinimmār. The pavilion of Ḥurremābād was built by Meḥmed IV and subsequently renovated and renamed by the grand-vizier İbrāhım Paşa in 1721; see Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri ve Özellikle Eski İstanbul Bahçeleri*, p. 50. Another analogy to the pavilion of Ḥavernak appears in Çeşmi-zāde's description of Meḥmed IV's "Persianate" pavilion (*Çinili Köşkü*) in the palace of Beşiktaş, written upon Muştafa III's restoration of the place in 1766: "The captivating, world-adorning pavilion is like the pavilion of Ḥavernak, in that it emits beauty and charm to [all] corners [of the world]" (*Kaşr-ı dil-gûşâ-i alem-ara ki misl-i kaşr-ı Huvarnak ol etrâfa bâ'is-i zîb ü revnak olup*), Çeşmi-zāde, *Çeşmi-zāde Tarihi*, p. 53. It is also encountered in Sünbülzāde Vehbî's praise of a pavilion built by Selim III:

"Well done! This new imperial design produced the loftiest building
Its exalted *ivân* gave it the beauty of the pavilion of Ḥavernak"
(*Hoşâ ʿulvî binâ kıldı bu nev-ıtarḥ-ı hümayûni
Ḥavernak revnakın verdi büleñd-ivân bünyânı*)

Sünbülzāde, "Tārīḥ-i kaşr-ı muʿallâ-yı ḥazret-i Sultân Selim Ḥân..." (n.d.), *Divân-ı Vehbî*, pp. 5. For other examples from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Onay, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mazmunlar*, p. 199.

"With blots and scores it scarred Isfahan's *Chahārbāgh*
Sa'dabad has now become garden upon hill, my love"¹⁴⁷

In this *şarkı* on Sa'dabad, quoted in an earlier chapter, Nedim's almost vengeful-sounding deprecation of Isfahan's *Chahārbāgh*¹⁴⁸ was meant to exalt the beauty and glaring superiority of Sa'dabad. Doubtlessly, it was a reference to the bygone glory of Isfahan;¹⁴⁹ but it also reflected the significance of Shāh 'Abbās I's magnificent achievement in the architectural consciousness of that time (figs. 171 and 172 a-b). In an ode to the palace of Şevkâbâd, he alluded to the vanished splendor of Ferâhâbâd in Isfahan,¹⁵⁰ to convey the superiority of the Ottoman palace's garden and *hıyâbâns*:

147 *Çarbâğ-ı İsfahânı eylemiştir dâğ dâğ*
Oldu Sa'dâbâd şimâi sevdiğim dâğ üstü bâğ
Nedim, "Şarkı," *Nedim'in Divânı*, p. 193.

148 The *Chahārbāgh* of Isfahan was built in 1596, as a large avenue bisected by a canal, cutting through an extraordinary succession of formal private gardens. The Persian garden-type of *chahārbāgh* is typically a quadripartite formal layout, with water channels, flower parterres, pavilions, and tree-lined alleys (*hıyâbân*). For references on *chahārbāghs* in the Safavid and Mughal empires, and on Shāh 'Abbās I's *Chahārbāgh* in Isfahan in particular, see for example, Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*; Pinder-Wilson, "The Persian Garden: *Bagh* and *Chahar Bagh*," pp. 69-85; Moynihan, *Paradise As a Garden in Persia and Mughal India*; Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Palaces," pp. 307-9; see also the following articles in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, edited by A. Petruccioli: Alemi, "The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models," pp. 72-96; McChesney, "Some Observations on "Garden" and Its Meanings in the Property Transactions of the Juybari Family in Bukhara, 1544-77," pp. 97-109; Subtelny, "Agriculture and the Timurid *Chahārbāgh*: The Evidence from a Medieval Persian Agricultural Manual," pp. 110-28; Koch, "The Mughal Waterfront Garden," pp. 140-60. For sixteenth-century Ottoman *chahārbāghs* see, in the same publication, Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul As a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," pp. 32-33.

149 1722, the year Sa'dabad was begun and completed, was also the year of the Afghan invasion of Persia and the beginning of the collapse of the Safavid dynasty. For an outline of the events of that year and the following three years, see for example, Kurat and Bromley, "The Retreat of the Turks, 1683-1730," pp. 217-18.

150 A Safavid garden complex built by Shāh Huseyn in Isfahan in 1700. For reference see, for example, Gaube, *Iranian Cities*, p. 86-7.

"How wonderful, the seat of coquetry of the new building!
 How wonderful, how wonderful! May it be blessed!
 Every one of its shaded alleys (*hüyābān*) is a sinecure for gay life and
 pleasure
 Every tip of its palm trees, the hard currency of desirable moments
 From the abundant envy caused by its pure breeze,
 it scattered Isfahan's *Ferahābād* in the wind"¹⁵¹

In a similar vein, his contemporary, Seyyid Vehbî, referred to the stream and the garden of Ruknābād in Shiraz, which were made famous by the poet Hāfez, to suggest the superiority of Nevşehirli's garden in Çubuklu:

"Had Hāfez of Shiraz seen the meadow of Çubuklu today,
 he would have given up [his] description of Ruknābād by [seeing] the
 garden of [its] prayer place"¹⁵²

It is significant (if only to tone down the role of poetry's "Persian idiom" in informing these references) that such analogies also appeared in some chroniclers' accounts of architectural events. Şem'dānizāde referred to the pavilion of *Bayıldım* (*İftāriyye*), a structure fronted by a porch with 22 pillars and a large pool,¹⁵³ built by Maḥmūd I in the palace of Beşiktaş in 1748 (see fig. 3), as *çihil sūtün*.¹⁵⁴ Literally meaning "forty (or, many) pillars," this was also the name

151 *Habbezā cilve-gāh-ı nev-bünyād*
Ĥabbeza ḥabbeza mübārek-bād
Her hüyābanı müft-i 'ayş u ṭarab
Her bün-i naḥlı nakd-ı vakt-ı murād
Reşk-i feyz-i nesim-i şāfından
Ferahābād-ı İsfahan berbād

Nedim, "Der vaşf-ı Şevkābād" (n.d.), *Nedim'in Divānı*, pp. 127-28; Nedim, *Nedim Divānı*, p. 138.

152 *Çubuklu revzasın görseydi şimdi Ḥāfiz-ı Şirāz*
Geçerdi vaşf-ı Rukn-ābād gülgeşt-i muşallādan
 Vehbî, "Tāriḥ berā-yı çeşme-i İbrāhim Pāşā" (n.d.), *Divān-ı Seyyid Vehbî*, fols 31-32.

153 The pavilion was the subject of a long chronogram by 'Arif Süleymān Bey, which was quoted in parts earlier in this chapter. It was also described by 'İzzi, *Tāriḥ-i 'İzzi*, fol 122; Şem'dānizāde, *Mür'it-Tevāriḥ*, I: 133.

154 "Because of Beşiktaş's favorable water and climate and visual prospects, after [the sultan's] building of the *cehil sūtün*, a mosque located in the [nearby] 'Arab

of the pavilion (*Chehel Sutūn*) built by Shāh ʿAbbās I in the late sixteenth century around his *Meydān-i Shāh* (Imperial Square) in Isfahan,¹⁵⁵ and possibly named so in evocation of the 18 pillars of its porch that reflected in the large pool before it (fig. 173).

To read in such allusions the specific relevance of Safavid architectural models, such as the *Chahārbāgh*, in the conception of Aḥmed III's Saʿdabad, or to intimate that in the mind of Maḥmūd I, *Bayıldım Köşkü* was meant to outdo (at least by 4 pillars) Shāh ʿAbbās's *Chehel Sutūn*, may be far-fetched in the absence of more revealing evidence. One could also argue that Ottoman poets' knowledge, or impressions, of these Safavid "monuments" were probably mainly acquired not by first-hand observations, but from descriptions by Persian poets', like Ḥāfez's *Ruknābād*, or Ottoman travelers. Yet, on the other hand, these references seem too direct to be fortuitous, and indicate that in the minds of their viewers, Saʿdabad and *Bayıldım* may have evoked certain connections with their assigned Persian counterparts. It is difficult to discount, for instance, the glaring "conceptual" (if not formal) similarity between ʿAbbās I's *Chahārbāgh* in Isfahan on the one hand, and on the other, the avenue of grandees' residences on both sides of the stream of Kağıthane and the new canal (*Cedvel-i Sim*): a concept without precedent in the Ottoman imperial palatial tradition. Indeed, contemporaries' descriptions of the latter¹⁵⁶ closely evoke the image of the long

İskelesi was built and enlarged, and a beautiful building with kiosks and porches (...) was built near the water" (*Beşiktaş'ın âb u havâ ve nezâretinden mahzûz olmağla, çehil sûtûn binâsından sonra (...) Arab-iskelesi'nde vâki' câmi tevsî' ve binâ olundu ve deryâya karîb köşkler ve suffalar (...) ile bir dâ'ire-i latîfe bünyâd olundu*), Şemʿdānizāde, *Mür'î't-Tevârih*, I: 143.

¹⁵⁵ The building was renovated in 1706 by Shāh Ḥuseyn. For references on the *Chehel Sitūn*, see for example, Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions*, pp. 39-53 passim; Gaube, *Iranian Cities*, pp. 82-96; Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*, pp. 168-70.

canal and avenue of Isfahan, bordered on each side by the residences and gardens of Safavid officials and court dignitaries (see figs. 1 a-b, 171, and 172 a-b). Further, the remarkable openness of the private garden of Sa'dabad, its visual access to the public promenade of Kağıthane (discussed earlier), and the see-through character of its trellis enclosure -- which as we have also seen, became a feature of eighteenth-century private gardens -- strongly echoed the visual relation between the *Chahārbāgh* and the private gardens alongside it; as these were enclosed by lattice-work screens, and were visible from the public avenue.¹⁵⁷ It may also be interesting to pursue a possible connection between Shāh 'Abbās's *Chahārbāgh* and what is usually characterized in modern scholarship as the formal, "western-inspired," eighteenth-century Ottoman garden.¹⁵⁸ While it has been recently shown that the *chahārbāgh*, as a garden type, was hardly central to the garden tradition of Istanbul,¹⁵⁹ one may wonder whether the Ottoman formal garden, laid out in parterres, with water canals, fountains, and pavilions, and seemingly fairly widespread in the eighteenth century (see figs. 15, 18, 20, 26, and 127),¹⁶⁰ may have flourished following the

¹⁵⁶ See Küçük Çelebizāde, *Tārīḥ-i İsmā'il 'Āşım Efendi*, p. 42; Rāşid, *Tārīḥ-i Rāşid*, V: 445; Incicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, p. 95. Küçük Çelebizāde's description is quoted in chap. 1, n. 15.

¹⁵⁷ See Necipoğlu's description of the place, based on the account of the imperial chronicler Iskandar Munshi, Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Palaces," pp. 307-9.

¹⁵⁸ Cerasi, for example, advances that formalism and geometry in garden design appeared only in the late seventeenth century as a result of increasing European influence, Cerasi, *La città del Levante*, pp. 218-9.

¹⁵⁹ Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul," pp. 32-33.

¹⁶⁰ These seem to have coexisted with other, not geometrically laid out gardens. See for example, descriptions of private gardens in, Montagu, *Turkish Embassy Letters*, p. 142; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, IV: 172; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, p. 136.

building of Isfahan's *Chahārbāgh*, as was suggested had been the case, for instance, in the Mughal empire.¹⁶¹

On a more poetic level, the curious kinship of Kağıthane's newly acquired name *Sa'd-ābād*¹⁶² with *Sa'ādet-ābād*, one of 'Abbās I's informal private gardens in Isfahan (both meaning, the Abode of Happiness) (fig. 174); or of *Feraḥābād* (one of the names of the *yalı* of Aḥmed III's navy commander) with the contemporary Safavid garden complex by the same name,¹⁶³ also points to a conceptual, or intellectual, link with the Persian empire. These eponymous associations with specific Safavid monuments, and more generally, the trend of ascribing palaces of the imperial and the high ruling elite with "poetical" names in the way of their Persian counterparts, such as Neşātābād, Feyzābād, Hürremābād, only dated back to the reign of Aḥmed III.¹⁶⁴ They were sustained throughout the century. We learn from Nevres, for example, that the fifteenth-century imperial garden of Tōkāt had acquired the name *Hümāyūnābād* upon its restoration by Maḥmūd I:

"Cruel fortune had made it such ruins
that the architect had to envision [even] its minutest details...
By making the necessary restorations, he built it such
that the mind of the creator gave it the name of *Hümāyūnābād*"¹⁶⁵

¹⁶¹ Koch, "The Mughal Waterfront Garden," pp. 140-60.

¹⁶² As mentioned in chap. 2, this name change in the wake of the construction of Ahmed III's palace was noted by Telḥīsī in his personal diary, Şadreddin-zāde, Telḥīsī Muşṭafa Efendi, "Bir Osmanlı Efendisi Günlüğü," p. 8.

¹⁶³ See footnote 150 above.

¹⁶⁴ These had been previously plainly called *hāş bağçe* ("imperial garden") and identified by their location (e.g. Karaağaç, Tōkāt).

¹⁶⁵ Şöyle vīrānıñda etmişti siphir-i ğaddār
Ki ide ḥurdī anı mī'mār taşavvur ābād...
Yaptı bir gūne ki taḥsīn-i żarūrī ederek
°Akl-ı küll nām kodu añā Hümāyūn-ābād

Nevres, "Tārīḥ-i ta'mīr-i kaşr-ı Bāğçe-i Tokāt ki bi-fermān-ı sultān Maḥmūd ..." (n.d.), *Divān-ı Nevres*, fols 38b-39a.

Both this trend and poets' comparative references suggest that the emblematic power of Safavid Persia, as a model to measure up with, strongly resonated in Ottoman architectural consciousness. Though poets' images were principally meant to highlight the superiority of the buildings they celebrated, by their comparative approach, they also established a framework of identification, investing their buildings with an idiomatic link to the architectural culture of the Safavid empire. Though these links may have been, ultimately, more symbolic than stylistic and iconographical, they indicate that architectural exemplars of Safavid Persia must have been quite alive in the contemporary Ottoman architectural and literary discourse, at least till after the middle of the century.¹⁶⁶ It may be argued that gradually, after the disastrous Ottoman campaign in Persia in 1730¹⁶⁷ and the rapid downfall of the Safavid dynasty, vivid architectural images such as those encountered in the poetry of Nedîm, Seyyid Vehbî, and Şem'dânizâde, began to lose both their interest and immediacy. And in the latter part of the century, while "Isfahan" (and Hâfez and Behzâd) maintained their symbolic roles of witnesses to the architectural magnificence of the Ottomans,

¹⁶⁶ The extent of the Ottomans' "cultural" connection with Persia in this period has not been seriously addressed. cursory remarks have been offered by Kuban on the Persian influence in floral decoration in the so-called Tulip Period, and on a growing preference for the *talik* calligraphic style in currency in contemporary Persia, on Ottoman building inscriptions in this period, Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History*, pp. 337-38. It was also shown by Zilfi that instruction in the Persian language had been reinstated in the official *medrese* curriculum by Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa, after it had been removed over a century earlier, Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era," pp. 290-91.

¹⁶⁷ For an outline of the warfare situation with Persia till 1730, see for example, Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı (1730)*, pp. 71-102; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, IV / 1: 147-233; Kurat and Bromley, "The Retreat of the Turks, 1683-1730," pp. 216-17. For Ottoman-Safavid relations in the first half of the eighteenth century, and the new policy of peace between the two empires around the middle of the century, see Tucker, "The Peace Negotiations of 1736: A Conceptual Turning Point in Ottoman-Iranian Relations," pp. 16-37.

specific architectural connections to Persia slowly disappeared, at least from poetry.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

I should immediately emphasize that the intent of this digression on the preponderance of the Persian model in poets' and chroniclers' architectural appreciation was not intended to suggest an East / West polarity in eighteenth-century Ottoman architectural consciousness. But especially in view of the scholarly tendency to overplay the role of westernization in interpretations of change and novelty in this period, it is important to bear in mind that innovations existed within a much larger and more hybrid architectural discourse, in which Persia constituted a potent challenge, as well as a cultural universe in continuous contact with the Ottoman empire. Further, while western idioms were undoubtedly recognized as part of a new formal and decorative vocabulary, in the perception of novelty exhibited in eighteenth-century chronograms, the role of westernization as a distinct vehicle of innovation or an avowed stylistic or cultural aspiration seemed relatively inconsequential.

In other terms, the aesthetic judgments of contemporary Ottoman observers bespoke a notion of architectural beauty which accepted innovation, *not* a particular stylistic inclination, as its operative canon. The parallel with contemporary poetic appreciation is noteworthy: first, in the similarity of notions of poetic excellence and merit, exemplified by Mirza-zāde's famous reference to the poet Nedīm, *tāze-zebān* ("fresh tongue," "new idiom") to those in currency in the architectural discourse;¹⁶⁸ second, and most notably (as we saw in the

¹⁶⁸ Mirza-zāde Mehmed Sālim Efendi, *Tezkire-i Sālim*, p. 664. Expressions such as "innovative style" (*bedī' üslūb*), or "new expression or idiom" (*nev-ta'bir*), are

previous chapter), in its high regard for innovation as an essentially hybrid assimilation, juxtaposition, and reinterpretation of various new and familiar idioms.

In this sense, the perception of innovation in eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture differed largely from the manner in which it was construed in the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, as the refinement (by emulation) of admired existing models.¹⁶⁹ That is to say, architectural innovation was not measured against the parameters of an accepted and highly regarded canonic idiom. What contemporary observers highlighted was the absolute, visual gratification, the purely sensory pleasure which they derived from the spectacle of the new, and the effect of "surprise" intrinsic to it. Like the sensationalist quality inherent in buildings' luster and glitter, their ornamental profusion and iconographical mimesis, the energy of innovation derived from the immediacy of its experience, not from its "contribution" to a canonic idiom. *Nezāket* ("refinement"), a decisive criterion of novelty in the sixteenth century, practically vanished from the eighteenth-century architectural discourse,¹⁷⁰ as did too

frequently encountered in the biographical dictionaries of poets (*tezkiye*). See for example, *ibid*, 331, 374; Şaḥḥaf ül-Hāc Nūrī Efendi, *Tezkiye*, p. 64; Ākif Bey Enderūnī, *Mir'āt-ı Şi'ir*, fols 36, 44.

¹⁶⁹ This was argued in length by Necipoğlu. She contends, for example, that Sinan "was, on the one hand, conscious that he was an innovator, yet, on the other, reluctant to create *ex novo*. (...) His buildings remained strictly self-referential exercises within the confines of the canonical Ottoman imperial idiom which he codified," Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," p. 173. She also points to an interesting parallel with the literary notion of *nazīre* ("competitive response") -- a notion used in Sinan's biographies in reference to some of his architectural achievements, *ibid*, pp. 176-77, 180, n.39.

¹⁷⁰ I have only encountered one reference to "refinement" in architectural style, in a late-century chronogram by Edirneli Kāmī, which in this case, however, suggests a whole different meaning, probably alluding to the "refined taste" of sultan Selim III.

"For the requirements of refined taste,

deferential allusions to the "monuments" of past Ottoman glories and to the idiom to which they subscribed.¹⁷¹ At the turn of the following century, in the last years of the reign of Selim III, Sürürî could thus triumphally and unscrupulously declare:

"Happy the day for the pavilion of Sultan Selim!
From [its] foundation [and up], envy of its establishment blew away
the Süleymanic throne!"¹⁷²

he wished to build this prosperous pavilion"

Berâ-yı muktezâ-yı tab^c-ı nâzik

Bu kaşr âbâdına oldu heves-gâr

Kâmi, "Târih berâ-yı kaşr-ı Sâlim Efendi" (n.d.), *Divân ve Münşe'ât-ı Kâmi*, MS. İÜK, Ty 2839; *Divân-ı Kâmi*, MS. İÜK, Ty 551.

¹⁷¹ Exception should be made here of the eighteenth-century discourse on mosques -- a subject which is out of the scope of this study. In his History of the Nurosmaniye mosque, Ahmed Efendi compared, for example, the size of the dome of the mosque to two long-standing models of mosque architecture, namely, Hagia Sophia and the Süleymaniye, Ahmed Efendi, *Târih-i Câmi'-i Şerif-i Nûr-ı Osmânî*, p. 14. For examples of fascination with Hagia Sophia in the fifteenth century see, Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making," pp. 120-55 passim; for references to the building in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries see, for example, Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," pp. 171-76.

¹⁷² *Höşâ kaşr-ı Selim Hân evreng-i Süleymânî**
Temelden reşk-i temkin-i binâsı eylemiş berbâd

Sürürî, "Târih berây-ı binâ-ı kaşr-ı hümayün" (1804), *Divân-ı Sürürî*, Part 1: *Tevârih*, pp. 43-4. This unidentified chronogram may refer to Selim III's Şevkiye Köşkü, built ca. 1791. A reference to this kiosk is mentioned in, Kuban, "Topkapı Sarayı," *DBİA*, 7: 289.

* *evreng-i Süleymânî*, a fairly common poetic trope, essentially refers to the mythical throne of King Solomon, usually in allusion to the throne of Süleymân I. The Ottoman sultan described himself as a second Solomon, and his throne, supported on four crystal lions, was said to resemble the throne of Solomon; see for instance, Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. 58, 149.

CONCLUSION:

A NEW VOCABULARY FOR PUBLIC DISPLAY

"The search for the 'sensational,' the cult of obvious feats and visible virtuosity" are dispositions associated by Bourdieu, specifically, with the scheme of appreciation of the layman.¹ In the context of Istanbul in the eighteenth century, this proposition seems particularly interesting: on the one hand, it does not convey the realities of the city's new architectural landscape and vocabulary; yet, on the other hand, it brings into sharp relief an important aspect of the architectural sensibility of this period.

In eighteenth-century Istanbul, sensationalism constituted the predominant mode of architectural expression. Reflected in the spectacular scale of the new *meydān* fountain, in the flamboyance and exuberance of the decorative vocabulary and, in general, in the propensity for bold innovations, sensationalism stood as a new language of "monumentality," which relied on its own dazzling capacity to convey images of opulence and magnificence, state and individual power. By recognizing the beauty of a building's spectacular effects, the illusions it provoked, the virtuosity of its craftsmanship, the virtual reality of its decorative motifs, or the excitement of its novelties, poets closely and meticulously translated the architectural vocabulary of their time, and its power to bespeak, or rather, blaringly announce to the public, the magnificence of its patrons. Sürūrī's celebration of the "gilded pavilion" (*kaşr-ı zer-endūd*) of Esmā Sulṭān (daughter of ʿAbdülḥamīd I) at the close of the eighteenth century² is, at

¹ Bourdieu, "Sport and Social Class," p. 364.

² In verse 2: *bir kaşr-ı zer-endūd yapıp* ("he built a pavilion coated with gold"). This poem refers to one of the two palaces of Esmā Sulṭān: The one in Eyüp, which had been rebuilt in 1774; or more likely, her waterfront palace in Ortaköy

once, a poetic tribute to gold, to the symbolism of royal glory and distinction it embodied, to the spectacular effects it created, and to the pleasure and the sensuous gratification it offered:

"It so resembled a collection of drawings, the royal piece, that
I wondered if [its] colors were pieces of its pure gold
It is as though the path of fish was of genuine gold
as its studs reflect directly on the sea
The labor of its skilled painter turned into gold
as he received largesse by producing various arts
The sea turns into a field of saffron by its golden reflection
Why wonder if the seashore* is laughing from pleasure?"³

In the new form of the monumental, free-standing *meydān* fountain, with its four sides pointing to the four corners of the world, Naḥīfī may have read embedded allusions to universal sovereignty:

"By his endeavors, the Ottoman Sultan, Sovereign of the Muslim lands,
made this adorning fountain the promised source of water
He had not only the [quarter] of Tophane, but [all] four [corners of the city]
satiated with pleasant water in boundless munificence...
Its eminent ornamental imperial style is manifest
all over this outstanding fountain
Like the pleasure-enhancing season of spring, the painted flowers
on the pure surface of its marble are visible to the [world]"⁴

in which she apparently took residence after 1792, and which as a result, may have been renovated around that time; see, Artan, "Esmā Sultan Sahilsarayı [1]," *DBĀA*, 3: 208; see also, idem., "Esmā Sultan Sahilsarayı [3]," *DBĀA*, 3: 211-2.

3 *Resm-i mecmū'aya benzer ki mülūki kıt'a*
Olsa eczā-yı zer-efşānı 'aceb mi elvān
Şanki mähileriñ etti zer-i ḥālīş yolunu
Bahre mismārları mün'akīs olduḡda hemen
Olmuş altın işi nakḡāş-hüner-perveriniñ
Baḡşış aldıḡça edüp türlü şanāyi' i'lān
Za farān-zāre döner 'aks-ı tīlāstıy'la yemm
Ne 'aceb olsa şafādan leb-i deryā ḡāndān*

Sürürī, "Tārīḡ-i kaşr-ı Esmā Sultān" (1796), *Dīvān-ı Sürürī*, Part 1: *Tevārīḡ*, p. 49.
* *leb-i deryā* literally means the lip of the sea.

4 *Eyleyip himmet o şāhenşeh-i mülk-i islām*
Kıldı bu çeşme-i zibendeyi 'ayn-i mev'ūd
Yalnız cānib-i Topḡāne deḡil çār cihet
Oldu sırāb-ı zülāl-i kerem-i nā-mahdūd...
Cümleden oldu bu ser-çeşme makāmında bedīd
Tarz-ı vālā-yı mülūkānesi piraye-nümūd
Nev-bahār-ı tarab-efzā gibi nakş-ı ezhār
Şafḡa-ı şāf-ı ruhāmında be-dīdār-ı şuhūd

Viewed within the broader context of the urban and architectural landscape of Istanbul, the cult of sensationalism was but the aesthetic manifestation of a far-reaching impetus for public display, evidenced since the return of Aḥmed III to the capital city in 1703. On the part of the state, this reflected a determination to re-affirm its presence in the capital city: a determination most actively pursued by its relentless attempts to maintain public order in the city, and regulate its expansion along the Bosphorus waterfront according to a desired (and ideal) Ottoman social order. Public display was inherent in each and every urban and architectural development that unfolded in the course of the century: the "deployment" of the imperial palace along the most conspicuous sub/urban artery of Istanbul and in the midst of the urban population, the formal evolution of the imperial palatial tradition from the impervious enclosure of the Topkapı Palace to the more open and visually permeable suburban palaces of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, the magnification of public court ceremonials, and the stamping of the urban fabric with public fountains of unusual scale and lavishness, as perpetual reminders of the state's artistic splendor and its renewed commitment to the city's revitalization.

Sensationalism and the showy display of magnificence provided new tools of state legitimation at a time when other more "metaphorical" vocabularies, like the symbolic references to victorious campaigns in Murād IV's kiosks of Revan and Baghdad, were impossible, and when decorative links to past glories, as in the mosque of Aḥmed I, seemed rather obsolete. But this was also a time when

Naḥīfī, "Tārīḥ-i çeşme-i Ṭopḥāne" (1732-33), cited in Ayyvānsarāyī, *Mecmuâ-i Tevâriḥ*, p. 381.

* *be-didâr-ı şühûd* could imply that the painted flowers were visible to the eyes of the entire universe (*şühûd-ı âlem*: witnesses of the world).

many individuals within, and outside the ruling elite, strove to exhibit their rising power. These new aesthetic leanings, by no means confined to the ruler or his grand-vizier, mirrored an increasingly diffused social structure, in which building patronage was a viable manifestation of one's social distinction, and the display of one's riches in the size or the decorative repertoire of a building, a commonplace of this manifestation. We might recall here the remarkable prominence of individuals like Meḥmed Kethüda Paşa, deputy of the grand-vizier Nevşehirli İbrāhīm Paşa, or of Beşir Ağa, chief eunuch of the imperial Harem under Maḥmūd I and Muştafa III, among building patrons in their own time. The rising financial, social, or political eminence of these and other men and women was reflected in poets' celebrations of the architectural deeds of "lesser" patrons, and in their bestowal on a wide variety of patrons images of universal sovereignty, previously restricted to the ruler. The increasing power of princesses of the imperial household, testified in their active involvement in the patronage of monumental fountains, and in the numerous palaces built for their own households throughout the century, is equally significant in this regard. And so was the building explosion of fountains among patrons of a wide social spectrum, in which members of the military and the bureaucracy ranked at the very top.

By the eighteenth century, the process of social *décloisonnement* that had been in the making since the mid-sixteenth century had crystallized in the urban and architectural fabric of the city. The expanding network of building patrons across social groups was but one of its manifestations. The institutionalization of the old urban tradition of waterfront dwelling by Aḥmed III, in the course of the development of the Bosphorus suburbs, should be regarded from the same perspective. Likewise, expressions of frustration on the part of certain rulers

with the stifling formality of an earlier palatial tradition, and their apparent interest in the residential architecture of city dwellers suggest an increasing permeability between imperial and urban traditions. The formal, spatial, and structural innovations in domestic architecture and the concern for sensuous gratification they addressed were the most "literal" expressions of *décloisonnement*, as palaces and residences achieved unprecedented openness, lightness, and transparency. Private gardens followed a parallel course of development by gradually shedding off layers of their enclosures. From an urban perspective, the most potent manifestation of this process was the impact that the new aspirations, lifestyles, social and recreational practices of the urban society had on the expansion and consolidation of the outdoor public arena. One of the most significant developments in this respect was the state's "official" opening of formerly private gardens to the public -- a development for which parallels can be detected in contemporary European cities, as for example in the opening, or re-opening, of the royal gardens of Vincennes and Luxembourg to the French public.

It is in this urban environment, characterized by increasingly more porous social and professional boundaries, that the broad, innovative, and hybrid aesthetic and cultural horizon which defined the architectural and the literary developments in this period emerged and matured. In court poetry, innovations that had been unwelcome among literary critics in the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth century, became an integral part of the canon. Colloquialisms, folk forms and genres, and narrative subjects which dealt with the private and the public lives of ordinary people were the most symptomatic changes of the court literary culture in this period. They were echoed in the realm of visual arts, most conspicuously, in miniature illustrations of episodes of public recreation of the

middling urban society. Like court poetry, these mirrored the increasing energy of the middle classes in forging and fostering a new garden culture.

In the realm of architecture too, novelty was widely approved. To contemporary eyes, it constituted a vital criterion of appreciation. Innovation drew on a wide panoply of formal and decorative repertoires, combining and juxtaposing in an unparalleled manner new forms and motifs, with others originating in the Ottoman classical vocabulary, in the artistic idioms of Safavid Persia and contemporary Europe, and in the local urban traditions -- as is testified, for instance, in the widespread wood-construction of royal palaces in this period. Contrary to what has been often suggested in modern scholarship, the incorporation of western elements (mainly in the French Baroque, Rococo, and neo-classical idioms) was not a symptom of committed inclination towards westernization. It was part and parcel of a profoundly hybrid vocabulary, and the product of a far-ranging aesthetic disposition, in tune with the changing social realities of its time. From a broader perspective, it closely echoed the trend for "Turqueries" in fashion in contemporary Europe, manifested in clothing fashion, interior decoration, visual arts, architecture, and landscape design: a trend interpreted in its own time as an inclination towards the exotic and understanding foreign cultures, and a sensibility for innovation and Rococo extravagance in the first half of the century, all part of the same desire to reassess the established classical ideal. In landscape design, this trend was one of several expressions of a new taste for the natural garden that emerged in the context of the Neo-Palladian movement in England, and was exported to France -- mainly with Whateley -- where it was expounded by Watelet and Morel. It became increasingly connected to notions of pleasure, and regarded by several

contemporary painters, poets, architects, and landscape designers (such as DuBos or Fontenelle) as contingent upon the rise of a leisure class.⁵

To such intriguing parallels between Europe and the Ottoman empire, which intimate a constant flux of ideas and sensibilities across geographical boundaries, another relevant one must be added, namely: the importance of sensuous pleasure in architectural apprehension. The cultivation of an interest in the picturesque in eighteenth-century Europe, central to the developments mentioned above, was also fundamental to the emergence of a philosophy of sensations -- first developed by Condillac, whose initial inspiration drew on Locke's empirical philosophy. In the second half of the eighteenth century, it found resonance in the context of landscape design (with Morel), and culminated with a theory of sensations postulated by le Camus de Mézières, by which each building element and form triggered certain sensations; the task of the architect was to combine them to specific effect.⁶ Significantly, Ottoman poets' exaltation of buildings' sensory effects, not only visual, but audile, tactile, olfactory, and gustative, was perfectly in tune with current definitions of taste for artistic beauty in contemporary Europe: "Il ne suffit pas pour le goût de voir, de connaître la beauté d'un ouvrage [wrote Voltaire]; il faut la sentir, en être touché."⁷ But interestingly too, this perceptual mode resonated with the

⁵ For recent studies which address these developments, see for example, Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque*; Delorme, *Garden Pavilions and the Eighteenth-Century French Court*; Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500-1920*, pp. 44-110; Starobinski, *L'invention de la liberté*; Hughes, *Eighteenth-Century France and the East*.

⁶ For reference see, for example, Middleton, "Introduction," in *The Genius of Architecture, or the Analogy of That Art with Our Senses*, pp. 117-64; Vidler's Preface in, de Bastide, *The Little House*, pp. 9-18; and el-Khoury's Introduction to the same book, pp. 19-54.

philosophical writings on visual aesthetics, and the theories of beauty and its sensuous immediacy that were expounded in the medieval Muslim world.⁸ Whether or not, or to what extent and in what form, the medieval aesthetic discourse was alive in the Ottoman capital city in the eighteenth century, or whether we can talk of a shared architectural sensibility in eighteenth-century European and Ottoman cities, are broad questions that need eventually to be addressed.

At the most immediate level, however, the emergence of pleasure as a central component of architectural appreciation in eighteenth-century Istanbul was rooted in the particular context of its own architectural environment. While certain aspects of poets' perceptions and many of their images were not peculiar to this period, their extolment of the sensuous effects aroused by buildings was warranted and nurtured by the power of the architectural idiom of their time: an idiom which relied heavily on spectacular effects. Like its poetic counterpart, this new vocabulary addressed the sensibilities of an urban society from a wide cultural and intellectual spectrum. Sensationalism was a "metalanguage," one might say, whose potency lay in that it was instantly, unsurreptitiously, and unequivocally understood by a lay public. This was sharply mirrored in poets'

⁷ Voltaire, "Goût," in Diderot and d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société des gens de lettres*, Neuchâtel, 1751-1777, p. 761; cited in el-Khoury's Introduction in, Bastide, *The Little House*, p. 53, n.40.

⁸ This subject was compellingly addressed by Necipoğlu, in the context of her study on the dominance of a mode of geometrical design (*giriş*) as a canonical visual idiom in the medieval Muslim world; see Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll - Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture*, pp. 185-215. It is important to note here that, as Necipoğlu suggested, theories of beauty and aesthetic perception elaborated at that time were often embedded in metaphysical discourses. Their relevance to eighteenth-century artistic sensibilities lies principally in their emphasis on the thought that visual beauty (of an object of art) could arouse sensory pleasures on their viewers.

mode of architectural apprehension, and in their representations of the buildings they celebrated. Though they recognized the symbolism attached to a lofty dome or an expansive view, their definition of architectural beauty was not founded on these learned interpretations, nor was it measured against the symbolic weight of a formal or an iconographical feature. Nor were poets concerned with the canonic rules of Ottoman classical architecture. Their perceptions and interpretations were mainly informed by their own, immediate sensory experience of buildings, and articulated within the framework of tropes and images in currency in the poetic culture of their time. Poets' frequent "invitations" of a hypothetical public to contemplate its own aesthetic inclinations were not meant as erudite meditations on a building's embedded symbolism; rather, they were invitations to partake of the pleasure of the architectural experience:

"Look at this captivating fountain! Each fold, each lobe in [its] marble alludes to the quarter of desires in it
At every instant, for the expression of delight and pleasure,
the rim of its spring creates a hundred subtle meanings"⁹

Poets' fascination with the sensory effects evoked by buildings meant, ultimately, the glorification of the sensuous pleasures derived from their own personal architectural experiences. Their voices were not exceptional. They were broadly echoed in contemporary chroniclers' accounts and personal writings. In the perception of Ottoman observers, what really mattered was how in their own view, certain relations and associations between form, height, color, decoration,

⁹ *Şu dil-cū selsebili gör kim anda semt-i eşvāka
Eder her bir şiken bir gūşe-yi ebrū ile imā
Beyān-ı inbişāt u zevk için her lahzada anıñ
Leb-i fevvāresi şadd-mānā-yı bārik eder peydā*
Nedim, "Tāriḥ-i Bāğ-ı Ferāḥ u sarāy-ı cedid" (1728), *Nedim'in Divānı*, pp. 95-97;
Nedim, *Nedim Divanı*, pp. 196-98.

the virtual realism of a tulip motif, or the unexpected magnitude of an intricately carved wall, provoked different sensations; and how these sensations, in turn, procured certain pleasures. Within the framework of praise and eulogy which characterized much of these Ottoman architectural representations, it is against these personal pleasures and sensations that architectural beauty was measured; that is to say, from the perspective of the viewers' perception.

APPENDIX 1

Figures are taken from Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, except when noted:
(E) = Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*; (A) = Aynur, III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri.

Table 1: Number of fountains per century

	Istanbul & S.of Haliç	N.of Haliç & Bosphorus	S. of Bosphorus	Total
16thC.	48	7	7	62 / 77 (E)
17thC.	54	23	16	93 / 130 (E)
18thC.	142	96	81	319 / 365 (E)

Table 2: Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century fountains and patrons

	16thC.	17thC.
Paşa	17	23
Ağa	15	31
Hân	4	8
Bey	5	2
Sultân (princess)	4	3
Efendi	3	10
Vâlîde Sultân	1	6
Baba	2	0
Hâtûn	0	1
unknown	11	9

Table 3: Eighteenth-century fountains and patrons

	Istanbul & S.of Haliç*		N.of Haliç & Bosphorus**		S.of Bosphorus***		Total 18thC.		Total 1703-1730
	total no. fountains	<i>meydân</i> fountains	total no. fountains	<i>meydân</i> fountains	total no. fountains	<i>meydân</i> fountains	total no. fountains	<i>meydân</i> fountains	total 211 fountains
Ağa	41		33		19		93	22	34 (A)
Paşa	25		22		11		58	20	53 (A)
Efendi	22		12		15		49	10	26 (A)
Hân	13		11		6		31	14	21 (A)
Sultân (princess)	7		2		7		16	2	11 (A)
Kadın	7		4		3		14	4	11 (A)
Vâlîde Sultân	3		6		4		13	2	5 (A)
Bey	6		2		2		10*	1	13 (A)*
Şehzâde	1		0		6		7*	1	8 (A)*
Hâcî	5		0		1		6	0	4 (A)
Uşta	2		1		1		4	2	0 (A)
Hâtûn	1		2		1		4	1	0 (A)
Hânım	1		1		1		3	0	3 (A)
Baba	0		0		2		2	0	0 (A)
unknown	7		0		2		9*		16 (A)*
Total	142	24	96	26	81	29	319	79	211 (A)

* walled city and Golden Horn shore until Eyüp.

** Golden Horn and Bosphorus shores and inland from Kağıthane to Sarıyer (including Beyoğlu, Galata).

*** Asian shore of the Bosphorus and inland from Üsküdar to Beykoz.

* Discrepancies between different studies

Table 4: Fifteenth- to eighteenth-century *Meydān Çeşmeleri*

Date	Patron	Title	Location	
1453	Maḥmūd Paşa	Paşa	Nurosmaniye	
1682	Sılāhdār Muştafa Ağa	Ağa	Zincirliköyü	
1703	İzmirli ‘Ali Paşa	Paşa	Üsküdar	?
1703	İsmā‘il Ağa	Ağa	Üsküdar	?
1704	Aḥmed III	Ḥān	Hasköy	small
1707	Çorlulu ‘Ali Paşa	Paşa	Eyüp	
1707	Çorlulu ‘Ali Paşa	Paşa	Tersane	
1709	Ḥalil Efendi	Efendi	Üsküdar	
1710	Çorlulu ‘Ali Paşa	Paşa	Mevlevihanekapı	
1710	Çorlulu ‘Ali Paşa	Paşa	Yayla	
1711	?		Kısıklı	
1717	Ḥacı Muştafa Ağa	Ağa	Eyüp	small
1719	Aḥmed III	Ḥān	Topkapı Palace	small
1720	Nevşehirli İbrāhīm Paşa	Paşa	Çubuklu	
1720	Aşüb Kadın	Kadın	Beyazıt	
1721	İbnül’emīn Aḥmed Ağa	Ağa	Üsküdar	
1722	Aḥmed III	Ḥān	Sa‘dabad	small
1722	(vizier's <i>kethüda</i> ?)	?	Kasımpaşa	
1723	Mehmed Paşa	Paşa	Ortaköy	
1724	Ġāzī Ḥasan Paşa	Paşa	Sarıyer İskelesi	
1724	Kaymak Muştafa Paşa	Paşa	Çengelköy	
1725	Şāliha Sultān	(princess)	Şilivrikapı	?
1727	Topḥānelizādeler Muştafa Ef.	Efendi	Üsküdar	small
1728	Nevşehirli İbrāhīm Paşa	Paşa	Üsküdar	
1728	Ḥacı Ḥalil Efendi	Efendi	Üsküdar	
1728	Ḥacı Ḥalil Efendi	Efendi	Üsküdar	
1728	Muştafa Şehzāde	Şehzāde	Üsküdar	
1728	Emetüllāh Kadın	Kadın	Üsküdar	
1728	Feyzullāh Efendi	Efendi	Maltepe	
1729	Aḥmed III	Ḥān	Bāb-ı Hümāyūn	

Date	Patron	Title	Location	
1729	Ahmed III	Han	Üsküdar İskeleyi	
1729	Halil Ağa	Ağa	Galata	
1729	Kap. Kaymak Mustafa Paşa	Paşa	Üsküdar	
1730	Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa	Paşa	Üsküdar	
1730	Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa	Paşa	Fatih	
1730	Şevkinihâl Usta	Usta	Üsküdar	
1731	Ömer Ağa	Ağa	Beyoğlu	
1732	Mahmud I	Han	Tophane	
1732	Saliha Sultan	(princess)	Azapkapı	
1732	Hekimoğlu 'Ali Paşa	Paşa	Kabataş İskeleyi	
1732	Mehmed Paşa	Paşa	Kabataş	
1732	Mihrişah Kadın	Kadın	Galata	
1732	Mehmed Ağa	Ağa	Galata	
1732	Vuşlat Kadın	Kadın	Kasımpaşa	
1732	Hatıpzade Yahya Paşa	Paşa	Karaköy	
1732	Ziver Efendi	Efendi	Kasımpaşa	
1733	Hekimoğlu 'Ali Paşa	Paşa	Akbıyık	
1735	Yahya Ağa	Ağa	Tersane	
1736	Emine Sultan	(princess)	Şehremini	?
1737	Beşir Ağa	Ağa	Kocamustafapaşa	small
1737	'Ali Ağa	Ağa	Hekimoğlu	
1740	Beşir Ağa	Ağa	Ayasofya	
1741	İshak Ağa	Ağa	Beykoz Çayırı	small
1741	Ahmed Ağa	Ağa	Haydarpaşa	small
1744	Mustafa Ağa	Ağa	nr. Mevlevihane	
1745	Emetullah Hatun	Hatun	Zekeriya Köyü	
1746	İshak Ağa	Ağa	Beykoz İskeleyi	
1748	Mahmud I	Han	Taşlık	
1749	İshak Ağa	Ağa	Kireçburnu	
1749	İshak Ağa	Ağa	Beykoz	?
1749	Kaptan Süleymân Paşa	Paşa	Kasımpaşa	small
1751	Mahmud I	Han	Kandilli İskeleyi	small
1752	Şadrâzam Mustafa Paşa	Paşa	Edirnekapı	
1752	İshak Ağa	Ağa	Beykoz	

Date	Patron	Title	Location	
1753	Maḥmūd I	Hān	Beylerbeyi	
1753	Kapudan Süleymān Paşa	Paşa	Kasımpaşa	small
1756	Yaḥya Ağa	Ağa	Zeyrek	
1763	Muştafa III	Hān	Paşabahçe İsk.	small
1763	Hāci Yūsuf Ağa	Ağa	Beylerbeyi	small
1764	Hüseyin Ağa	Ağa	Zekeriya köyü	
1765	Muştafa Bey	Bey	Beykoz	small
1767	Aḥmed Şemsüddin Efendi	Efendi	İstinye Çarşısı	small
1772	Bāşkalfa Hāci Ömer Efendi	Efendi	Fenerbahçe	small
1780	Mehmed Sa'īd Efendi	Efendi	Kanlıca	
1781	Esmā Sultān	(princess)	Kadırga	
1782	ʿAbdülhamīd I	Hān	Emirgan	small
1782	ʿAbdülhamīd I	Hān	Beylerbeyi	small
1783	Şānizāde ül-Hāc Muştafaoğlu	Efendi (?)	Ortaköy	
1788	Şilāhdār Yaḥya Efendi	Efendi	Hasköy	
1790	Demirci ?	Usta(?)	Çamlıca	
1791	Mihrişāh Vālide Sultān	Hān	Üsküdar	
1791	Seyyid ʿAbdullāh Ağa	Ağa	Eyüp	
1792	?		Süleymaniye	
1793	Mihrişāh Vālide Sultān	Hān	Hasköy	
1793	Ebubekir Ağa	Ağa	Fatih	
1794	Hālid Ağa	Ağa	Kadıköy	
1799	Mihrişāh Vālide Sultān	Vālide	Kurtuluş	
1800	(Selāmi)	?	Kadıköy	small
1802	Selīm III	Hān	Üsküdar	
1806	Ḥatice Sultān	(princess)	Eminönü	
1808	Muştafa Paşa	Paşa	Eyüp	
1809	Mihrişāh Vālide Sultān	Vālide	Küçüksu	small

APPENDIX 2

Glossary of words (nouns and verbal nouns) related to architecture, building material, ornaments, and landscape that appear in the poems surveyed from the eighteenth-century:¹

°amūd: column, pillar, post
arāyış: ornament, adornment, embellishment, decoration
°arşa: court, open field
°arş: booth, alcove, summer house, roof, ceiling, throne, trellis
arz: soil, earth, ground, surface
āşār: works, monuments, remains, relics
āsmān: roof, ceiling
āşiyān: abode, house
°ayn: spring, source of water

bāb: gate, door
bāğ: garden, orchard, vineyard
bāğçe: garden, small park
bām: roof, ceiling
bazār: market place
bedestān: covered market
berbād: ruin, in ruins
beyt: house, room
binā: building, structure
bünyād: foundation, bases, structure, edifice
bünyān: building, edifice, structure
bünye: building skeleton, edifice, structure

cām: mirror, glass, window, window pane
cāy: place
cevlān-gāh: race course, field, promenade
cidār: wall
cilve-gāh: place of beauty

çārbāğ: garden, park, royal garden
çarşı / *çarsu*: market
çemen: lush meadow, green field
çeşme: fountain, spring of water
çeşme-sār: a place abundant with fountains

dā'ire: suite of apartments
dār (pl. *dūrān*): house(s)
dekākin (sing. *dükkān*): shops
der: door, gate, house, palace
der-°aliye: sublime porte
dibā: silk, brocade
divān: central hall

¹ Meanings not related to architecture are not included in this list. Translations based on Redhouse, *Turkish-English Lexicon*; and Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*.

duvā: wall

ebrū: marbling, marbled paper of different colors

elvān (sing. *lavn*): colors, tints

endām: form, shape, figure, stature

esās: foundations

eşcār (sing. *şejer*): trees, stemmed plants, shrubs

eşkāl (sing. *şekil*): forms, shapes

ezhār (sing. *zehir*): flowers, blossoms

fen: science, art

fer: luster, brightness, pomp, display

ferş: surface of the ground

fevāre: fountain spring, gushing spring

fūlād: tempered steel

gāh: place

gerd: summer house, hut, booth

gonca: flower bud

gūşe: corner

gül: rose, flower

gūlbün: rosebush

gūldeste: bunch of flowers

gūlistān (*gūlsitān*): flower garden

gūlşen: rose garden

gūlkār: flower garden, flower gardener, flower maker

gūlzār: flower garden, rose garden

hey'et: shape, form, arrangement

hadā'ik (sing. *hadika*): garden, park, orchard, meadow, pleasure-ground

hāk: earth, soil

hammām: bathhouse

hān: inn, caravanseray

hāne: house, dwelling, building, pavilion

harāb: ruins, destruction

hav(u)z: pool

hişār: castle, fort, town or castle ramparts

huyābān: avenues, boulevards, flower beds, parterres

huşūn (sing. *huşn*): stronghold, castle, citadel, fortress

hūner: art, skill, work of art

°ibādet-gāh: place of worship

°id-gāh: place of festivities

iḥyā: foundation; creation

°imāret: building, repairing, public building, kitchen for the poor

inşā: foundation, creation, (the act of) building

iskele: landing dock, wharf

ivān: upper hall; summer chamber with an open front

kāh: palace, summer dwelling, pavilion, upper story, tower, gallery, balcony,
apartment at the top of a house, open to the front

kapı: door, gate

kasr (pl. *kuşūr*): pavilion, summer palace, mansion

kubbe (pl. *kubab*): domes, cupolas
kaşān: painted tiles
kāşāne: house, winter house, luxurious dwelling, mansion
kil: clay, earth
kıla^c (sing. *kal^e*): castle, fortress
köşk: small building for pleasure and recreation, pavilion, small palace
kütüphāne: library

lāle: tulip
leb: edge
leb-i deryā: water shore
leb-i yemm: water shore
lūle: fountain spout

maḥal: place, abode, station
maḳām: place, abode, station
manzar: view, lookout
menzelet: halting place
menzil: house, abode, inn, station, halting-place
menzil-gāh: station, halting-place
mermer: marble, marble slab
mesire: promenade, walking place
mesken: dwelling
mesned: seat, throne
me'vā: refuge, sanctuary, asylum
mevki^c: location, position
mevzi^c: location, position
meydān: open place, place of promenade, public square, court, space
meyhāne: tavern
mevve: fruit
mihrāb: mihrab
mi^cmār: architect
mismār: nail, stud
mişrā^c: valve of a double door or gate
mukarnaş: stalactite decoration
muşalla: place of worship
mühendis: engineer, geometrician
müntezeh: place of recreation, park, garden, promenade

naḥ(ı)l: palm tree
nakkāş: decorator, artist, engraver, sculptor
nakş (pl. *nuḳūş*): embroidery, decoration, ornamentation, design, drawing, engraving, painting, creation
nakş-ı hatt: calligraphic ornamentation, design, engraving
naẓāret: extensive view, prospect
niğār: picture, portrait, figure, image, statue, beauty, ornamentation, illustration
nihāl: forest, place of young trees, young plant
neseb: dependencies
nişim (*nişimen*): dwelling, seat, assembly
nümūdār: model, pattern, copy
nüzhet-gāh: place of recreation that has the quiet and beauty of nature
nüzhet-sarāy: recreation palace

oda (oṭa): room

perde: curtain

pervāz: ornamental border, cornice, molding, fringe

peyker: form, figure, portrait

piş-gāh: space in front, court, portico

renk: color, beauty

res(i)m: design, picture, drawing

revza: meadow, park, garden

revzen: window, aperture

reyhān: fragrant herb, sweet basil

rivāk: pavilion, porch, portico, vault, domed chamber

rū: surface

ruhām: marble

sāha: court, place

sāhil: shore, bank

sāhil-gāh: shore, bank

sāhilhāne: waterfront house

sāhilsarāy: waterfront palace

şahn: court, courtyard

şak(i)f: ceiling

şan^cat: skill, art, craft

sarāy: palace

sebīl: spoutless fountain

sebz: green, dark blue

secde-gāh: place of worship

selsebīl: ornamental fountain, name of fountain in paradise

ser-çeşme: fountain head

serv: cypress

seyrān-gāh: walking, riding place, pleasure ground

sīdre: lotus tree

sīm: silver

şuffa: porch

sūk: market

sūnbül: hyacinth

sūr: city wall, castle ramparts

sūret: form, aspect, manner, picture

sūtūh (sing. *saṭḥ*): roofs

sūtūn: column, pillar

şebistān: bedroom, harem dwelling

şek(i)l: form, shape

ta^cbīr: expression

ta^cmīr: repair

tāb: light, radiance, glitter

ṭab^c: disposition, style

taḥsīn: embellishment, adornment

taḥtabōş: belvedere

ṭāk: vault, arch, niche

takvīm: ordering, making symmetrical, edifying
taḷʿat: aspect, appearance
ṭarḥ: plan, layout, flower bed, garden border
ṭarz: manner, mode, style, form, shape, appearance
taṣvīr: designing, drawing, forming, shaping
tecdīd: renovation, refurbishment, restoration
temāṣā: public promenade, scene, spectacle
temel: foundation
te'sīs: laying a foundation
teṣnīf: ornamenting with flowers or flowery expressions
teṣyīd: building
tevsiʿ: enlargement
tezyīn: embellishment, adornment, decoration, ornamentation

üslüb: style, for, manner
üstād: master

vazʿ: laying down, arrangement
vīrān: in ruins, to be ruined, devastated

yalı: waterfront residence

zemīn: earth, ground, surface of the earth,
zeyn: ornament, embellishment, decoration
zer: gold
zīb: embellishment, ornament, decoration
zībāyiş: embellishment, ornament, decoration
zīnet: embellishment, ornament, decoration
zīver: embellishment, ornament, decoration

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List of Abbreviations

Eİ2	Encyclopedia of Islam, second edition
İA	İstanbul Ansiklopedisi
DBİA	Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi
İsl.A.	İslam Ansiklopedisi
İÜK	İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi
TSMK	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi
SK	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi

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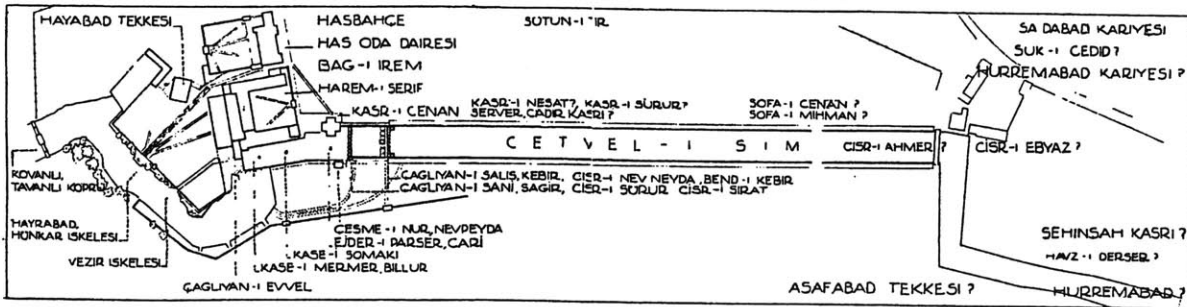
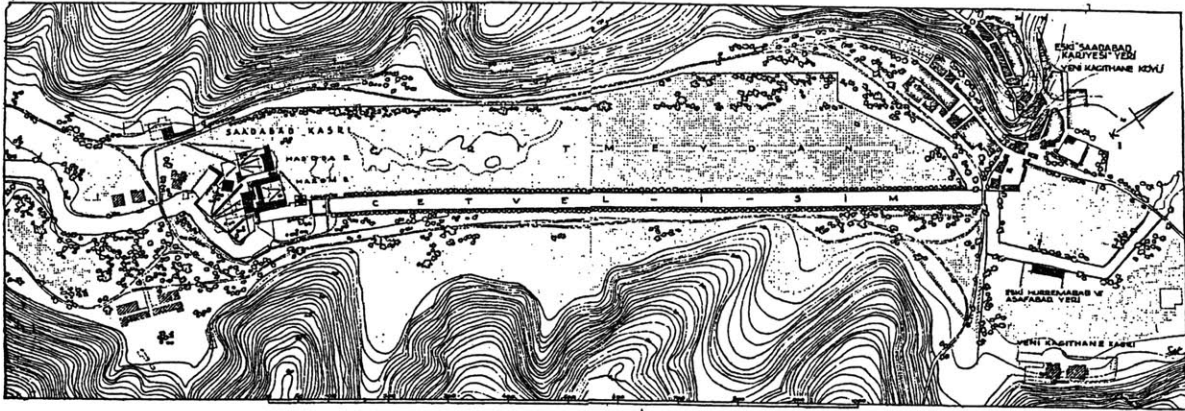
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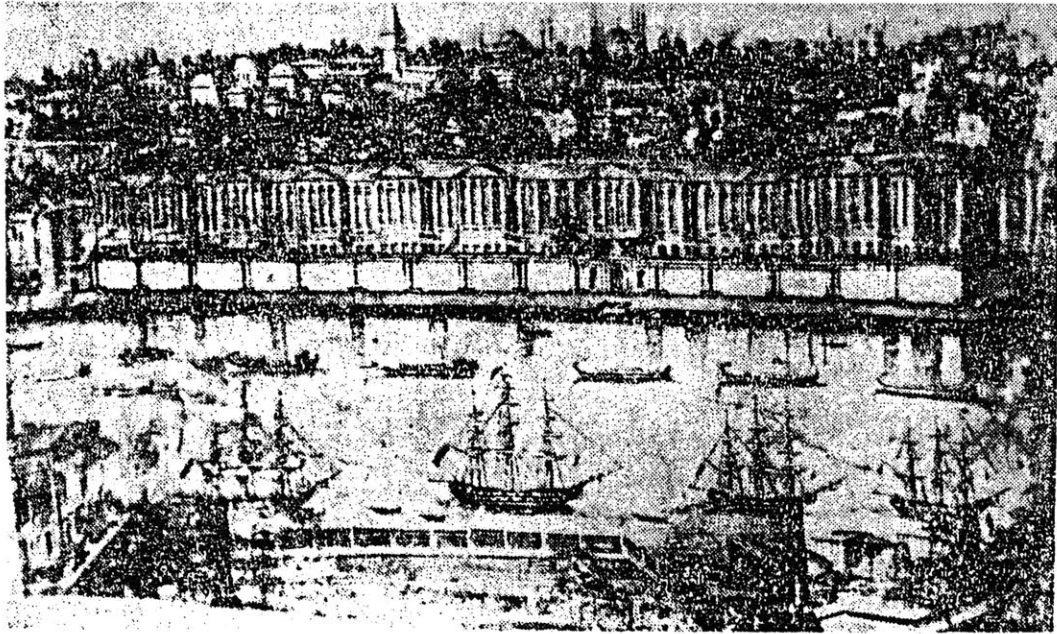
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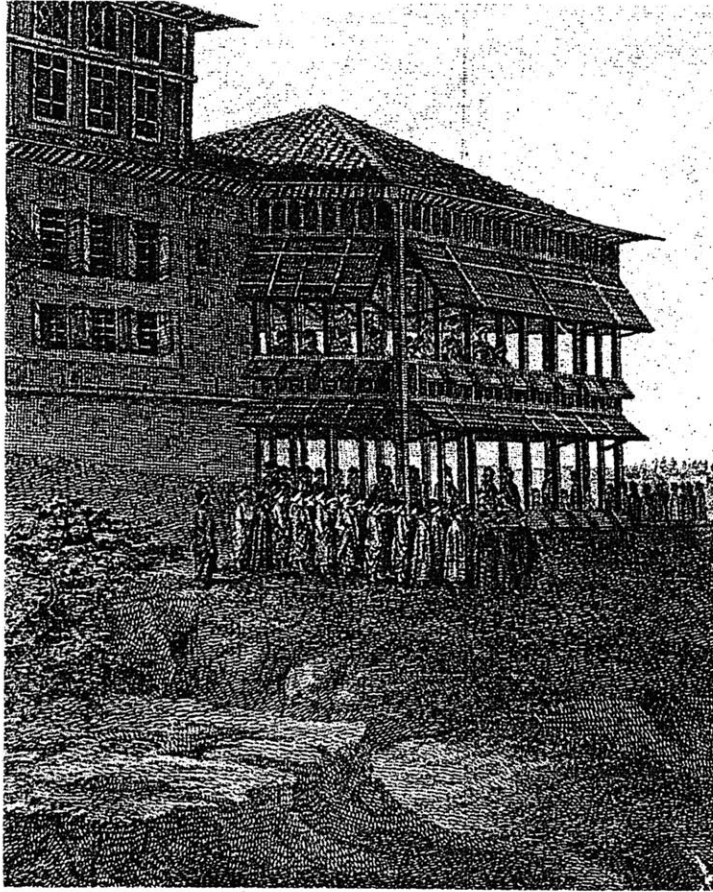
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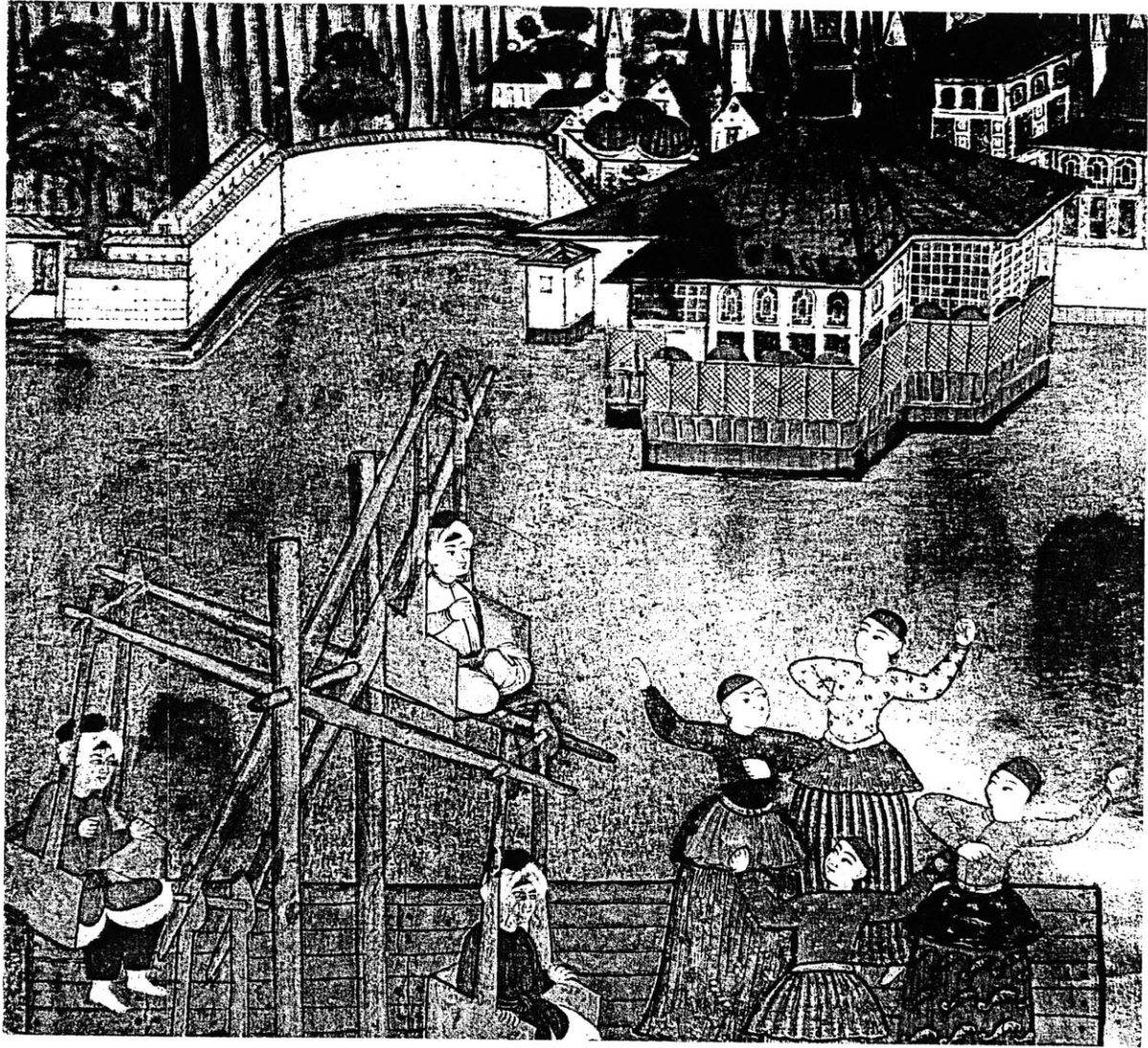
1 a-b Reconstruction plans of Sa'dabad in the first half of the eighteenth century by S. H. Eldem. From Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, Istanbul, 1977, pp. 20-1.



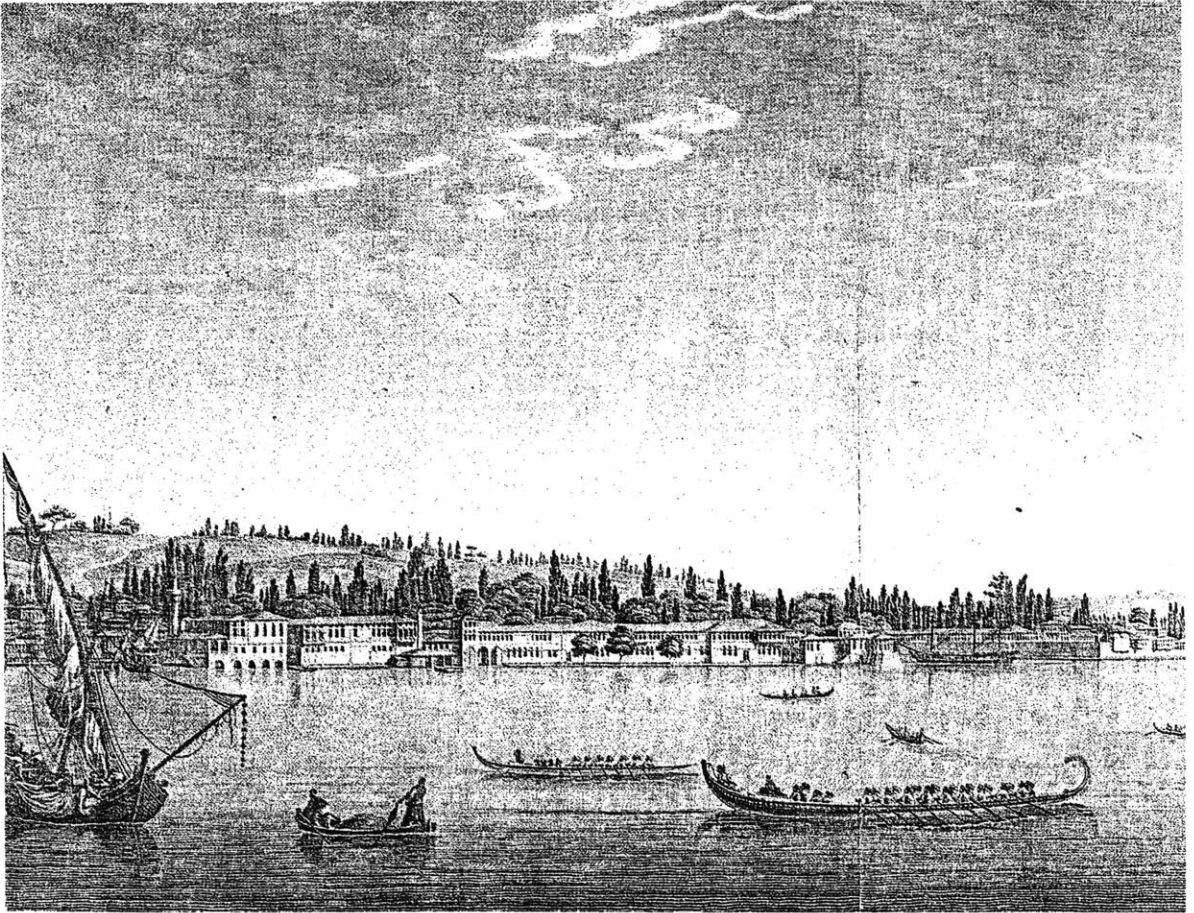
2 Interior mural in the *yalı* of Sa'dullāh Paşa in Çengelköy, showing a waterfront palace on the shore of the Topkapı promontory (Sarayburnu), identified as Maḥmud I's Maḥbūbiyye Palace (1735-48). Reproduced from Esin, "Le Maḥbūbiye, un palais ottoman 'alla franca'," *Varia Turcica*, III (1986), p. 78, fig. I/a.



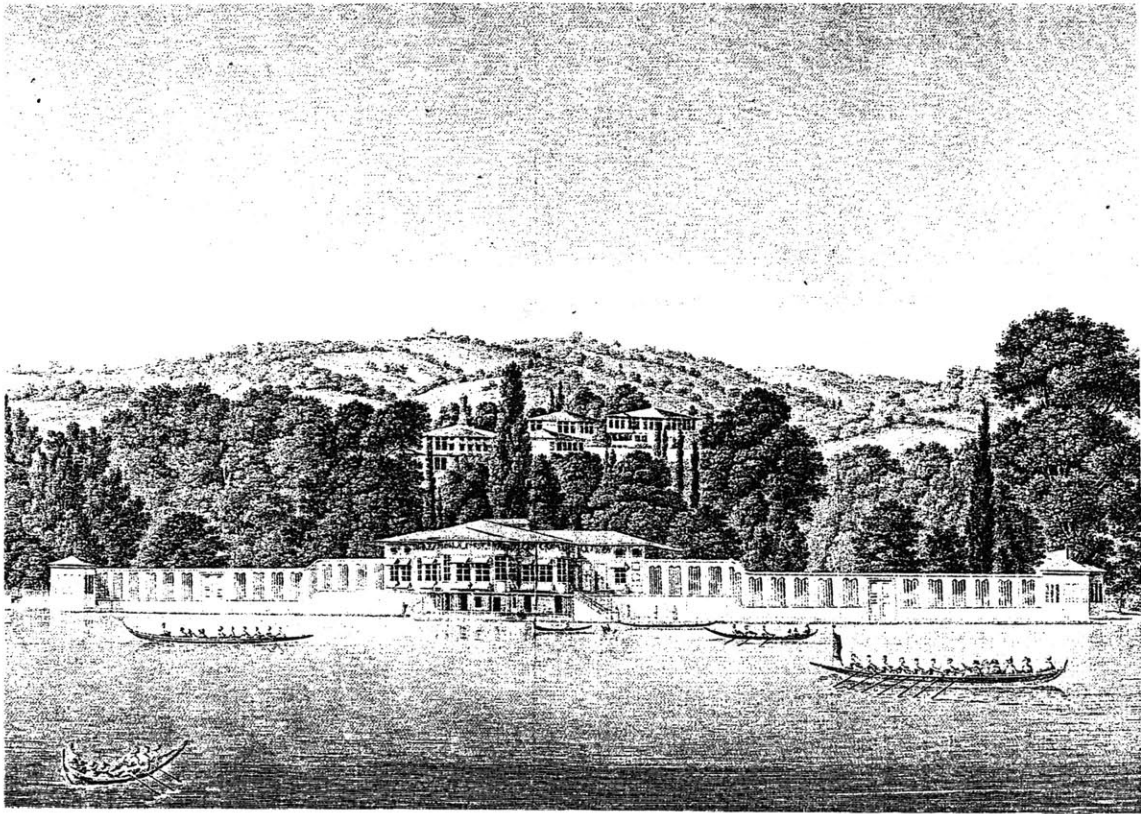
3 The pavilion of İftāriyye (*Bayıldım Köşkü*) in Beşiktaş. Detail from an engraving by l'Espinasse (?). From d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris, 1788-1824. Reproduced from Arslan, *Graviür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, İstanbul, 1992, p. 135, pl. 123.



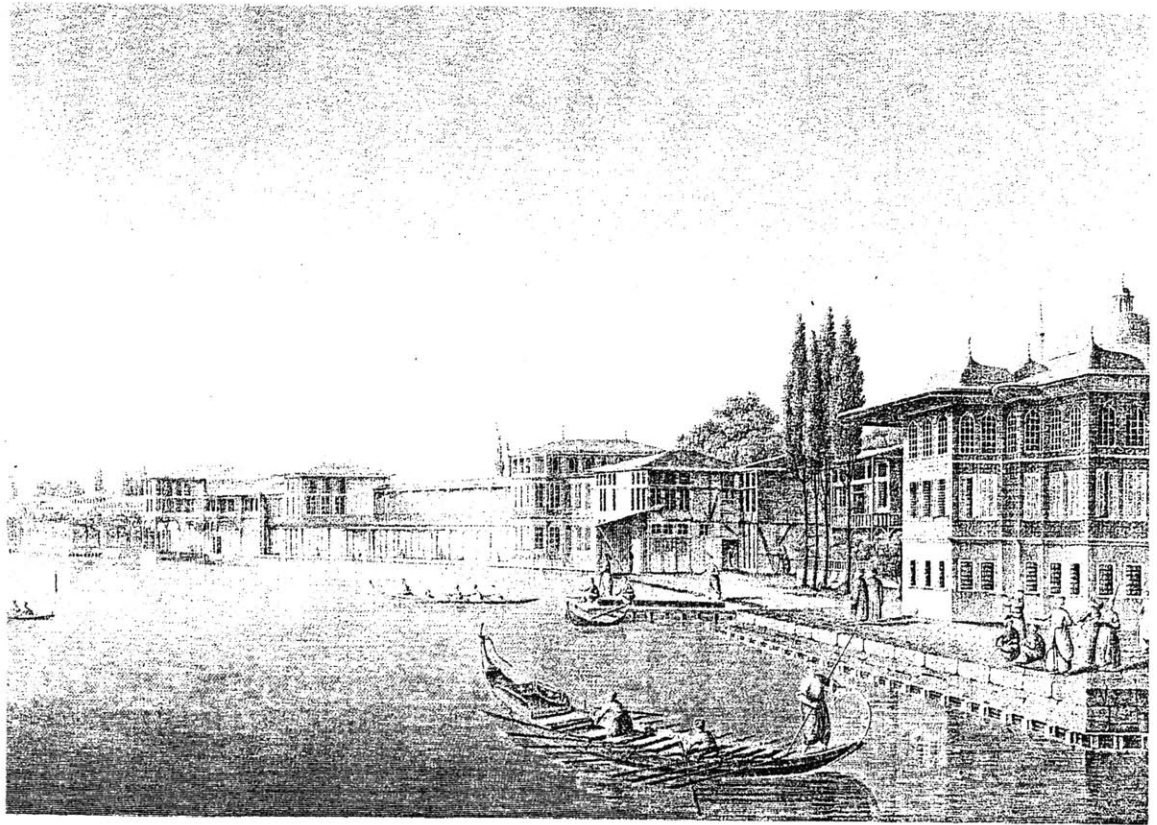
5 Miniature illustration of night festivities staged in front of the Palace of Tersane on the Golden Horn. From *Sürnâme-i Vehbî* (1720), MS. TSMK, A. 3594, fol 77a. Reproduced from Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends," in Pinar, ed., *A History of Turkish Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 54.



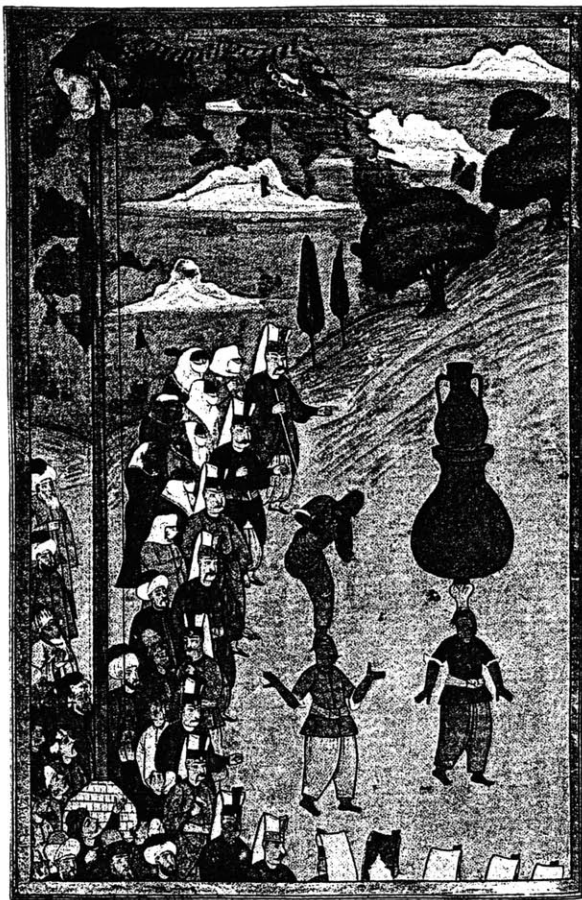
6 Late eighteenth-century view of the palace of Aynalıkavak at Tersane by Melling. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Paris, 1819. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, İstanbul, 1992, p. 107, pl. 95.



7 Late eighteenth-century image of the imperial kiosk of Bebek, by Melling. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 29.



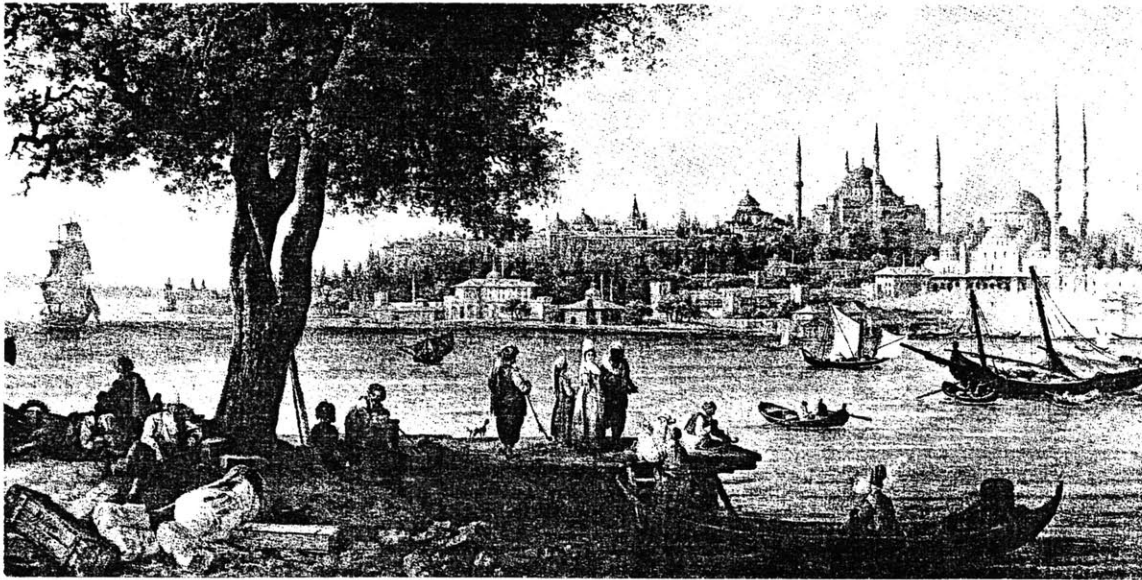
8 View of the Vâlîde apartments in the palace of Beşiktaş by Melling. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 28.



9 Spectators watching an acrobats' performance during the princely circumcision festivities of 1720. From *Sûrnâme-i Vehbî* (1720), MS. TSMK, A. 3593, fols 83b-84a. Reproduced from *Topkapı Manuscripts*, Boston, 1986, pl. 174.

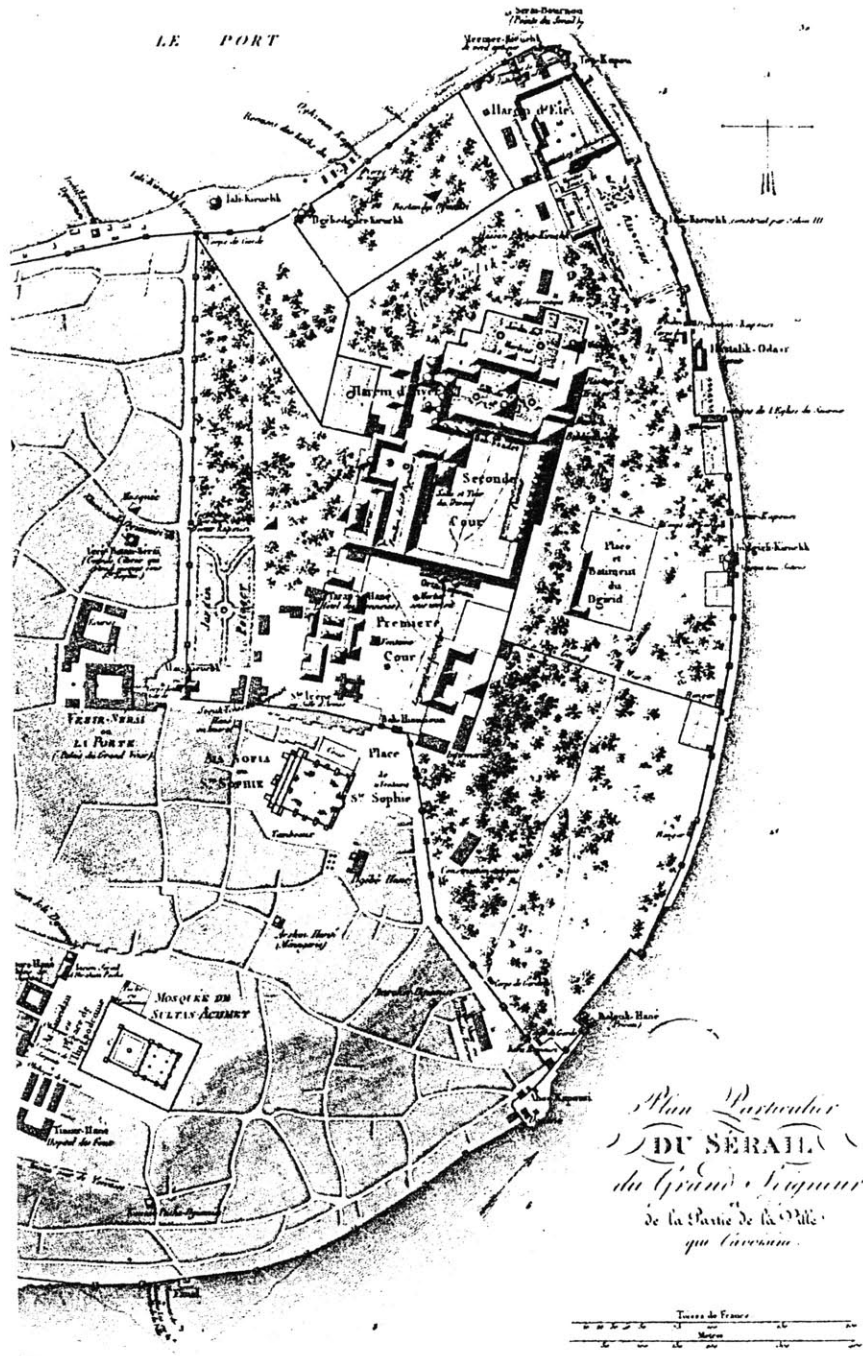


10 Vignette from an album from the second half of the seventeenth century, showing spectators at their windows during a street parade. From Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuller Hof- und Volksleben*, Osnabrück, 1978, pl. 11.

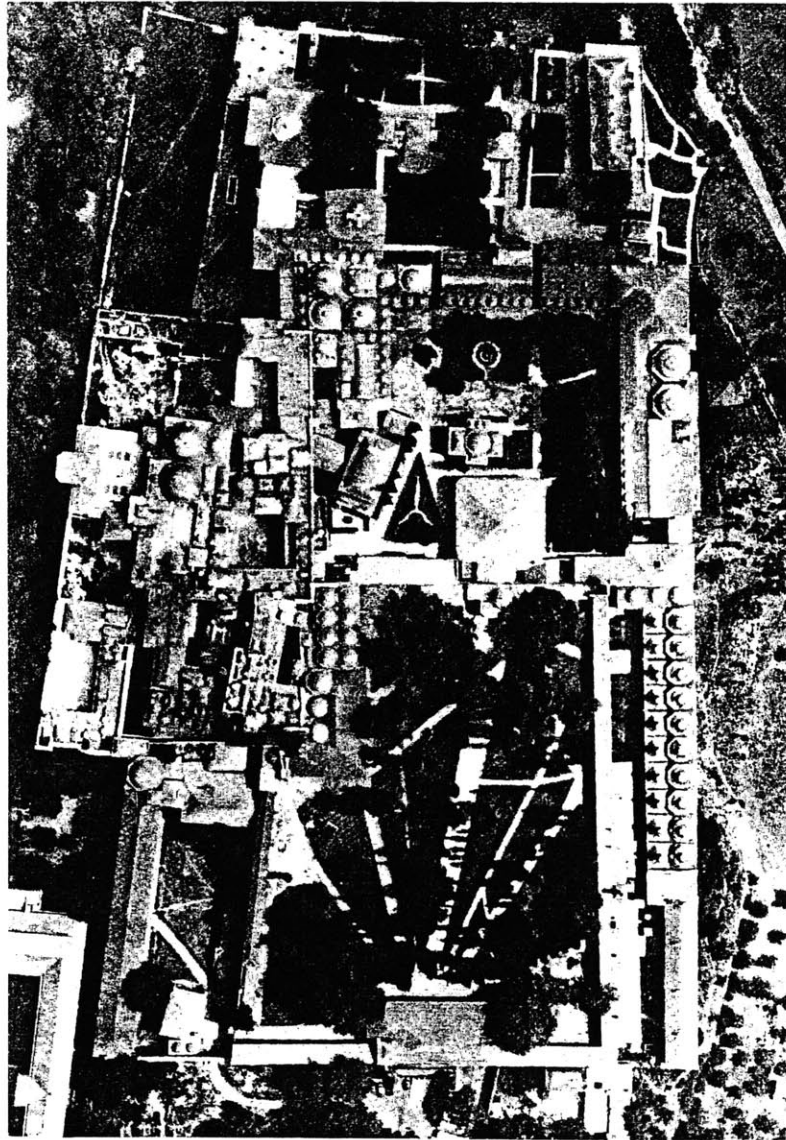


11a Panoramic view of the Topkapı Palace from the Golden Horn by Grelot (ca. 1672). From Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople*. Paris, 1680. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, pl. 28.

11b Panoramic view of the Topkapı Palace from the opposite shore of Galata by Hilair, second half of the eighteenth century. Reproduced from Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1911, p. 188.



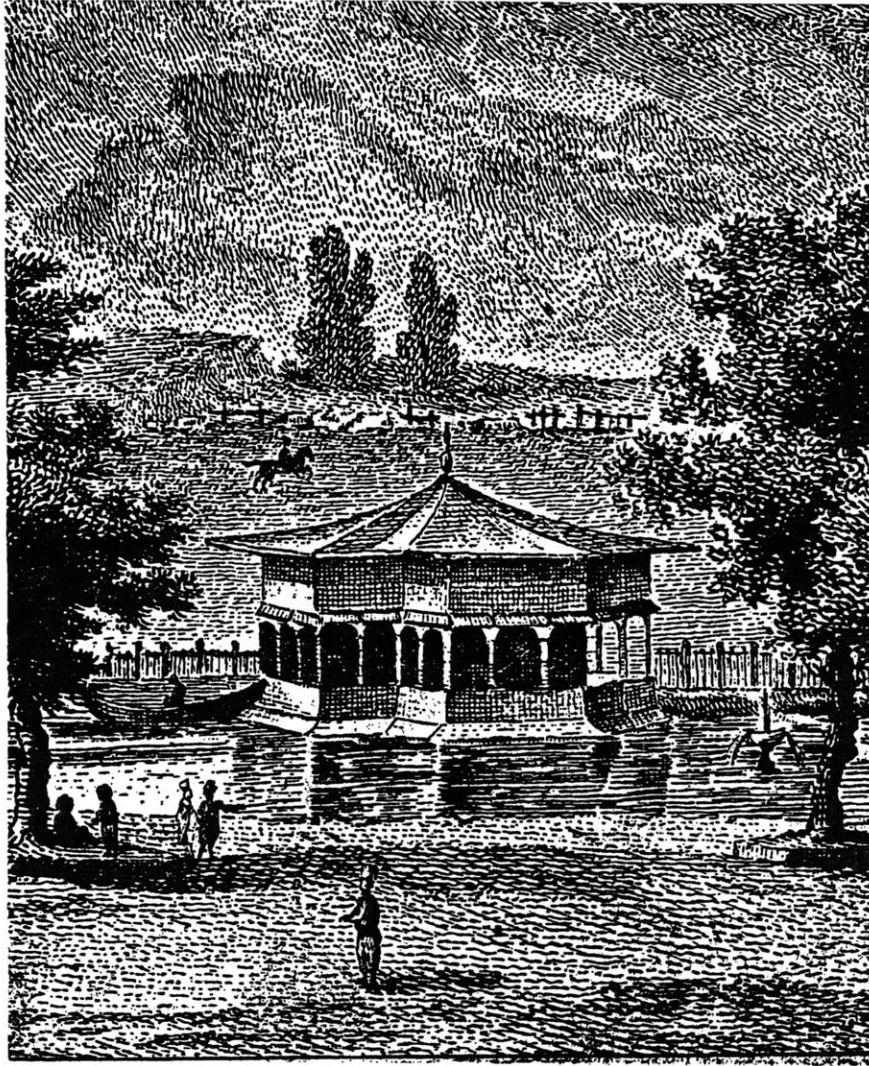
12a Early nineteenth-century plan of the Topkapı Palace by Melling, showing the succession of courtyards. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Paris, 1819. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, pl. 14.



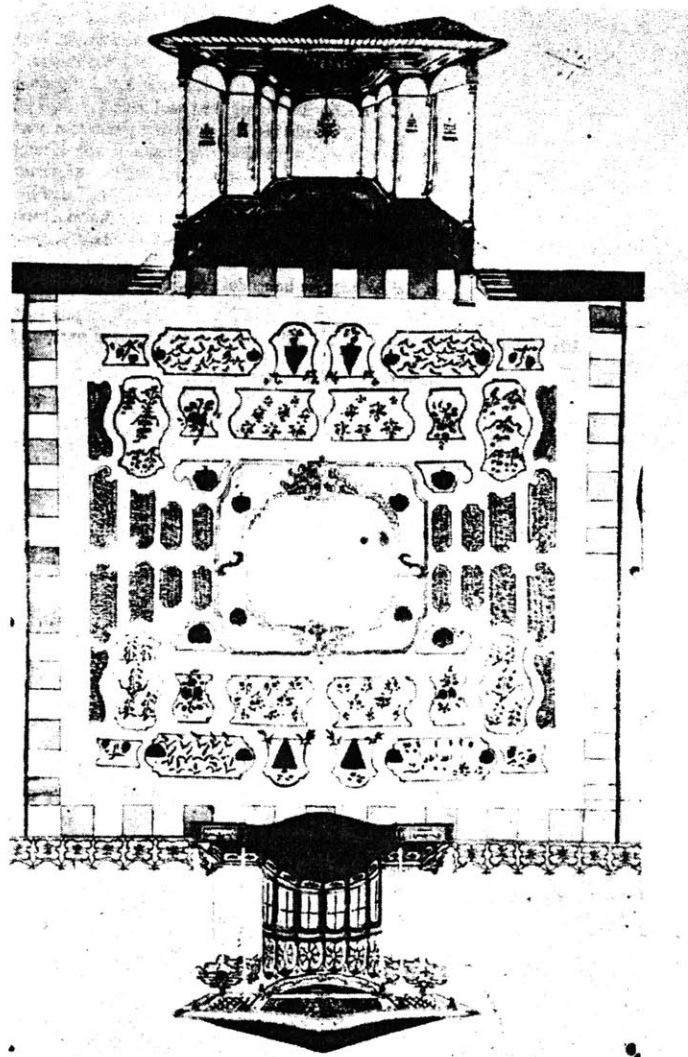
12b Bird's eye view of the Topkapı Palace. From Eldem and Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı*, Istanbul, 1982. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, pl. 9.



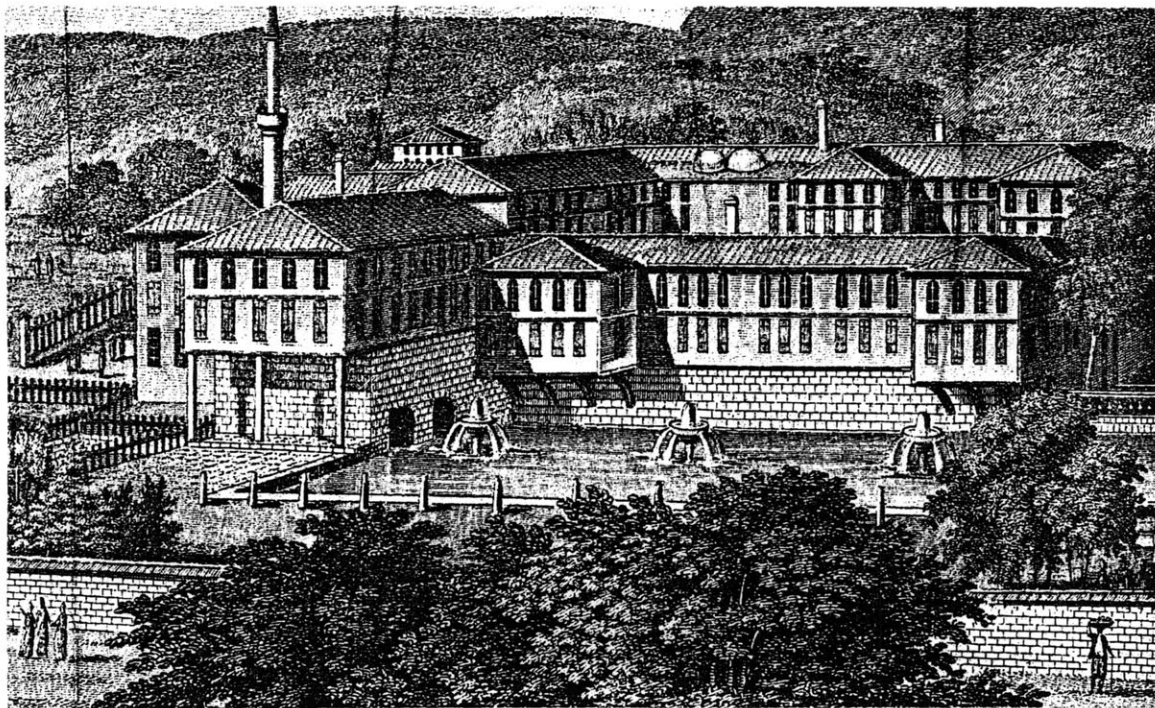
13 The *yalı* of Amcazāde Köprülü Hüseyin Paşa at Anadoluhisarı, built in 1699.



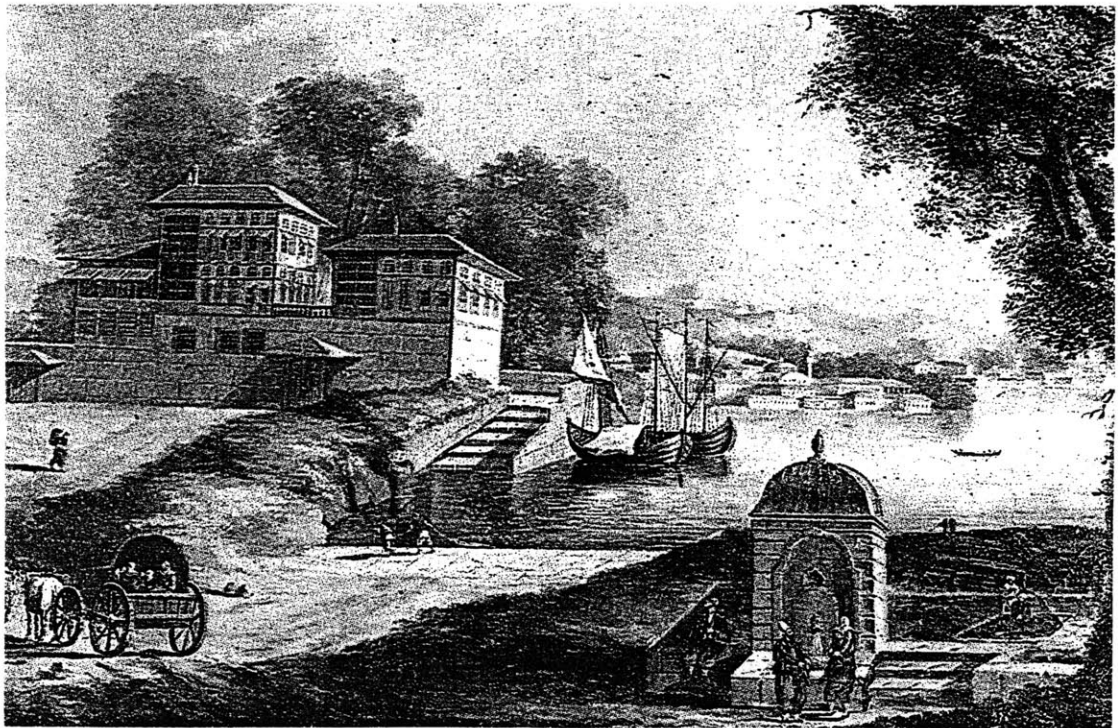
14 Detail of an engraving attributed to Hilair, showing the cross-shaped imperial kiosk of Sa'dabad (*Kasr-ı Cinan*) built during the reign of Aḥmed III. Reproduced from Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, Istanbul, 1977, p. 45, fig. 29.



15 Eighteenth-century plan / elevation of a garden and two kiosks. Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 9451. Reproduced from Eyyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri ve Özellikle Eski İstanbul Bahçeleri*, Ankara, 1972, fig. 190.



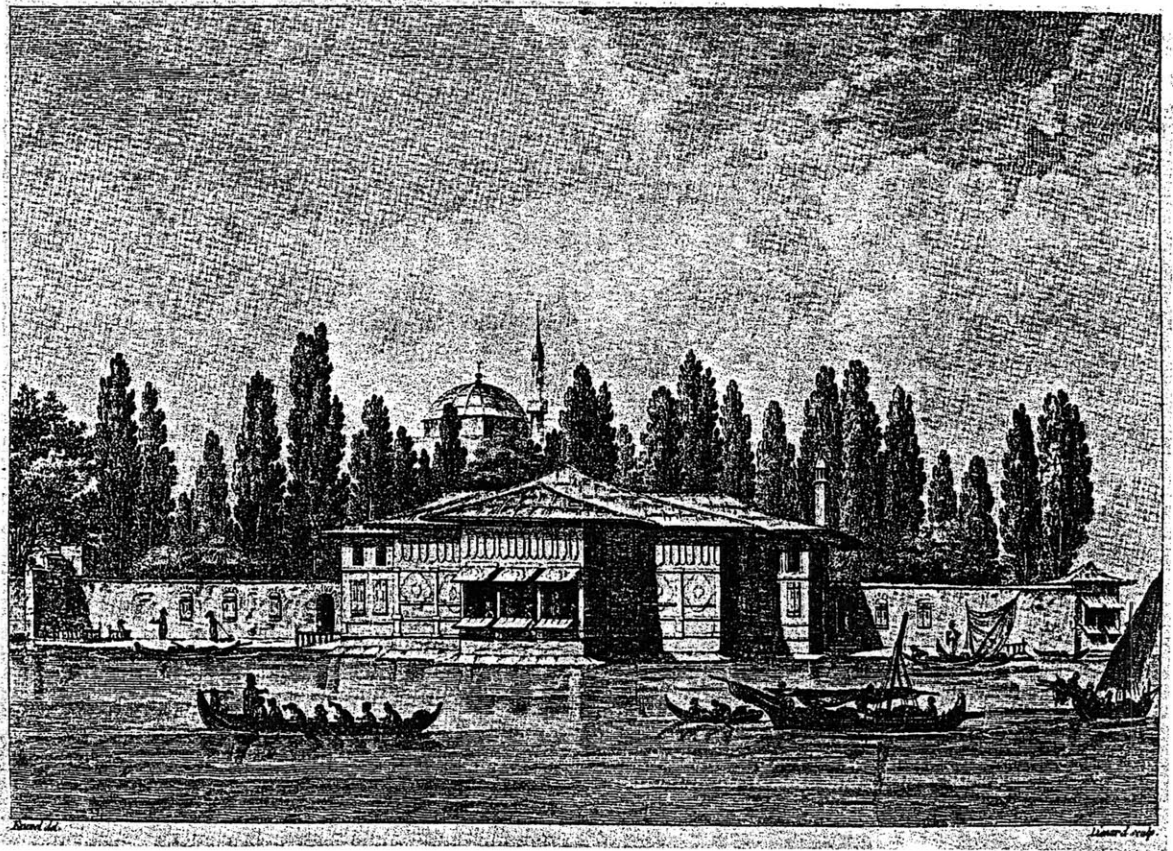
16 Detail of a view of the Harem building at Sa'dabad as rebuilt under Mahmūd I, by l'Espinasse. From d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris, 1788-1824. Reproduced from Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, Istanbul, 1977, p. 41, fig. 23.



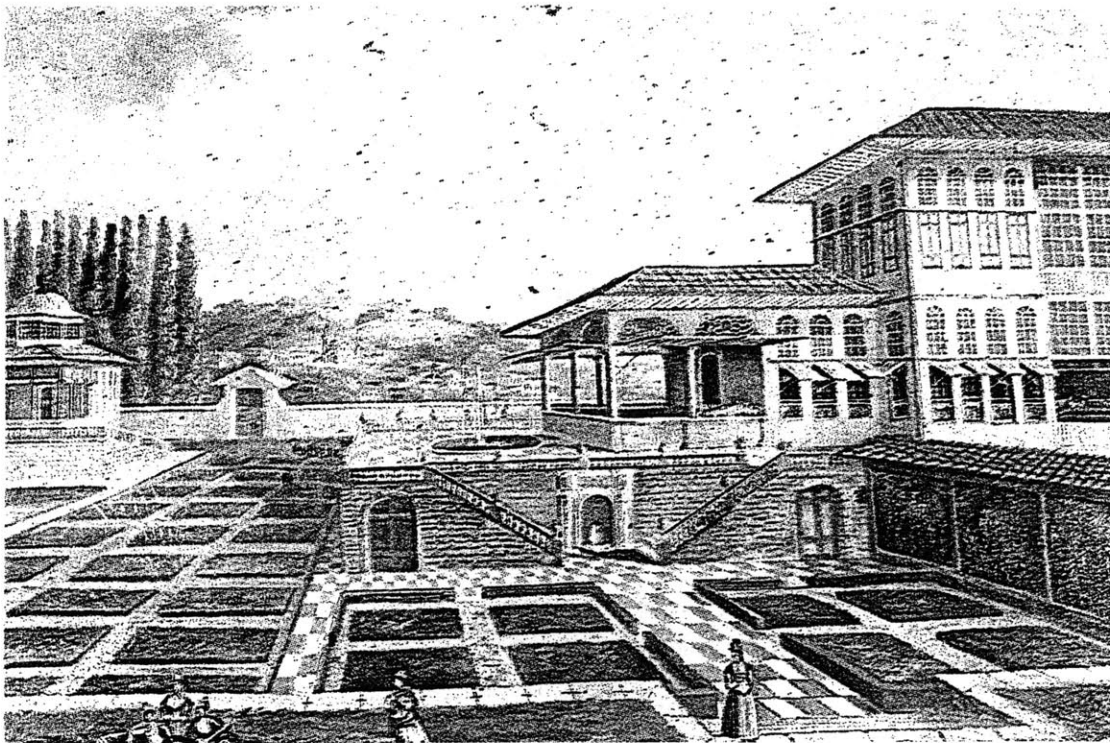
17 Eighteenth-century painting of a waterfront residence. From the Bibi Collection. Reproduced from Adahl, "The Ralamb Paintings and the von Celsing Collection at Biby Manor," in *9th International Congress of Turkish Art* (23-27 September 1991), vol I, p. 25, fig. III.6.



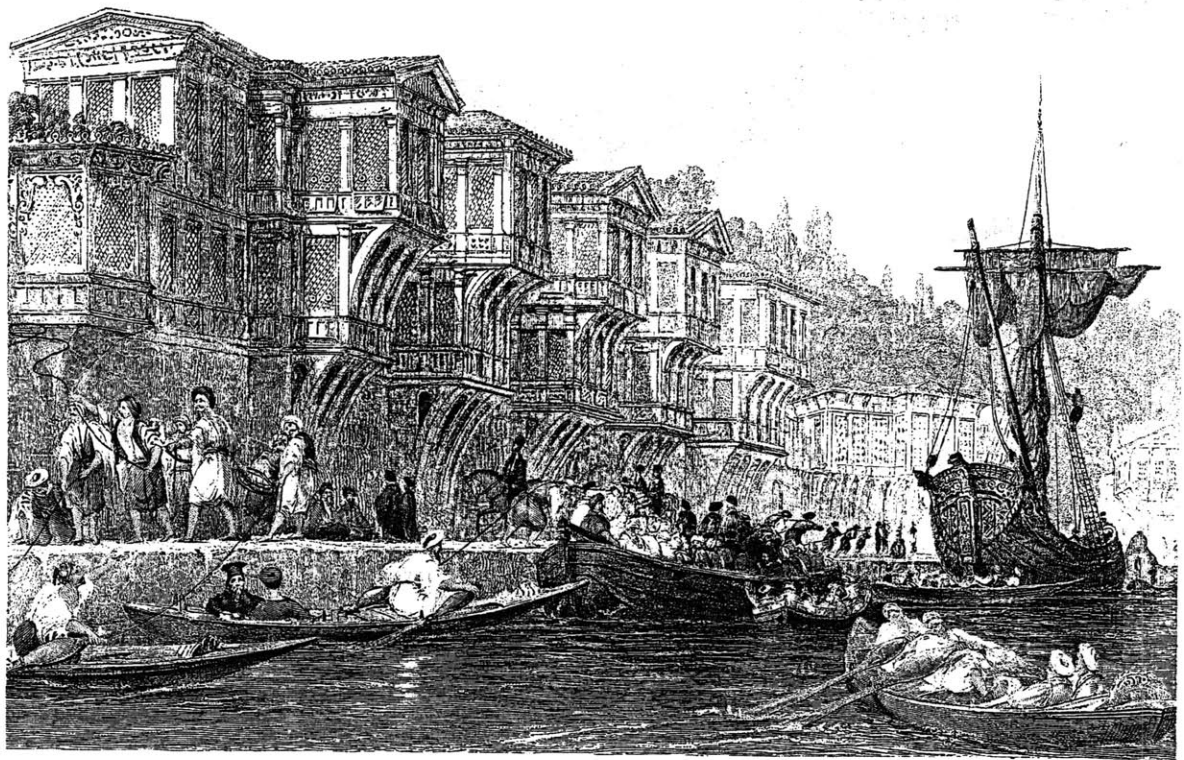
18 Eighteenth-century painting of private residences inland. From the Bibi Collection. Reproduced from Adahl, "The Ralamb Paintings and the von Celsing Collection at Bibi Manor," in *9th International Congress of Turkish Art* (23-27 September 1991), vol I, p. 26, fig. III.7.



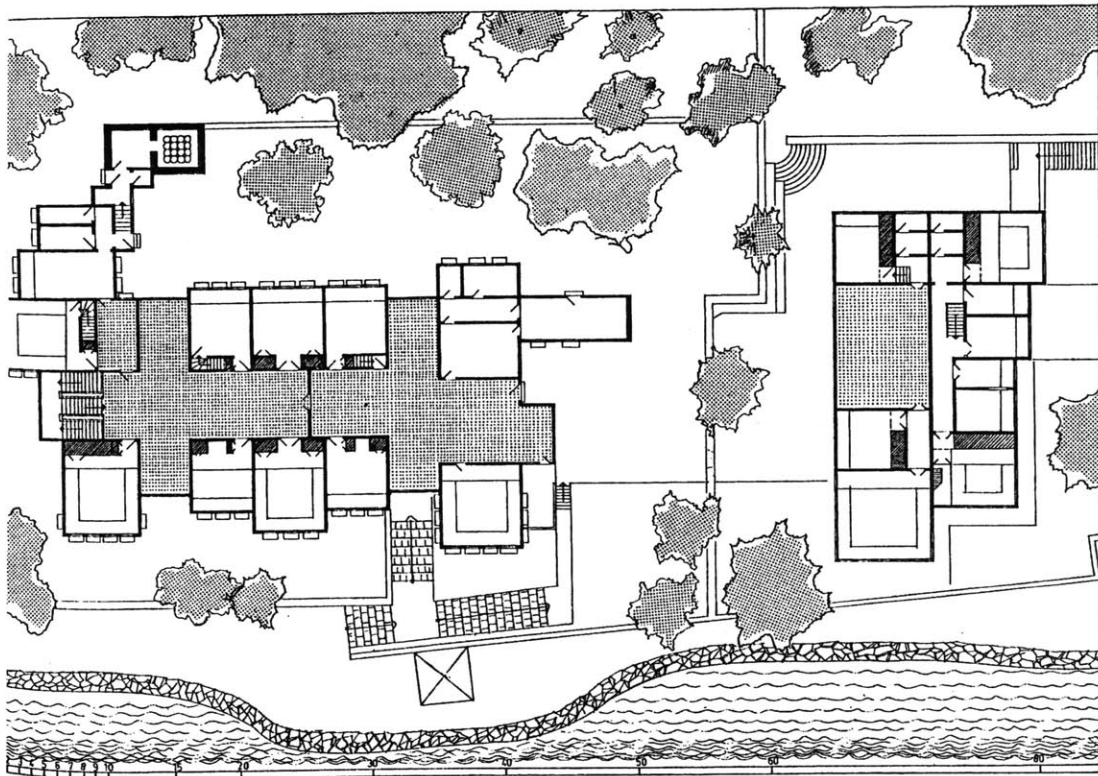
19 Eighteenth-century view from the Bosphorus of the kiosk of Bebek, attributed to Hilair. Reproduced from *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, 1985, vol. 1, pp. 211, fig. I/29.



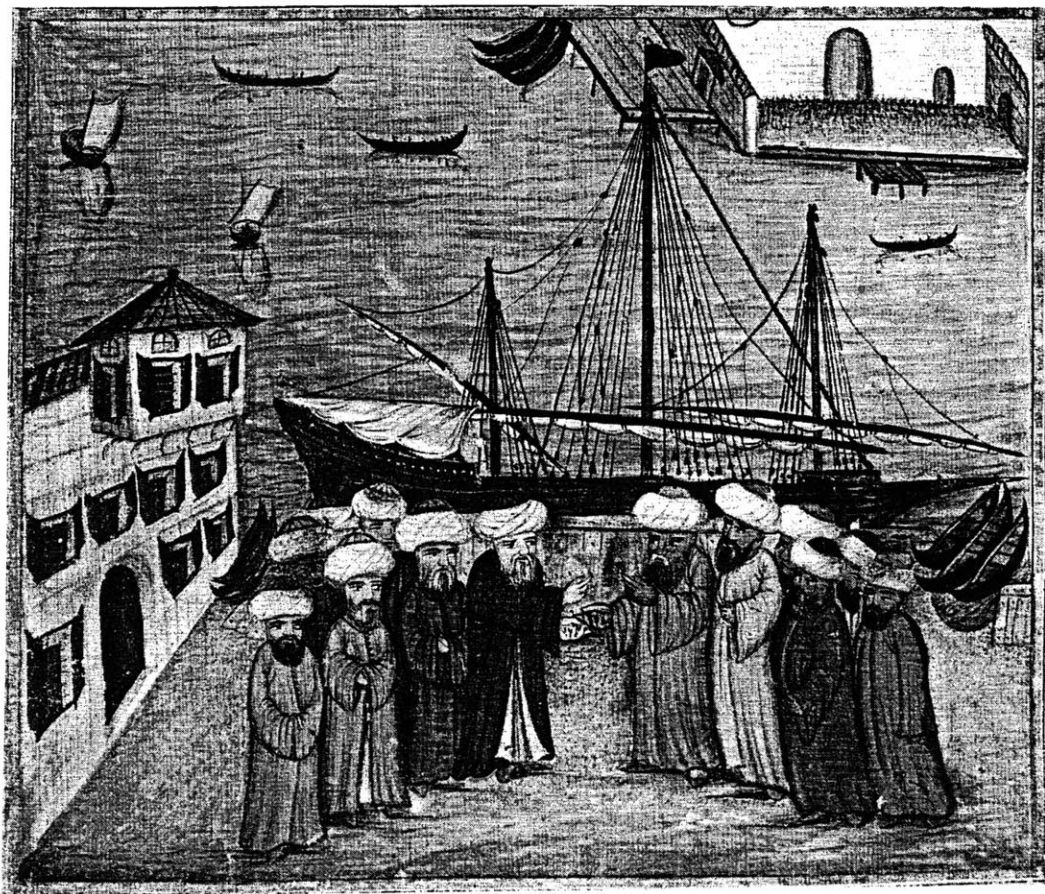
20 Eighteenth-century painting of a private residence. From the Bibi Collection. Reproduced from Adahl, "The Ralamb Paintings and the von Celsing Collection at Biby Manor," in *9th International Congress of Turkish Art* (23-27 September 1991), vol I, p. 25, fig. III.5.



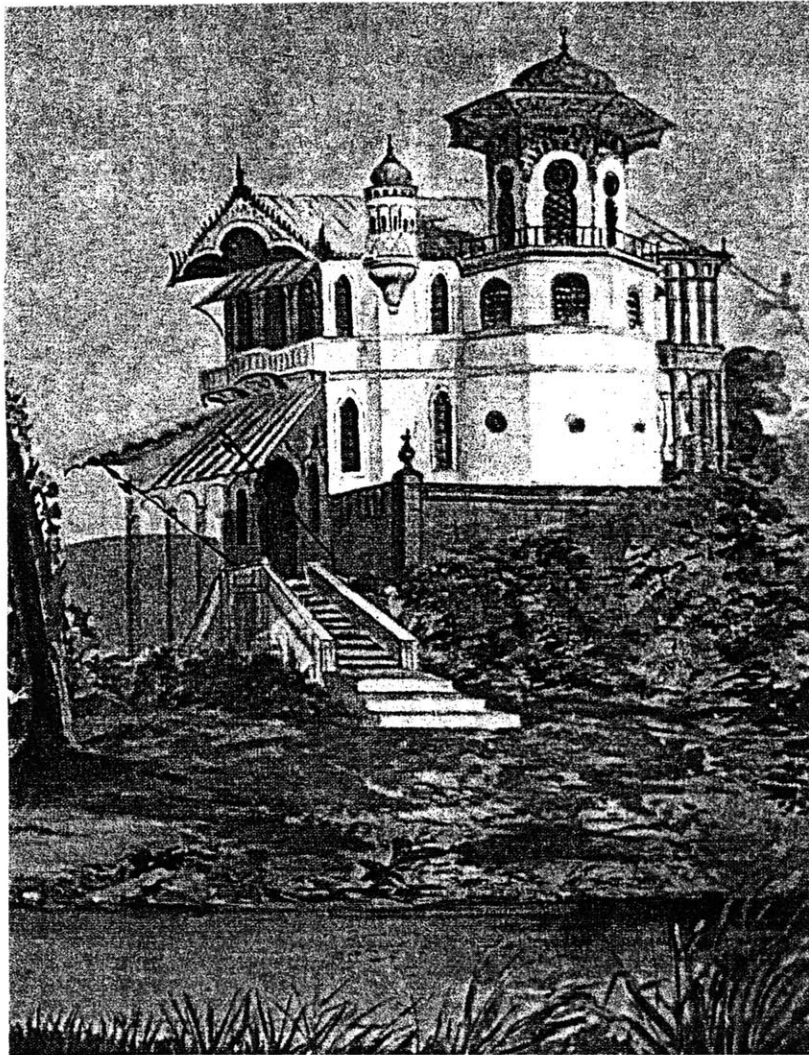
21 View of the shore of Bebek by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. 1, London, 1838.



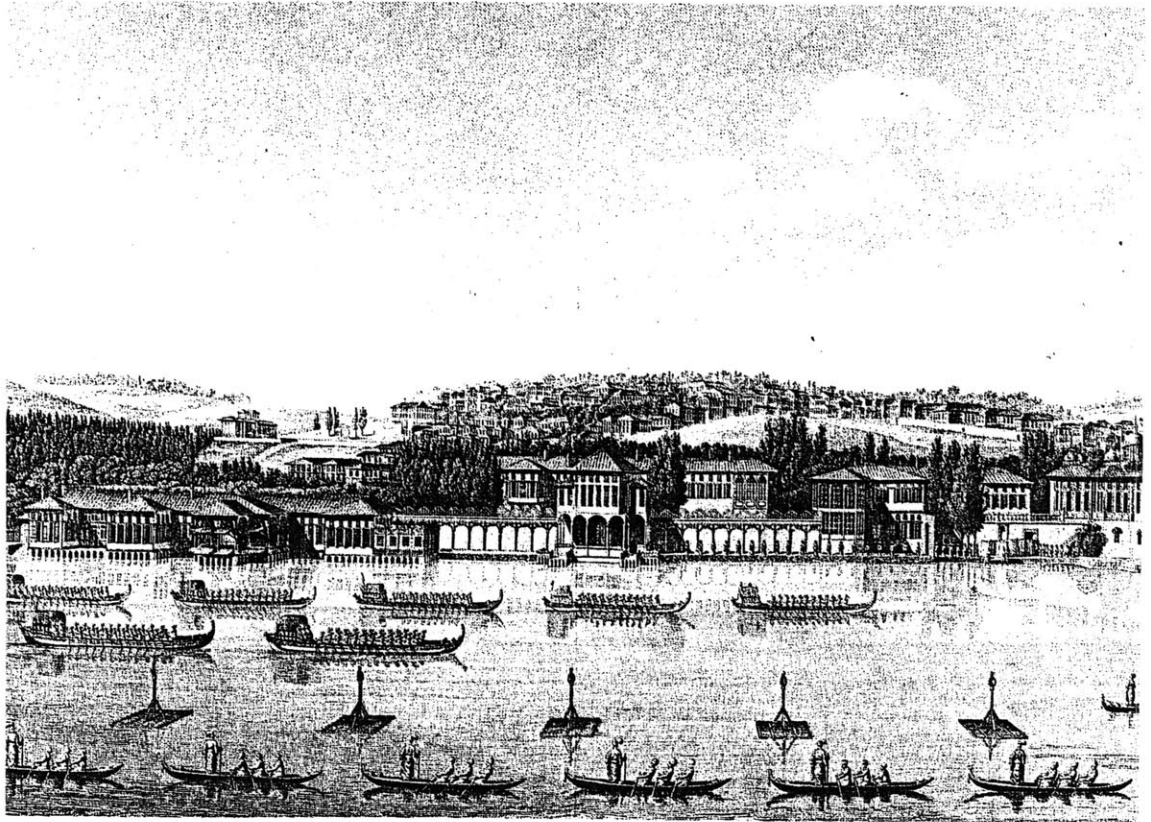
22 Reconstruction plan of the Yılanlı *yalı* in Bebek. From Eldem, *Boğaziçi Anıları*, Istanbul, 1979, p. 135.



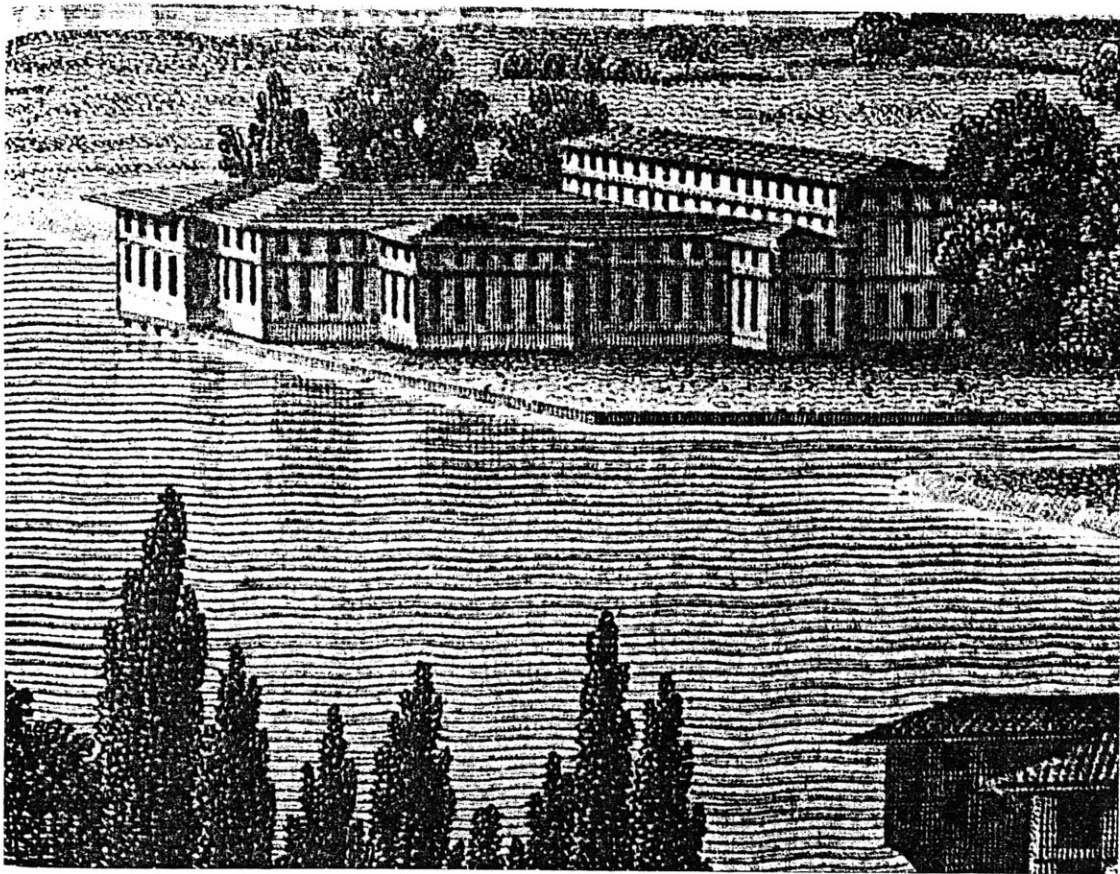
23 A scene at the shore (ca. 1728) showing a protruding kiosk in a waterfront residence. From the *Hamse-i 'Atā'i*, MS. Walters Art Gallery, W. 666, fol 41a. Reproduced from Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 39 (1981), p. 24.



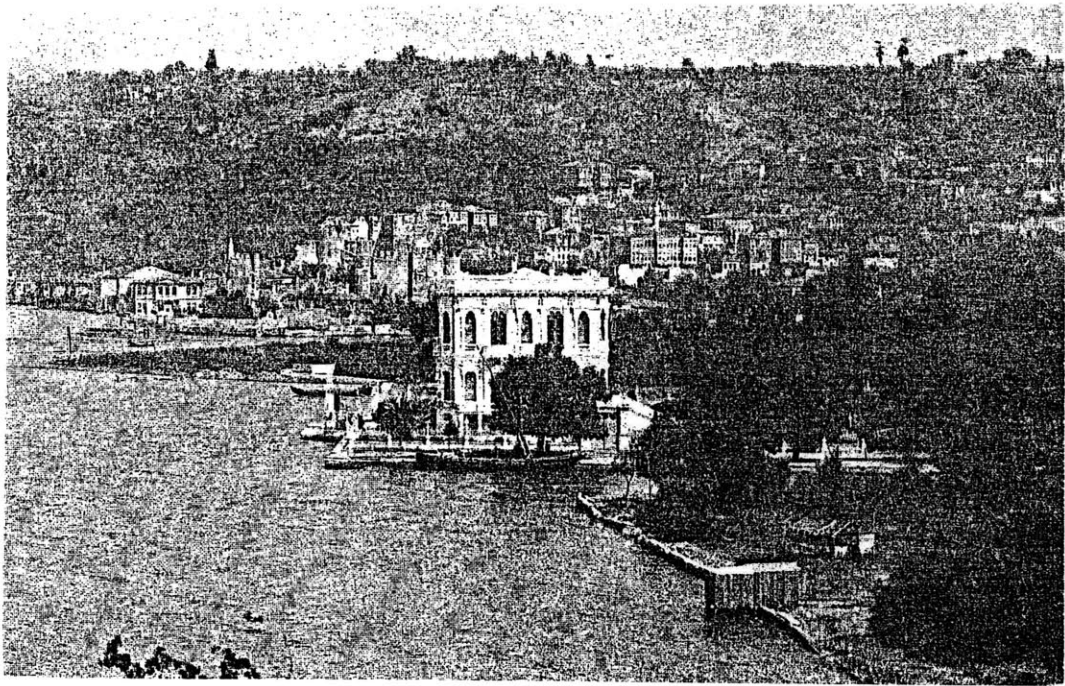
24 Mid-nineteenth-century mural showing a belvedere structure. From a mural in a *yalı* in Kandilli. Reproduced from Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends," in Pınar, ed., *A History of Turkish Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 79, fig. 73.



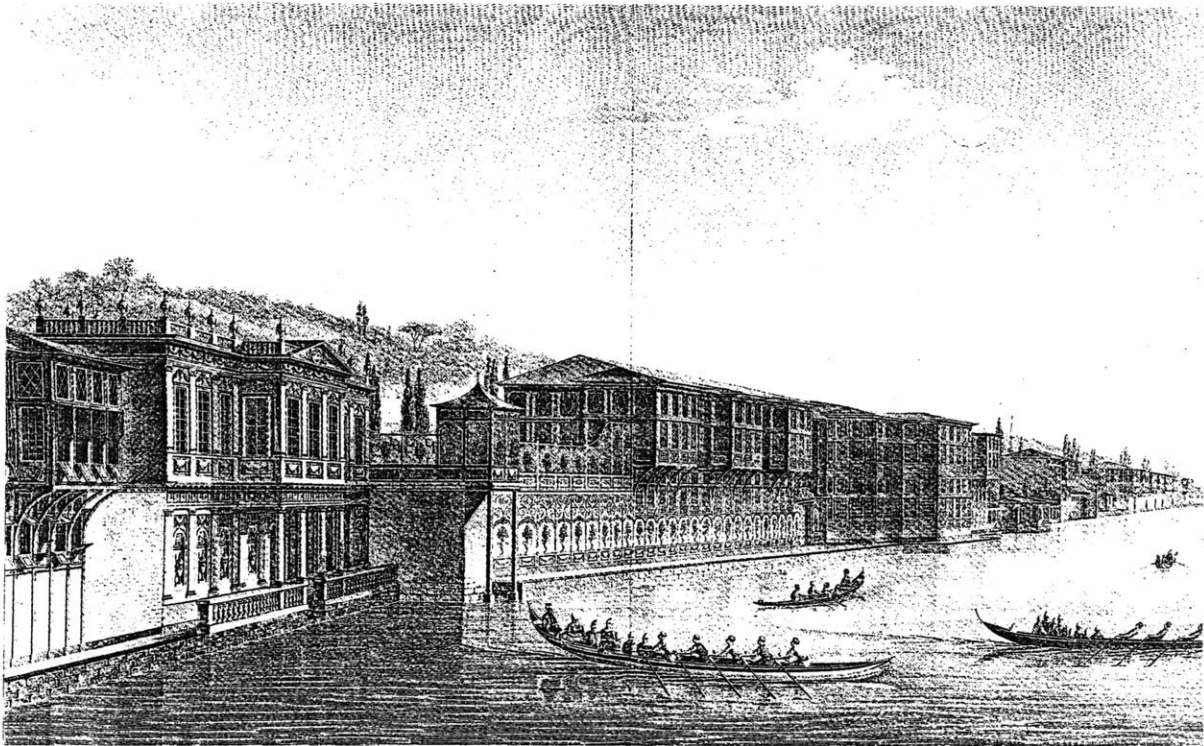
25 View of the restored palace of Beşiktaş under Selim III, by l'Espinasse. From d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, vol. 3, Paris, 1788-1824. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 125, fig. 112.



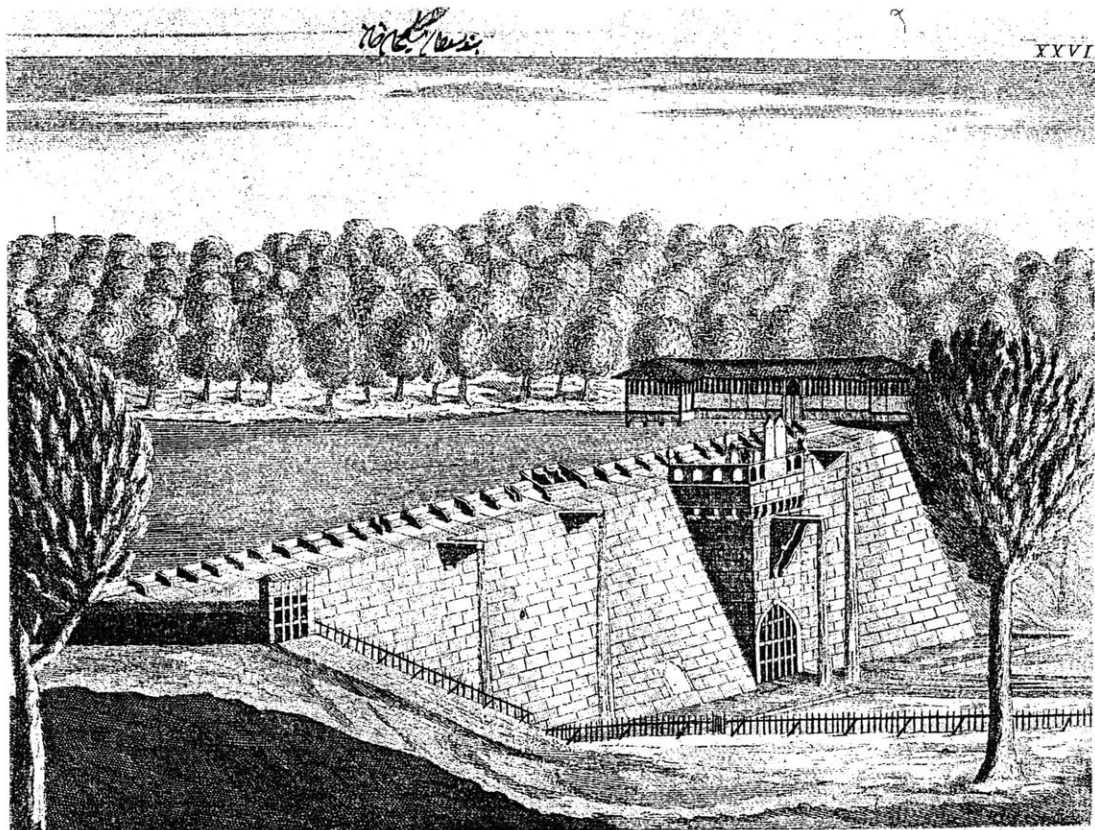
26 a Detail of an engraving by Melling showing the old wooden kiosk of Küçüksu built under Maḥmūd I. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 32.



26 b Rebuilding of the pavilion of Küçüksu in masonry under Mahmūd II. Remains of the former wooden structure can be seen to the right. From Eldem, *Boğaziçi Anıları*, Istanbul, 1979, p. 301, fig. 183.

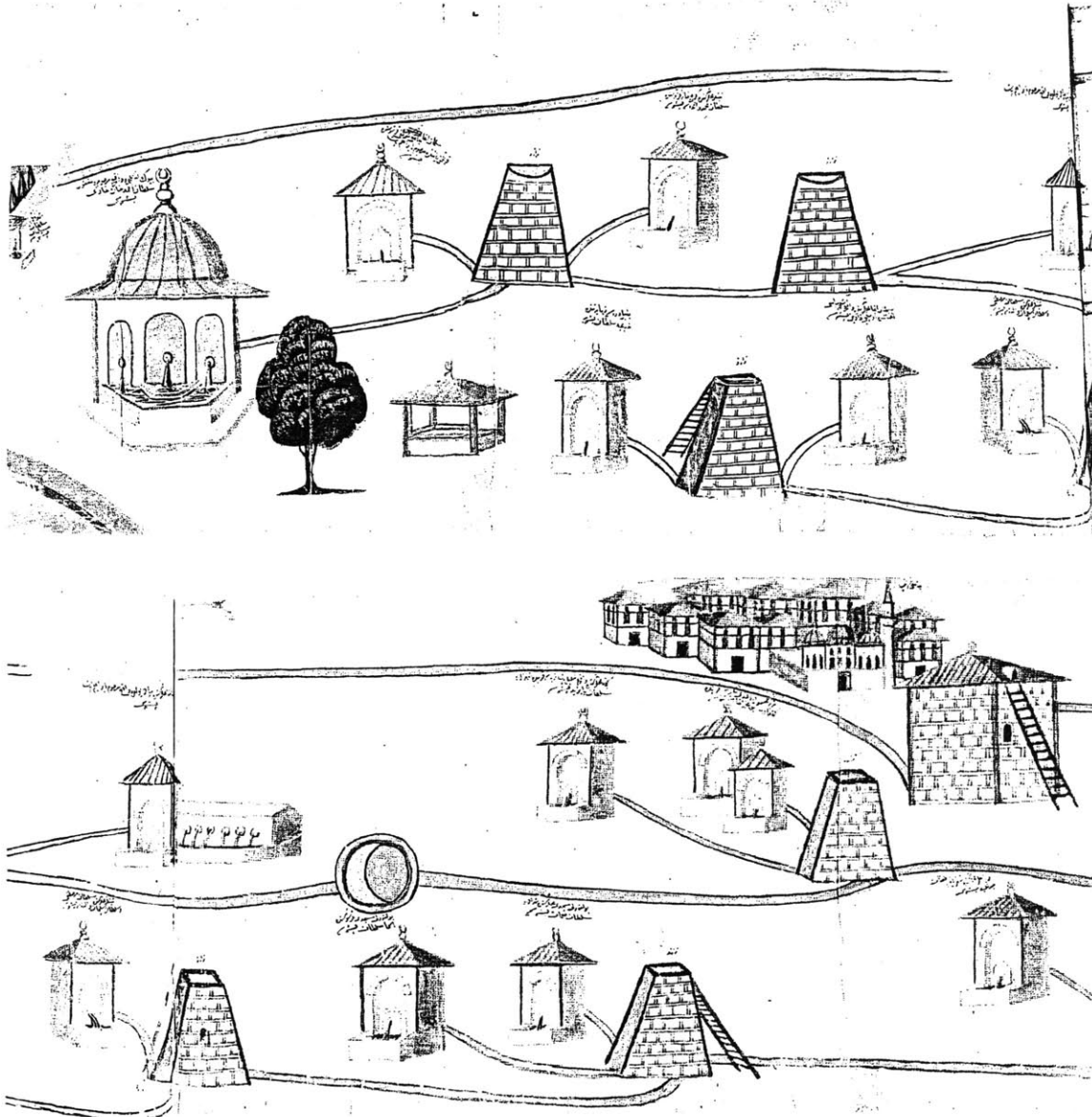


27 An engraving after Melling showing the original *yalı* of Hâtice Sultân in Defterdar Burnu (to the right) and Melling's late eighteenth-century extension (left). From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 27.



Cosimo Comidas del. Il Gran Bend o Riservatojo del Villaggio di Belgrado.

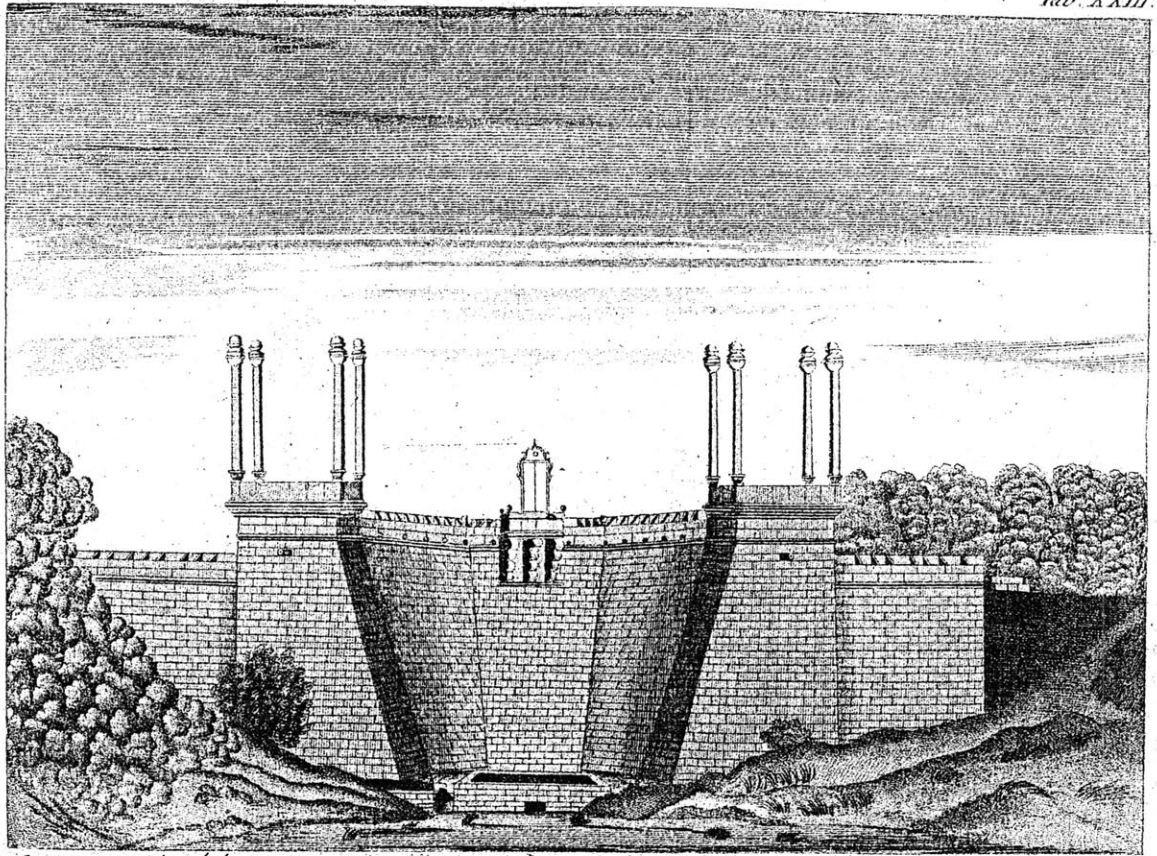
28 View of *Büyük Bend* (The Great Dam) built by Ahmed III, by Carbognano. From Carbognano, *18. Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, İstanbul, 1993, pl. XXVI.



29 Detail of a 1760-70 plan of the water network in Üsküdar. Reproduced from Kayra, *Eski İstanbul'un Eski Haritaları*, Istanbul, 1990, pp. 48-49.

بند ماہ

Tab. XXIII.



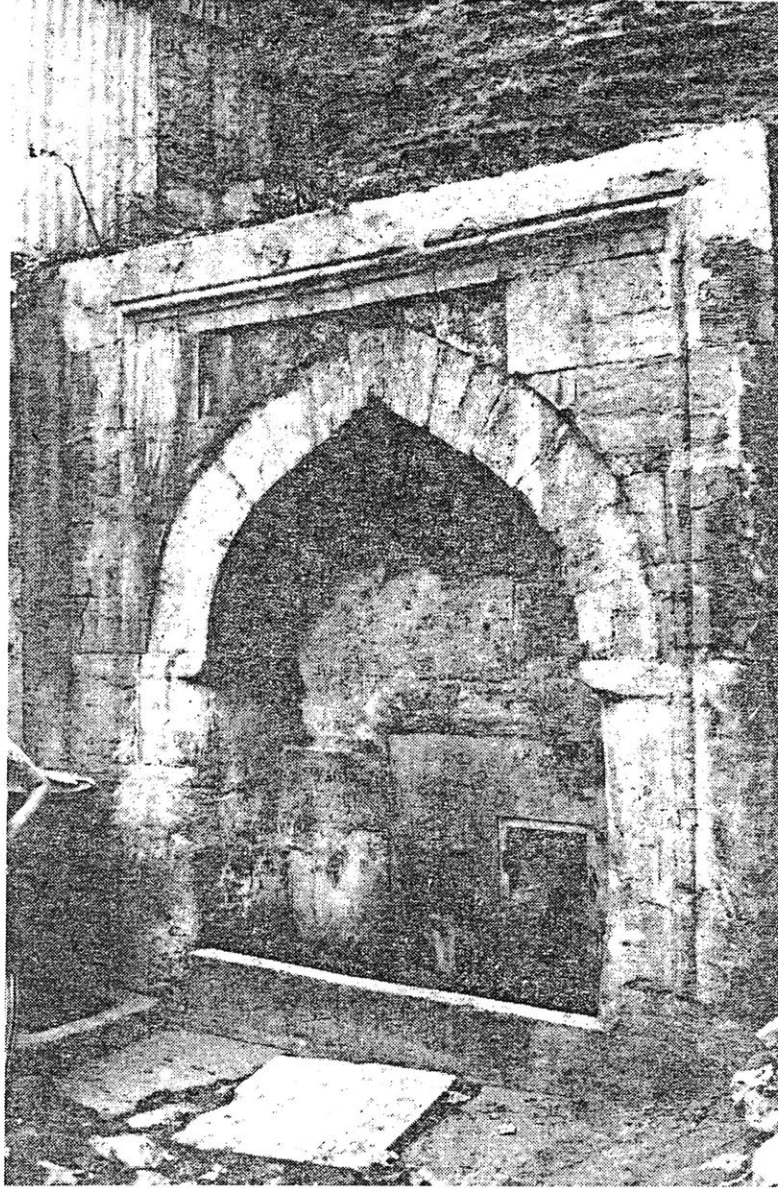
Corino Comidas del.

Prospetto del Gran Riservatojo di Bahçekioj.

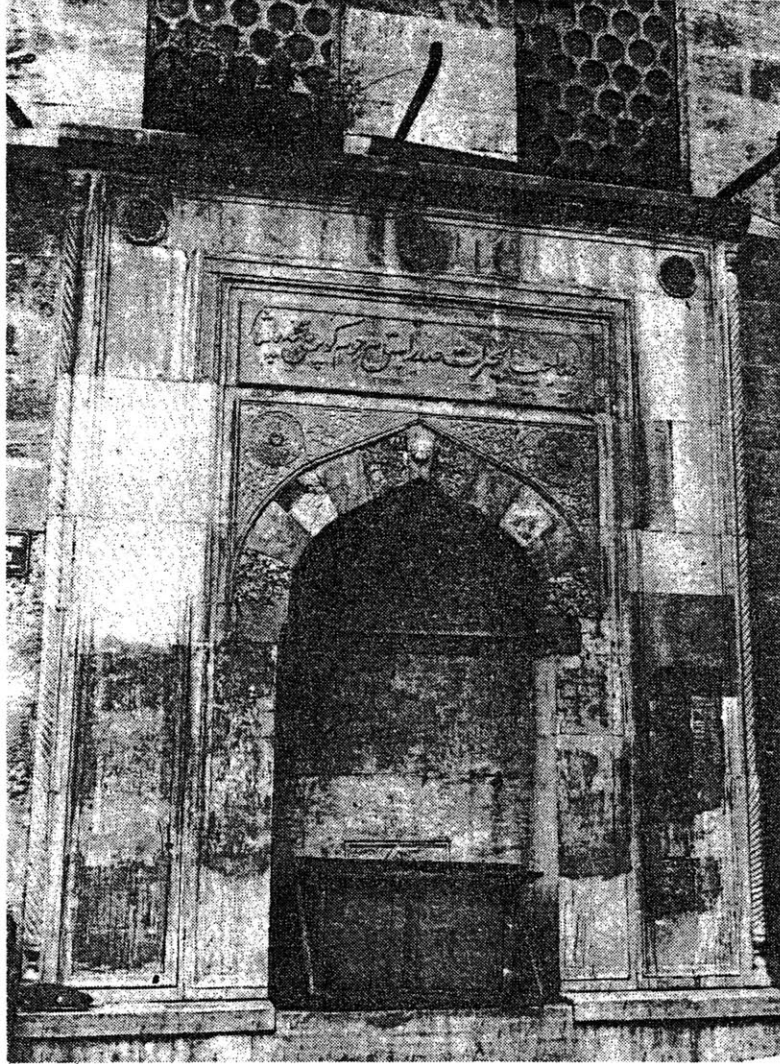
30 View of Mahmūd I's dam in Bahçeköy by Carbognano. From Carbognano, *18. Yüzyılın Sonunda İstanbul*, İstanbul, 1993, pl. XXIII.



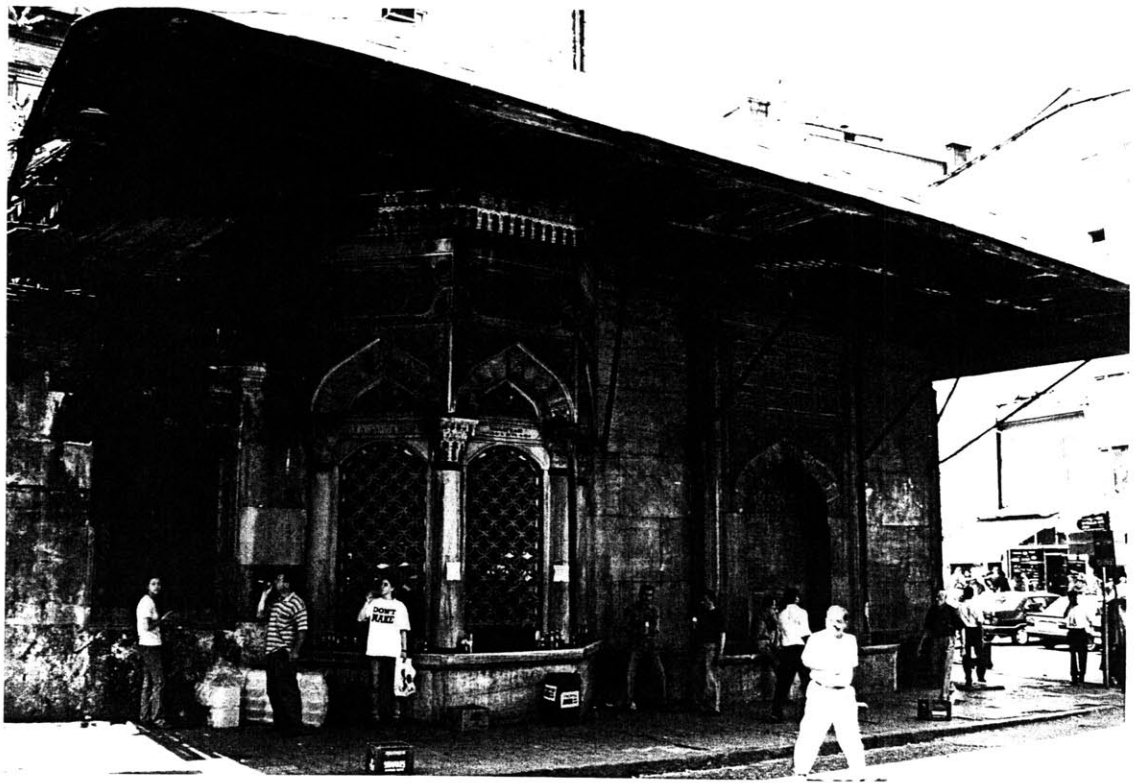
31 The reservoir of Taksim, built in 1731-32 by Maḥmūd I.



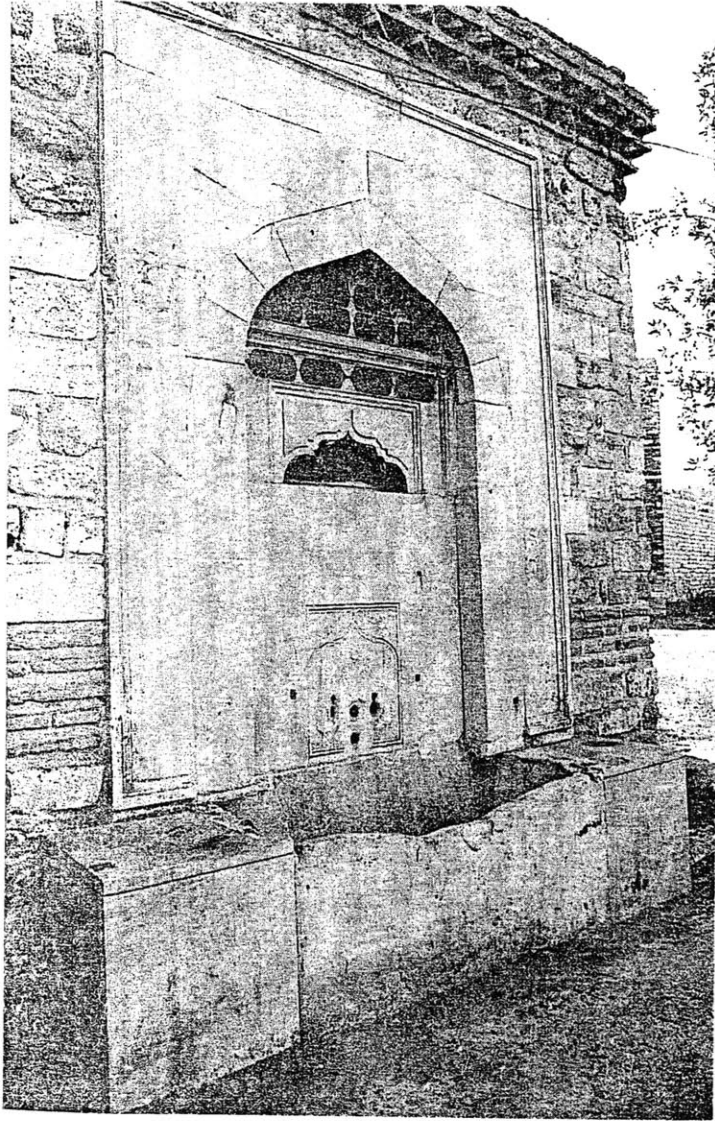
32 Fountain of Rüstem Paşa in Üsküdar (1545). From Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, p. 711, fig. 974.



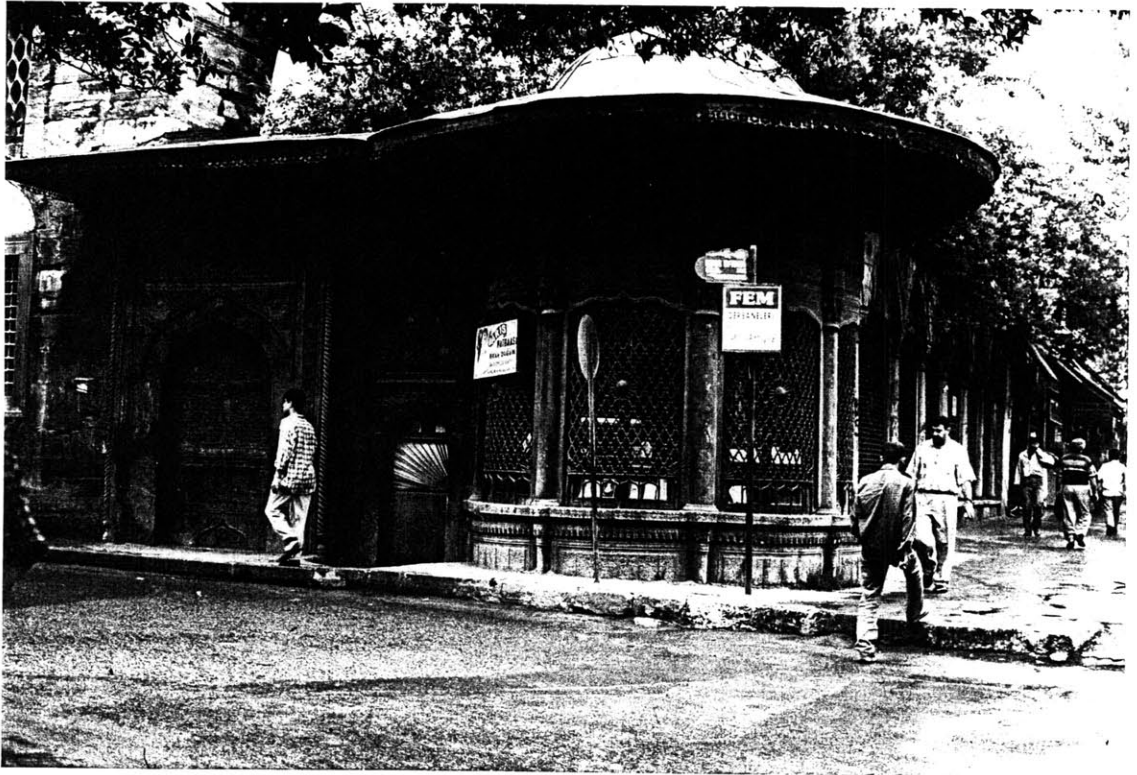
33 Fountain of Mehmed Paşa Köprülü in Çemberlitaş (1661). From Egemen, *İstanbul'un Çeşme ve Sebilleri*, p. 582, fig. 762.



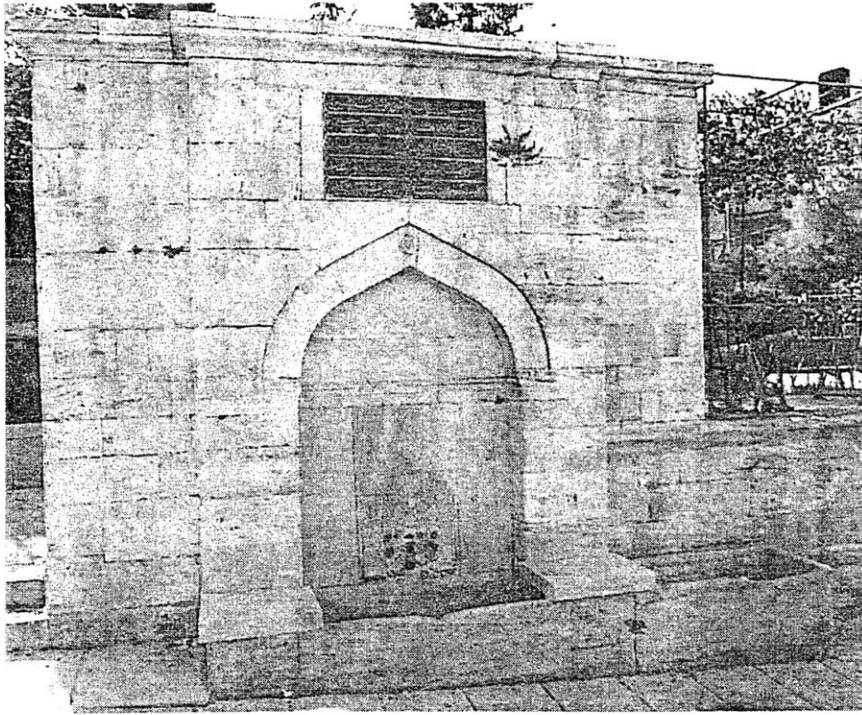
34 Fountain-*sebil* of Turhān Sultān at Yeni Cami (1663).



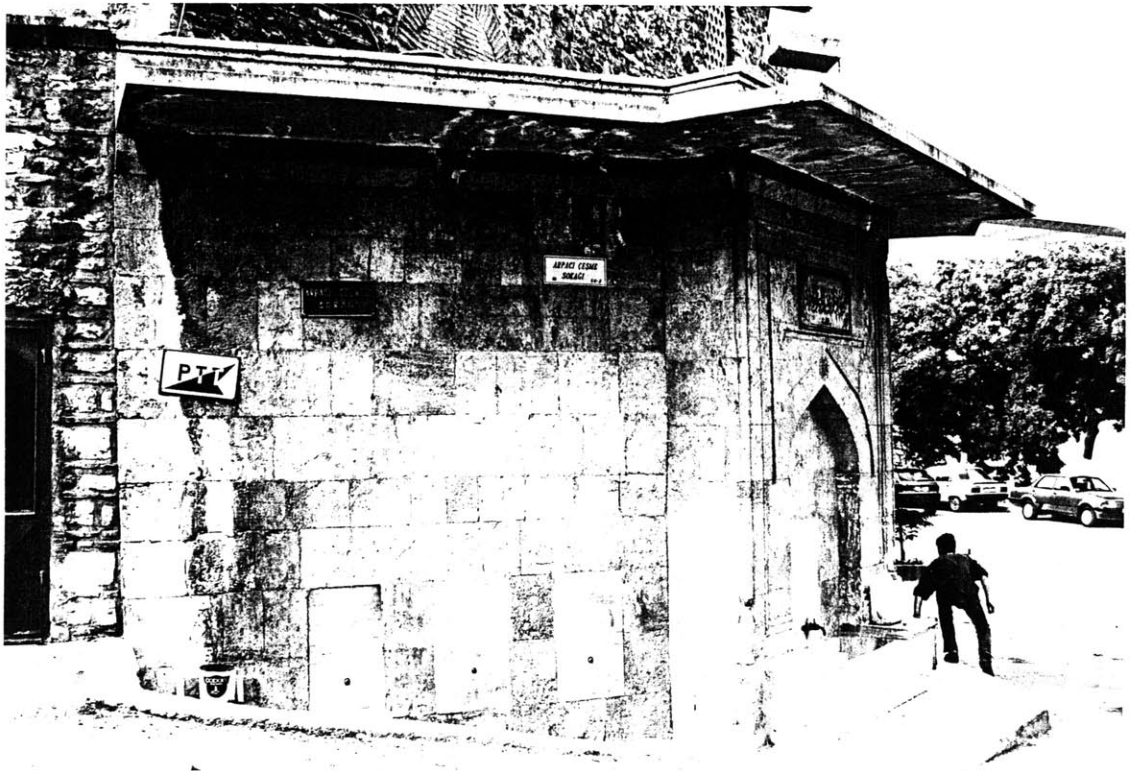
35 Fountain of Hatice Sultan in Ayvansaray (1711). From Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, İstanbul, 1995, p. 123, fig. 67a.



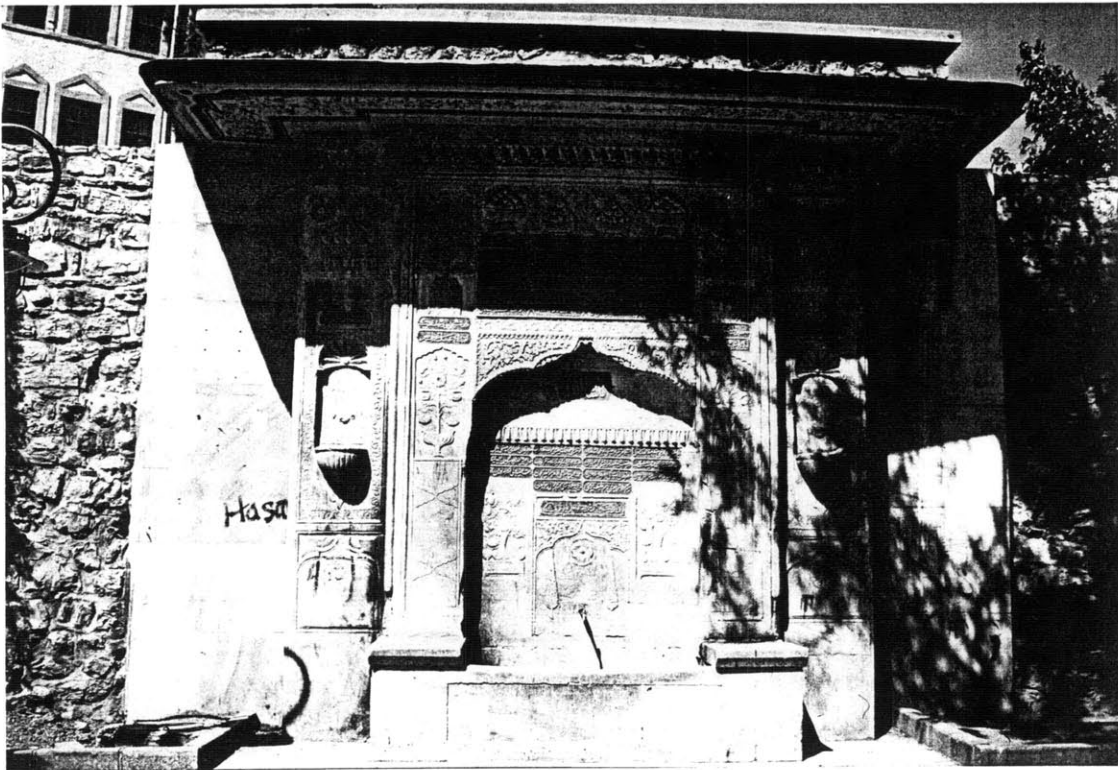
36 Fountain of Nevşehirli İbrâhîm Paşa at Şehzade (1719).



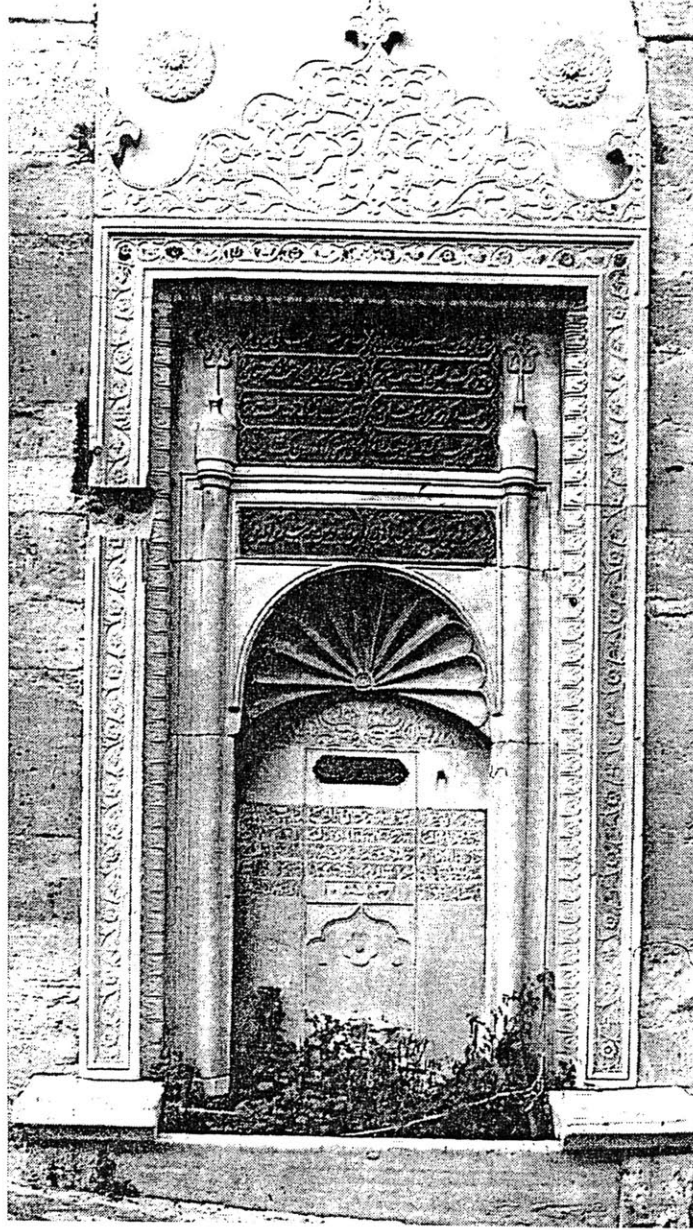
37 Fountain of İbnül'emîn Ahmed Ağa in Kasımpaşa (1727). From Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, İstanbul, 1995, p. 154, fig. 93a.



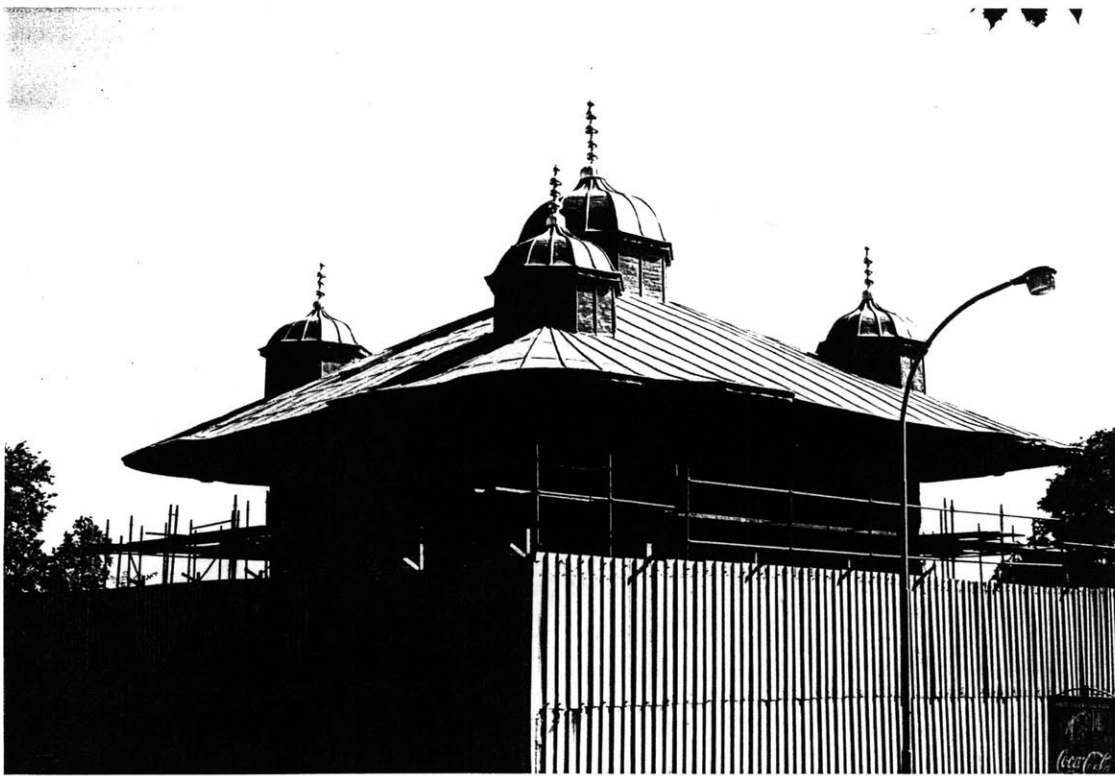
38 Fountain of Raḳım Paşa in Rumelihisarı (1715).



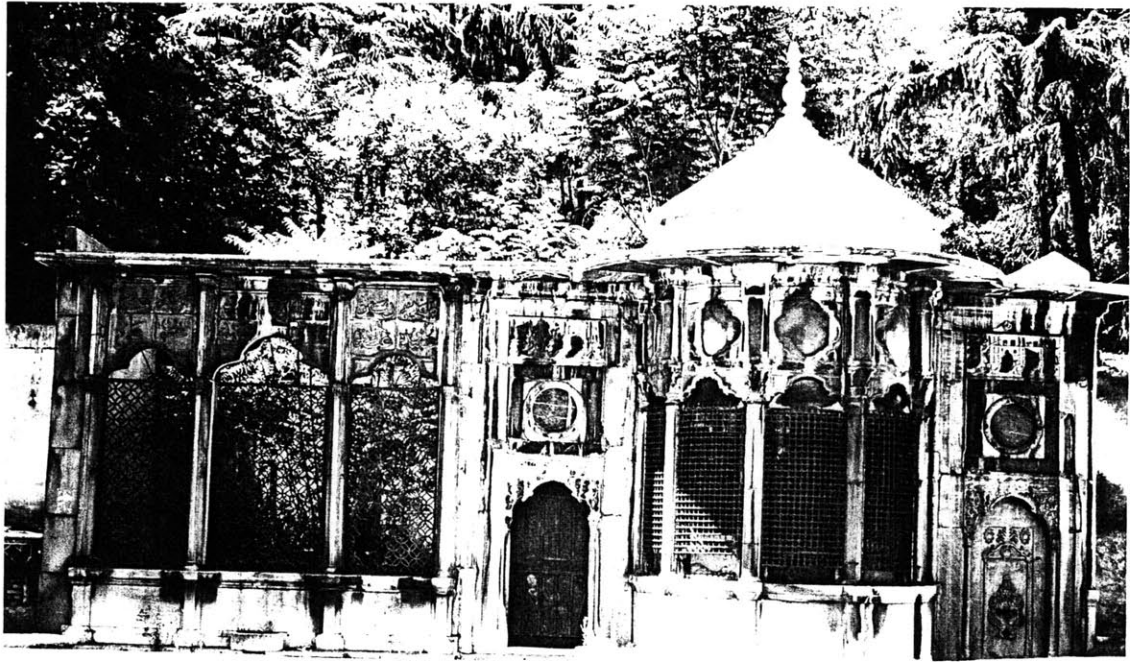
39 Fountain of Bereketzāde in Galata (1732).



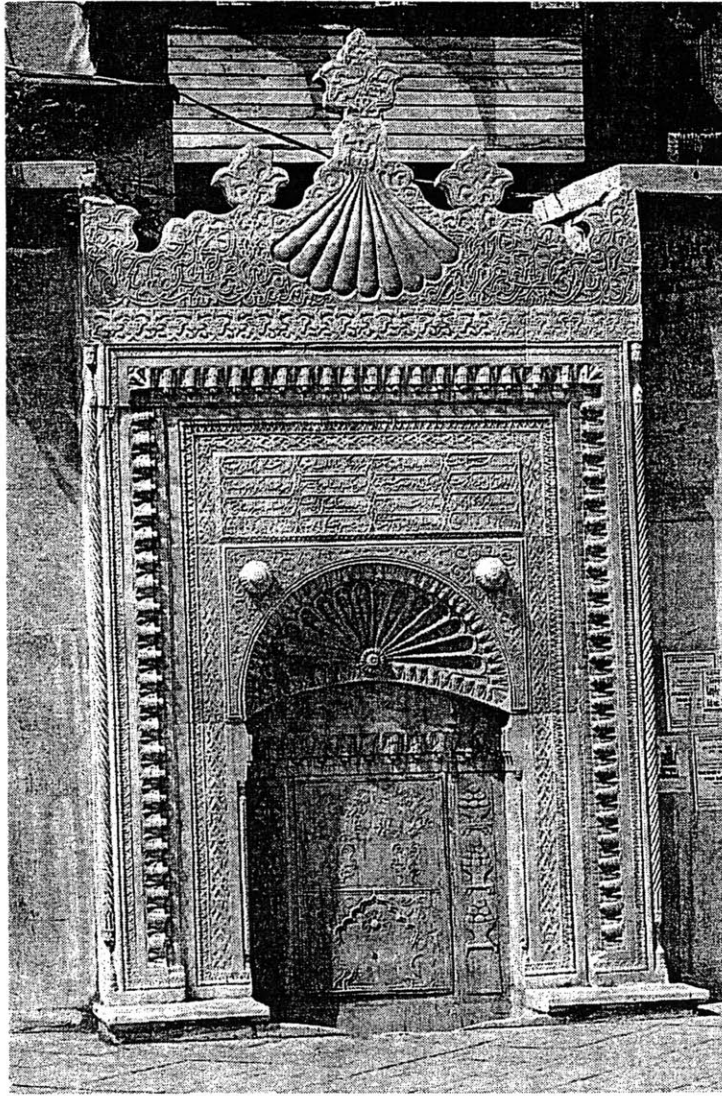
40 Ahmediye fountain in Üsküdar (1721). From Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, Istanbul, 1995, p. 150, fig. 90a.



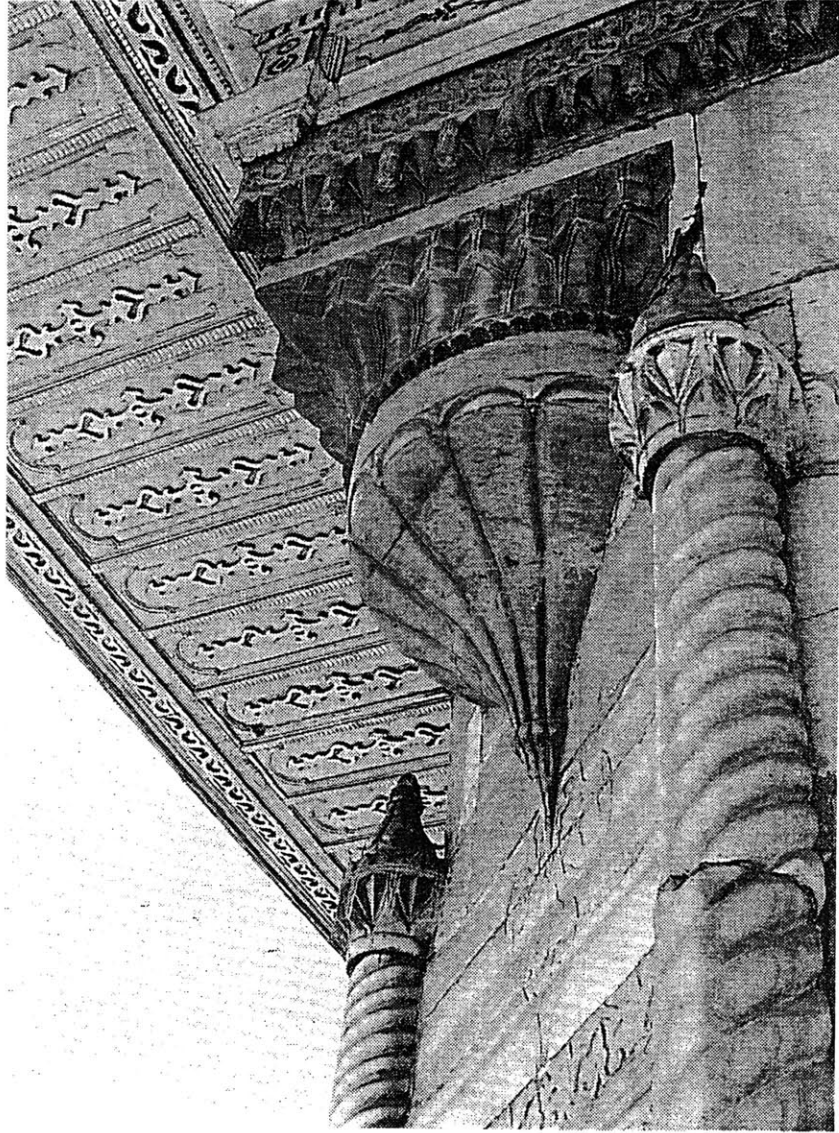
41 View of the restored ceramic tile frieze on the fountain of Ahmed III at Bâb-ı Hümâyün.



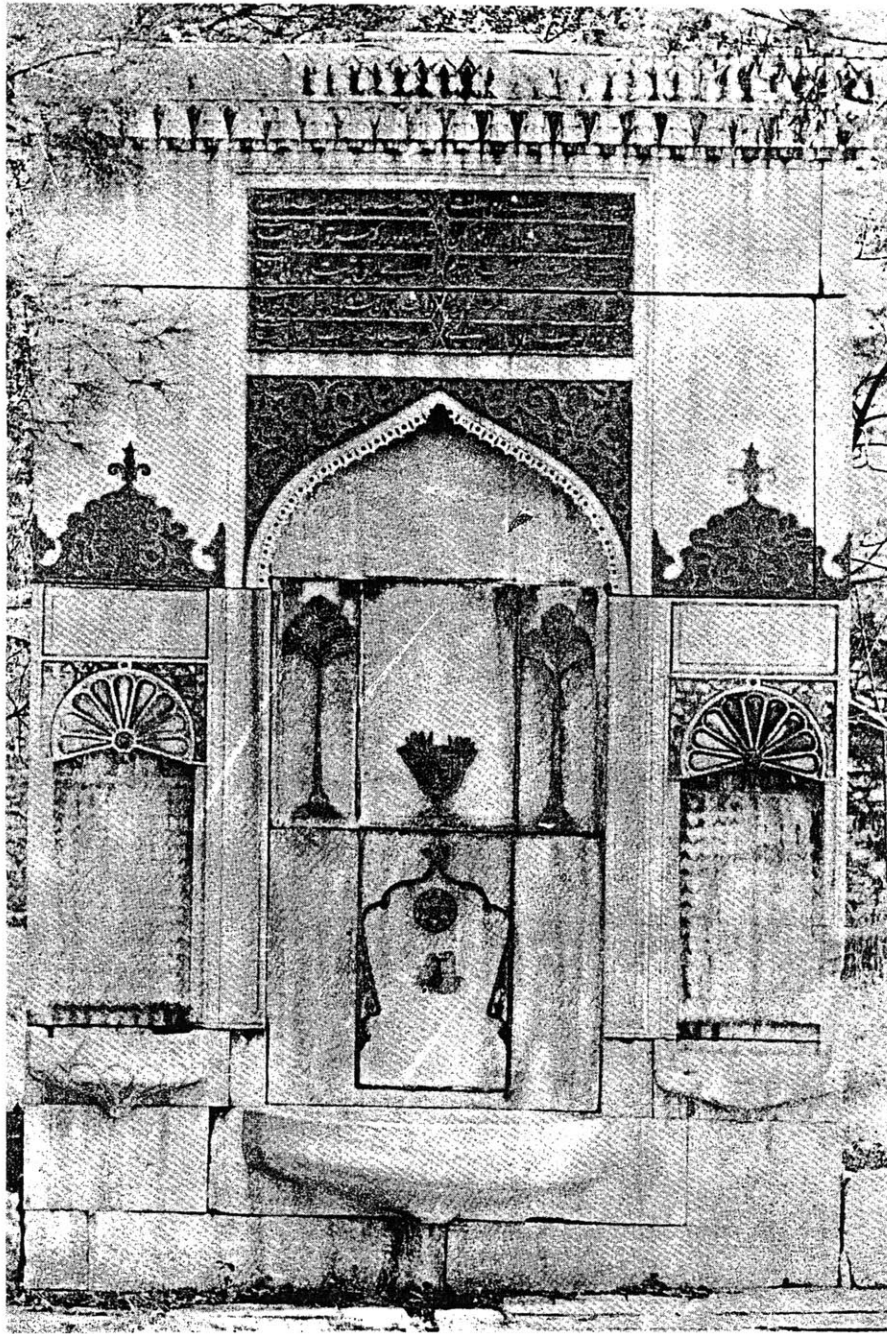
42 Fountain-*sebil* and *türbe* of Mehmed Emin Ağa in Kabataş (1741).



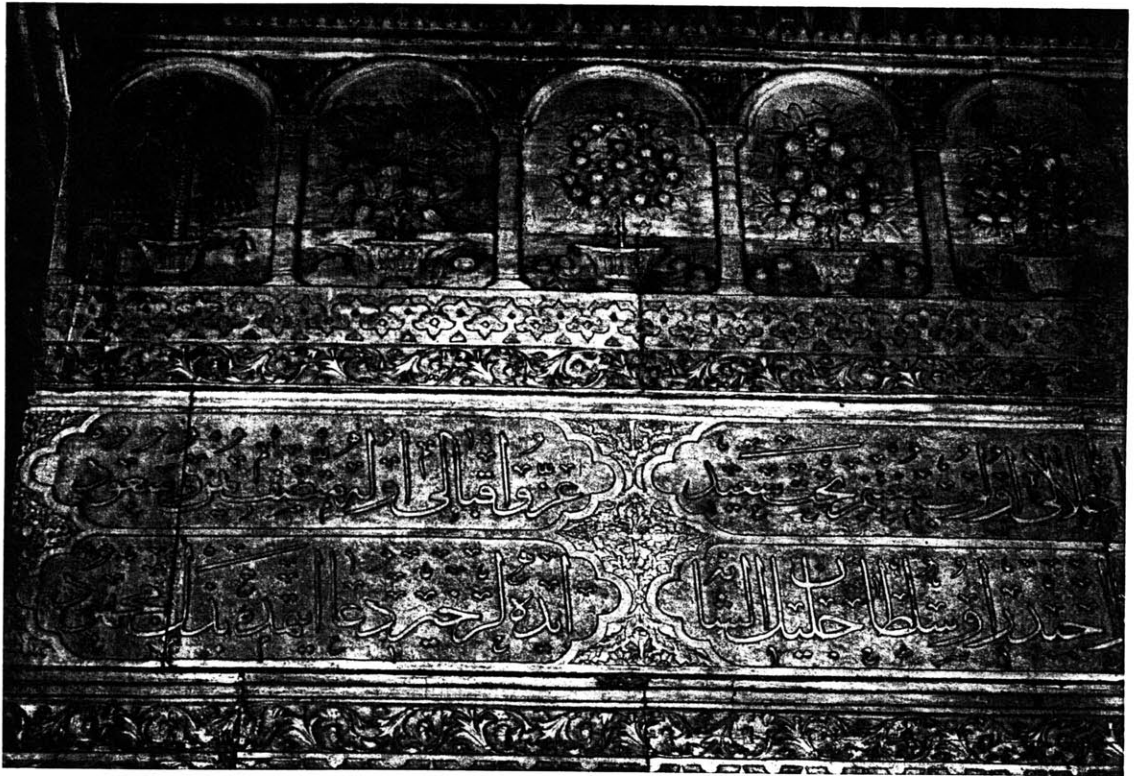
43 Fountain of Emetüllâh Gülnuş in Üsküdar (1709). From Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, Istanbul, 1995, p. 115, fig. 59a.



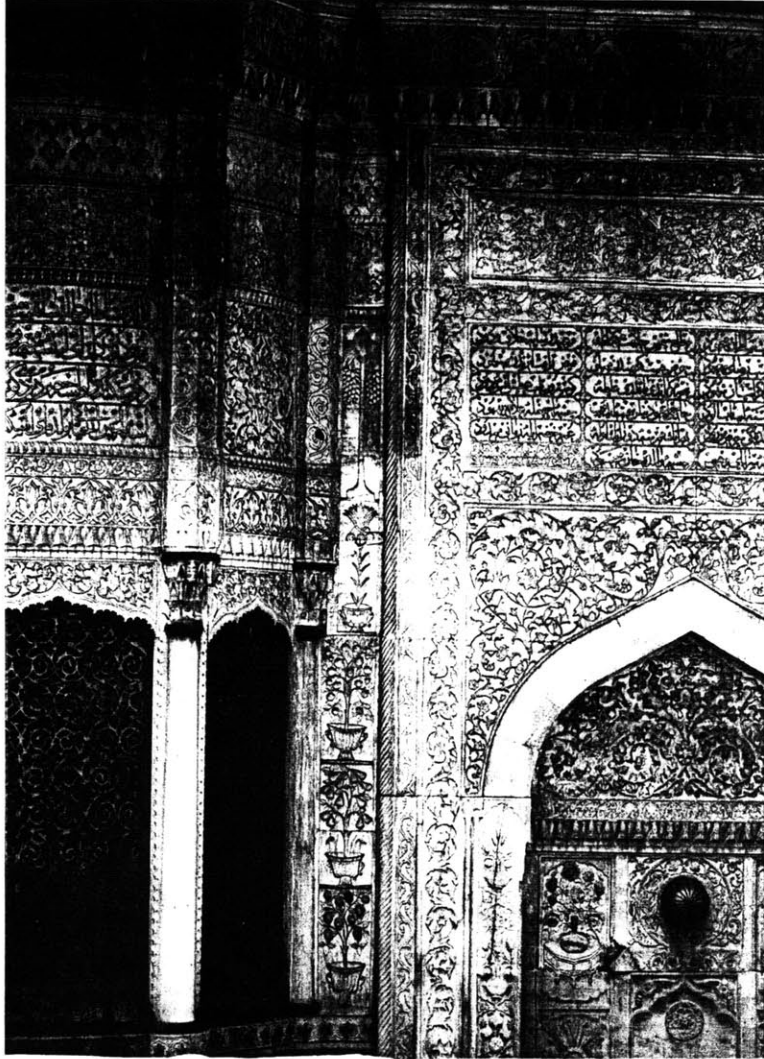
44 Detail of the fountain of Ahmed III in Üsküdar (1729). From Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, Istanbul, 1995, p. 191, fig. 118f.



45 Detail from the fountain of Ahmed III at Sa'dabad (1721). From Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, Istanbul, 1977, p. 61.



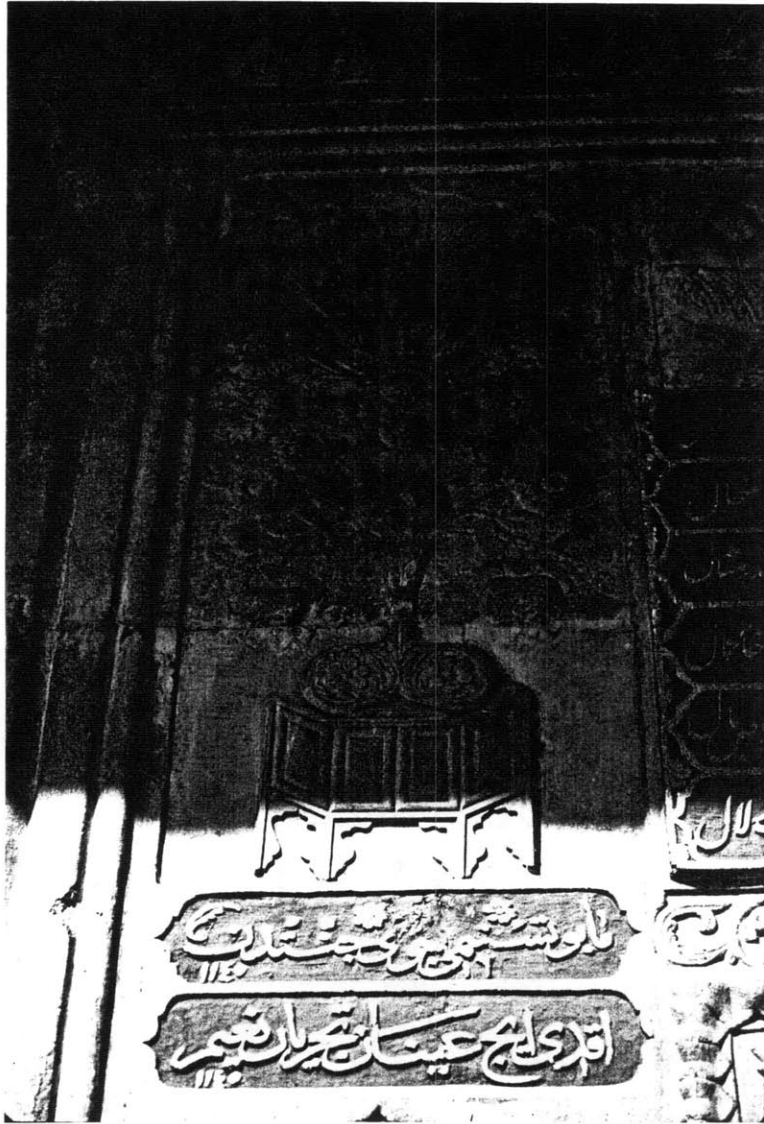
46 Detail from the fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane (1732).



47 Detail from the fountain of Şâliha Sultân at Azapkapı (1732).



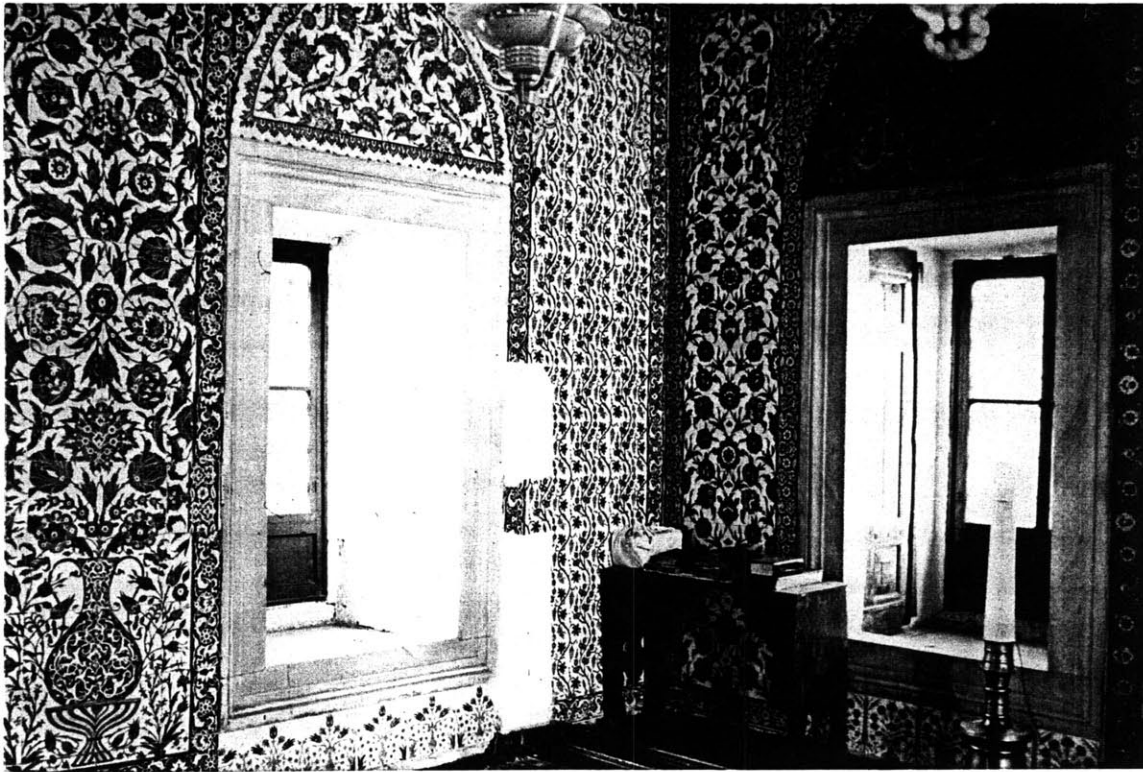
48 a Detail from the fountain of Hekimoğlu 'Ali Paşa at Akbıyık (1732-33).



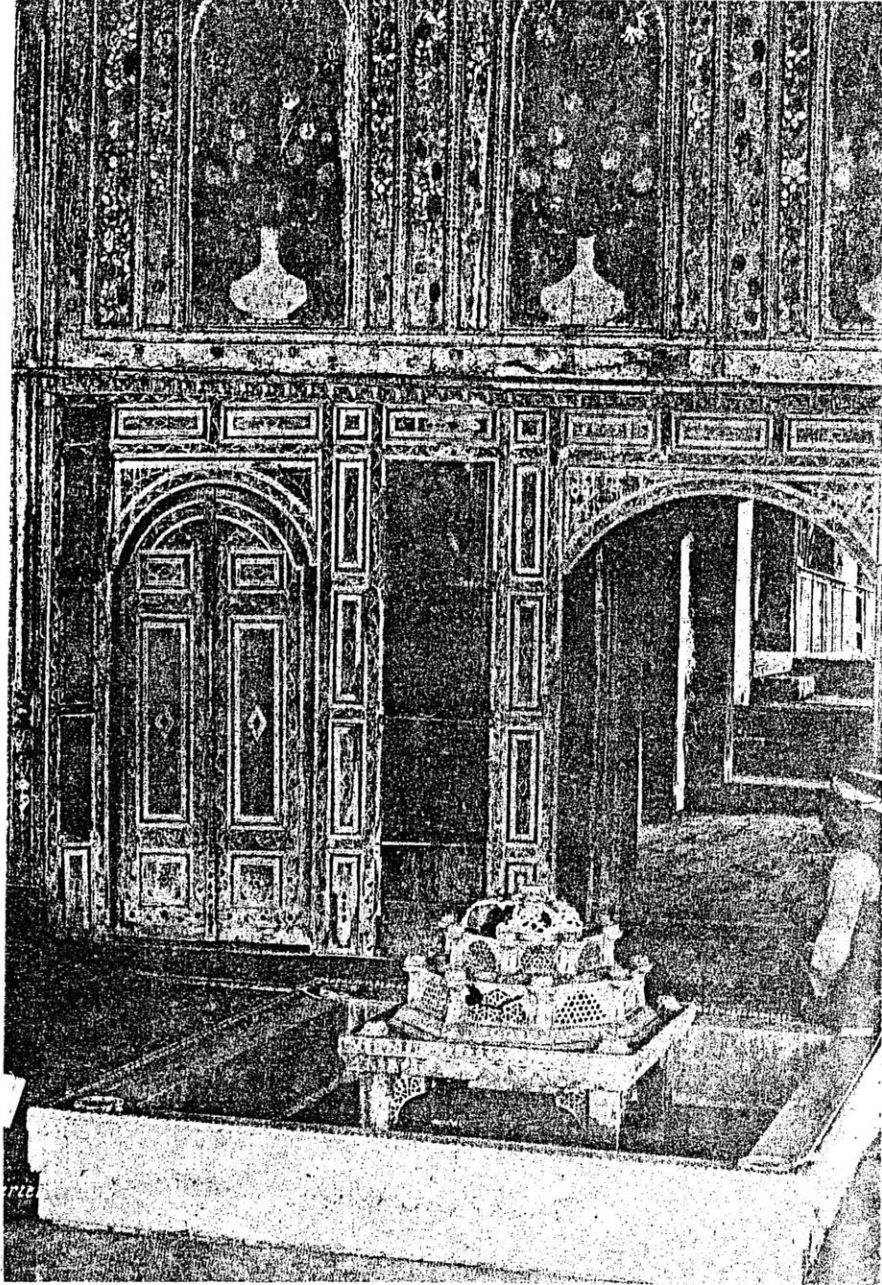
48 b Detail from the fountain of Bereketzāde in Galata (1732).



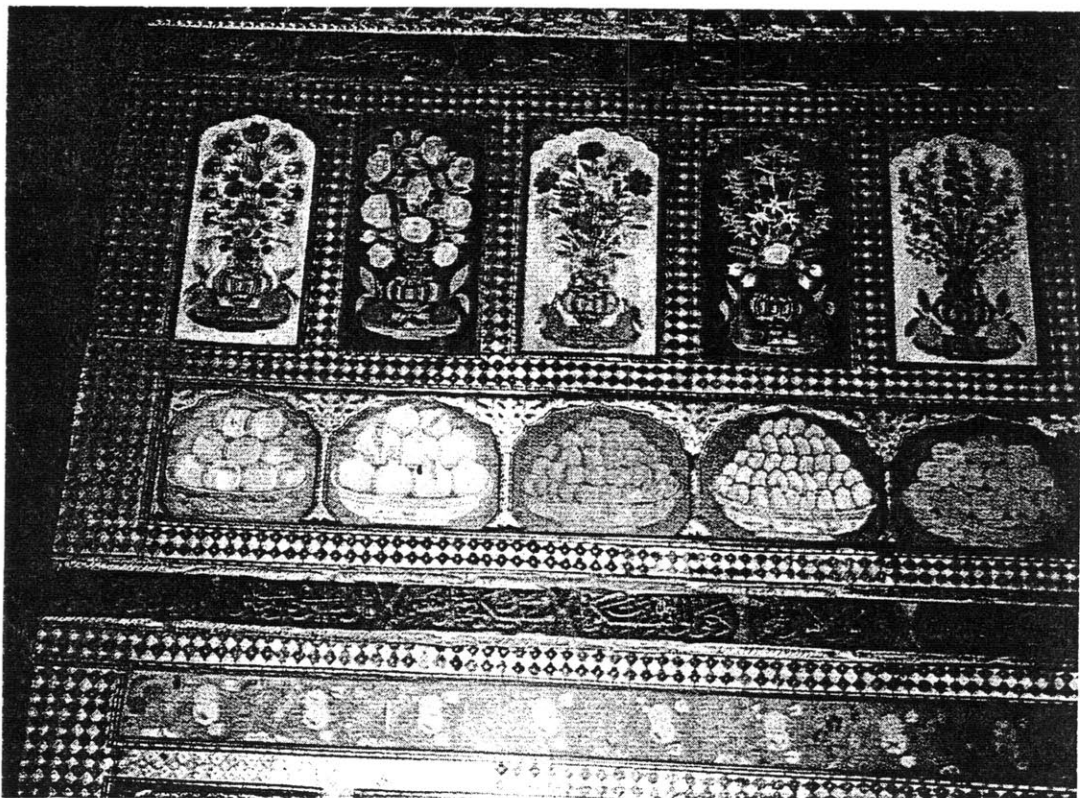
49 Miniature illustration of the gardeners' parade from the 1582 *Sūrnāme*, showing the flower-in-vase and fruit-in-bowl motifs. Reproduced from And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları*, Ankara, 1982, pl. 133.



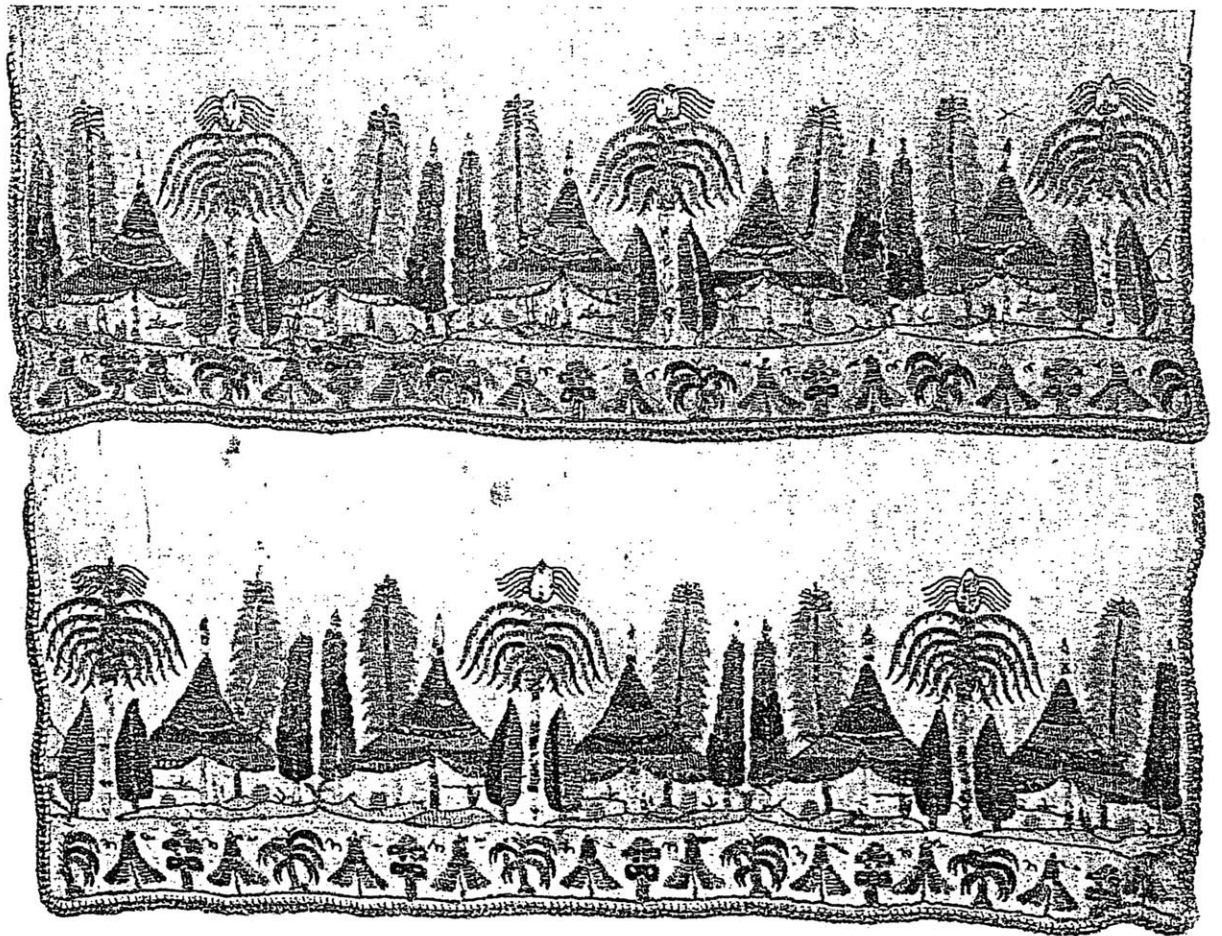
50 Tile panel featuring the flowers-in-vase motif, in the mosque of Takkeci İbrâhîm Ağa (1592). Courtesy of Walter Denny.



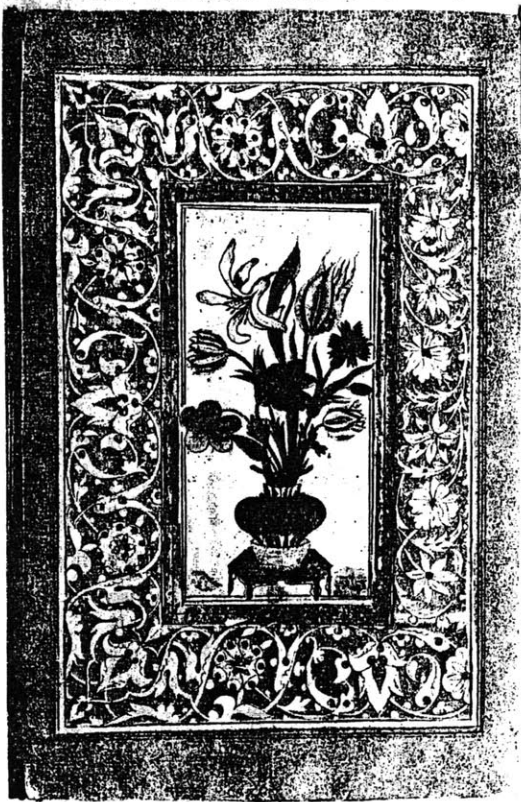
51 Interior view of the *yalı* of Amcazade Köprülü Hüseyin Paşa in Anadoluhisarı (1699). From Eldem and Ünver, *Amucazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı*, Istanbul, 1970, pl. 4.



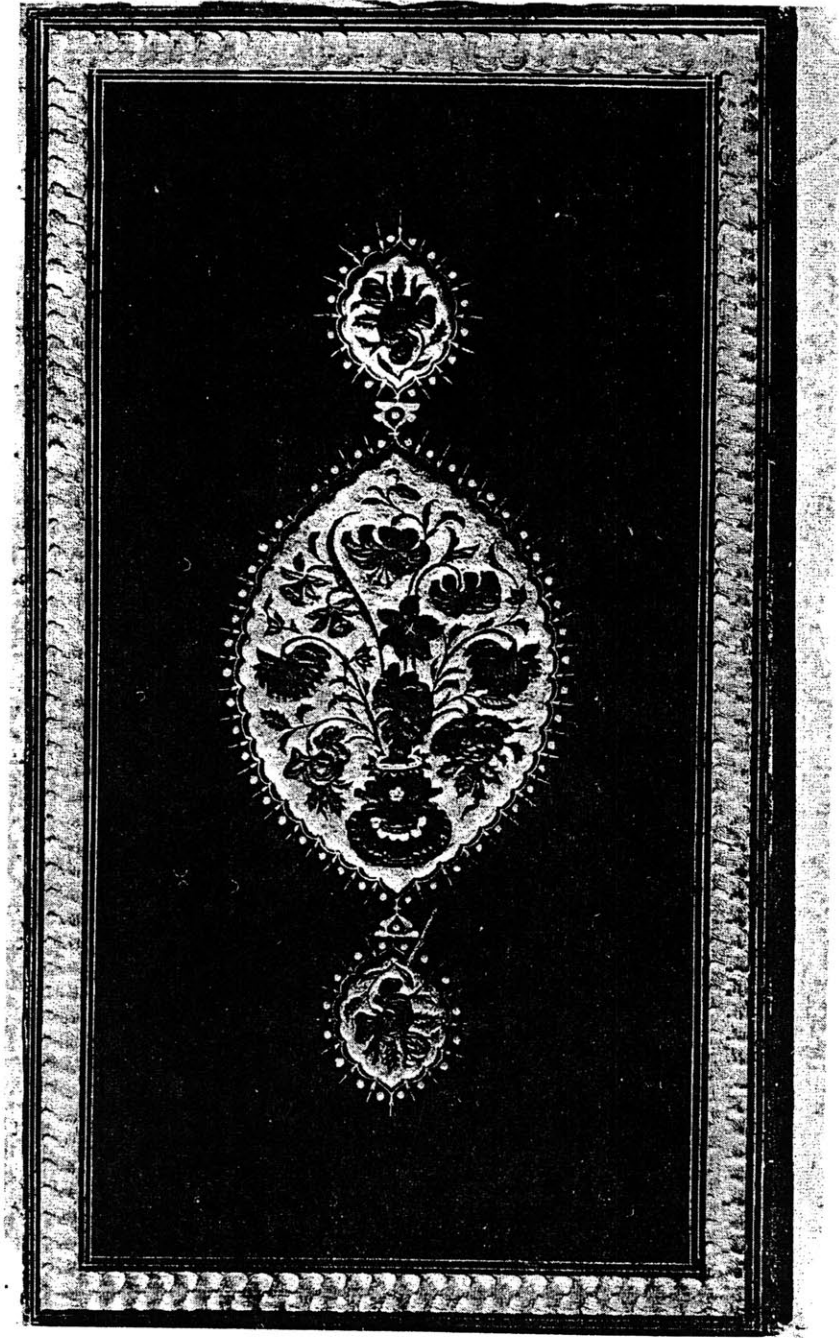
52 Interior view of the dining room of Ahmed III (Yemiş Odası) at the Palace of Topkapı (1705). From Barışta, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri: Azapkapı Saliha Sultan Çeşmesi*, Ankara, 1995, p. 111, fig. 146.



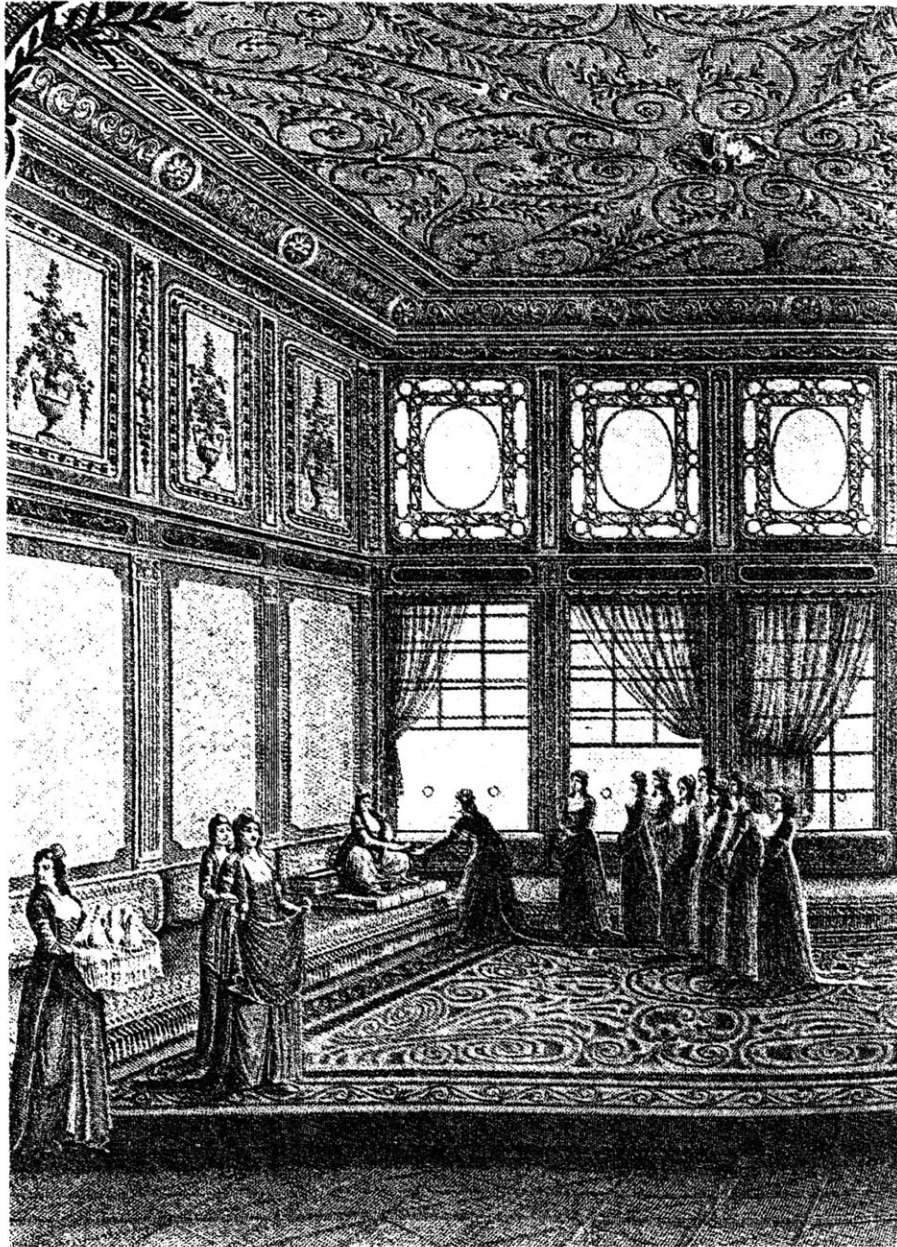
53 Court embroidery from the eighteenth century. From Ther, *Floral Messages*, p. 188, fig. 147.



54a Pages from an illustrated album of Gazneli Mahmūd (1685?). MS. İÜK, Ty 5461. Reproduced from Demiriz, *Osmanlı Kitap Sanatında Natüralist Üslupta Çiçekler*, İstanbul, 1986, p. 273, fig. 201, p. 274, fig. 202.



54b Book cover of *Tārīḫ-i ʿİzzī* from the second half of the eighteenth century, TSMK, R. 1262. Reproduced from Demiriz, *Osmanlı Kitap Sanatında Natüralist Üslupta Çiçekler*, İstanbul, 1986, p. 182, fig. 116.



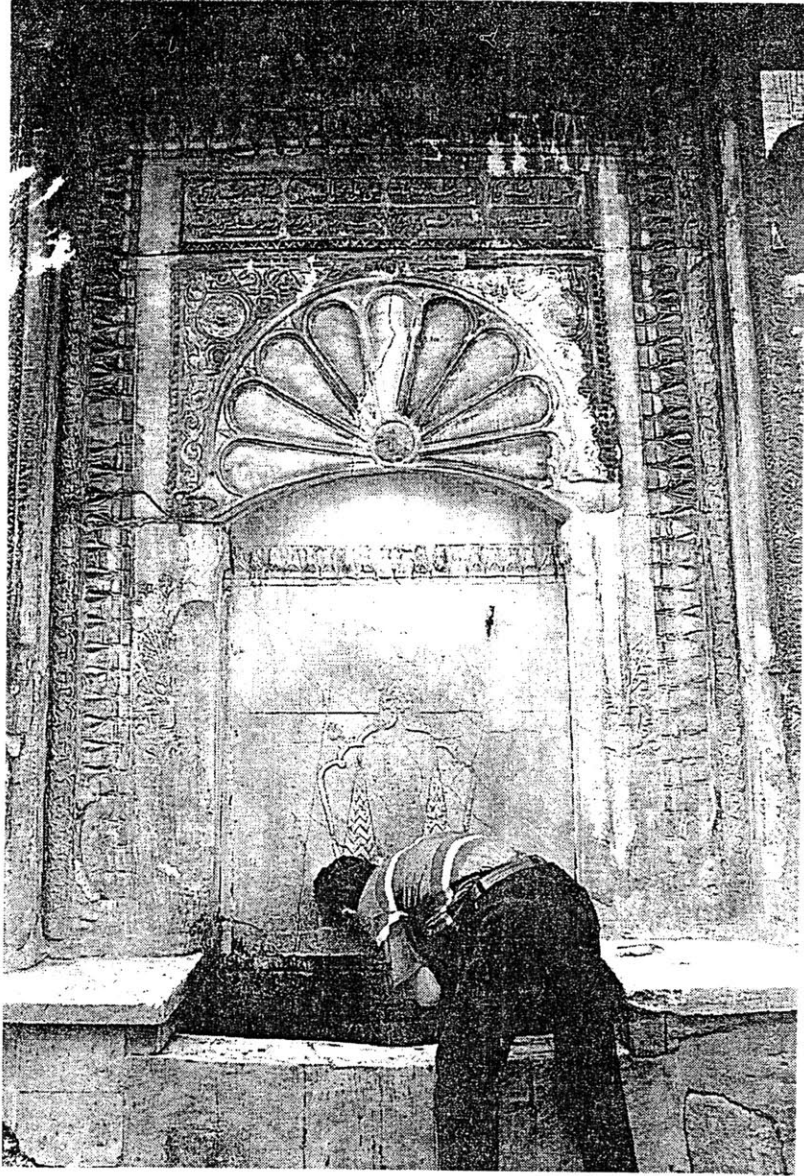
55 Detail of an engraving by Melling of the interior of *Ḥatice Sultân's yalı*. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 15.



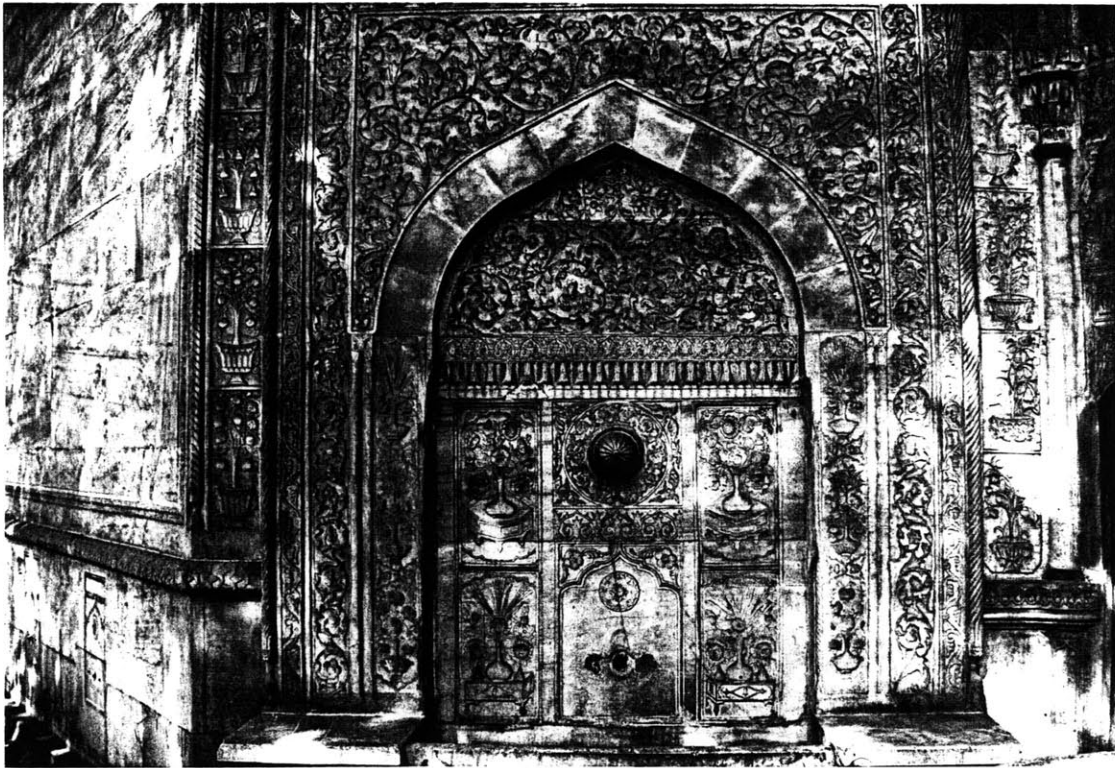
56 Delivery scene, showing the flower in vase motif in baroque cartouches on the back wall. From Fāzıl Bey Enderūnî, *Hübännâme ve Zenännâme*, MS. İÜK, Ty 5502, fol 141.



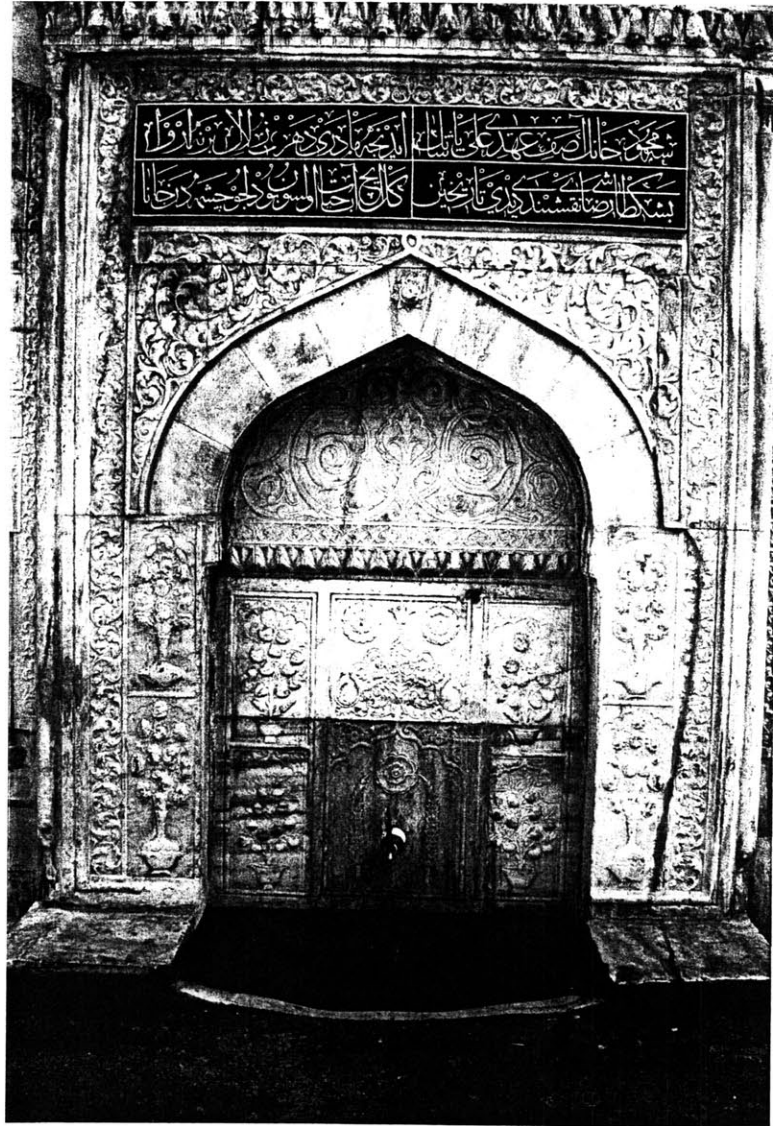
57 a Eighteenth-century tombstone of Hâtice Turhân Sultân. From Barışta, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri: Bereketzâde Çeşmesi*. Ankara, 1989, p. 88, fig. 78.
57 b Eighteenth-century tombstone in the cemetery of Eyüp.



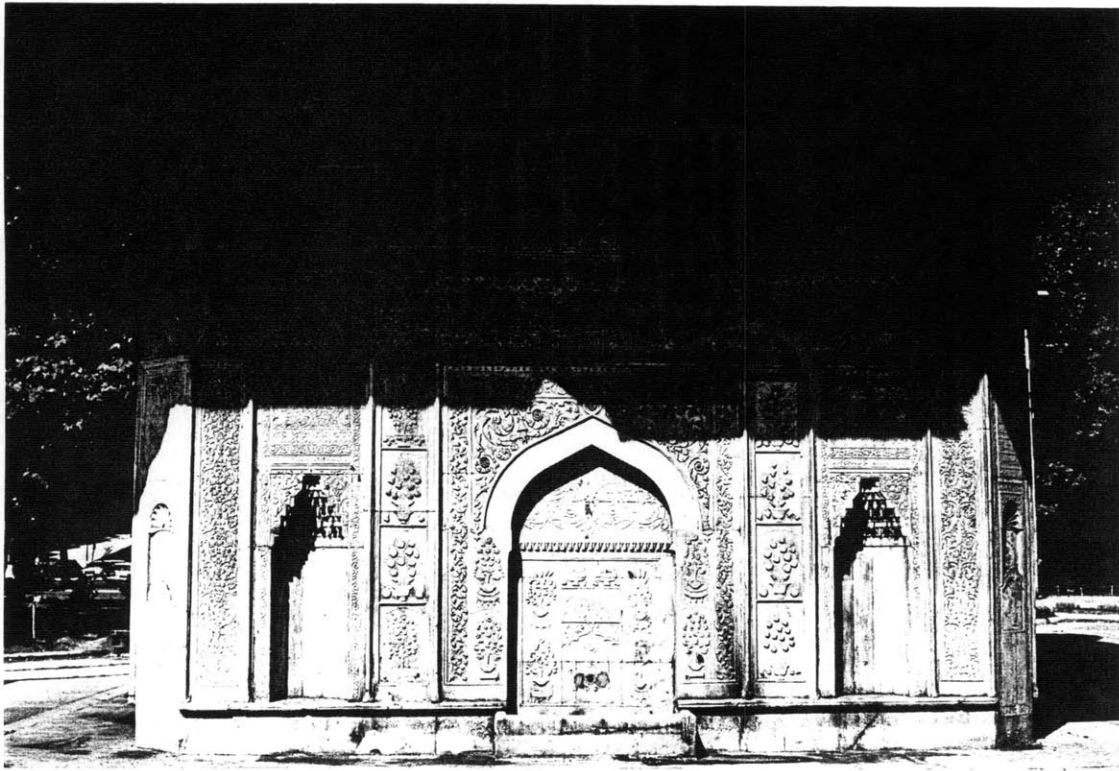
58 Fountain of Hacı Meḫmed Aḡa at Süleymaniye (1708). From Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, Istanbul, 1995, p. 110, fig. 65b.



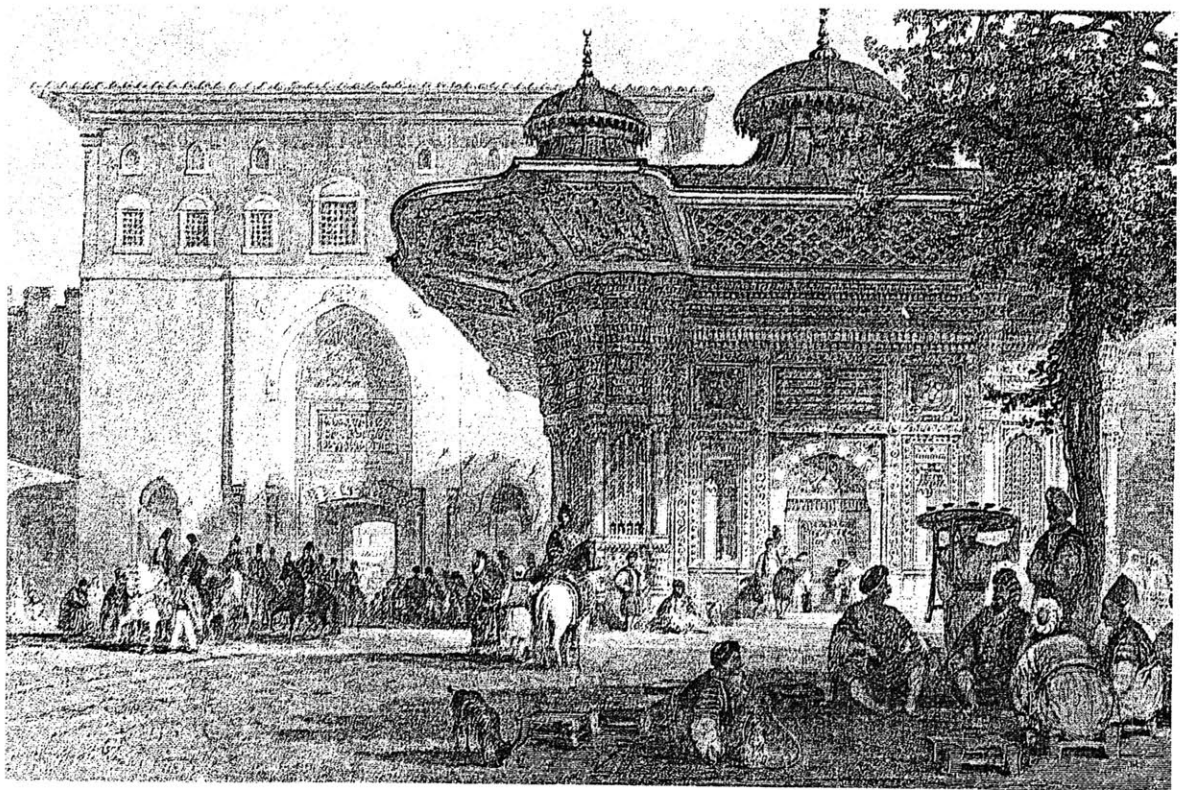
59 Fountain of Şaliha Sultân at Azapkapı (1732).



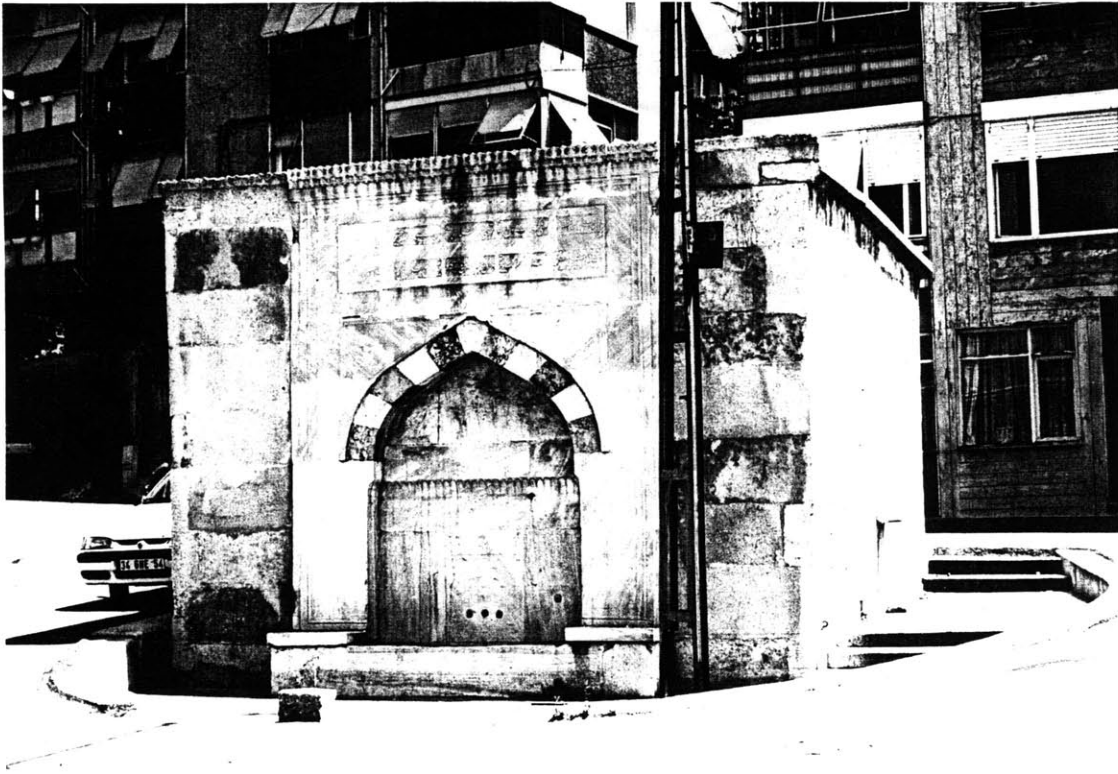
60 Fountain of Hekimoğlu 'Ali Paşa at Akbıyık (1732-33).



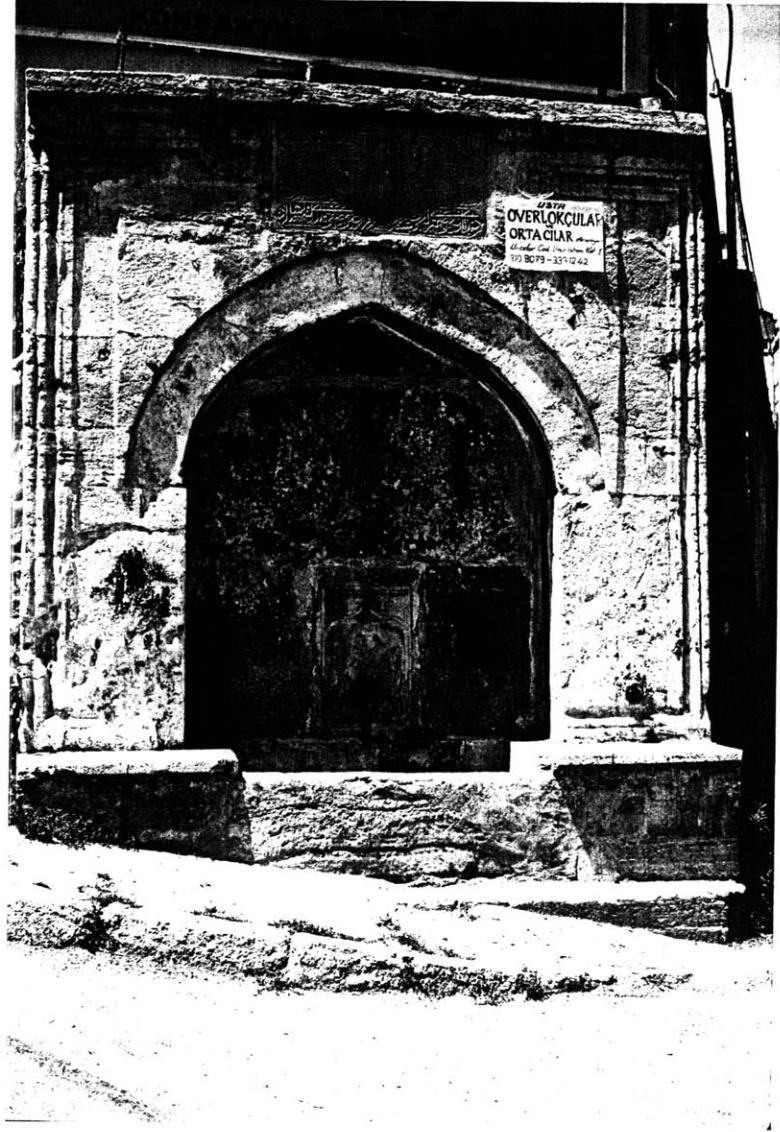
61 Fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane (1732).



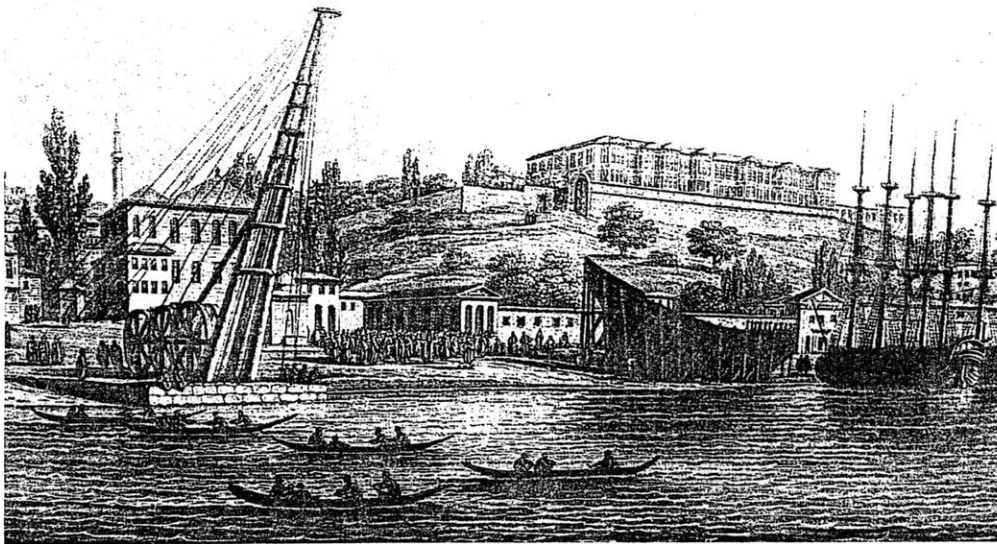
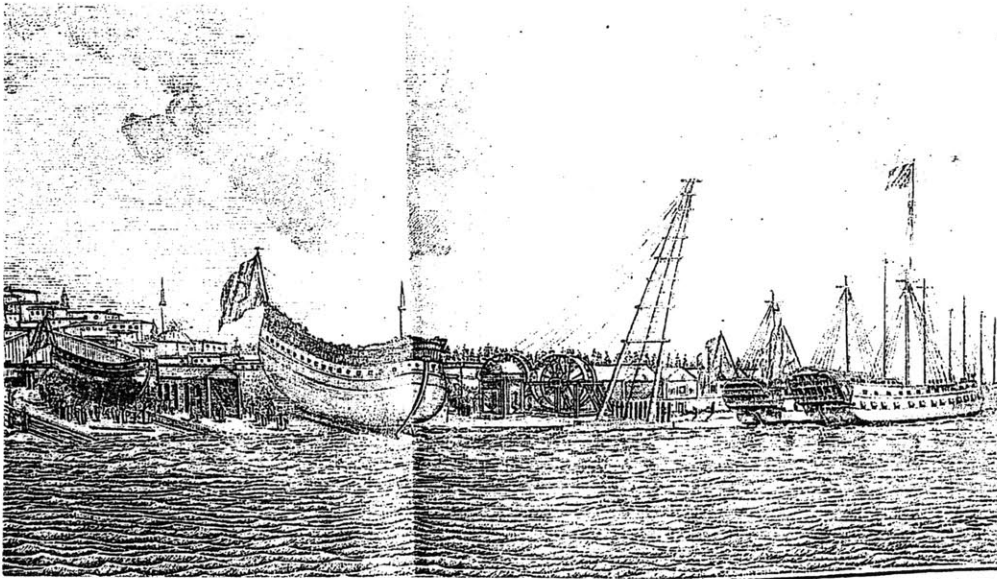
62 Engraving of the fountain of Aḥmed III at Bāb-ı Hümāyūn (1728-29), by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.



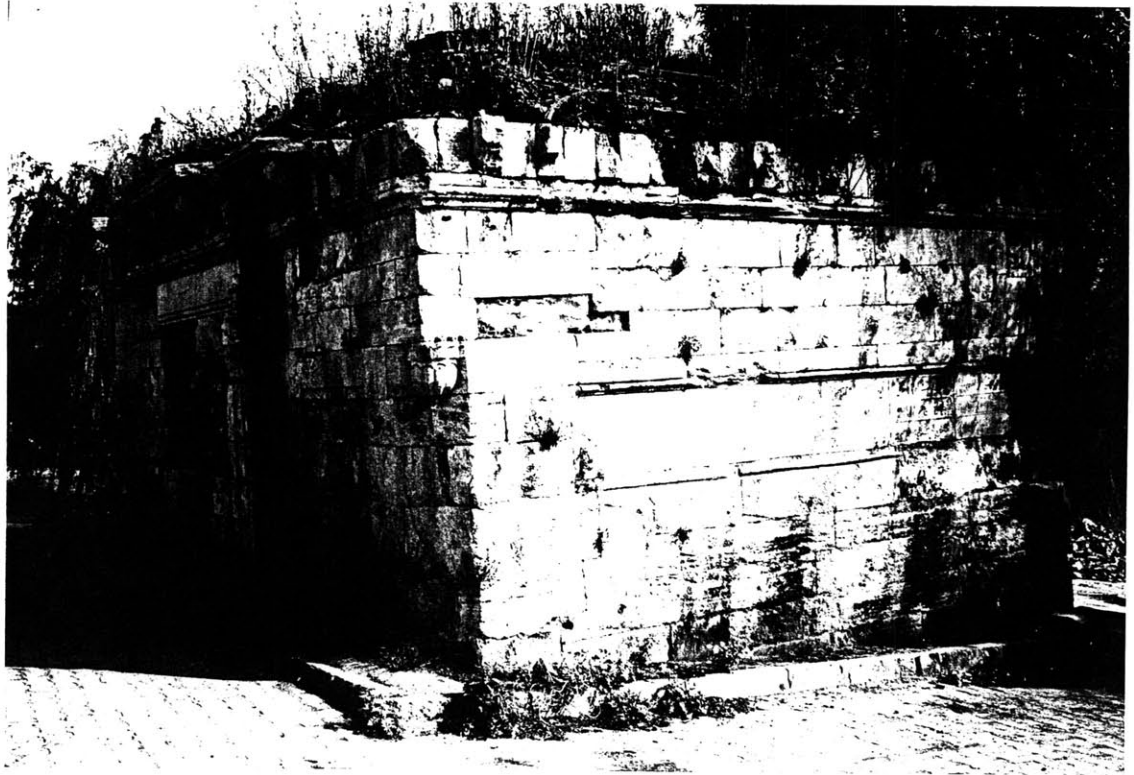
63 *Meydān* fountain of Silāhdār Muştafa Aĝa in Salacak (1682).



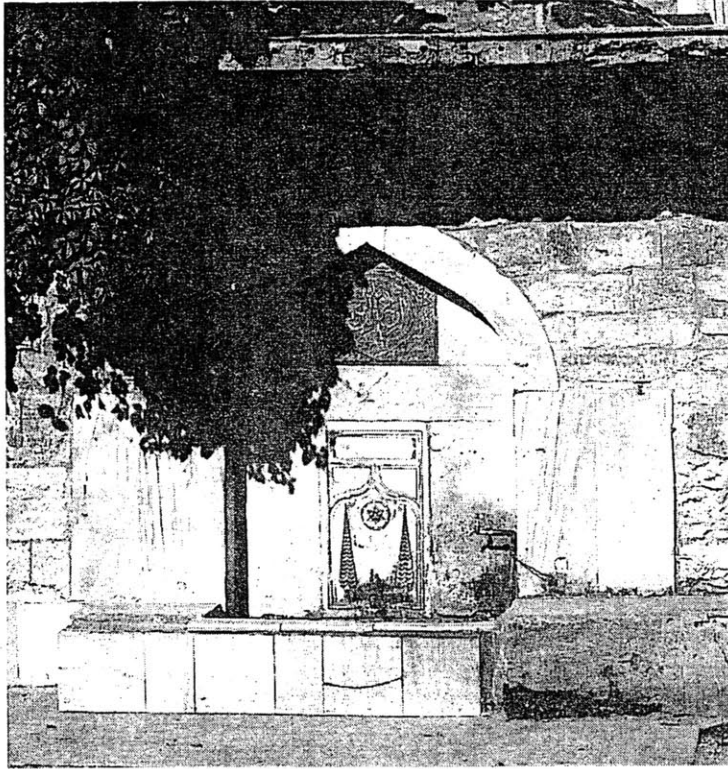
64 *Meydān* fountain of İsmā'īl Ağa in Üsküdar (1703).



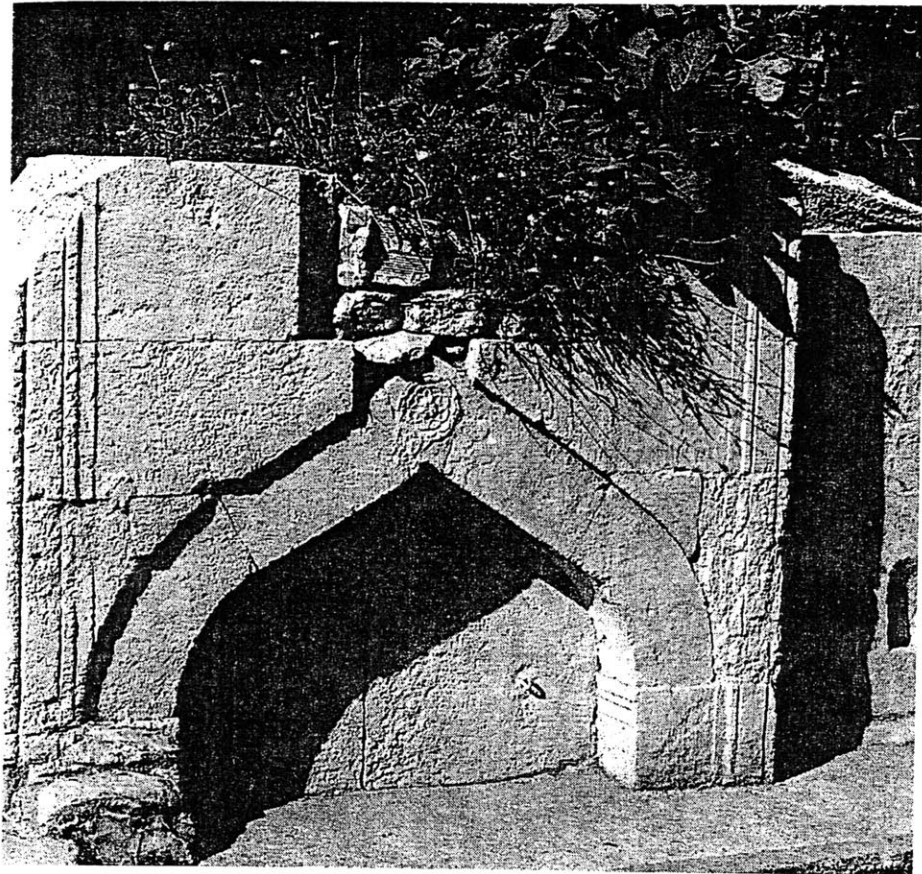
- 65 a Late eighteenth-century view of the *meydân* fountain of Çorlulu ‘Alî Paşa at Tersane (1707). From Maḥmūd Rā’if Efendî, *Tableau des nouveaux règlements de l’empire ottoman*, Constantinople, 1798, pl. 19. Reproduced from Aynur, III. *Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, İstanbul, 1995, p. 105, fig. 53b.
- 65 b Early nineteenth-century view of the *meydân* fountain of Çorlulu ‘Alî Paşa at Tersane (1707) by Préault. From Pertusier, *Atlas des promenades pittoresques...*, Paris, 1817. Reproduced from Aynur, III. *Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, İstanbul, 1995, p. 104, fig. 53a.



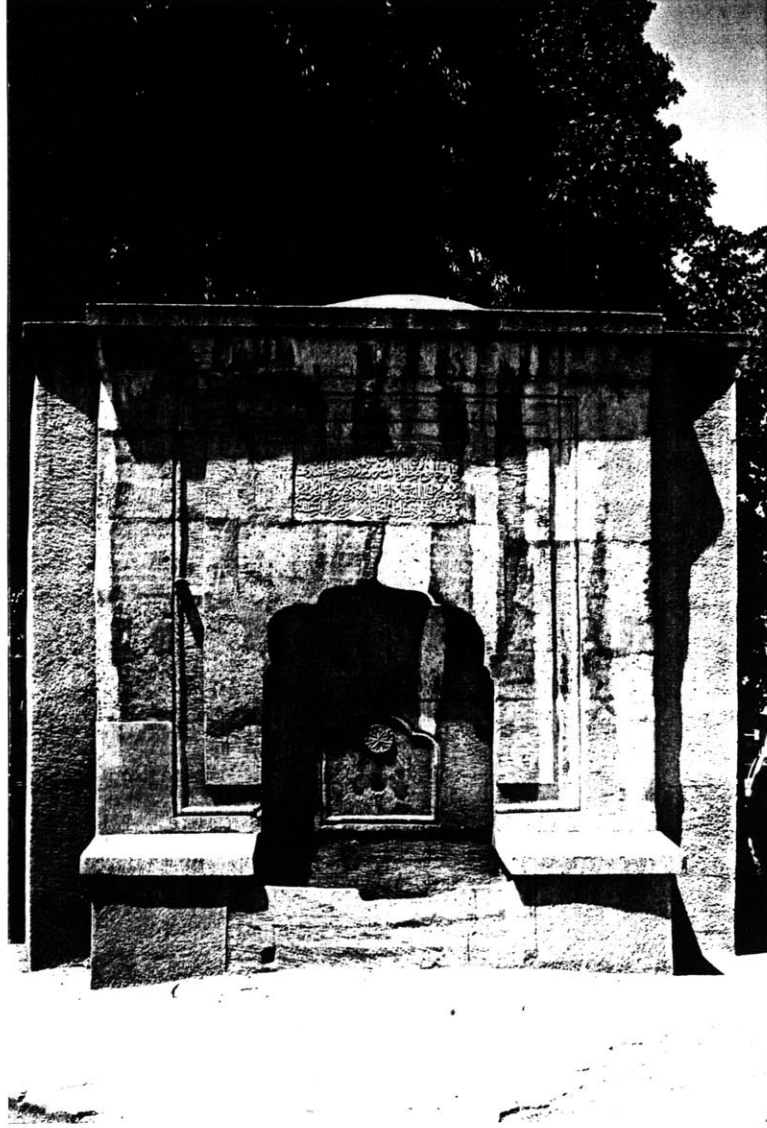
66 *Meydān* fountain of Çorlulu ʿAlī Paşa at Tersane (1707).



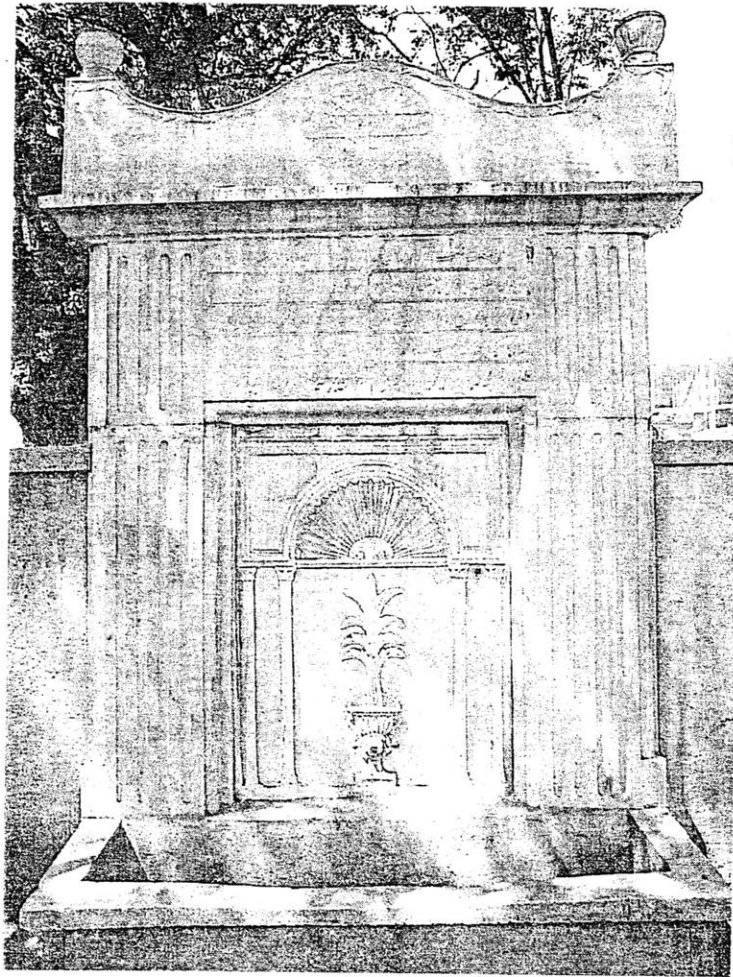
67 *Meydān* fountain of Çorlulu 'Ali Paşa at Mevlanakapı (1710). From Aynur, III. *Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, İstanbul, 1995, p. 117, fig. 62.



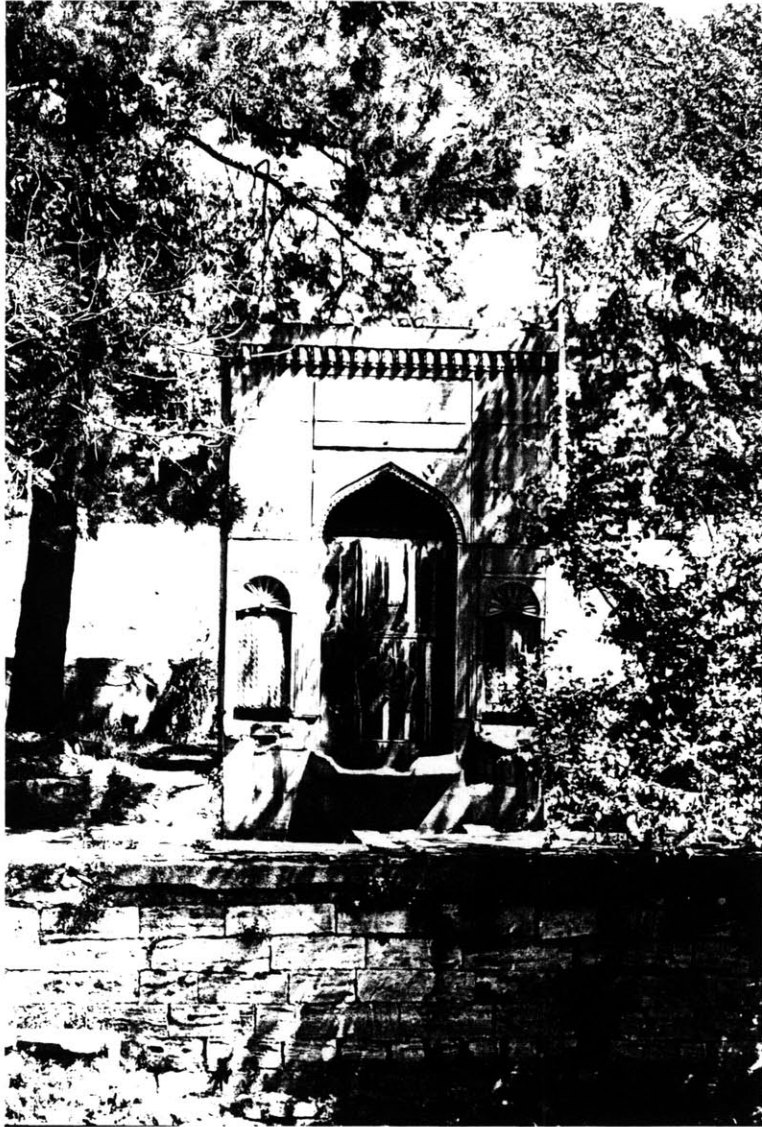
68 *Meydān* fountain of Çorlulu ʿAlī Paşa at Yayla (1710). From Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, Istanbul, 1995, p. 119, fig. 61a.



69 *Meydān* fountain of Halil Efendi in Üsküdar (1709).



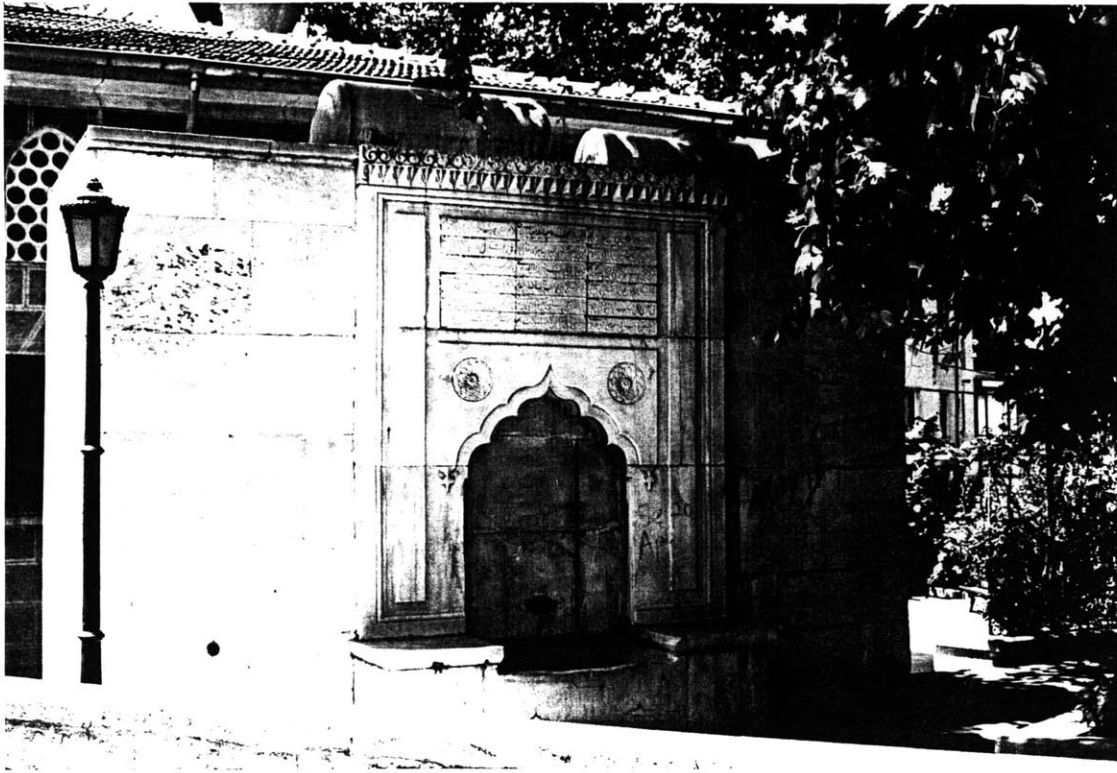
70 *Meydān* fountain at Kısıklı (1711). From Aynur, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, İstanbul, 1995, p. 123, fig. 66a.



71 *Meydān* fountain of Aḥmed III at Sa'dabad (1721).



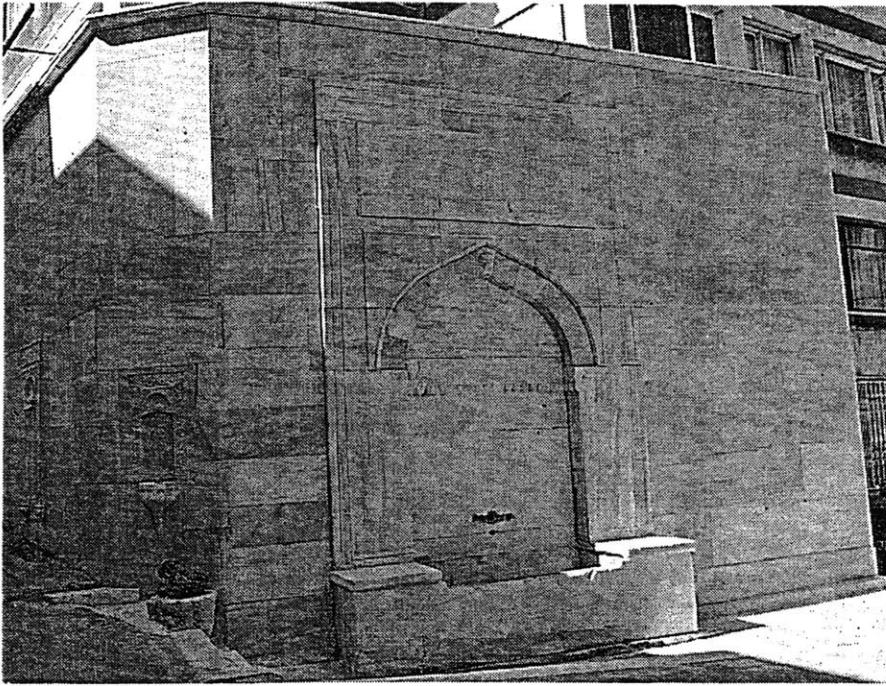
72 *Meydān* fountain of Hibetüllāh Hānım in Ortaköy (1723).



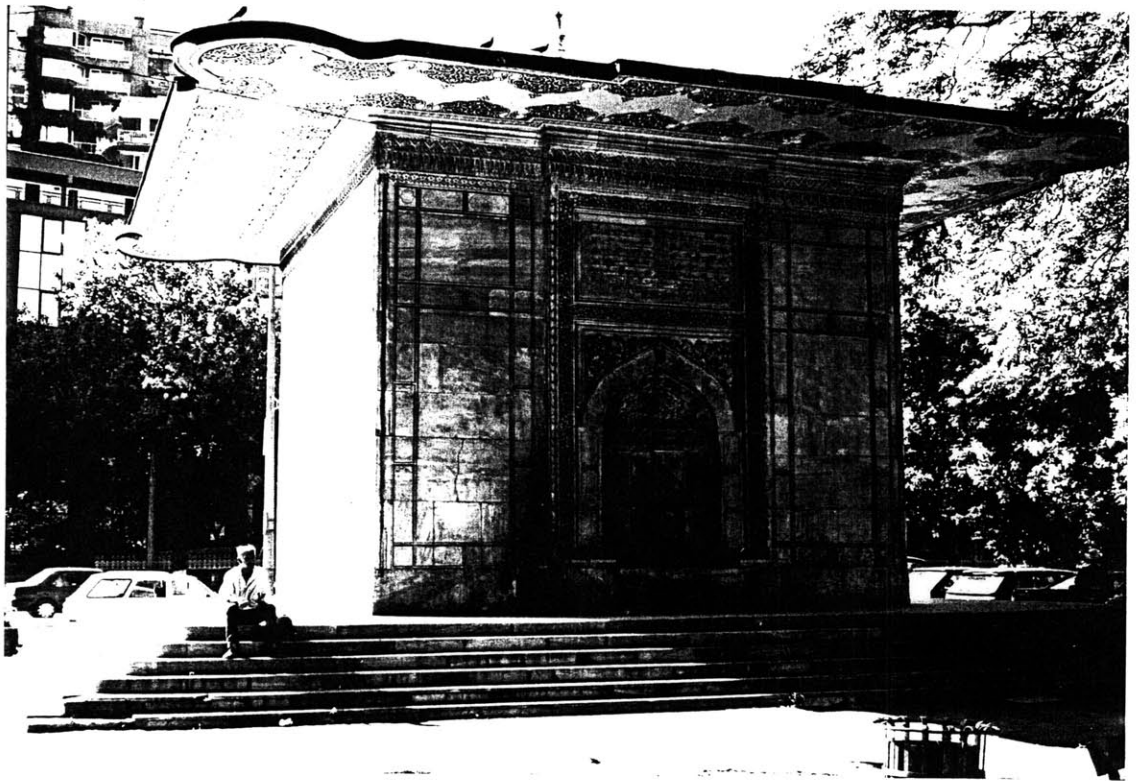
73 Başkadın *meydān* fountain in Üsküdar (1728).



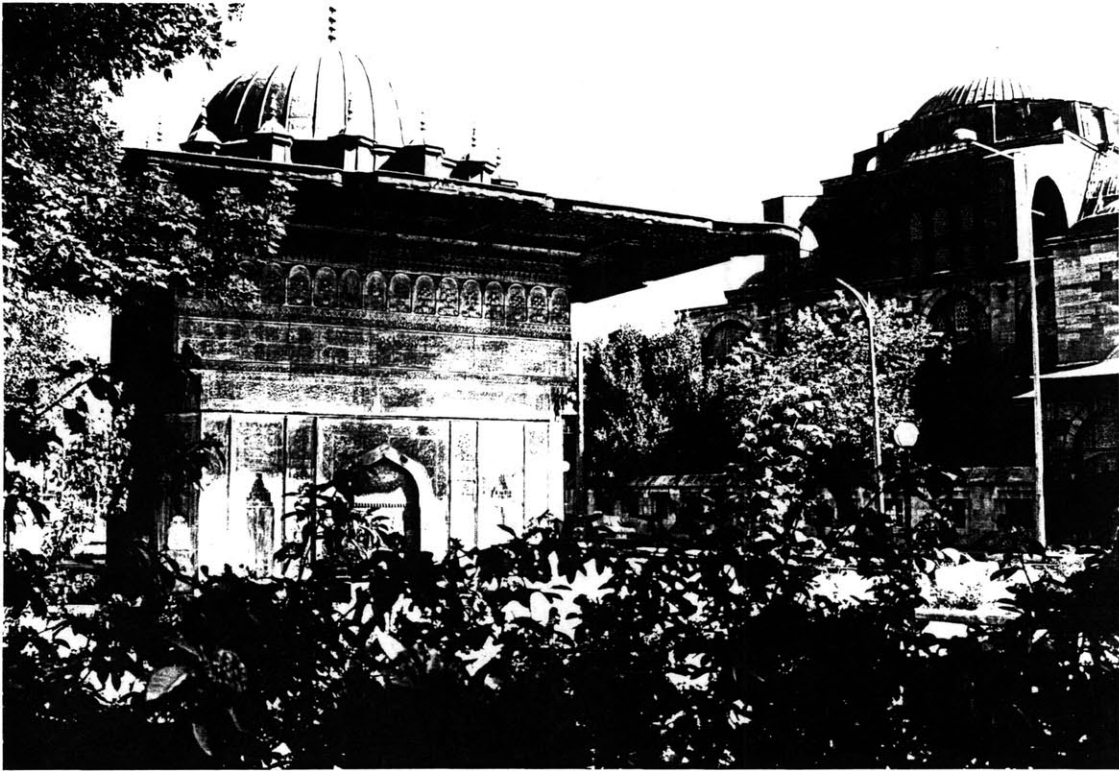
74 *Meydān* fountain of Emetüllāh Kadın (Ahmed III) in Üsküdar (1728-29).



75 *Meydān* fountain of Kaymak Mustafa Paşa in Üsküdar (1729). From Aynur, III. *Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, Istanbul, 1995, p. 220, fig. 142.



76 *Meydān* fountain of Hekimoğlu 'Ali Paşa at Kabataş (1732).



77 *Meydān* fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane (1732).



78 *Meydān* fountain of İshāk Ağa in Beykoz (1746).



79 *Meydān* fountain of İshāk Ağa at Beykoz Çayırı (1740s).



80 *Meydān* fountain of ʿAbdülhamīd I in Beylerbeyi (1782).



81 *Meydān* fountain of 'Abdülhamid I in Emirgan (1782).



82 Detail from the *meydān* fountain of °Abdülhamid I in Emirgan (1782).



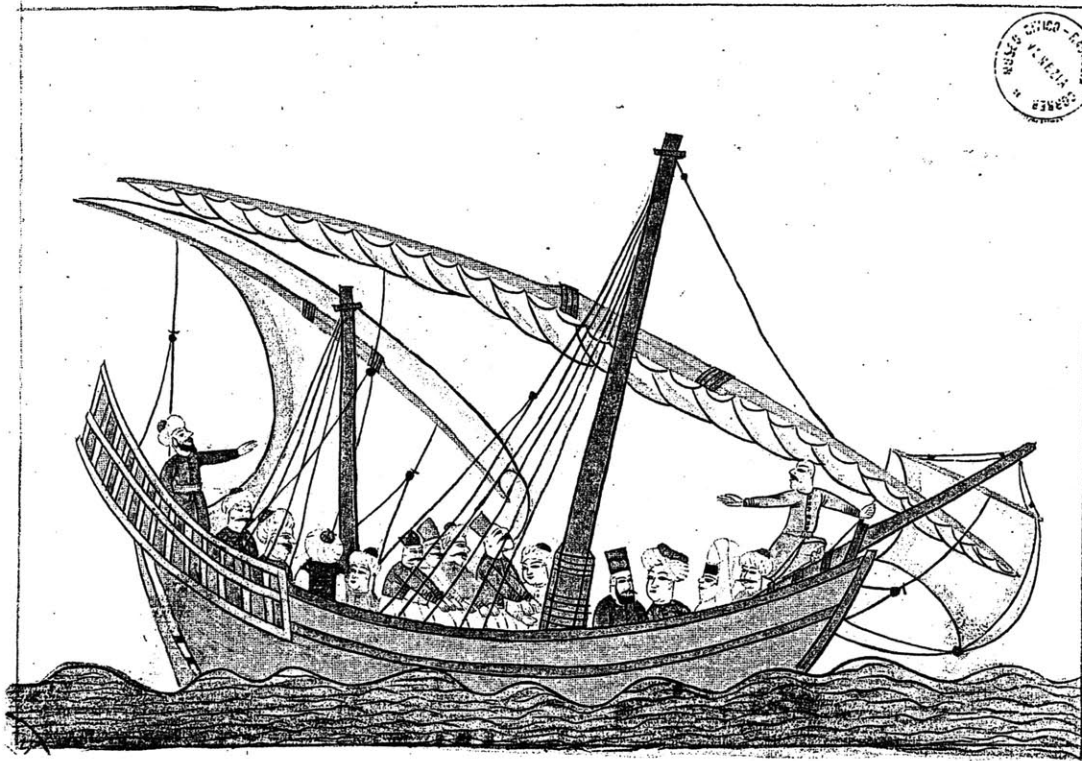
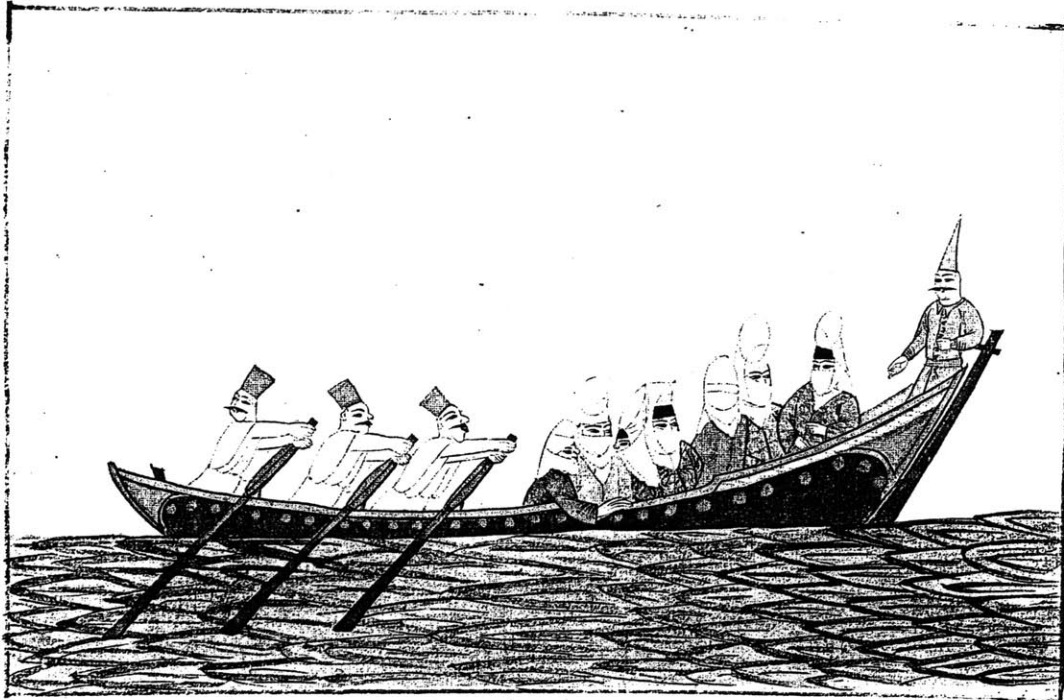
83 Fifteenth-century *meydān* fountain of Maḥmūd Paşa (1453).



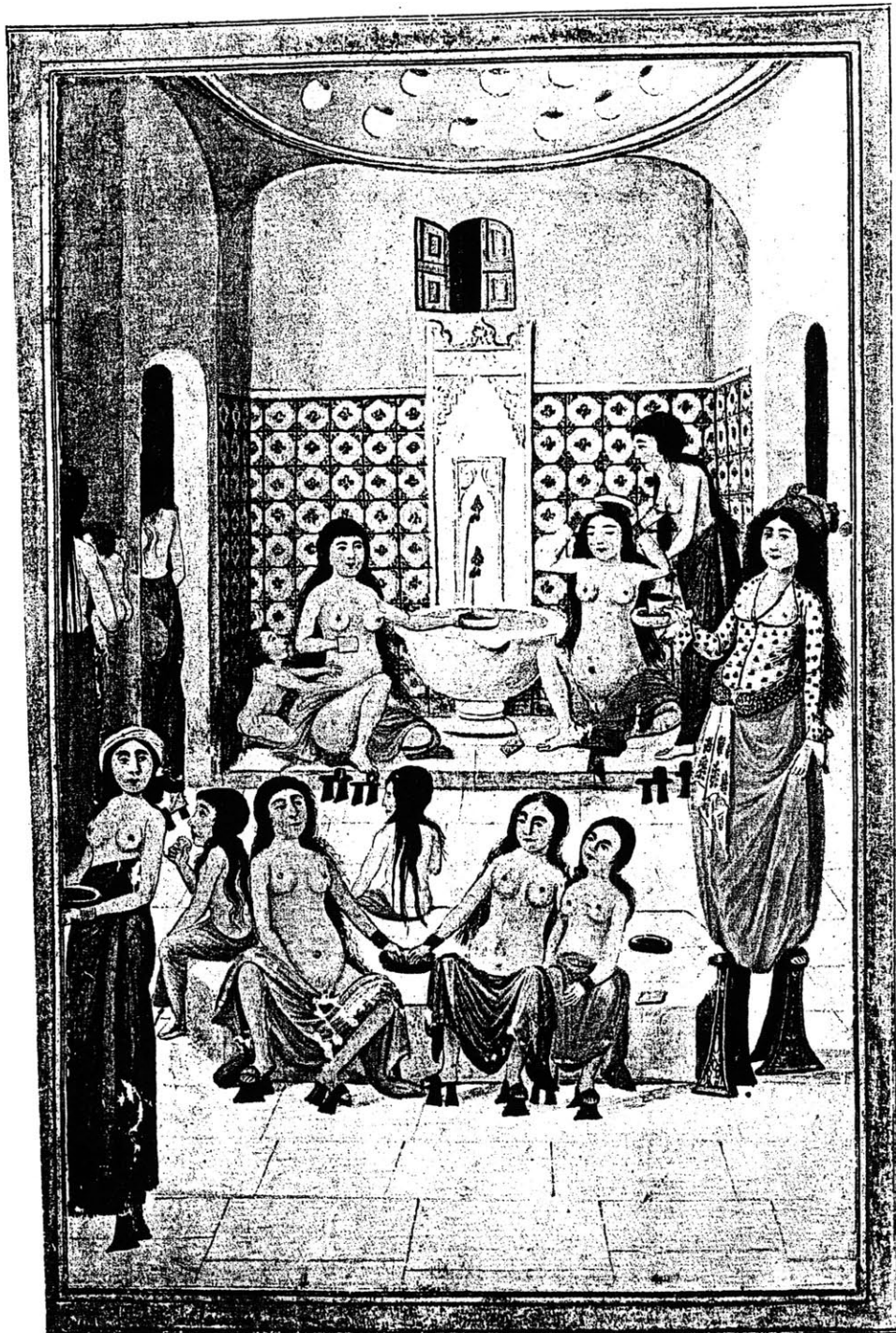
84 Coffeehouse scene from the mid-sixteenth century. Chester Beatty Library, MS. 439, fol 9. Reproduced from Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses*, Seattle and London, 1985, pl. 6.



85 Bath scene from a 1599 illustrated album of *Menākib-i Sevābik*. Reproduced from And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 75.



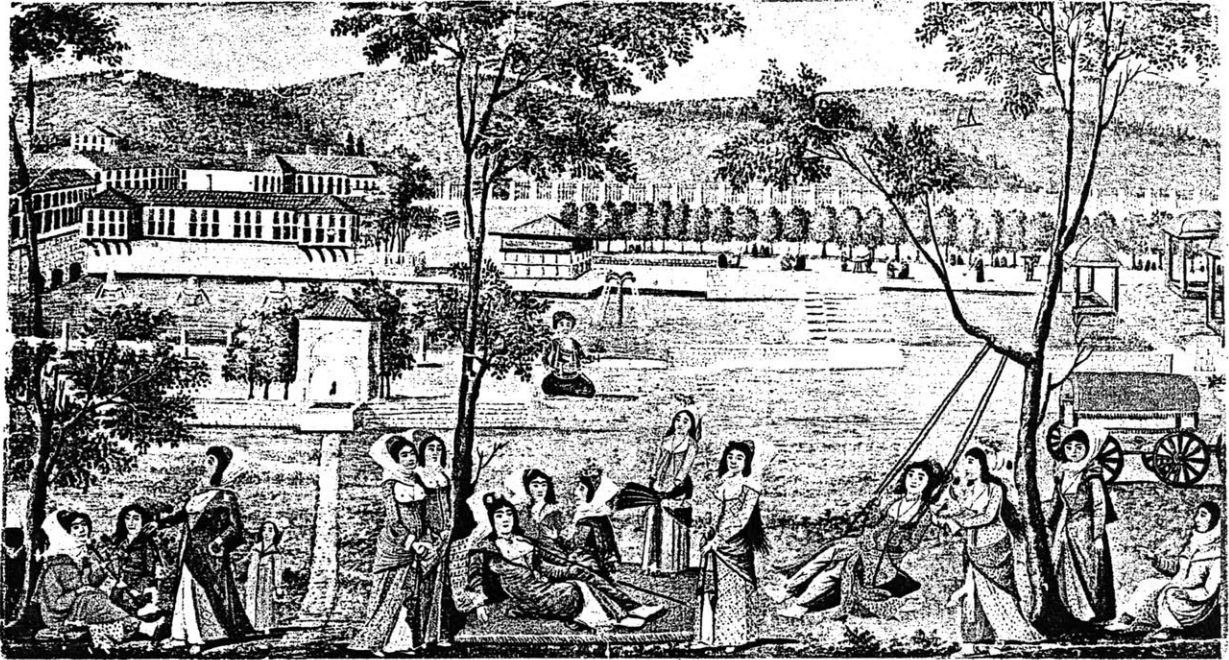
86a-b Boat rides, from an eighteenth-century codex. Codice in folio, piccolo, cartaceo del secolo XVIII, MS. Cicogna, Museo Correr, Venice. Reproduced from *Istanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ve Venedik Correr Müzesi Koleksiyonlarından Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri*, İstanbul, 1995, pp. 286-7, pls. 203, 204.



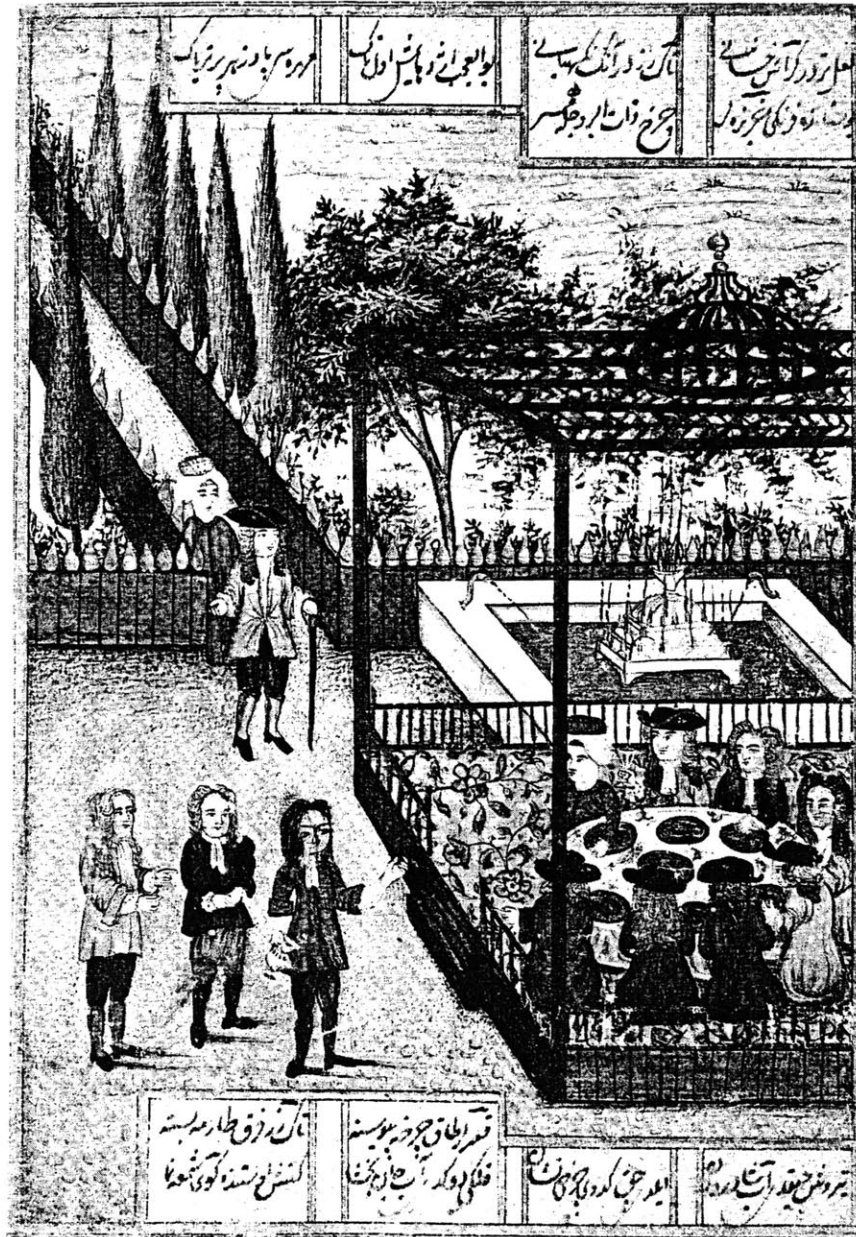
87 Bath scene. From Fâzıl Bey Enderûnî, *Hübännâme ve Zenännâme*, MS. İÜK, Ty 5502, fol 145.



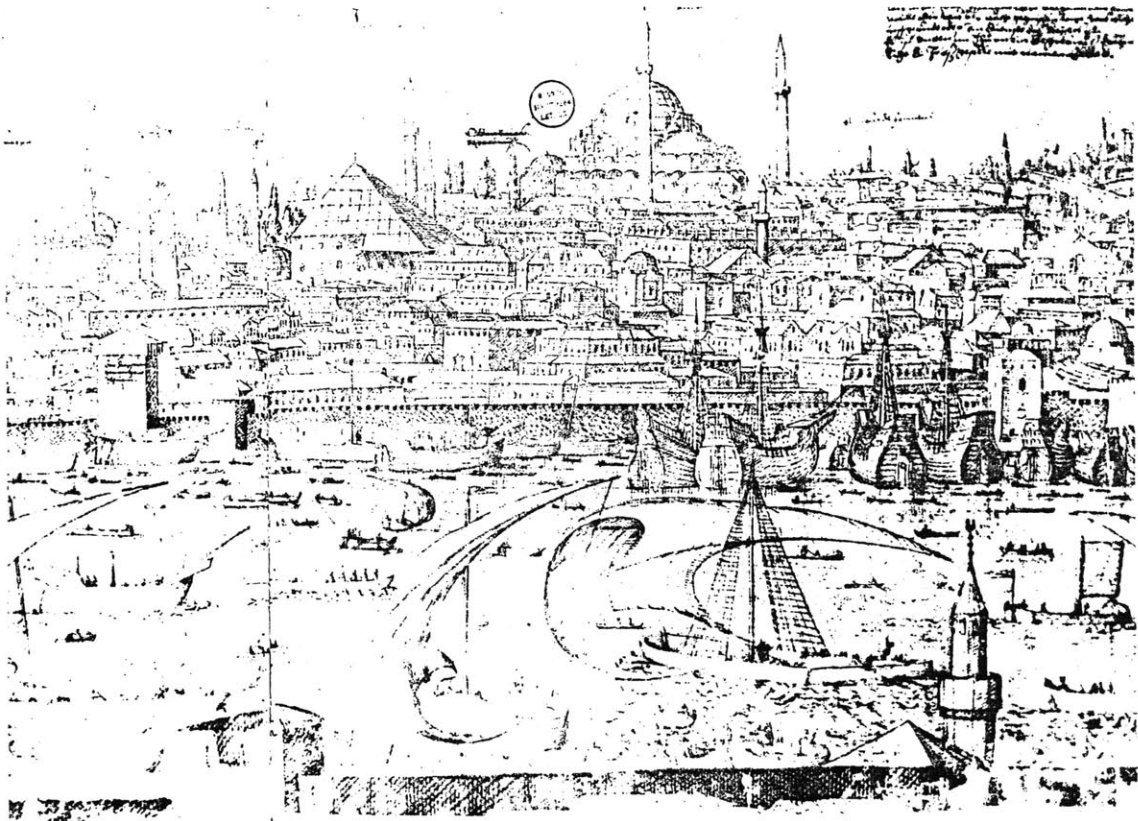
88 Bath scene by °Abdullāh Buḥārī, dated 1741-42. TSMK, Y.Y. 1043.
Reproduced from *Women in Anatolia* (Exh. Cat.), Istanbul, 1993, p. 215.



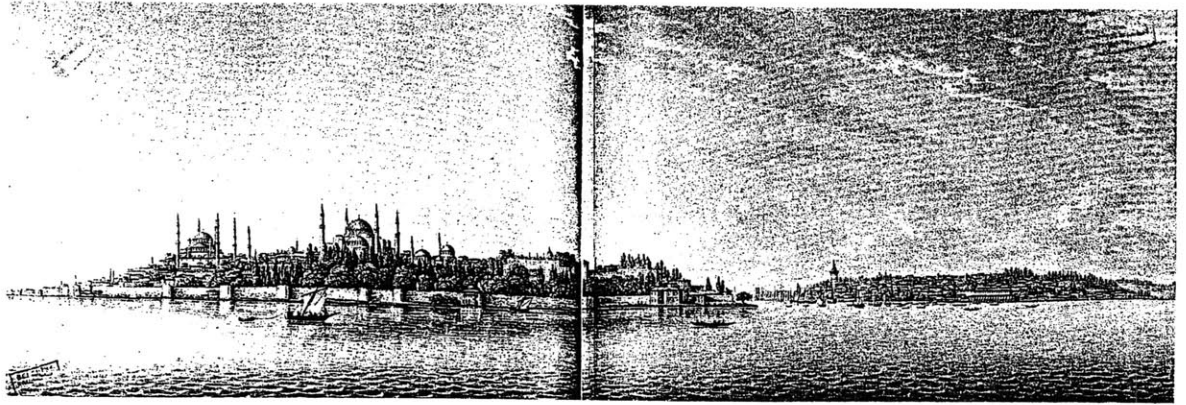
89 Garden scene at Sa'dabad. From Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, *Hübānnāme ve Zenānnāme*, MS. İÜK, Ty 5502, fol 78.



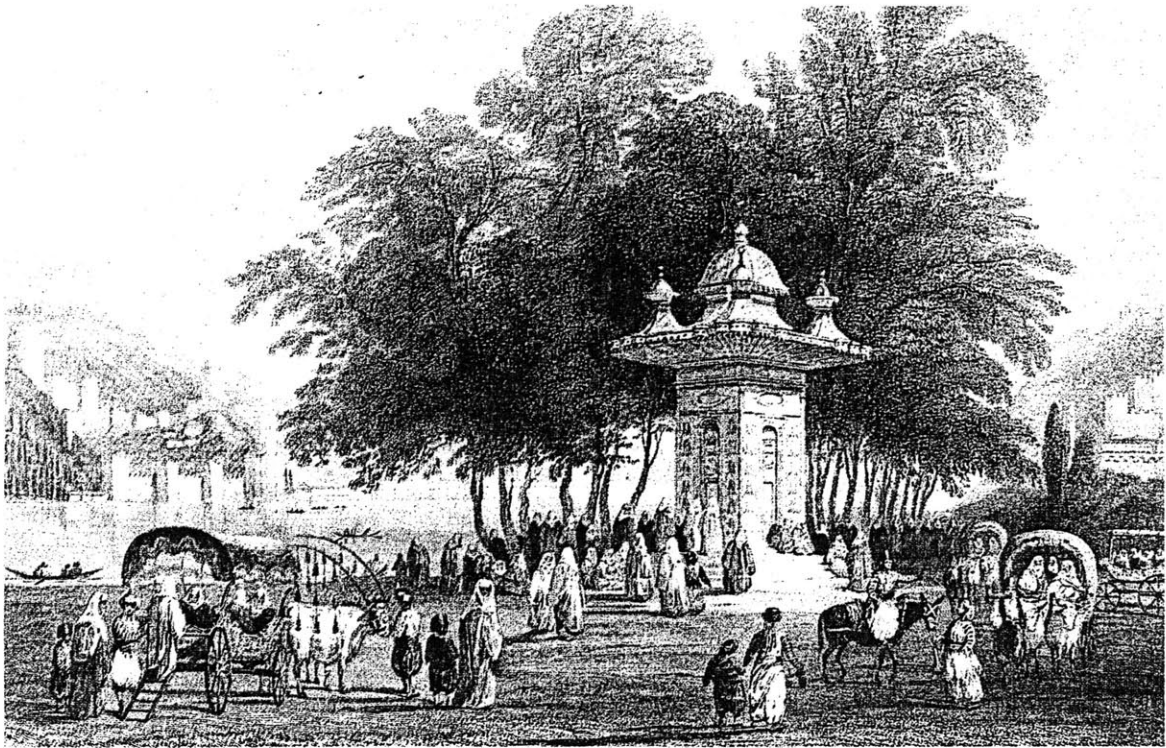
90 Garden scene from the *Ḥamse-i 'Atā'i*. MS. Walters Art Gallery, W. 666, fol 138a. Reproduced from Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 39 (1981), p. 22.



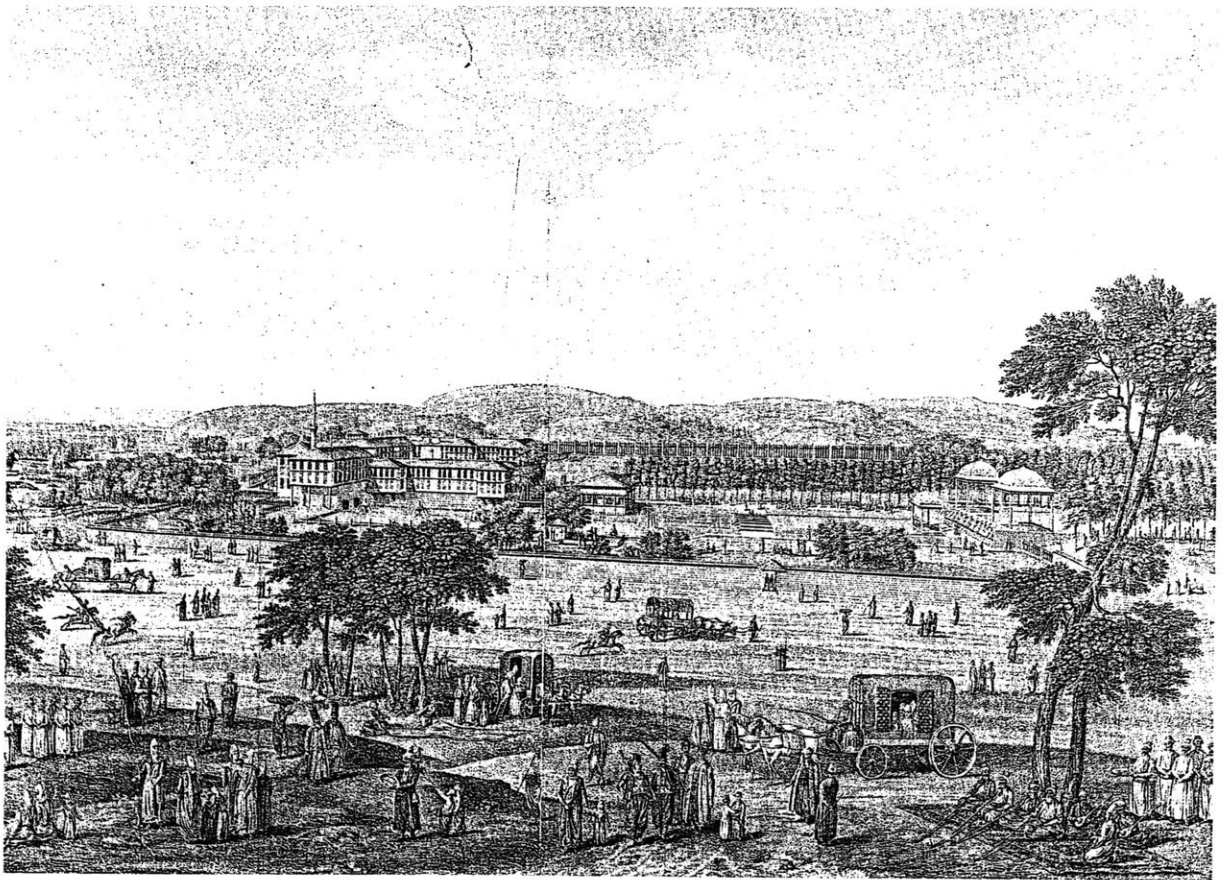
91 Detail from a sixteenth-century panoramic view of Istanbul by Melchior Lorichs. Reproduced from Eldem, *Istanbul Anıları / Reminiscences of Istanbul*, Istanbul, 1979, pp. 56-7, pl. 35.



92 Eighteenth-century panoramic view of Istanbul by Préault. From Pertusier, *Atlas des promenades pittoresques...*, Paris, 1817. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, pp. 38-39, fig. 4.



93 Early nineteenth century view of the Göksu promenade by Bartlett. From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1838.



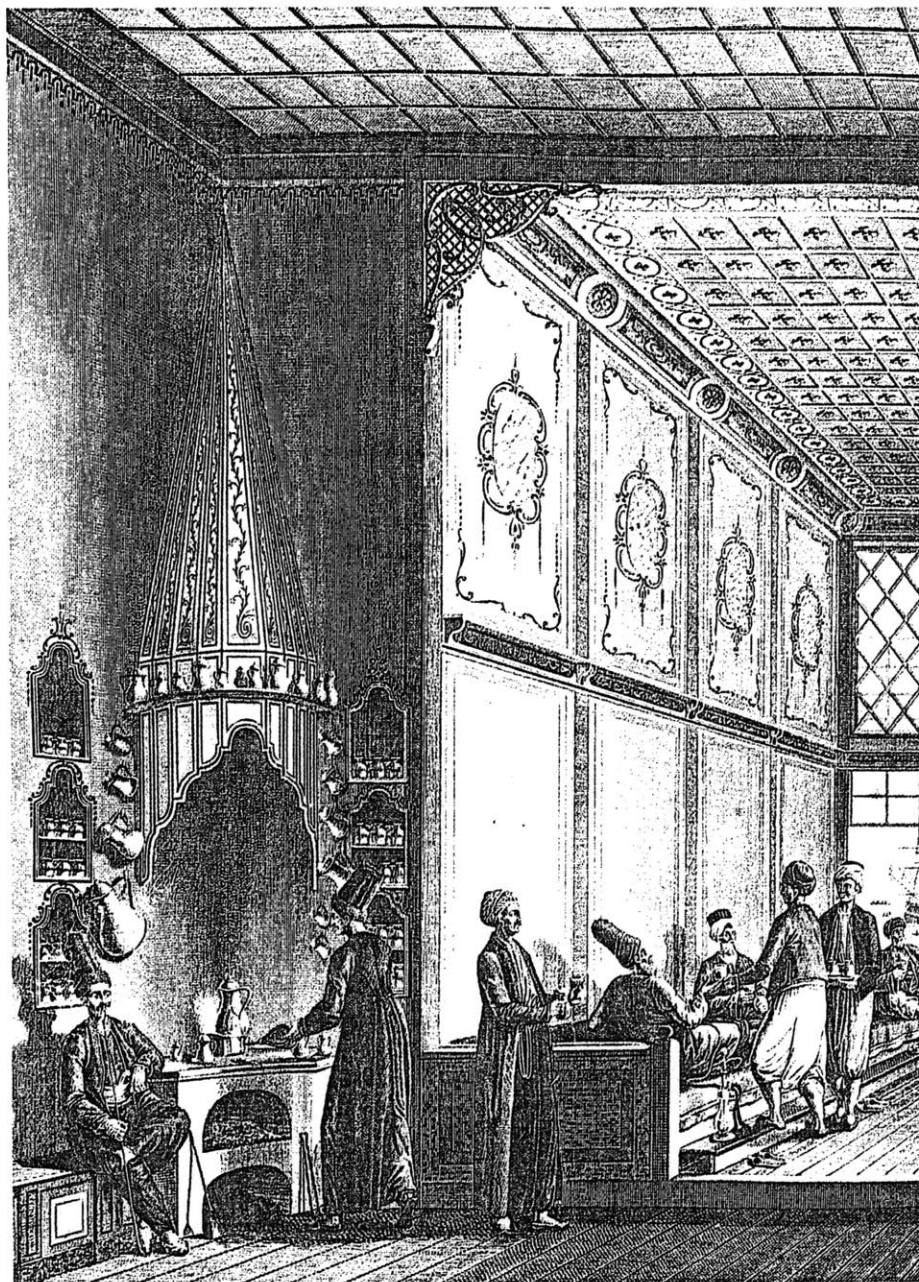
94 View of the imperial palace of Sa'dabad and the garden of Kağıthane, by l'Espinasse. From d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris, 1788-1824. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 111, fig. 97.



95 Outdoor recreation at Kağıthane. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.



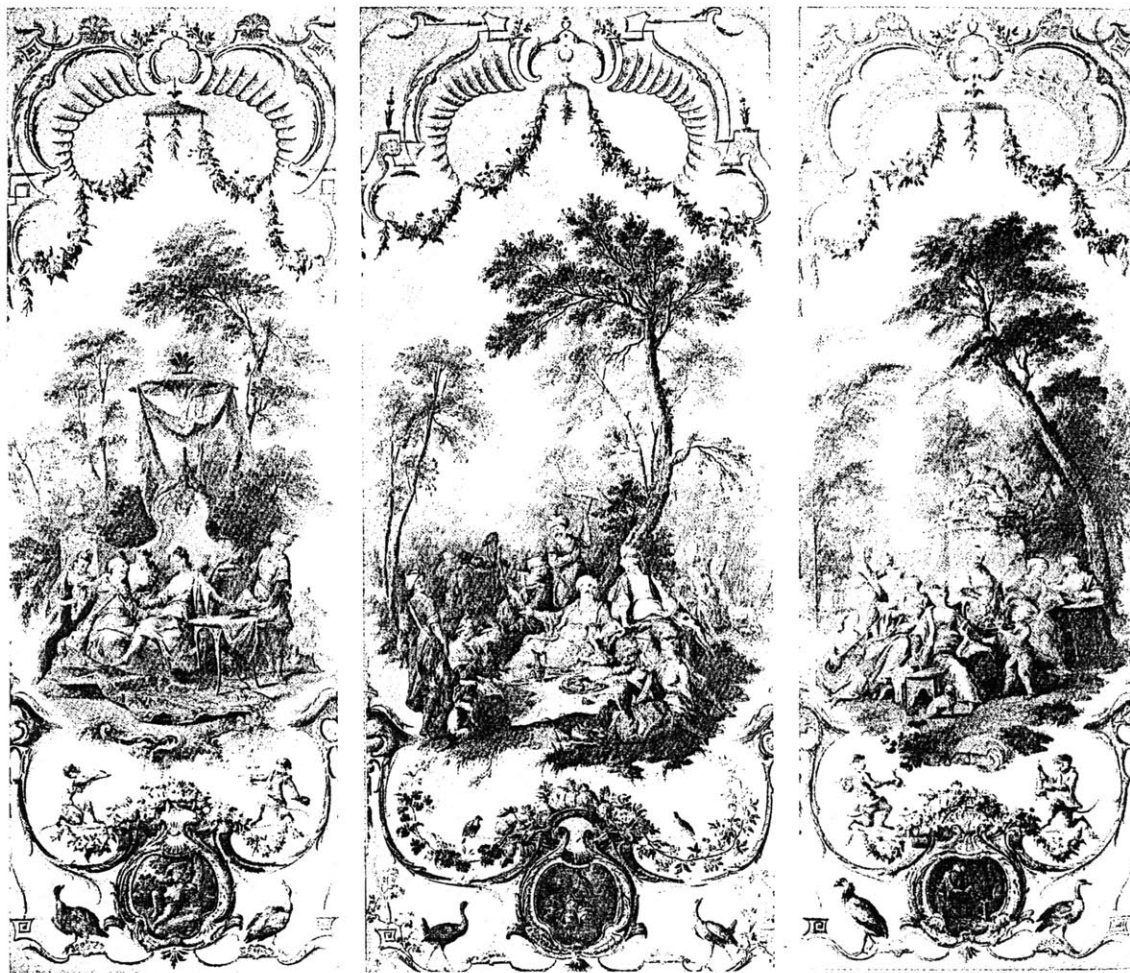
96 Recreation scene at the fountain of Nevşehirli İbrâhim Paşa at Şehzâde (1719). From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1838, p. 79.



97 Interior of a coffeehouse in the square of Tophane, by Melling. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 26.



98 "The Great Bazar" by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.



99 Three panels from an interior mural in a French residence by Christophe Huet, entitled "La boisson chaude;" "La boisson froide;" and "Le repas froid." Reproduced from Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1989, p. 142.



100 Street scene by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.



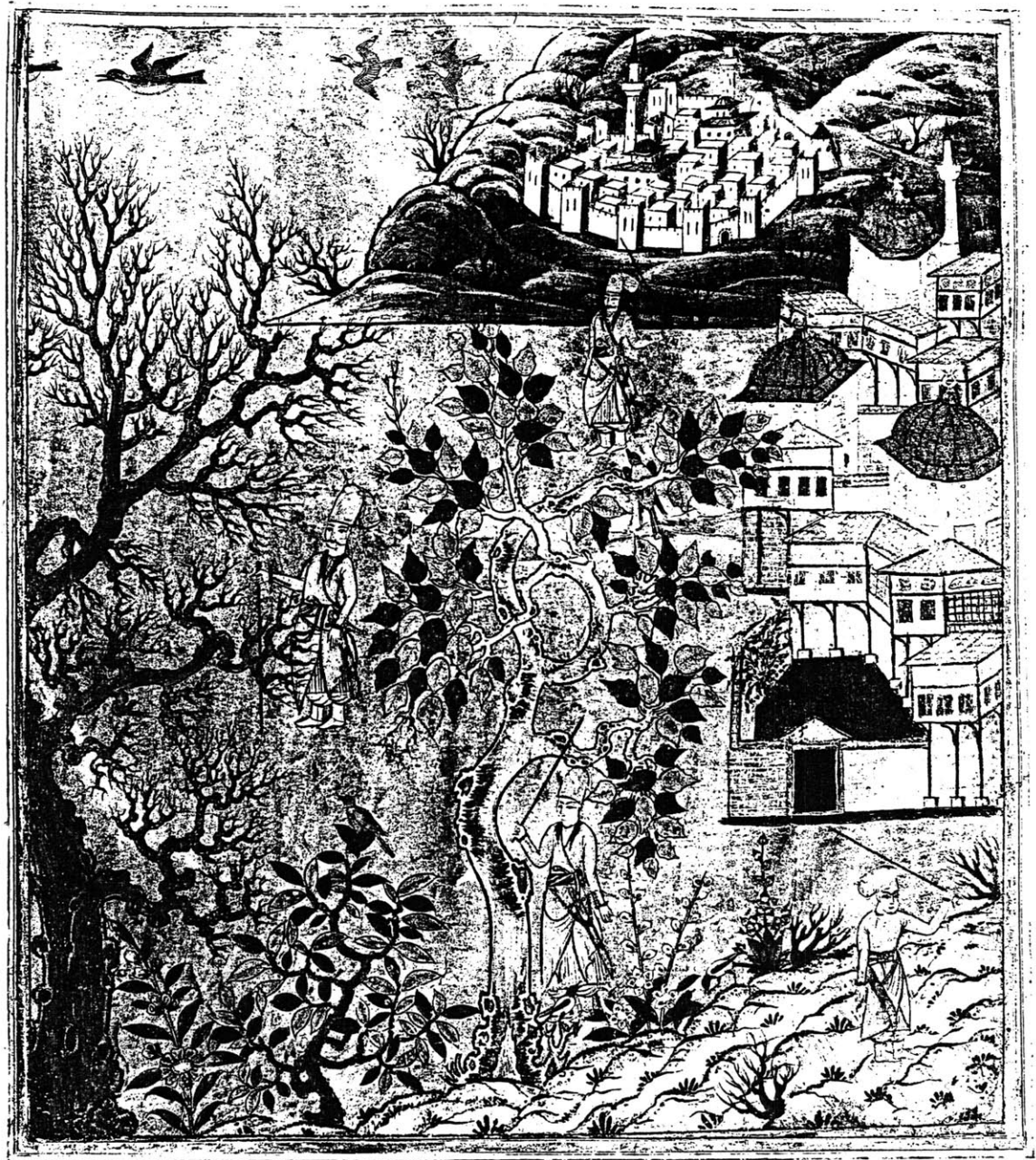
101 Story-teller (*meddāh*), by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.



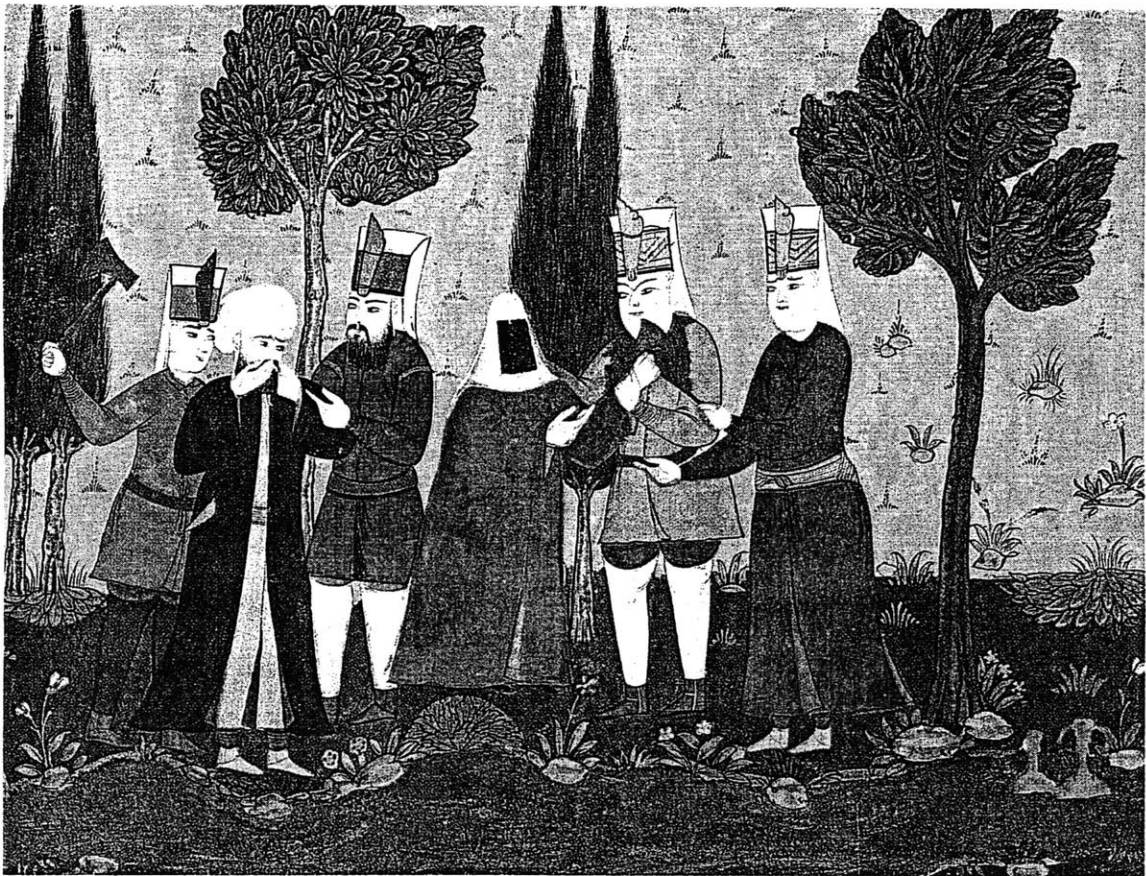
102 Garden scene from the mid-seventeenth century. TSMK, H. 2133-34, fol 20. Reproduced from Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés. II^{me} partie: de Murād IV à Muṣṭafā III 1623-1773*, Paris, 1971, p. V.



103 Garden scene from the mid-seventeenth century. TSMK, H. 2165, fol. 49v.
Reproduced from Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés.*
II^{me} partie: de Murād IV à Muṣṭafā III 1623-1773, Paris, 1971, p. XXIX.



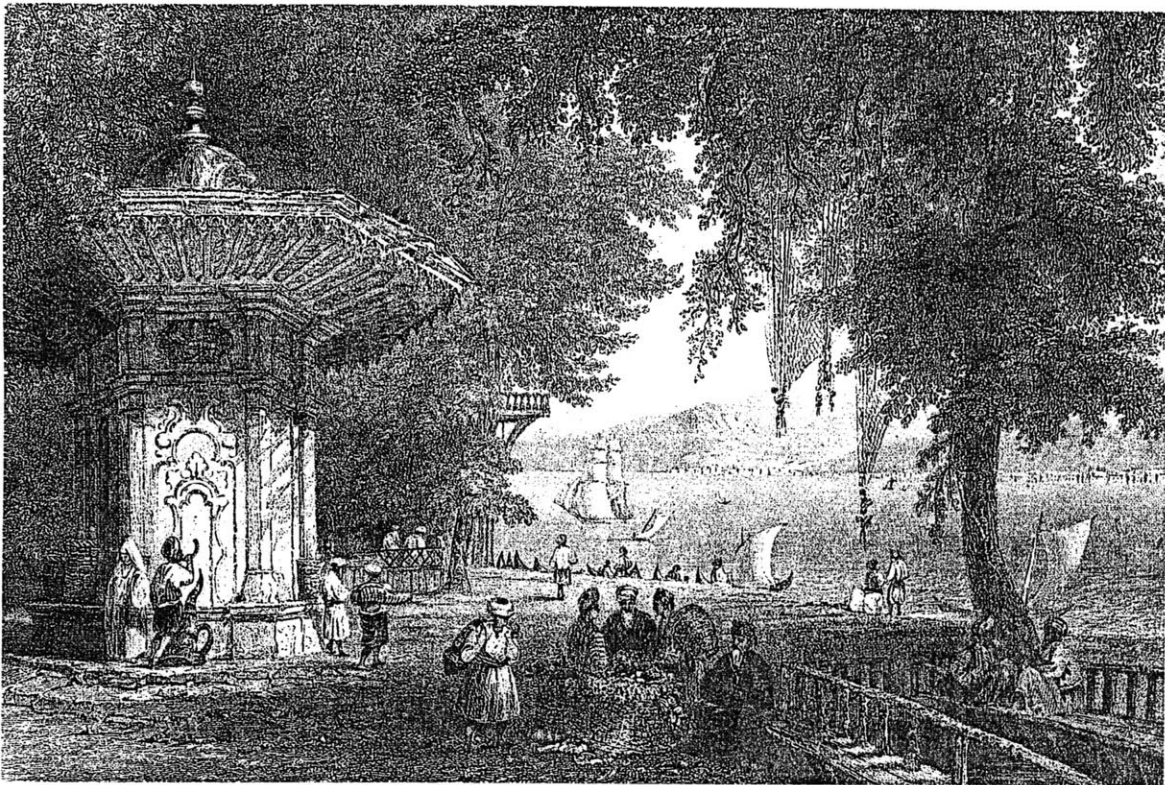
104 "Four Bostanji" (identified, ca. 1400-1450). From the Harvard University Art Museum Collection.



105 Miniature illustration showing a couple caught in a waterfront garden. From an album of calligraphy and miniatures produced for Sultan Ahmed I (1603-18). Reproduced from *Women in Anatolia* (Exh. Cat.), Istanbul, 1993, p. 209.



106 Mosque of Emirgan, showing the original wooden building of Abdülhamid I.



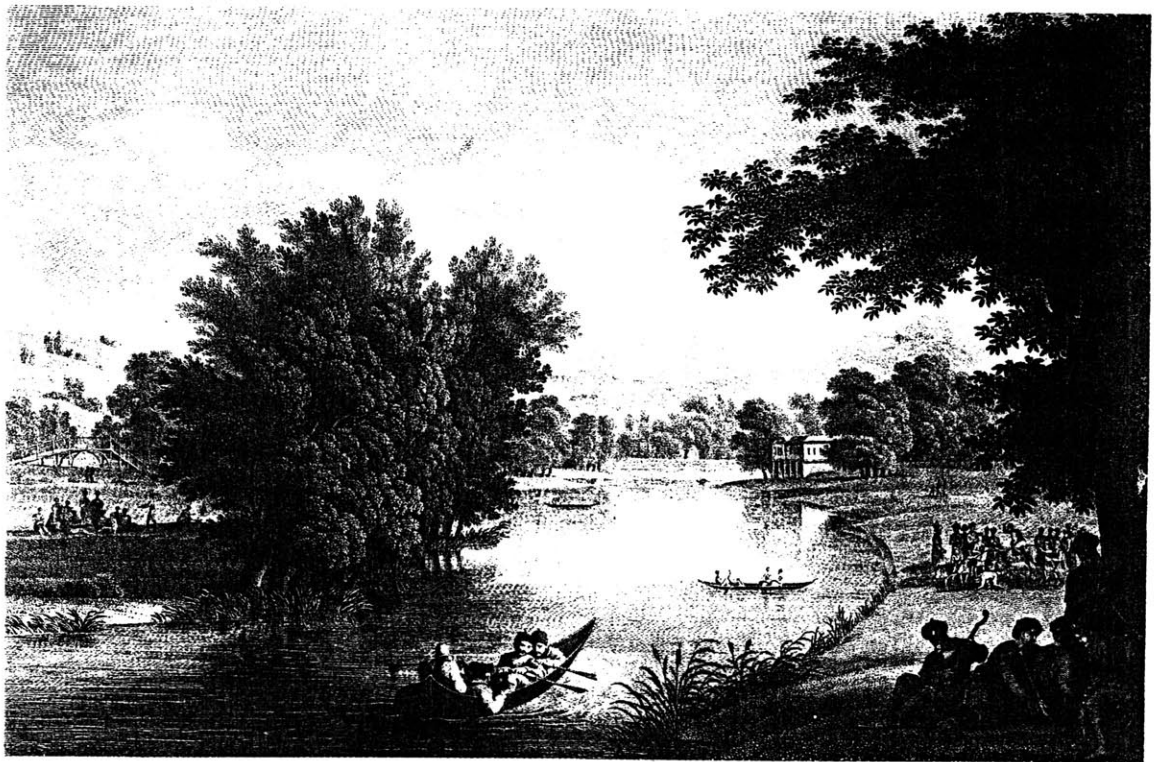
107 The garden, coffeehouse enclosure, and fountain of Emirgan, by W. H. Bartlett after an engraving by J. Cousen. From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1836-37, pl. 60.



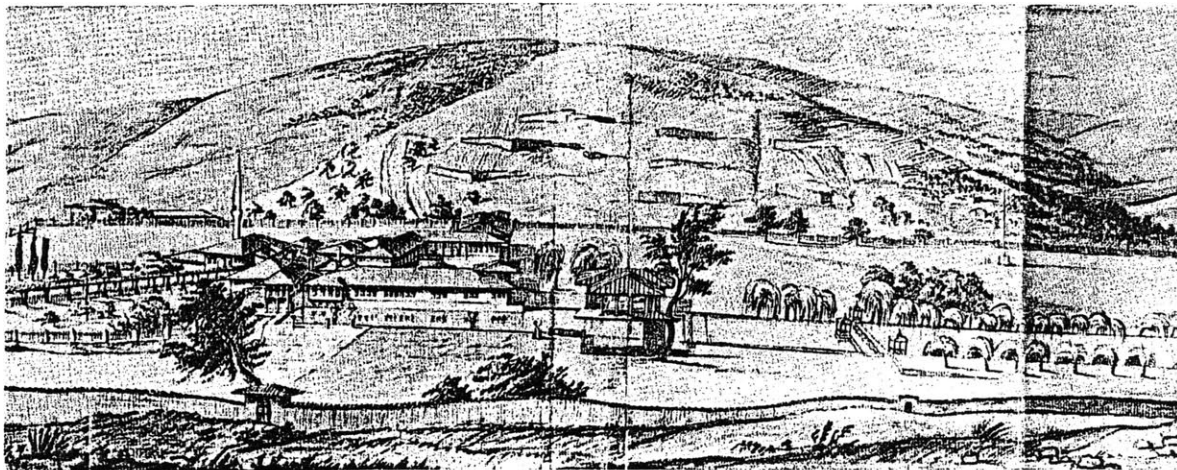
108 Ahmed III's "shore mosque" in Bebek (1725-26).



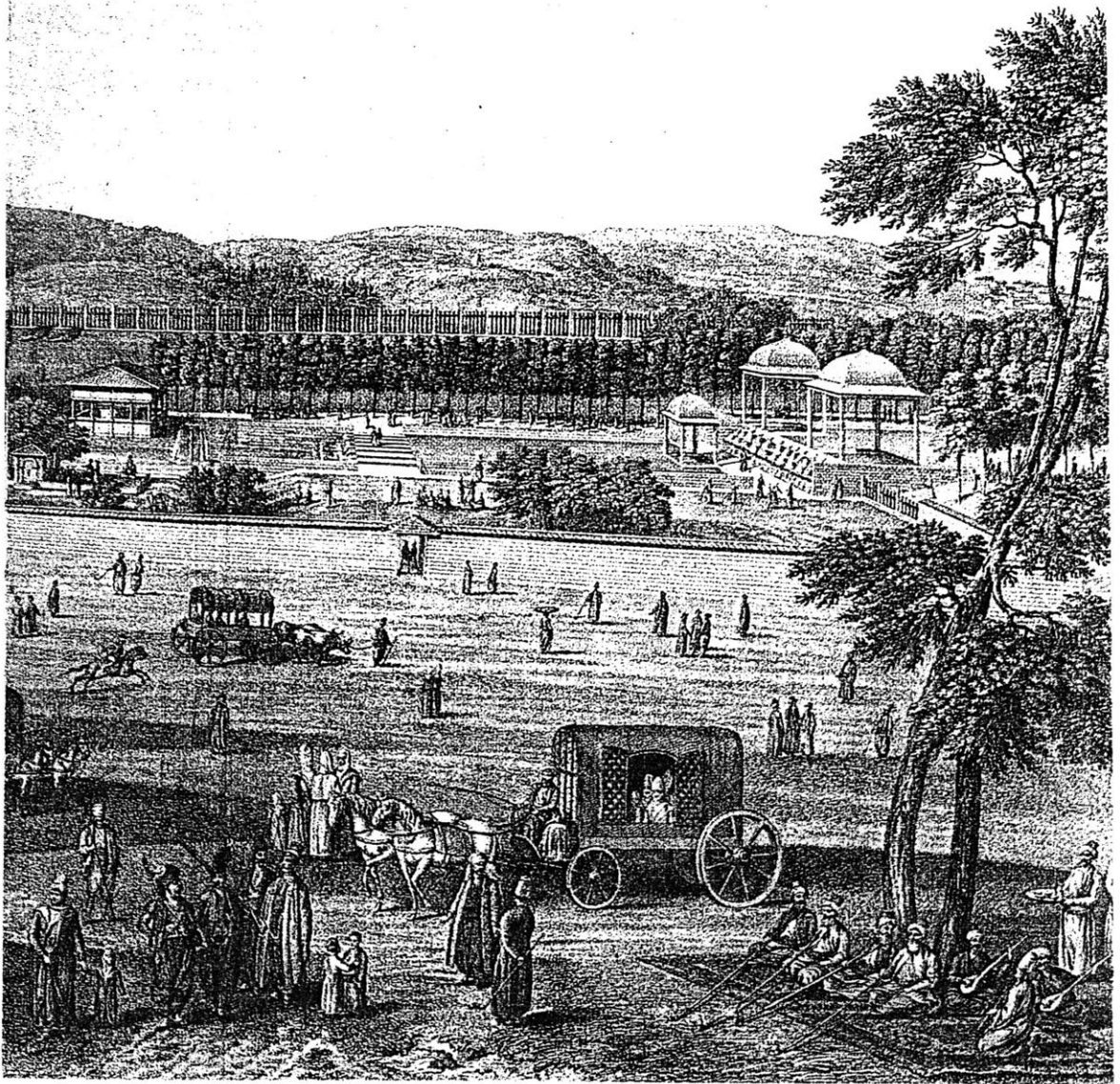
109 Recreation scene in the garden of Kağıthane by W. H. Bartlett. From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1836-37, pl. 60.



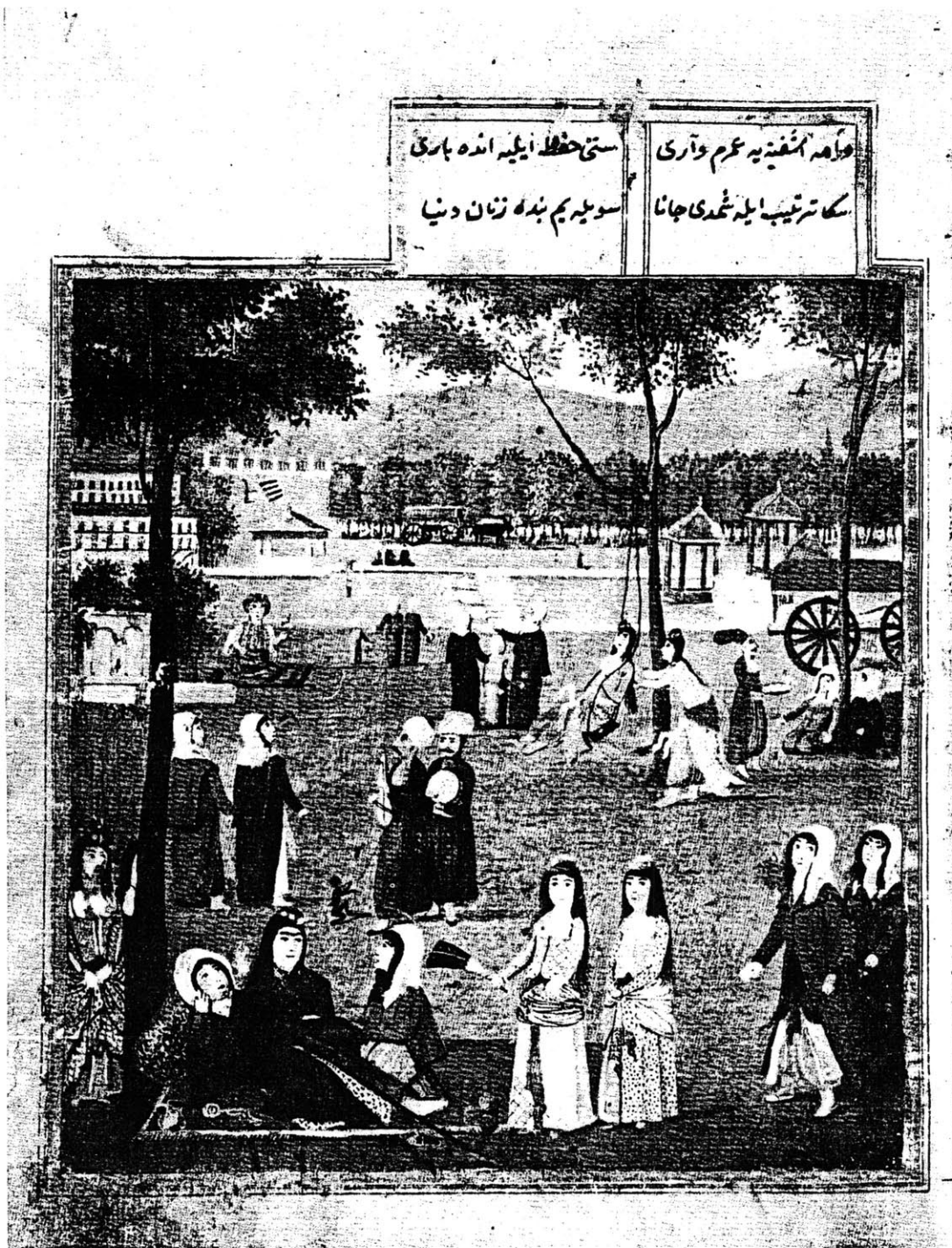
110 Recreation scene in the garden of Kağıthane, by Fuhrman (?). From Raczynski, *Malerischer Reise in Einigen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reichs*, Breslau, 1824. Reproduced from Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture*, Istanbul, 1981, p. 38.



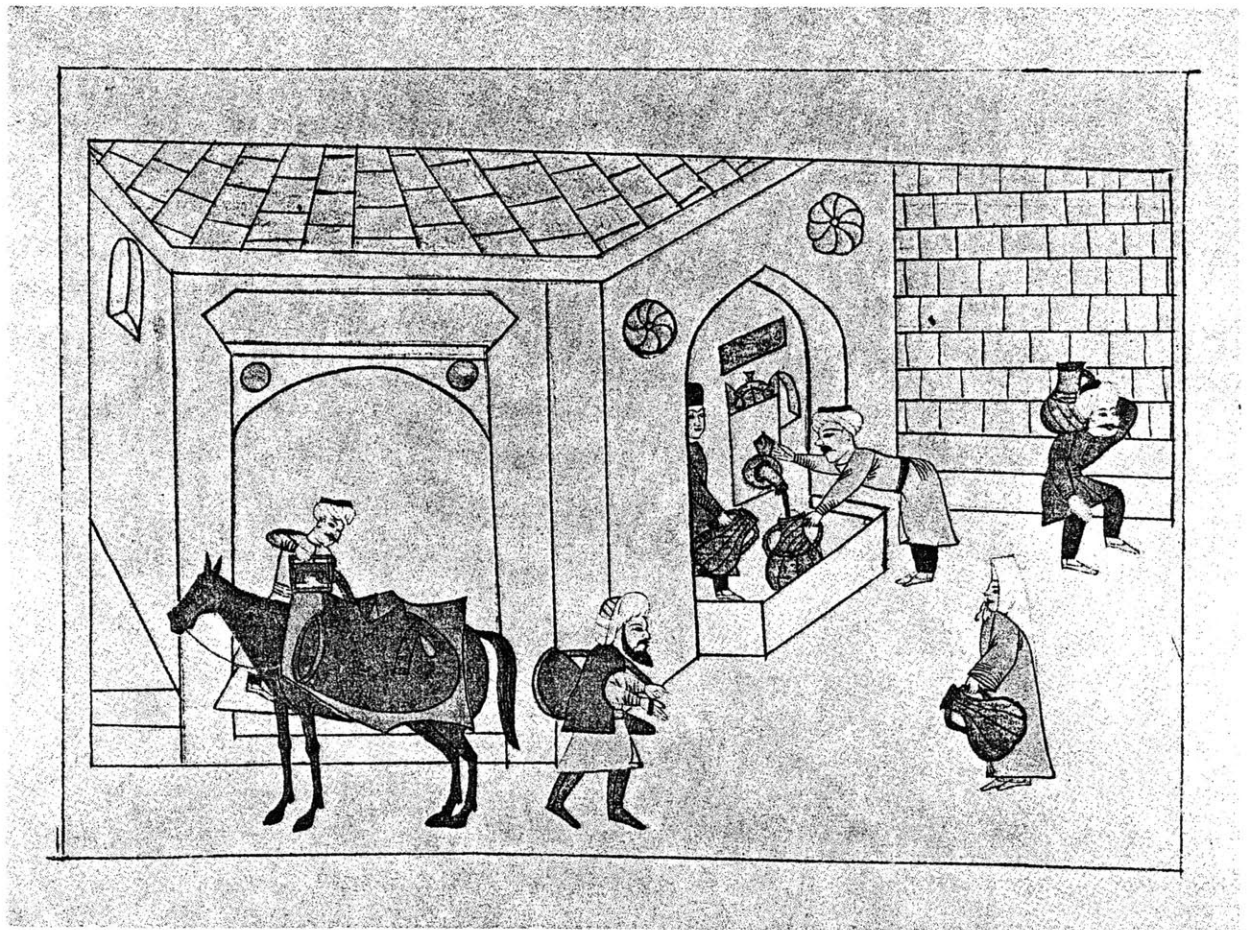
111 Sketch of Sa'dabad by Gudenus (ca. 1741), showing the garden enclosure. Reproduced from Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, Istanbul, 1977, pp. 16-7.



112 Detail of an engraving of Sa'dabad by l'Espinasse, showing the brick and trellis enclosures. From d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, Paris, 1788. Reproduced from *İstanbul Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi ve Venedik Correr Müzesi Koleksiyonlarından Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri*, Istanbul, 1995, pl. 48.



113 Miniature illustration of the garden of Sa'dabad at Kağıthane. From Fāzıl Bey Enderūnī, *Zenānnāme*, MS. British Library, Or. 7094, fol 7a. Reproduced from Müller-Wiener, "Haus - Garten - Bad," in *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, 1985, vol. 1, p. 140, fig. 44.



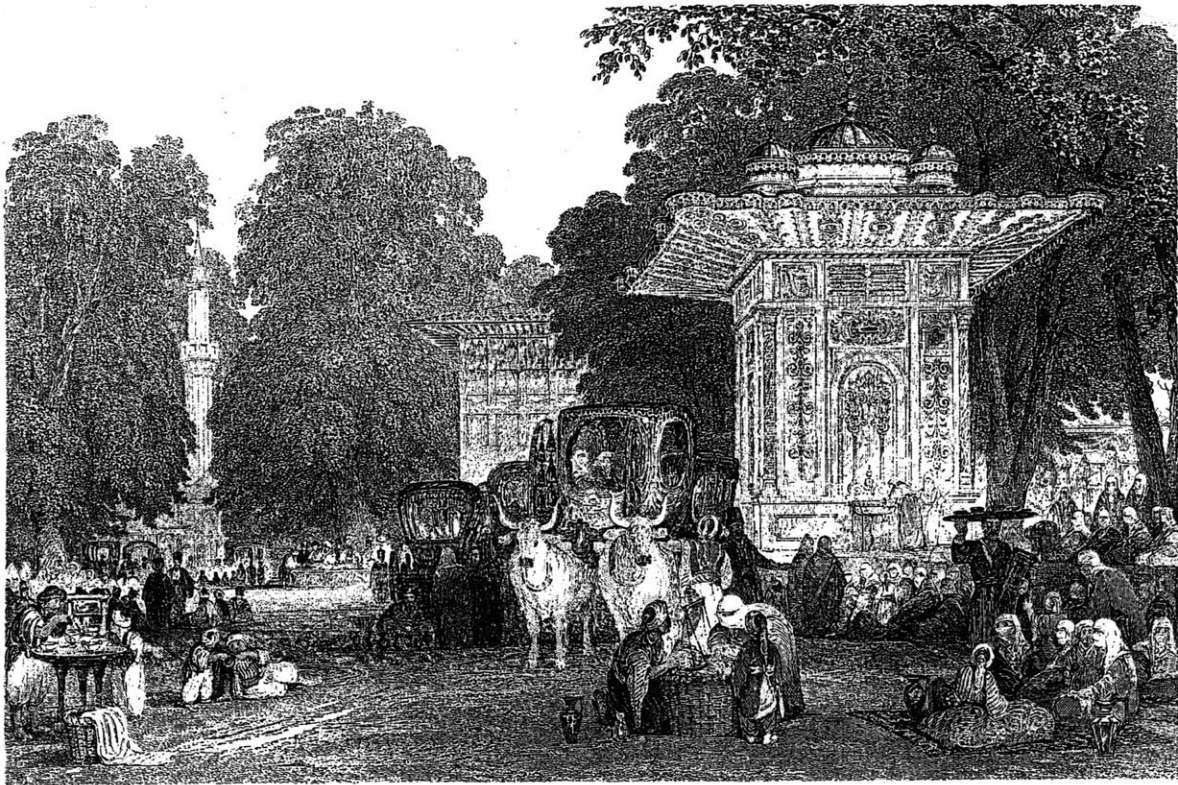
114 Vignette of a neighborhood fountain. From Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuller Hof- und Volksleben*, Osnabrück, 1978, pl. 4.



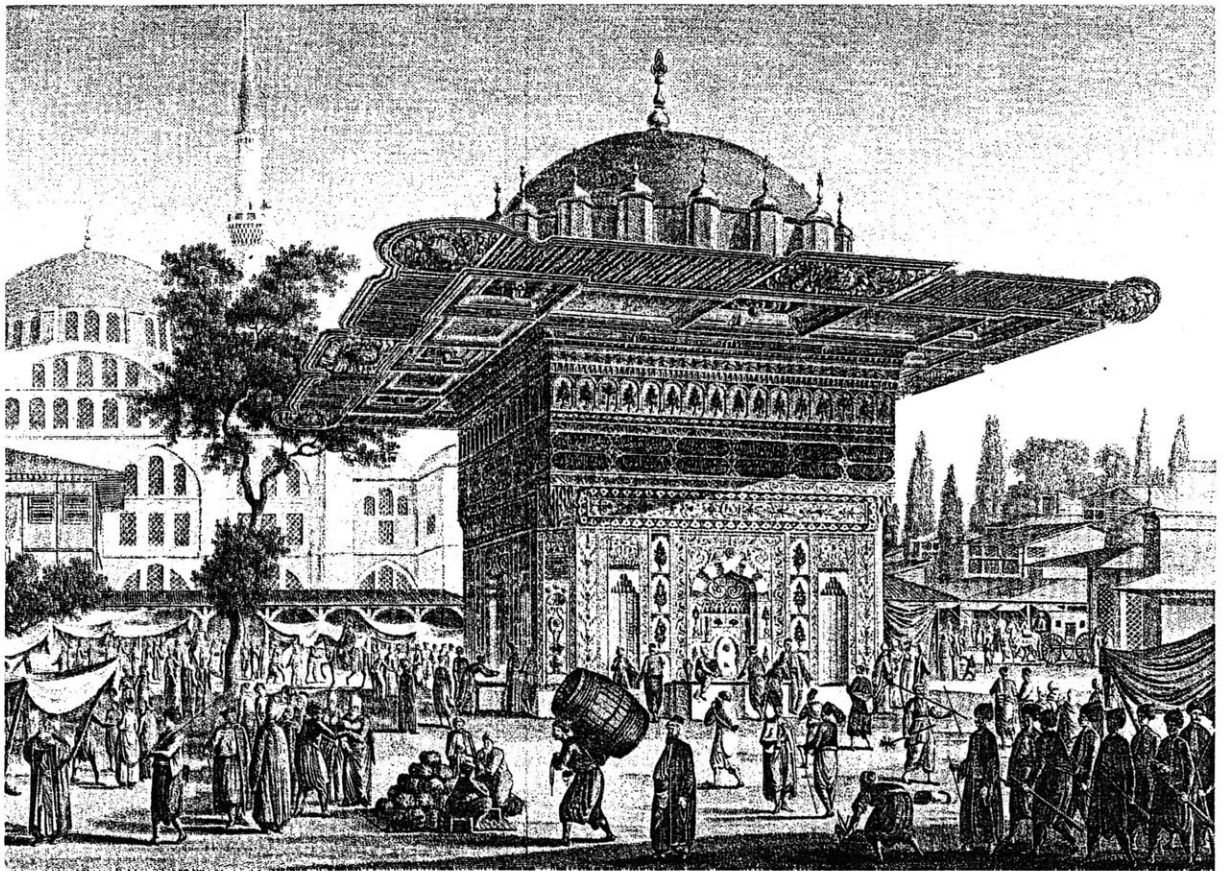
115 Neighborhood fountain scene by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.



116 View of the square and fountain of Üsküdar (1729) by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.



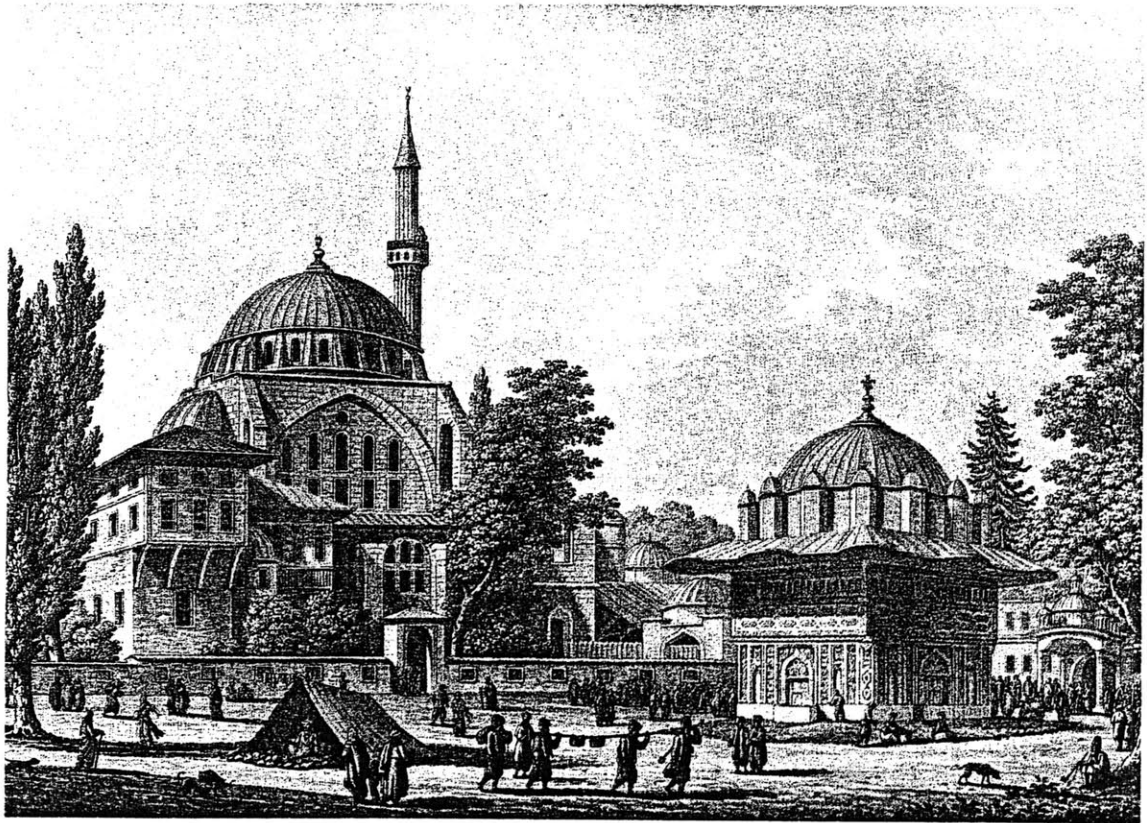
117 View of the garden and fountain of Küçüksu (1809) by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.



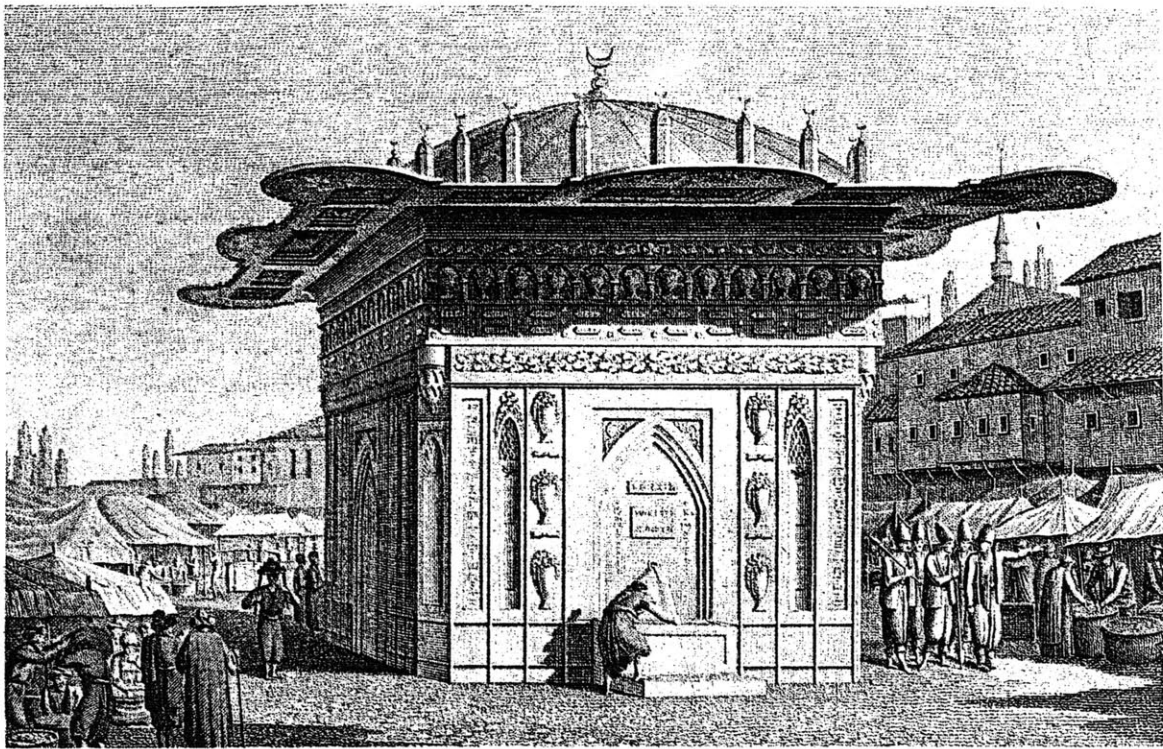
118 View of the fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane (1732). From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 22.



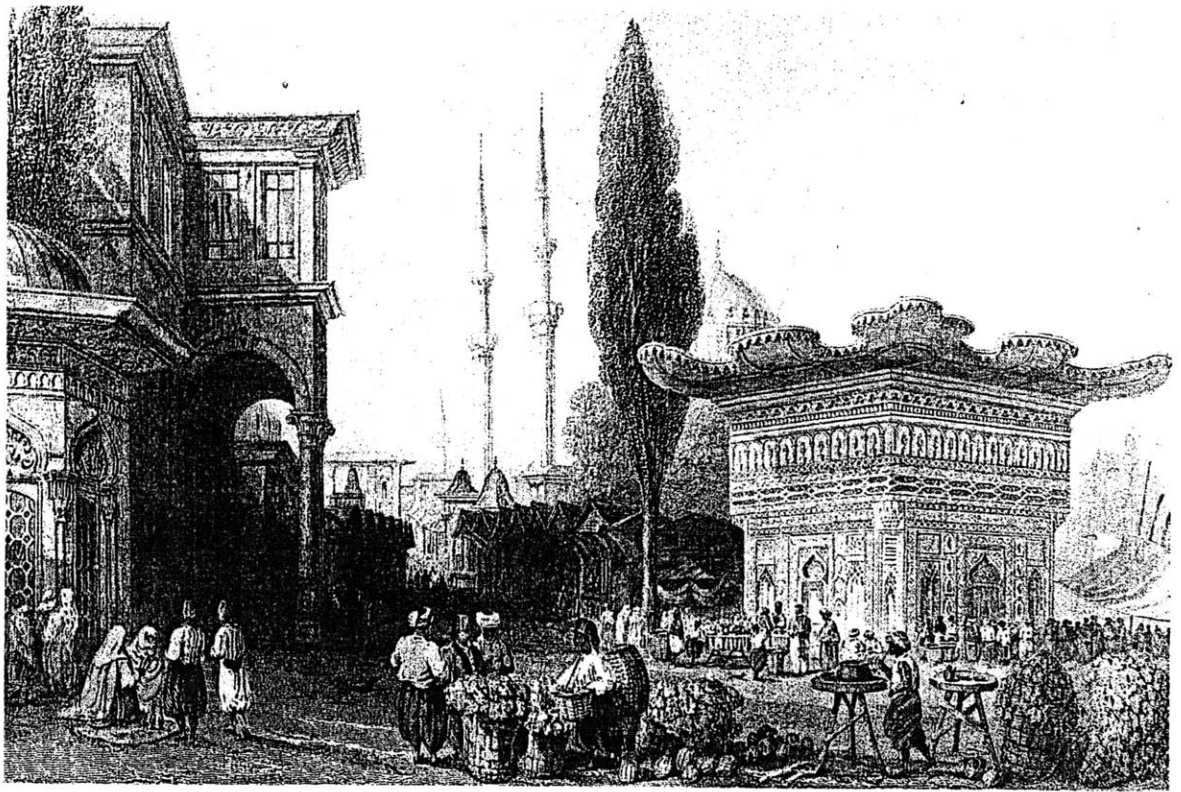
119 View of the *meydān* fountain of İshāk Ağa in Beykoz (1746).



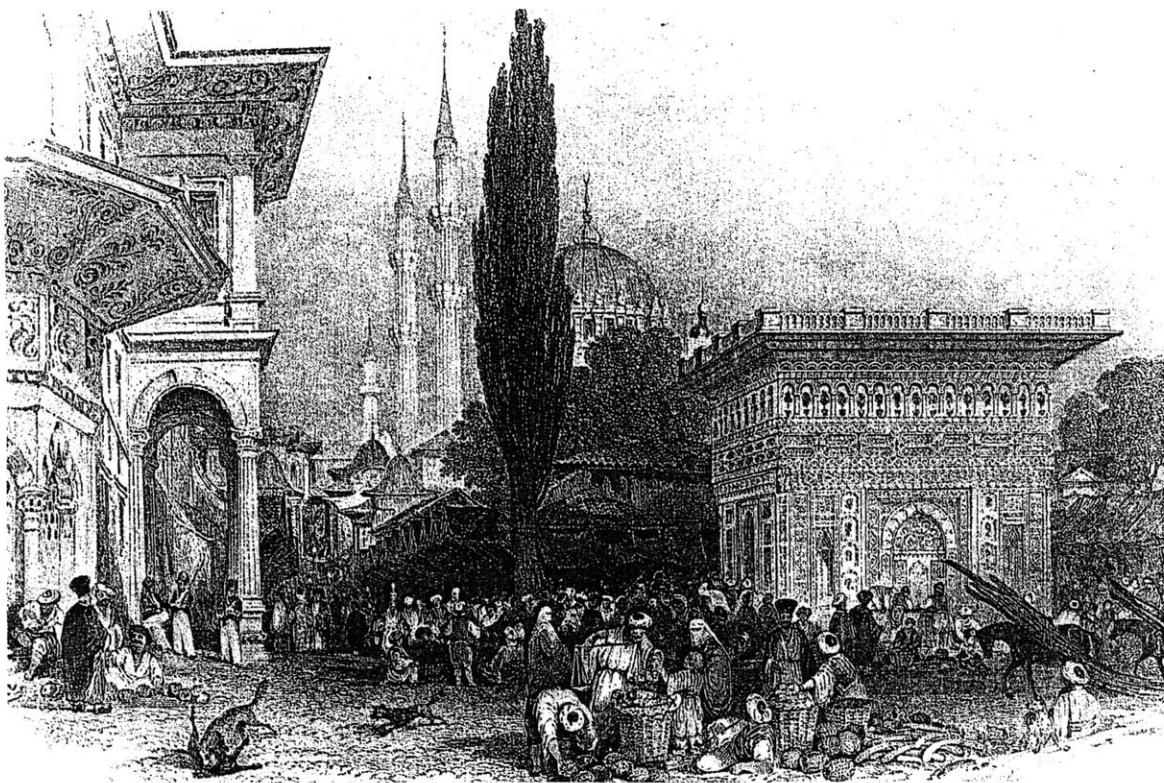
120 View of the fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane by Préault. From Pertusier, *Atlas des promenades pittoresques...*, Paris, 1817. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, Istanbul, 1992, p. 181, fig. 169.



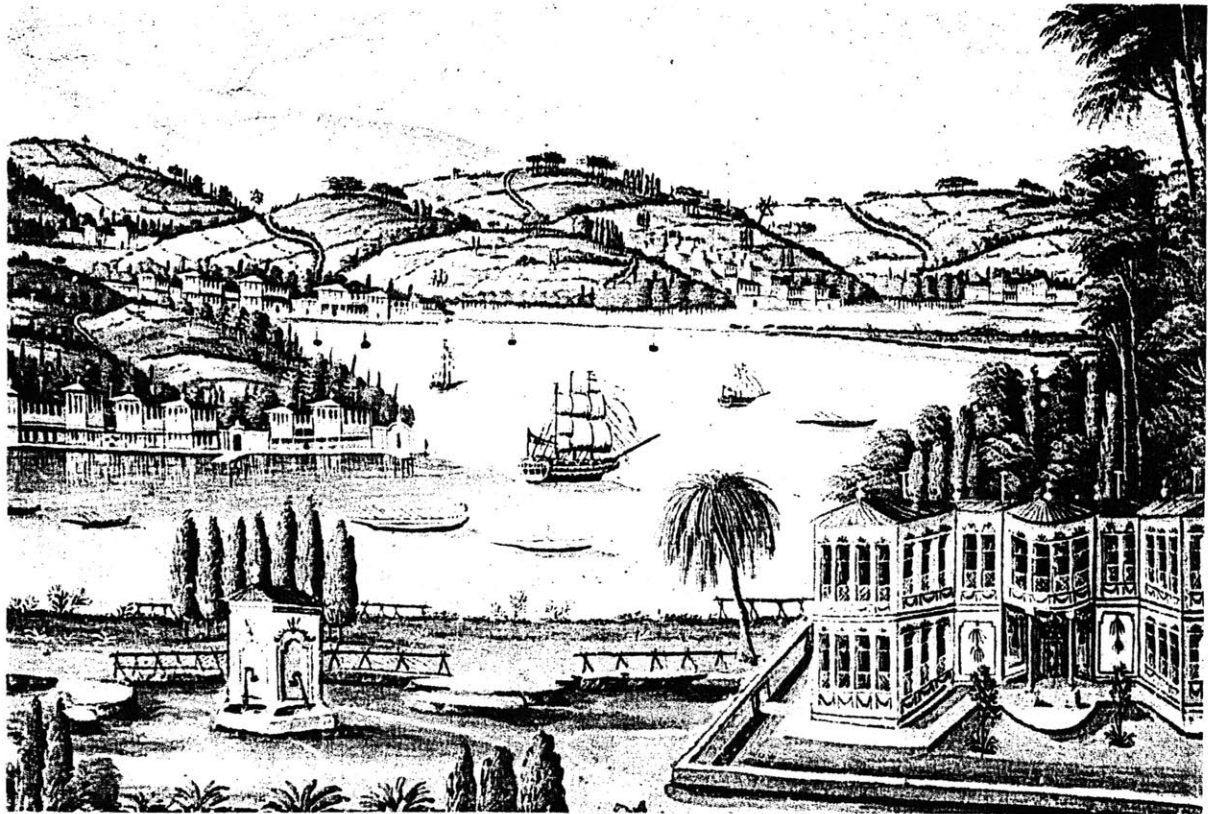
121 View of the fountain of Mahmūd I at Tophane by Fuhrman. From Raczynski, *Malerischer Reise in Einigen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reichs*, Breslau, 1824, pl. 27. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, İstanbul, 1992, p. 182, fig. 170.



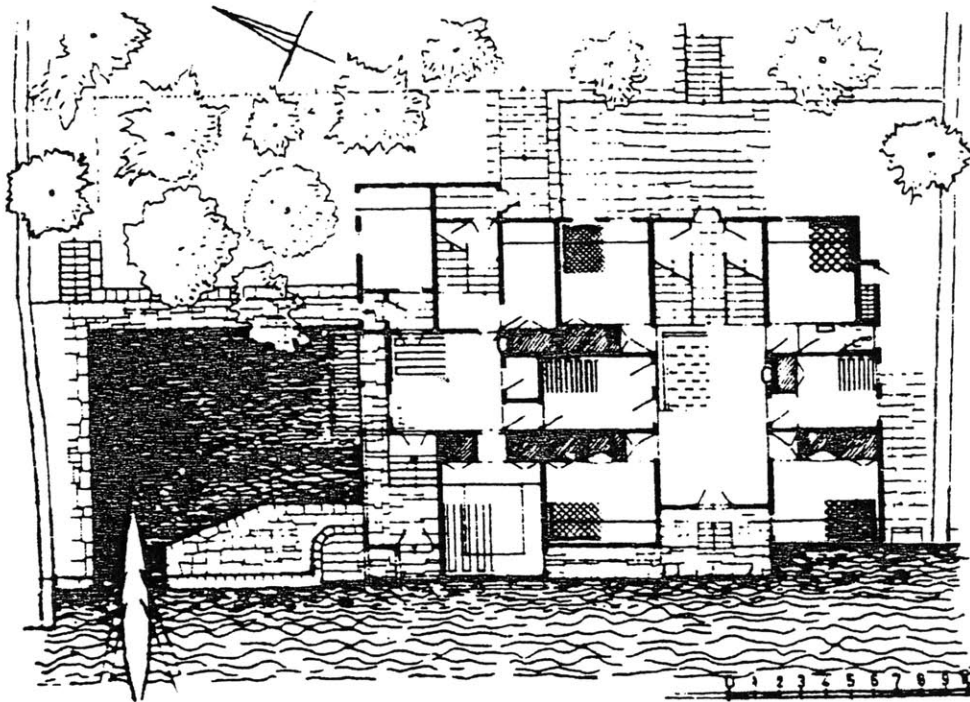
122 View of the fountain of Maḥmūd I at Tophane by Bartlett. From Pardoe, *The Beauties of the Bosphorus*, London, 1836-37.



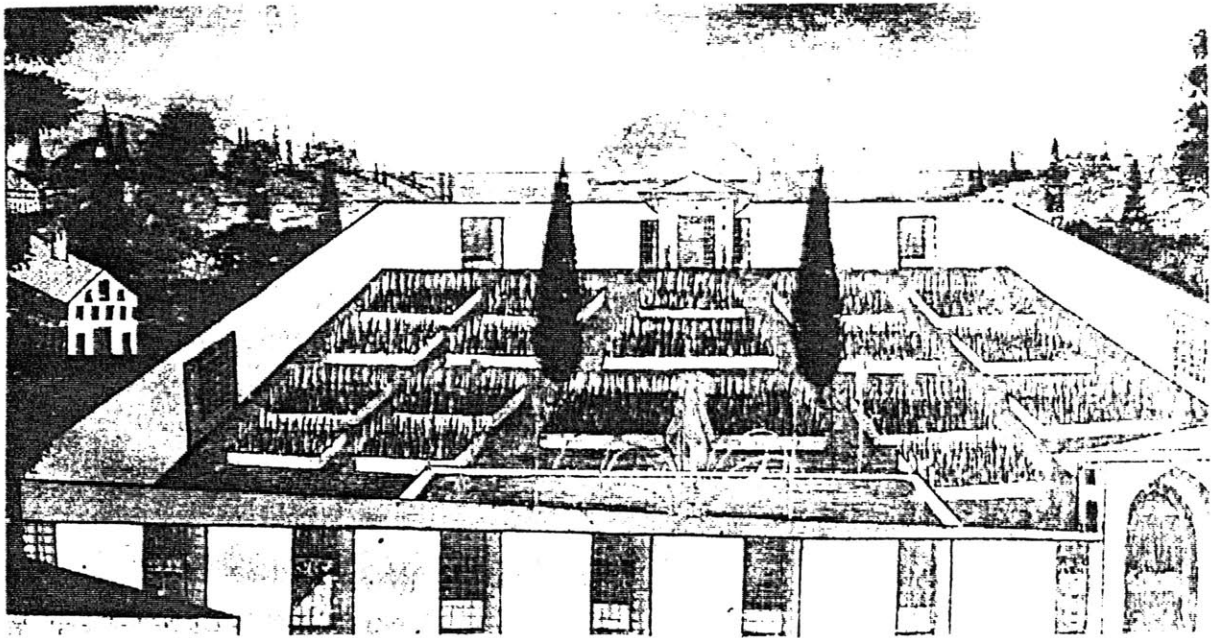
123 View of the fountain of Mahmūd I at Tophane by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. I, London, 1838.



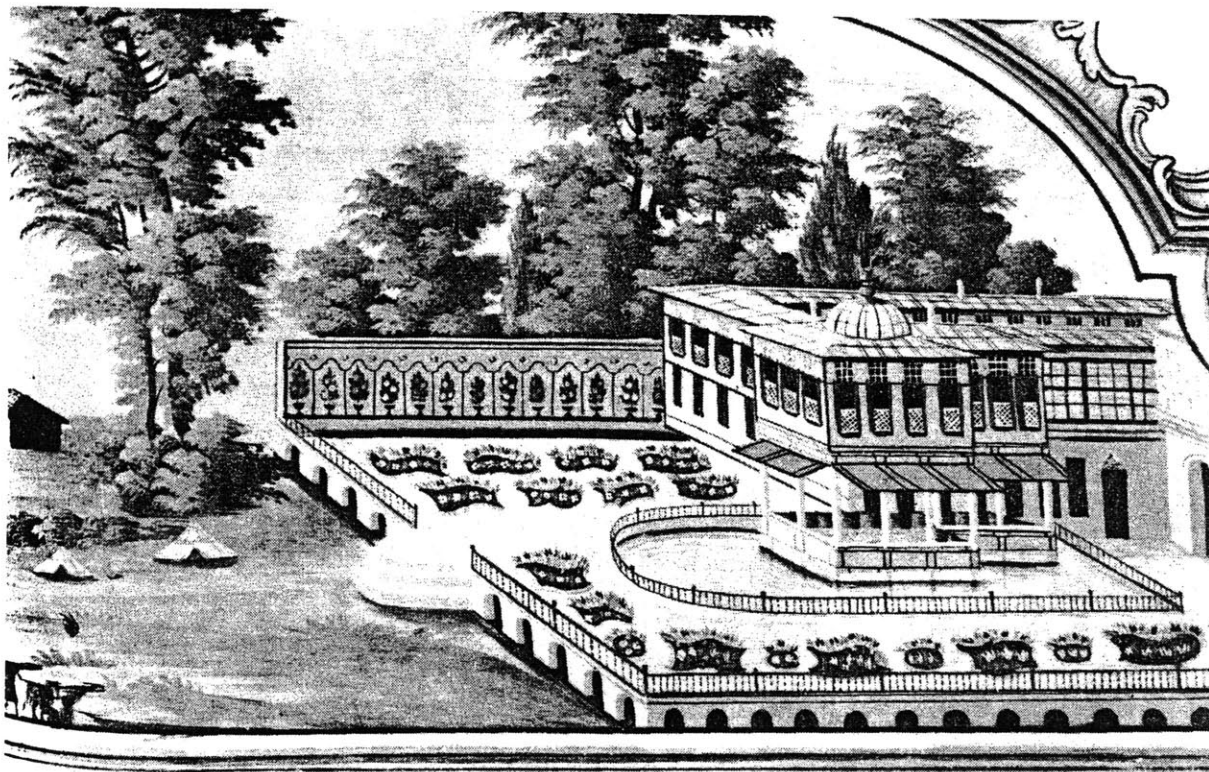
124 Interior mural in the *yalı* of Sa'dullah Paşa in Çengelköy, showing a garden surrounded by a low wall. From Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends," in Pınar, ed., *A History of Turkish Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 76, pl. 70.



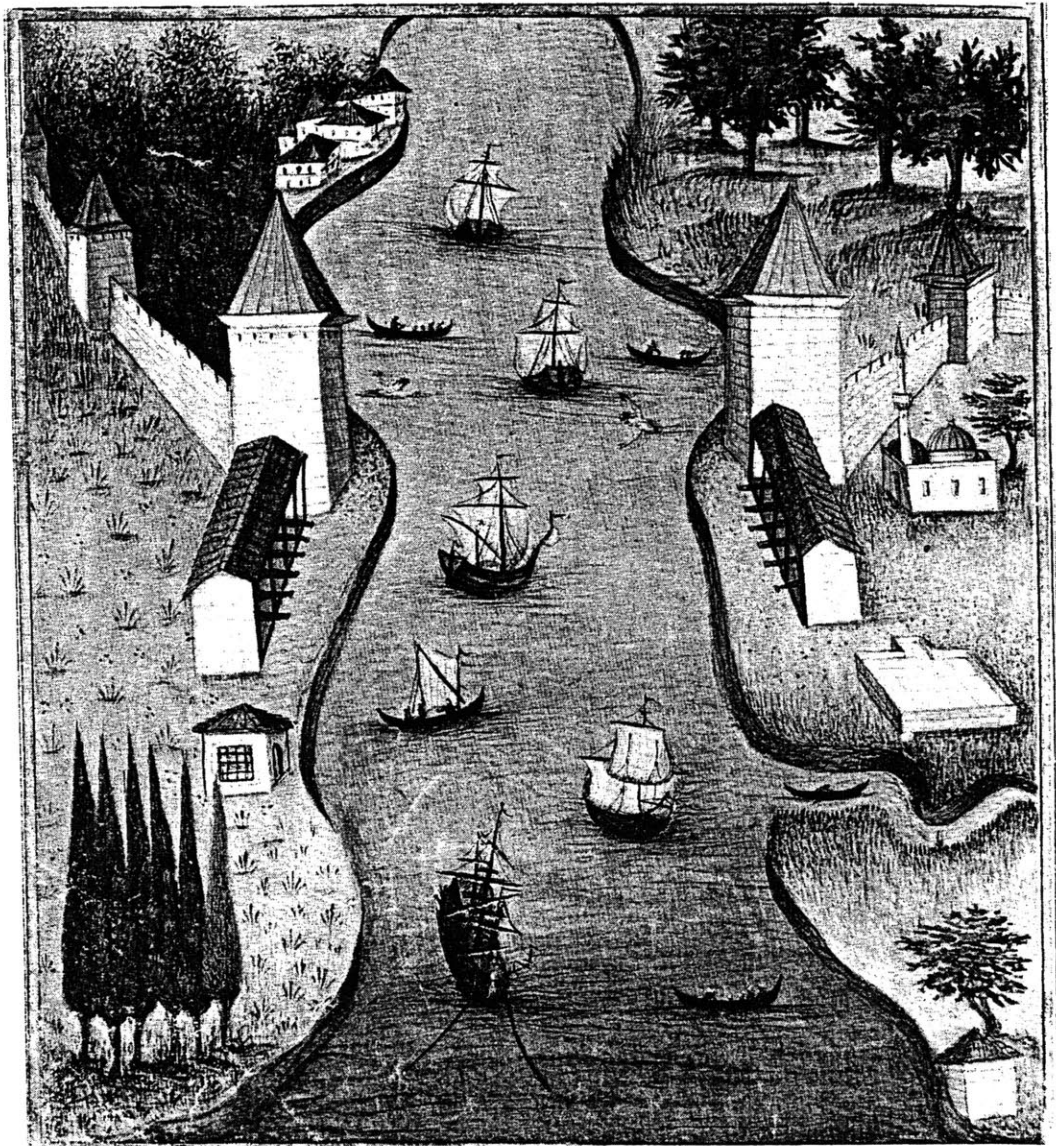
125 Plan of the eighteenth-century *yalı* of Hadi Bey at Kandilli. From Eldem, *Türk Evi Plan Tipleri*, I: 290.



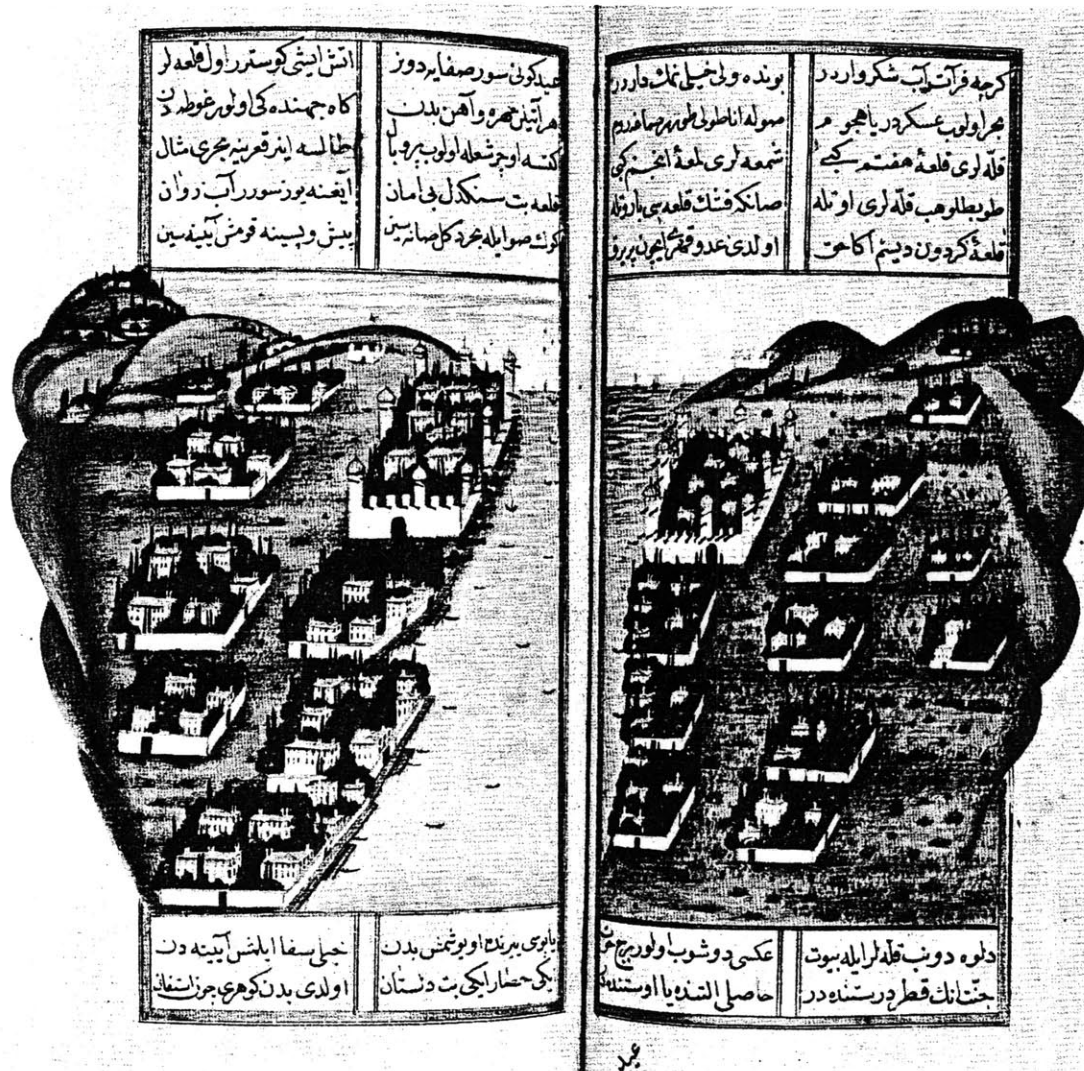
126 Eighteenth-century miniature illustration of a garden enclosure. From a *Mecmû'a-i Tevârih* compiled under the grand-vizierate of Hekimoğlu 'Alî Paşa. MS., İÜK, Ty 2962, fol 1.



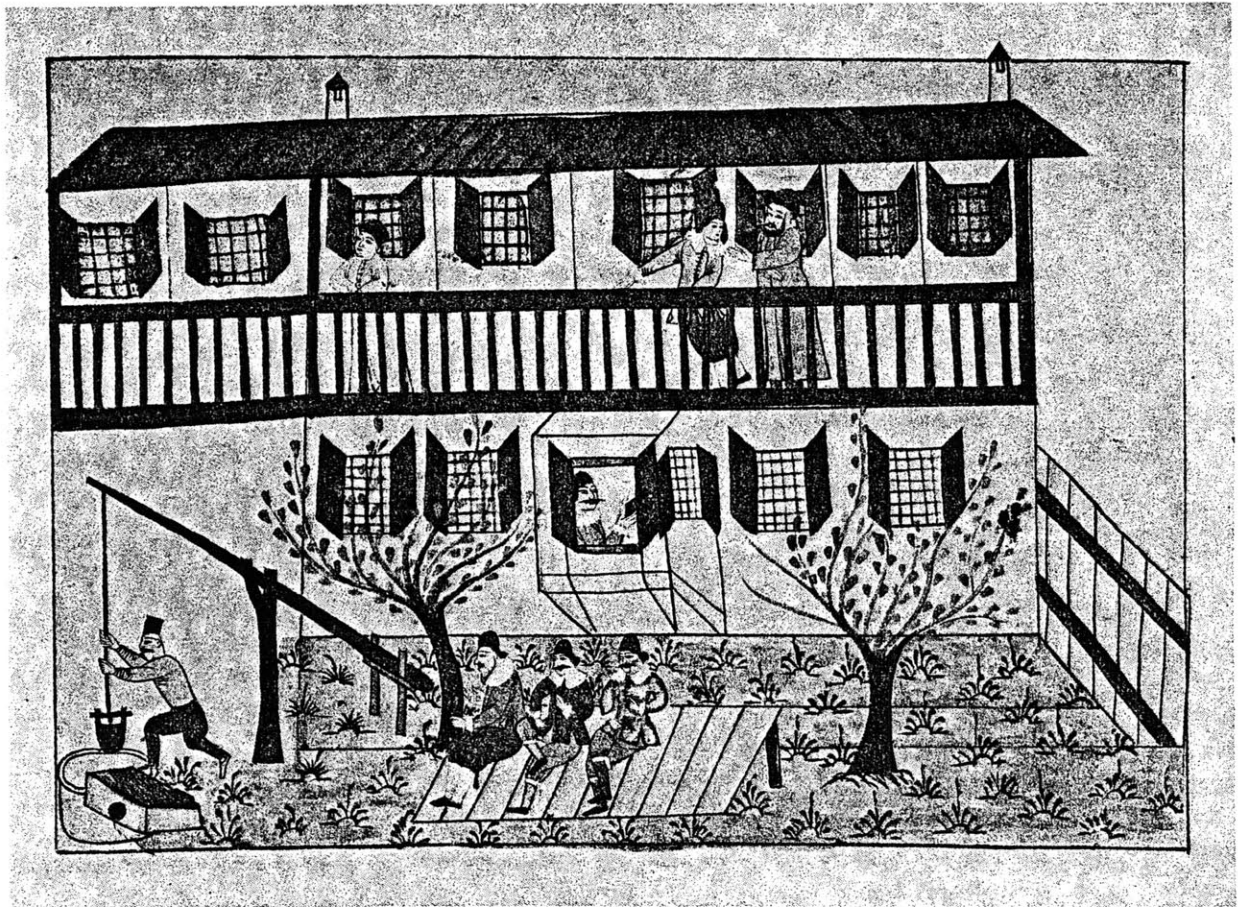
127 Nineteenth-century mural in the Harem section of the Topkapı Palace, showing a garden wall with painted cartouches of single trees in pots. From Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700-1850*, Ankara, 1977, p. 87, fig. 54.



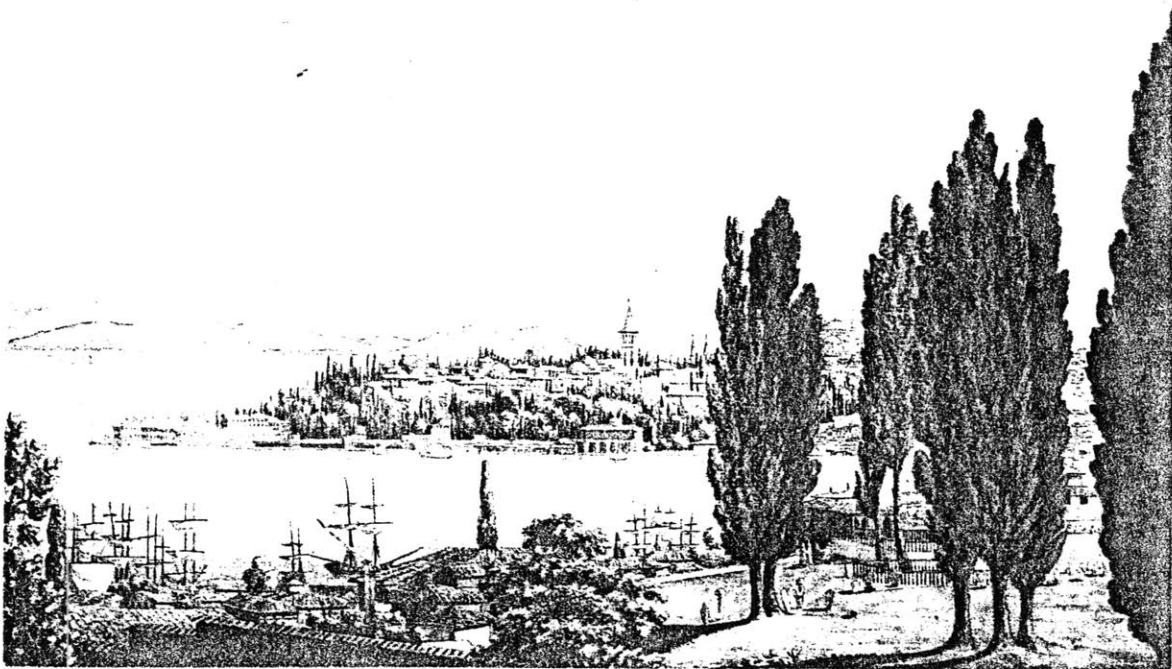
128 Miniature illustration of the Bosphorus. From *Hamse-i 'Atā'i*, MS. Walters Art Gallery, W. 666, fol 10a. Reproduced from Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 39 (1981), p. 25.



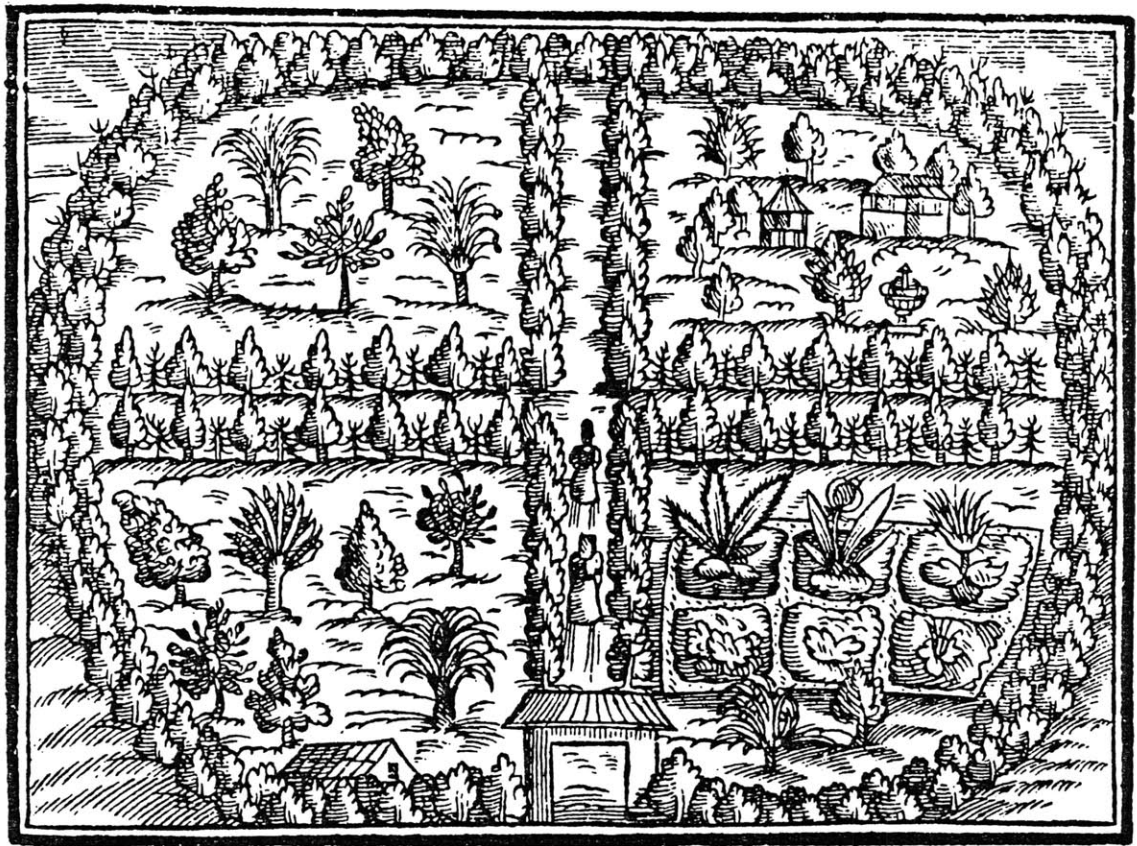
129 Miniature illustrating the Bosphorus shore, ca. 1728. From *Hamse-i 'Atā'i*, MS. British Library, 13882, fols 68b-69a. Reproduced from *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, 1985, vol. 2, p. 75, fig. I/40.



130 Vignette of the Venetian embassy, showing wooden garden fence. From Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuller Hof- und Volksleben*, Osnabrück, 1978, pl. 48.



131 Watercolor by Löwenhielm of the late eighteenth century, showing the artist's residence and garden surrounded by a low, see-through trellis fence. From *Cornucopia*, no. 6, vol. 1 (1994), p. 14.



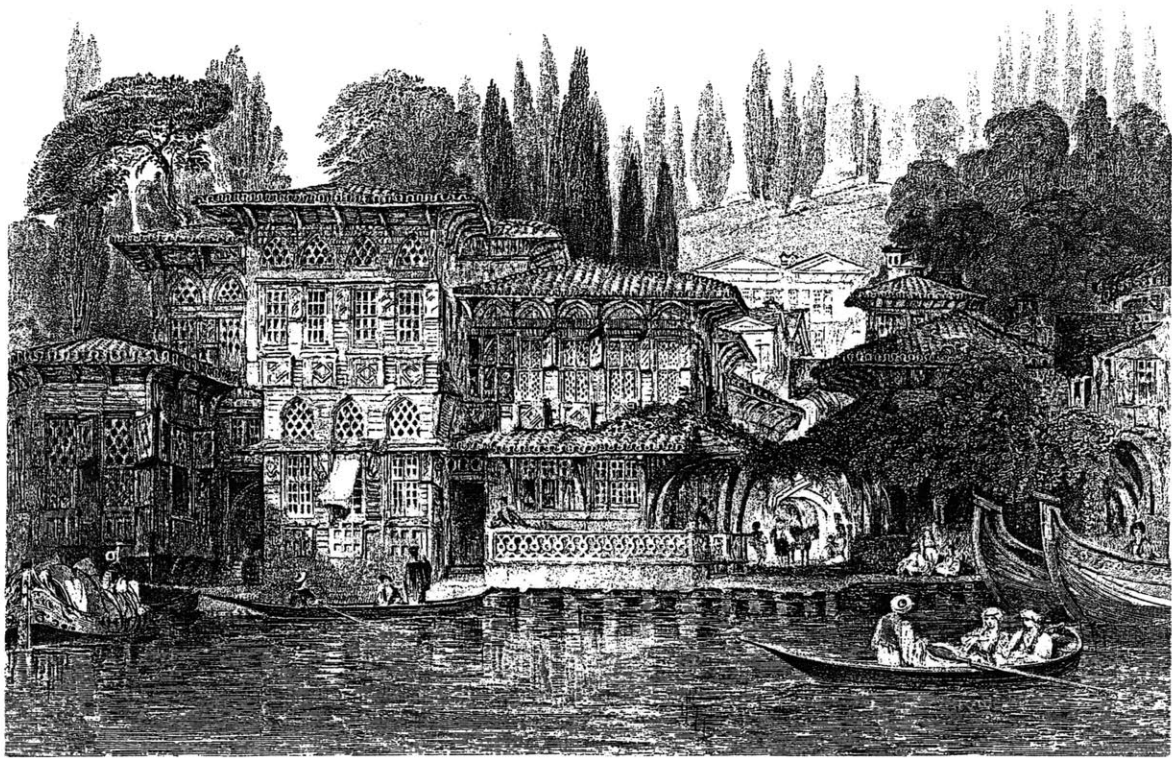
132 Plan of the sixteenth-century *Ḳarabāli* garden by Schweigger. From Schweigger, *Eine neue Reyssbeschreibung*, Graz, 1964. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul," in Petruccioli, ed., *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, Leiden, 1997, p. 53.



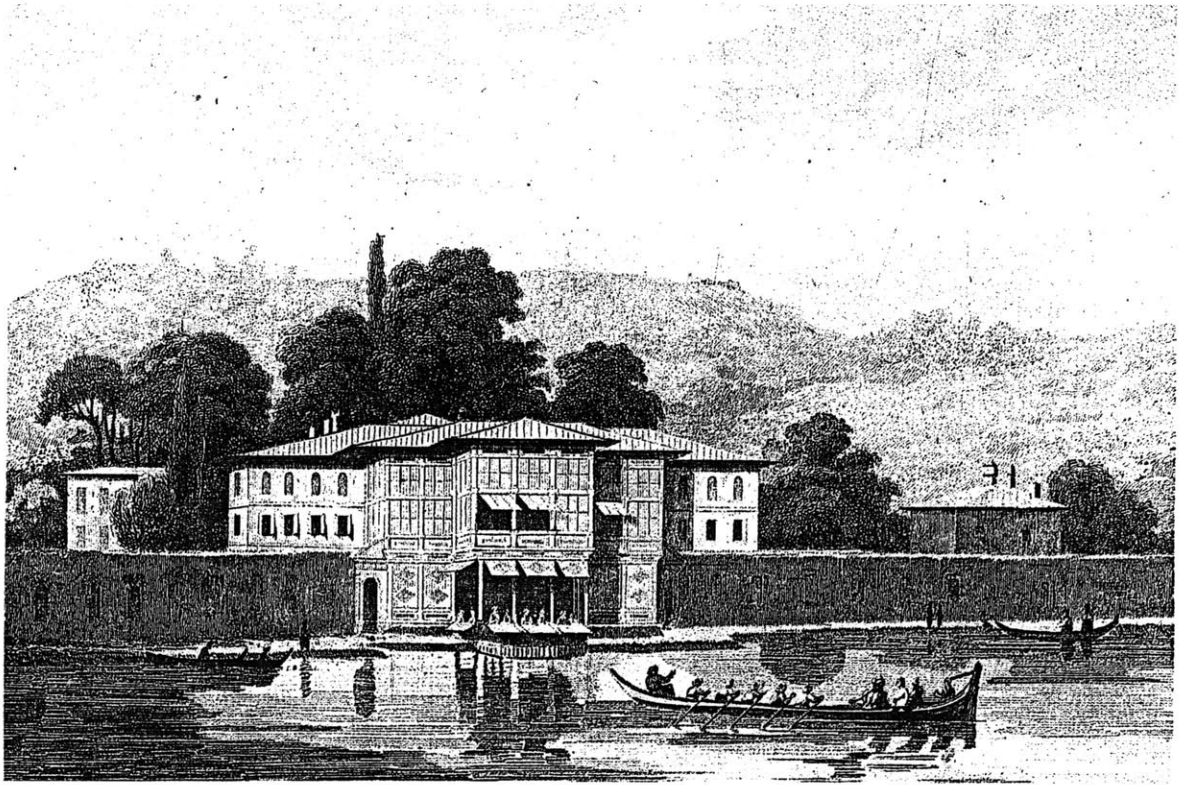
133 Miniature illustration of a garden scene (1720s). From the private collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan. Reproduced from Canby, *Princes, Poets, Paladins: Islamic and Indian Paintings from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan*, p. 102.



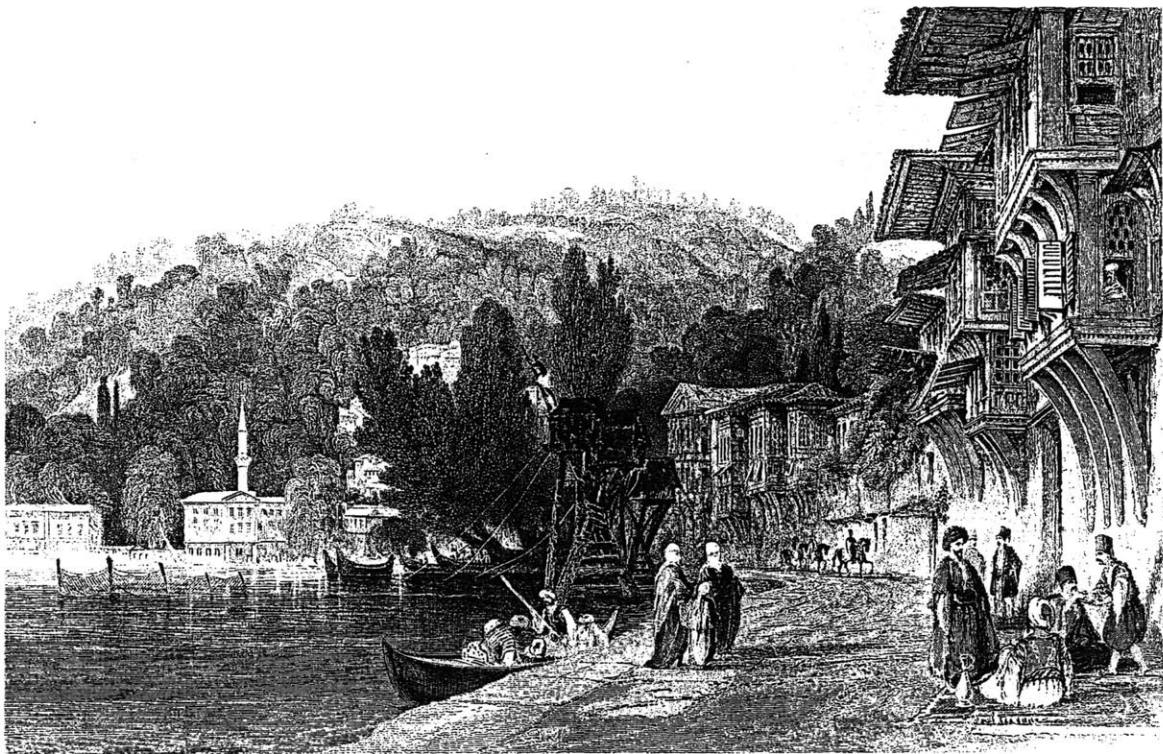
134 Scene of a private garden (ca. 1728) illustrating the adventures of an exhibitionist. From *Hamse- Atā'i*, MS. Walters Art Gallery, W. 666, fol 91a. Reproduced from Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 39 (1981), p. 28.



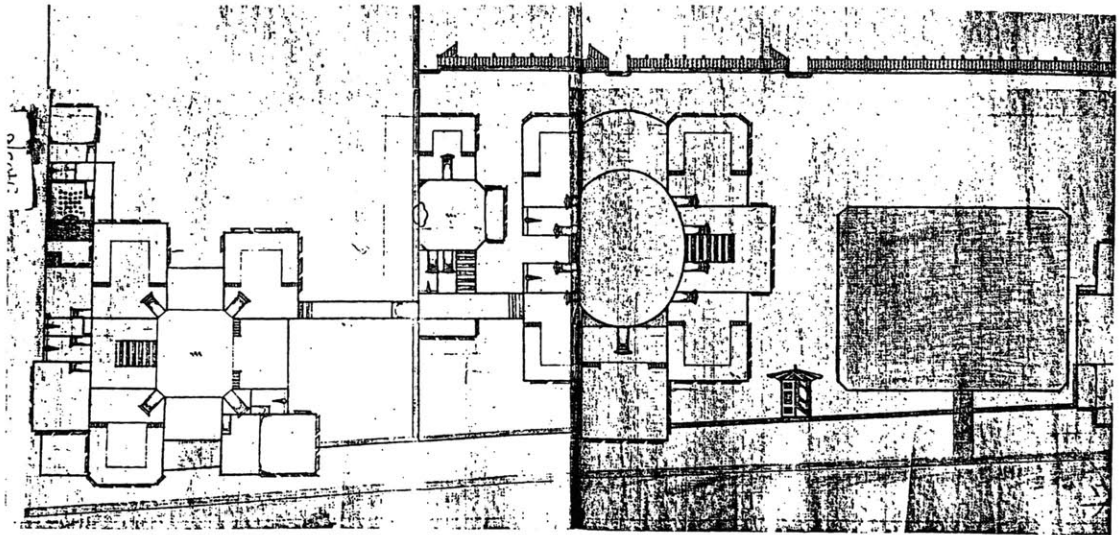
135 Early nineteenth-century view from a boat of the shore of Yeniköy, by Allom. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. 1, London, 1838.



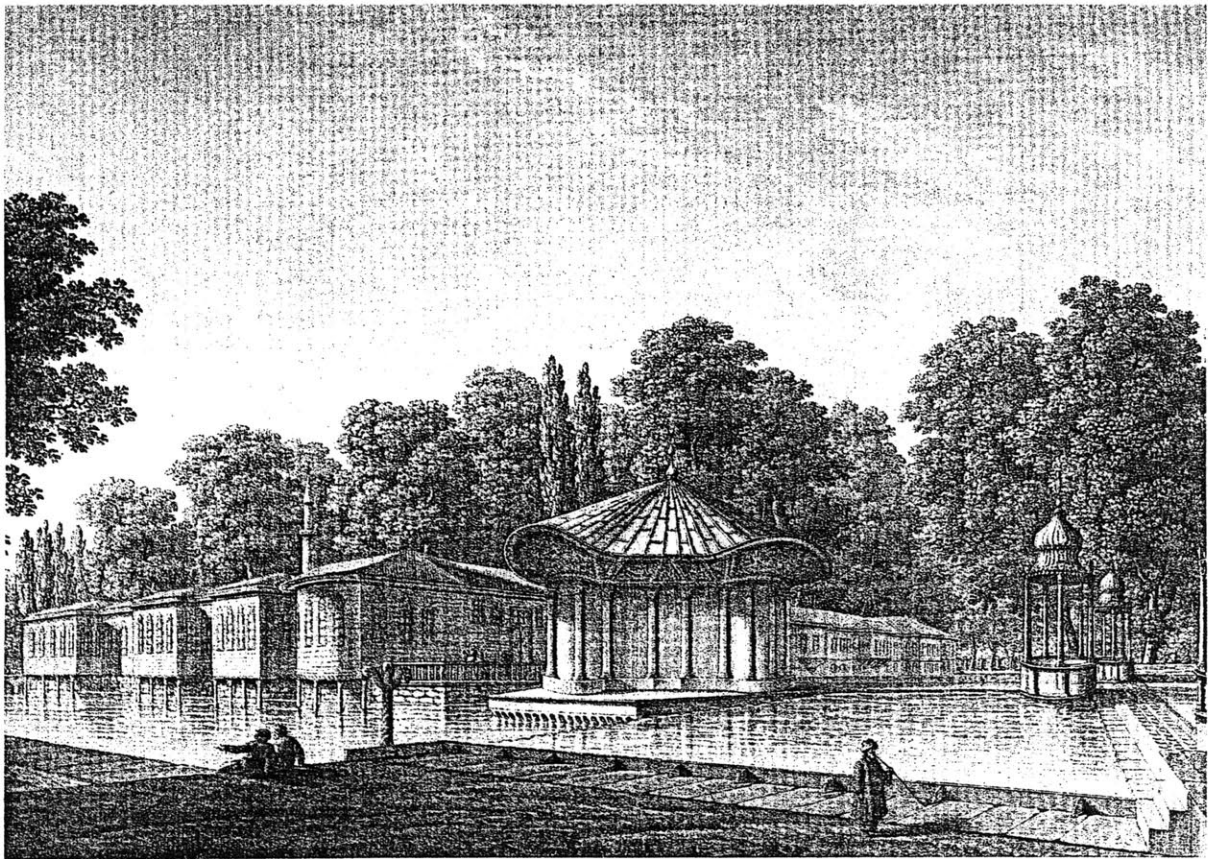
136 View from the Bosphorus of the kiosk of Bebek, by Jouannin (?). From Jouannin and Van, *Turquie*, Paris, 1840, pl. 45. Reproduced from Arslan, *Gravür ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, İstanbul, 1992, p. 122, fig. 109.



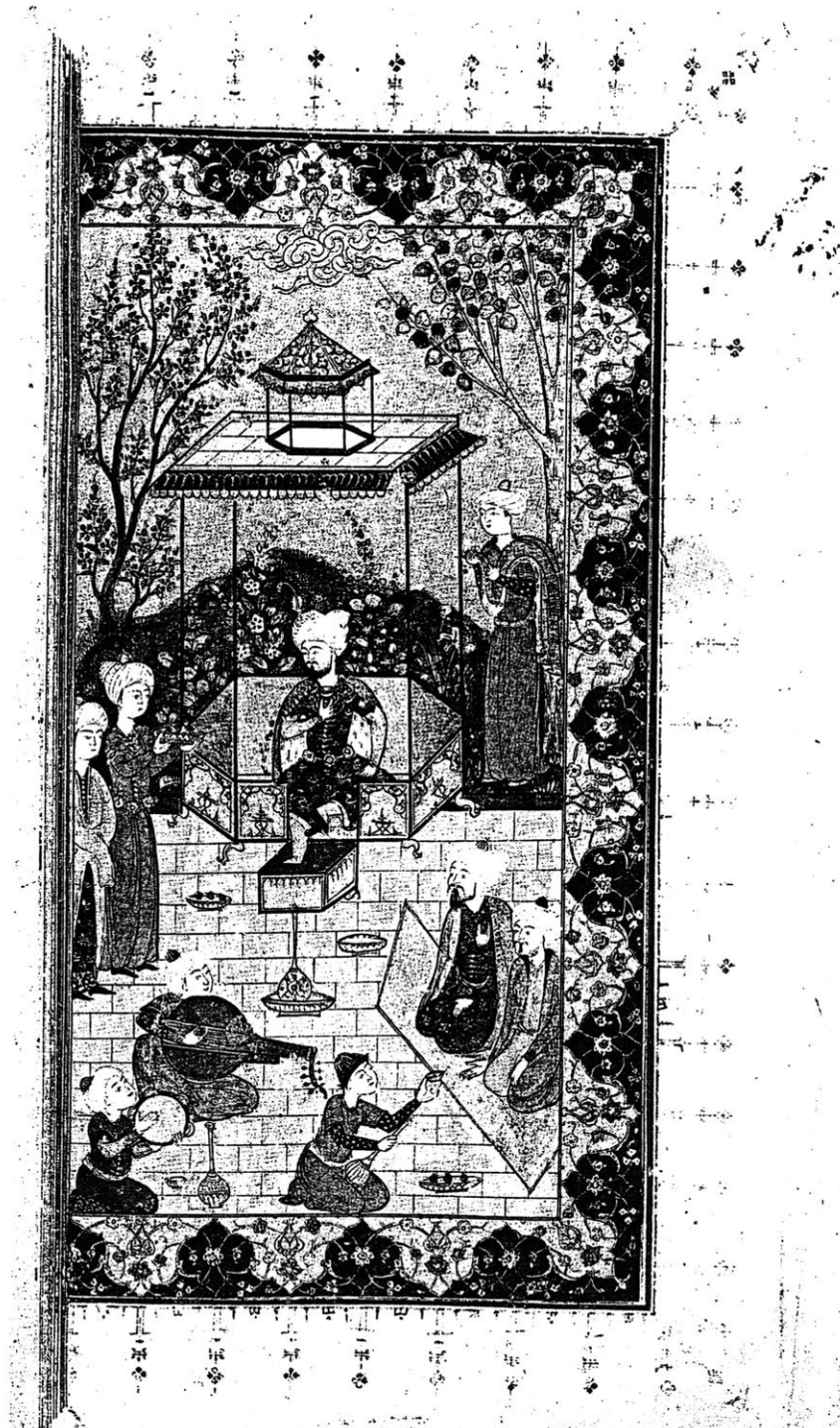
137 View of the shore of Bebek by Allom, showing the public quay bordering a row of *yalis*. From Allom and Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, vol. 1, London, 1838.



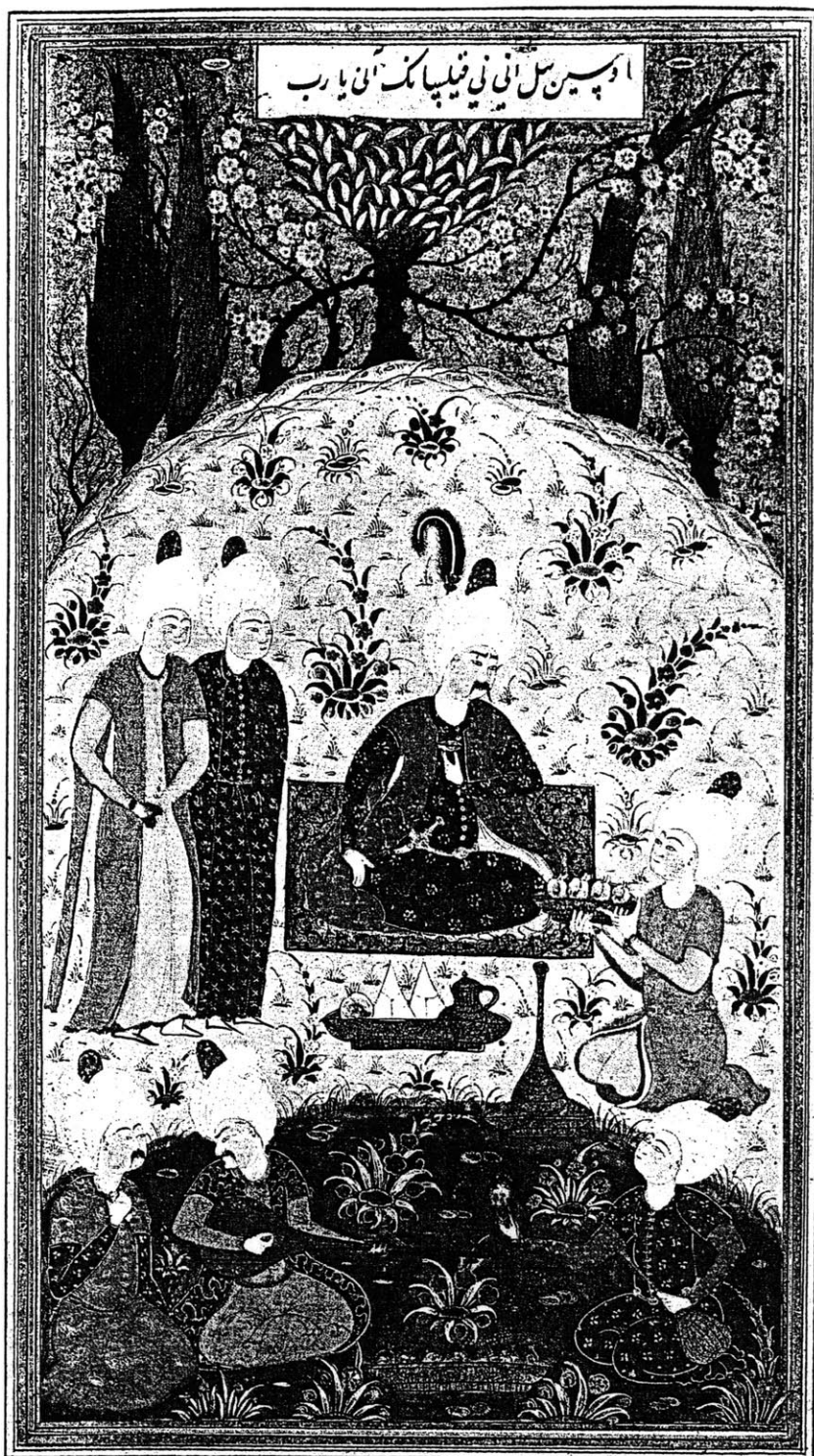
138 Reconstruction plan of the *yalı* of Mustafa Bey in Kuruçeşme, showing the boat house and access to the water to the right. From Eldem, *Boğaziçi Anıları*, Istanbul, 1979, pp. 78-9.



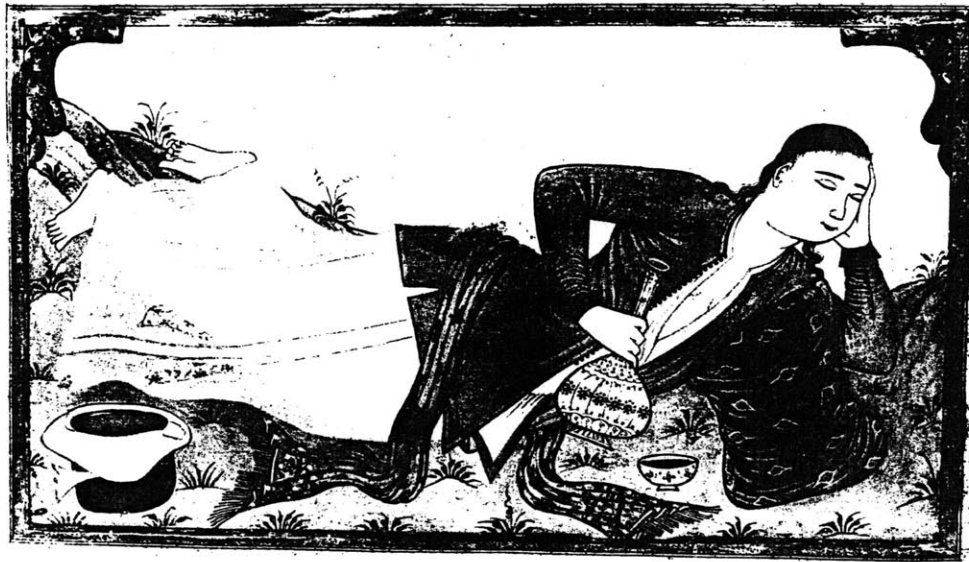
139 Early nineteenth-century view of Sa'dabad by Pr eault, showing the dragon-head fountain in the central pool. From Pertusier, *Atlas des promenades pittoresques...*, Paris, 1817. Reproduced from Arslan, *Grav ur ve Seyahatnamelerde İstanbul*, İstanbul, 1992, p. 114, fig. 101.



140 Princely garden entertainment scene (ca. 1520). From an illustrated copy of *Divān-ı Jāmi'*, MS., TSMK, H. 987, fol 2a. Reproduced from Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*, New York, 1987, p. 74, fig. 31.



141 Princely garden entertainment scene from the first half of the sixteenth century. From an illustrated copy of the *divān* of 'Alī Şir Nevā'ī, MS., TSMK, H. 804. Reproduced from And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 33.



142a Women napping in a garden by Levni (1720s). TSMK, H. 2164.
Reproduced from Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés. II^{me} partie: de Murād IV à Muṣṭafā III 1623-1773*, Paris, 1971, p. LXXXII.
142b Adolescent napping in a garden after a drink, by Levni (1720s).
Reproduced from Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés. II^{me} partie: de Murād IV à Muṣṭafā III 1623-1773*, Paris, 1971, p. LXXXII.



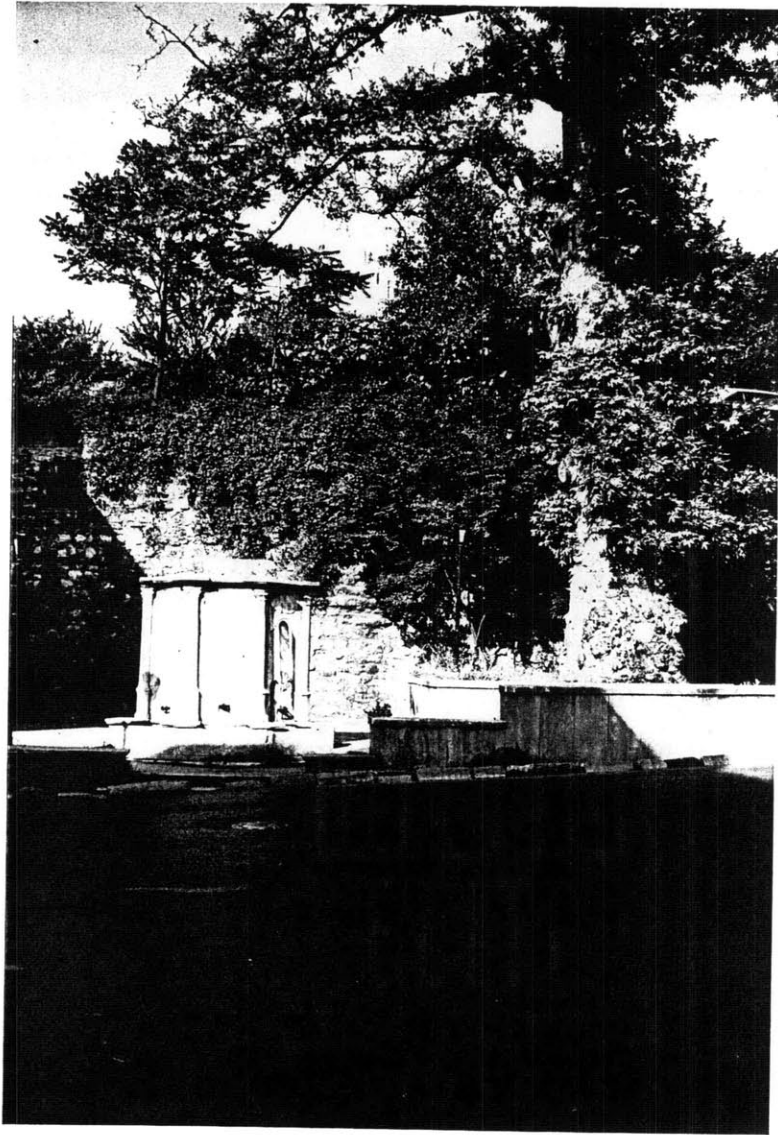
143 Women gathering in a garden; school of Levni (ca. 1730). Reproduced from Welch, *Collection of Islamic Art*, Geneva, 1972, III: 21.



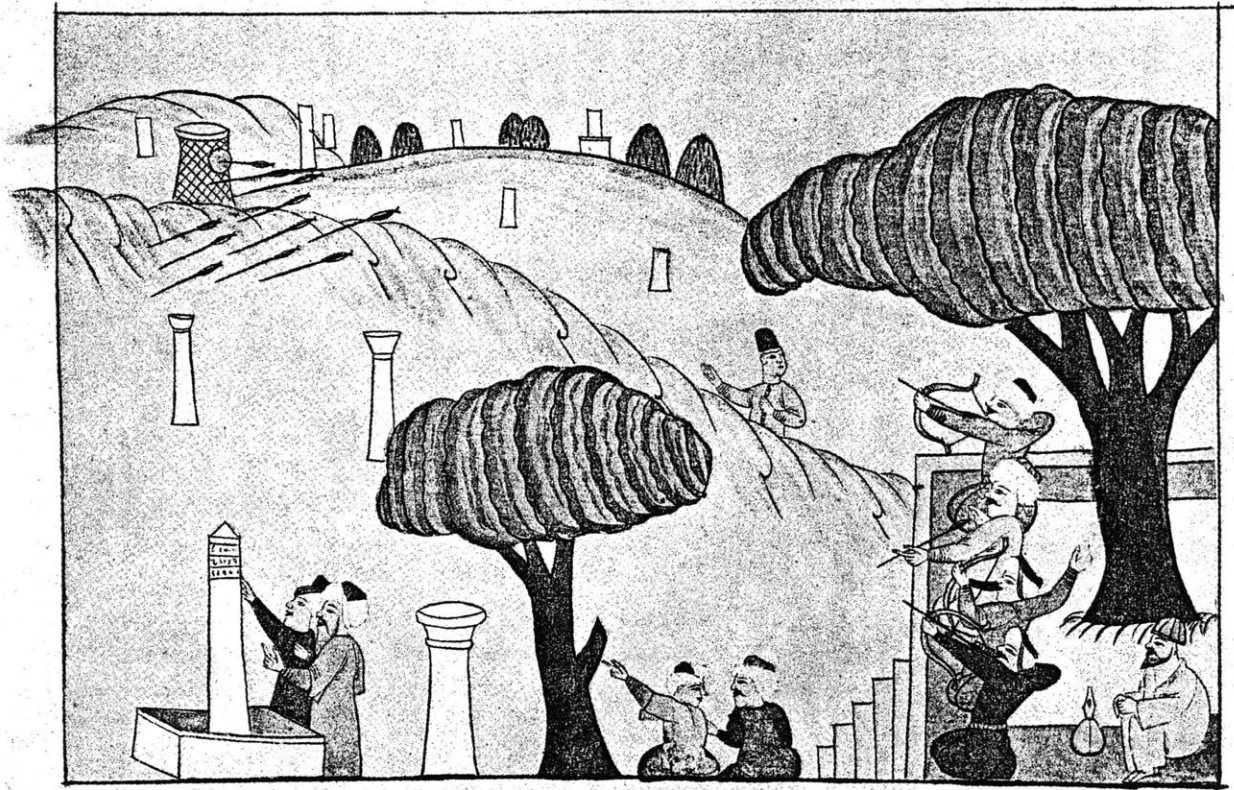
144 Lovers in a garden pavilion (1720s). From an illustrated copy of the *Hamse-i 'Atā'i*. Reproduced from And, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 92.



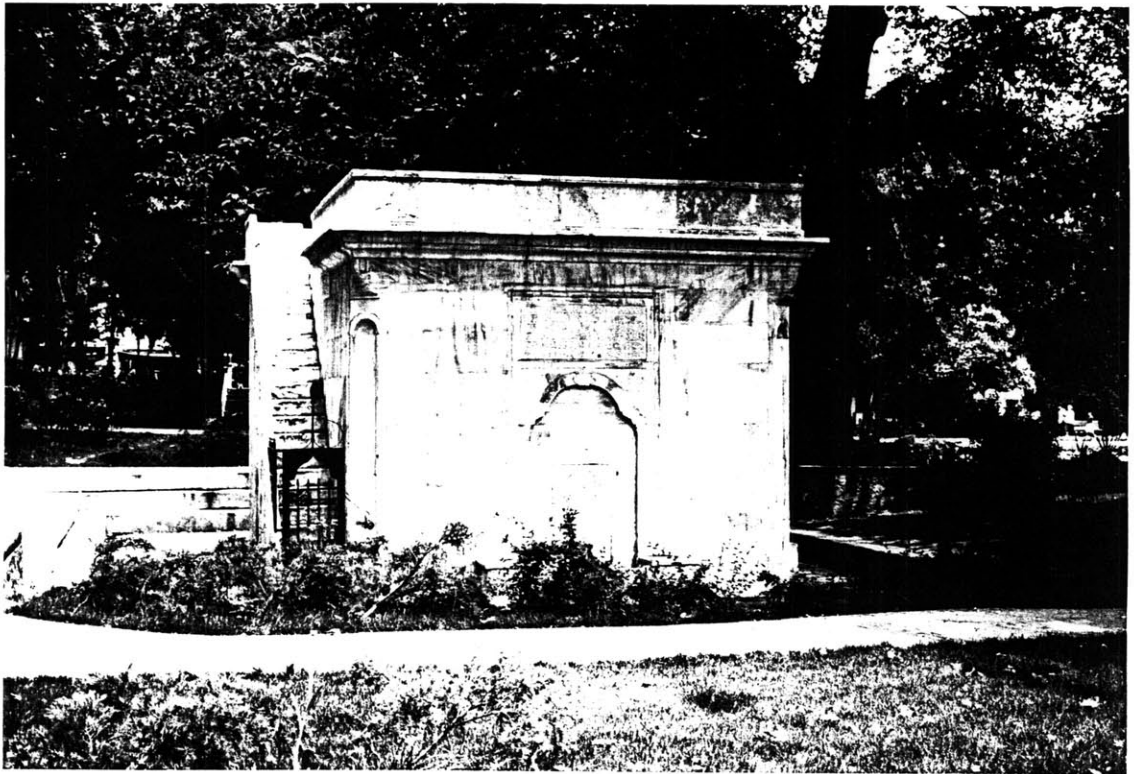
145 Women gathering in a garden. Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis Oriental Miniatures T. 9. Reproduced from Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends," in Pinar, ed., *A History of Turkish Painting*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 65, pl. 59.



146 Fountain / *namāzgāh* of the late eighteenth century (°Abdülhamid I?) along the shore of Beylerbeyi.



147 Vignette illustrating archers practicing at the square / *namāzgāh* of Okmeydanı. From Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuller Hof- und Volksleben*, Ösnabrück, 1978, pl. 13.



148 *Meydan fountain / namāzgāh of Esmā Sultān at Kadirga (1781).*



149 Fountain / *namāzgāh* of İshāk Ağa in Beykoz (1749).



150a-b Sketches of the new veil imposed on janissary novices in the seventeenth century. From Koçu, *Türk Giyim Kuşam ve Süslenme Sözlüğü*, Istanbul, 1969, pp. 56-57.



151a-c Miniatures by Levni showing women's outdoor clothing styles in the first two decades of the eighteenth century. From MS., TSMK, H. 2164, fols 15a, 12b, 15b. Reproduced from *Women in Anatolia* (Exh. Cat.), Istanbul, 1993, pp. 266-7.



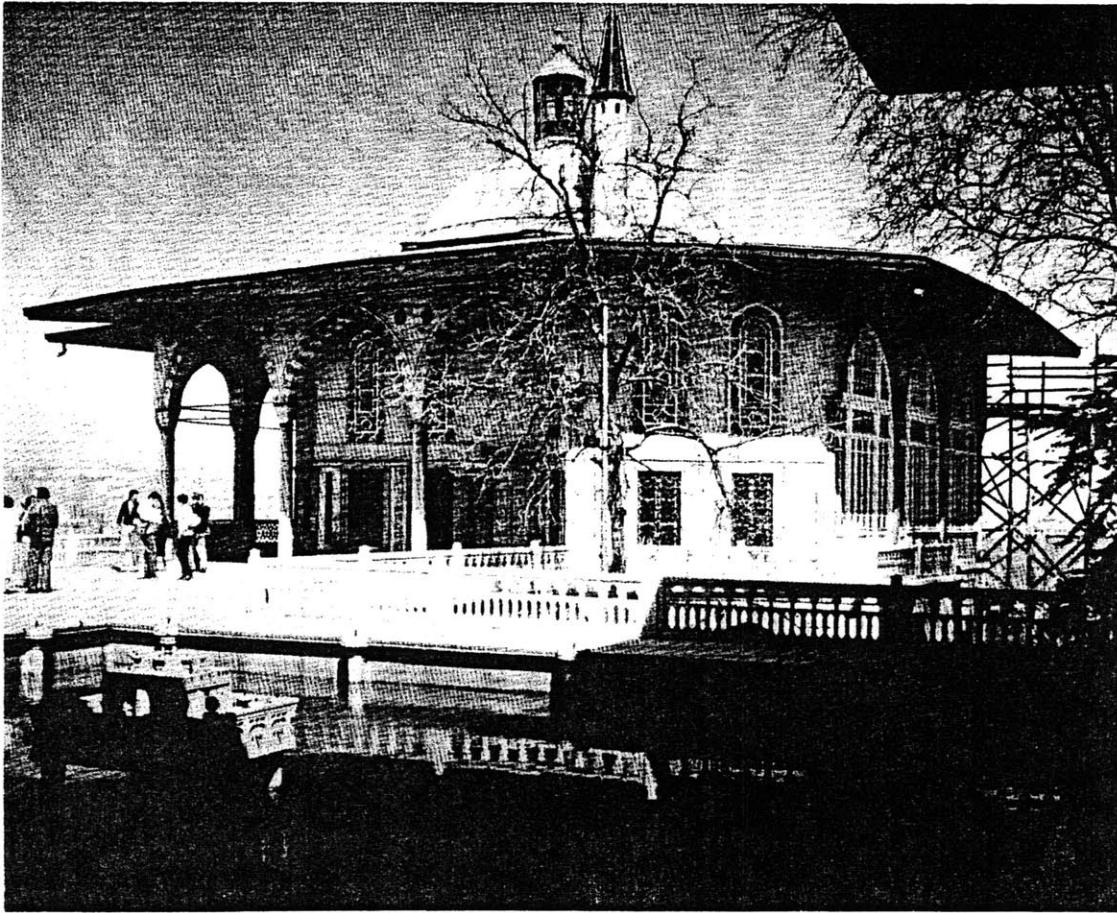
152 Single figure by Buḥārī (ca. 1720-25). From TSMK, Y.Y. 1042. Reproduced from *Women in Anatolia* (Exh. Cat.), Istanbul, 1993, p. 269.



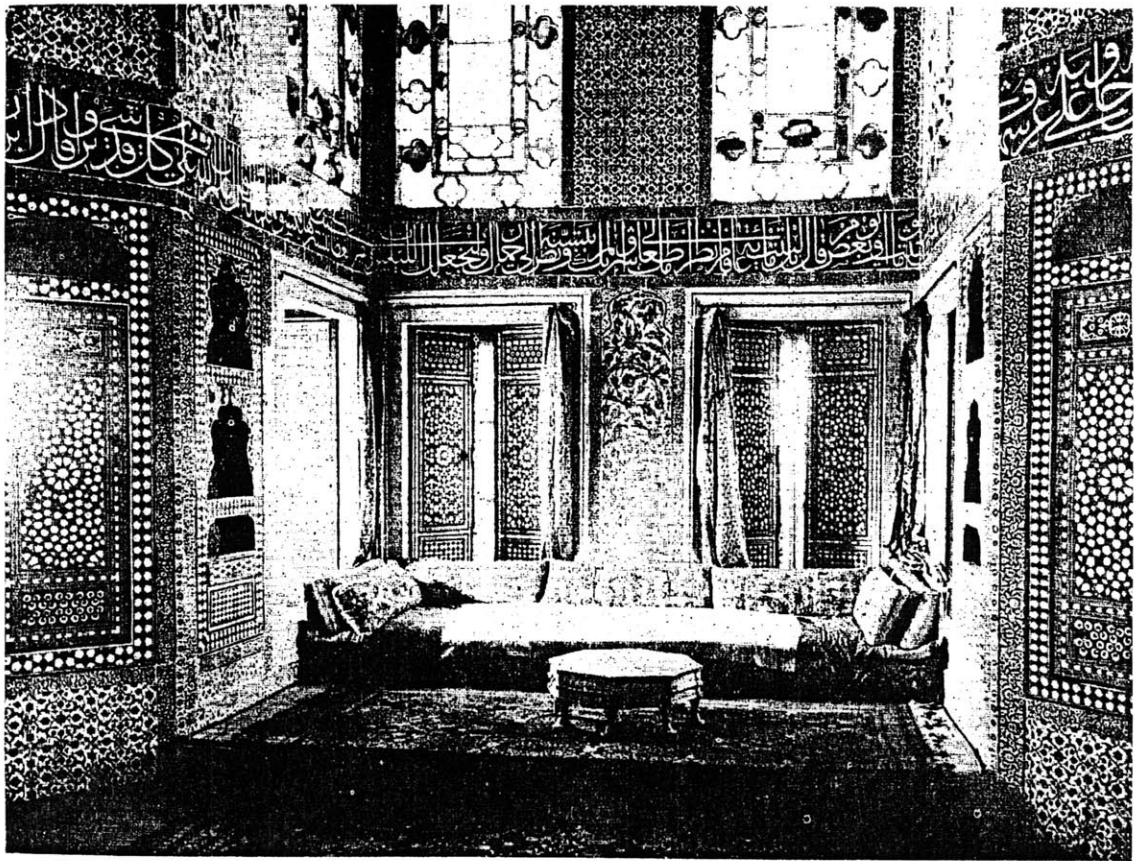
153 Woman of Istanbul towards the end of the eighteenth century. From Fâzıl Bey Enderûni, *Hübânnâme ve Zenânnâme*, MS. İÜK, Ty 5502, fol 110.

Handwritten text in Ottoman Turkish script, arranged in two columns. The text is dense and appears to be a detailed account or list, possibly related to pavilions as mentioned in the caption. The script is in a cursive style characteristic of the 18th century. The page is numbered 154 at the bottom left.

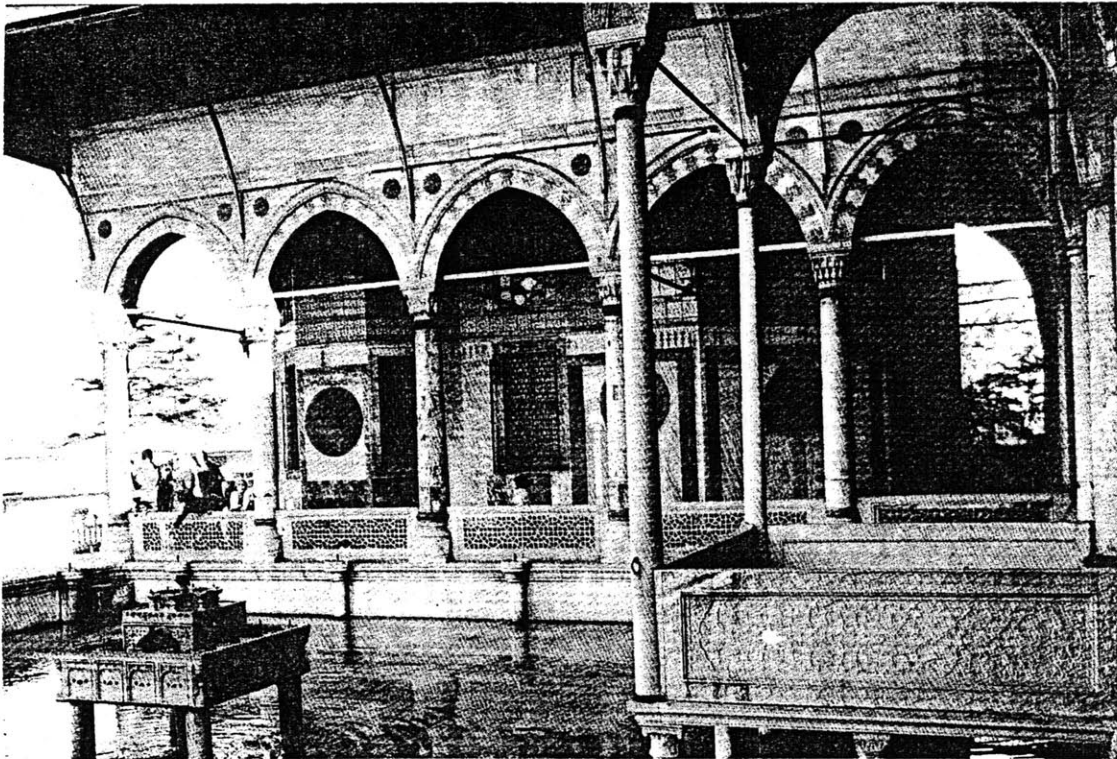
154 Folio from the section on pavilions in an eighteenth-century *Mecmū'a-ı Tevārih*. MS., İÜK, Ty 2508, fol 36.



155 The Baghdad Kiosk of Murād IV at the Topkapı Palace. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 191, fig. 108.



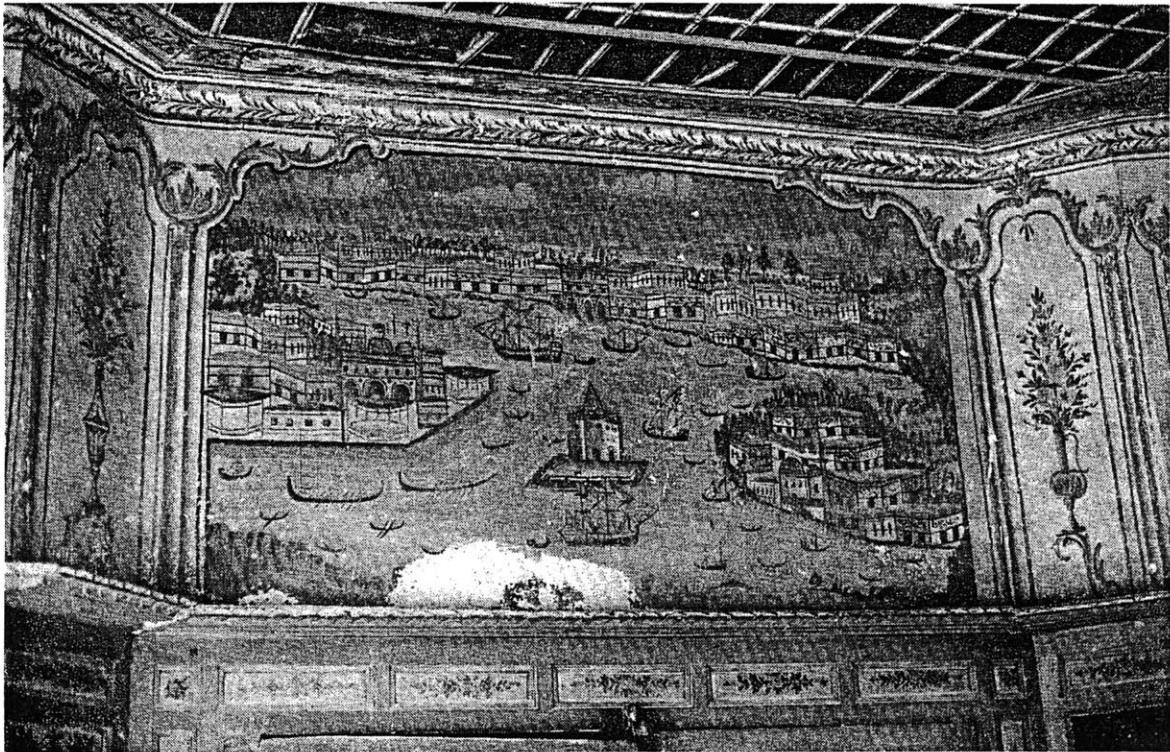
156 Interior of the Baghdad Kiosk at the Topkapı Palace. From Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar I*: 306. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 193, fig. 109.



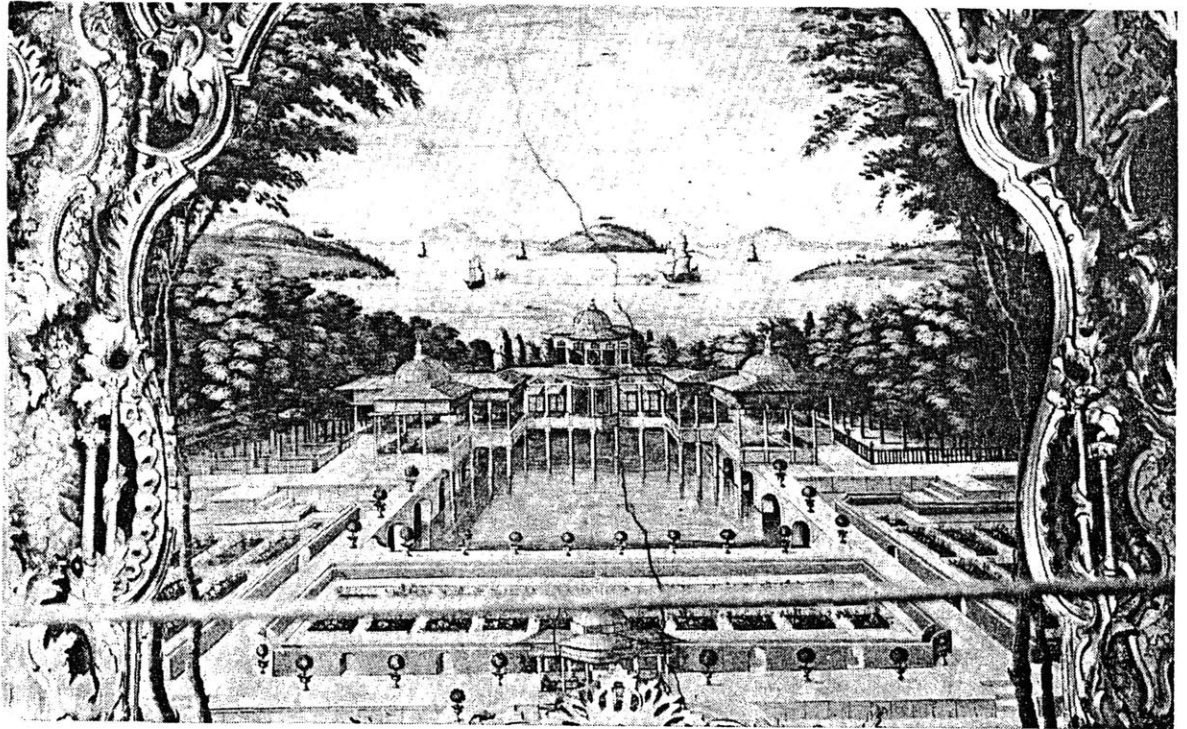
157 The Revan Kiosk, terrace and pool of Murād IV at the Topkapı Palace. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 190, fig. 107.



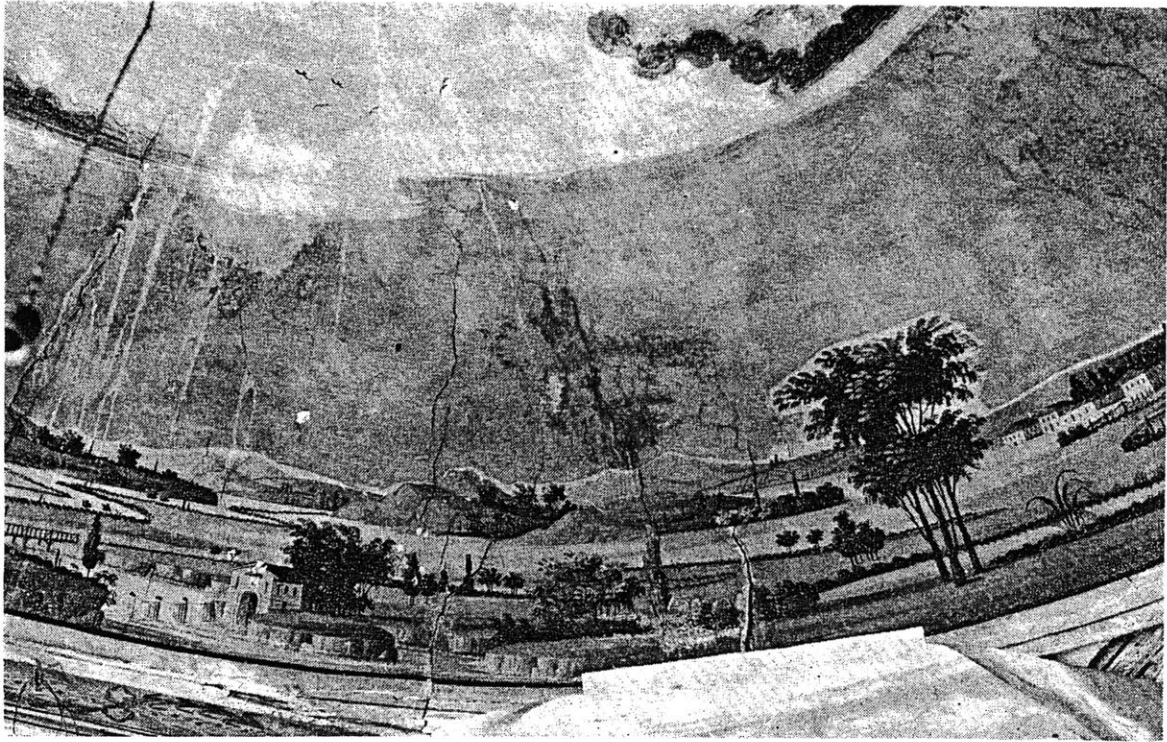
158 Detail of a carved "double-rose" from the fountain of Bereketzāde in Galata (1732).



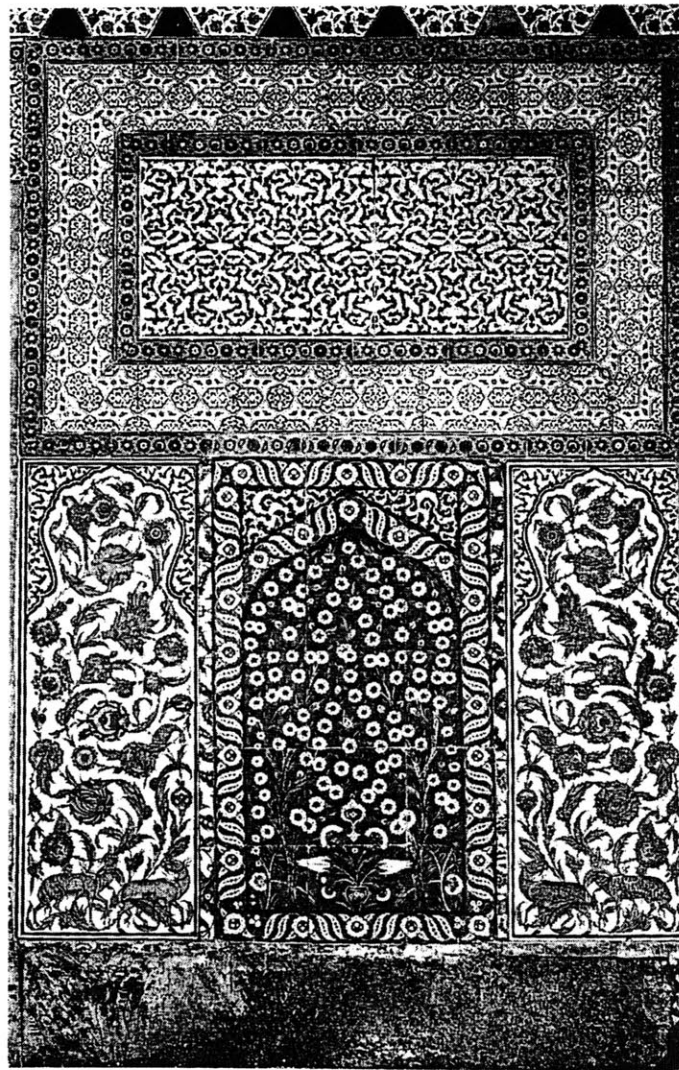
159 Landscape frieze and flower-in-vase motif in cartouche in the Şemaki residence in Yenişehir, from the second half of the eighteenth century. From Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, 1973, p. 728, fig. 16.



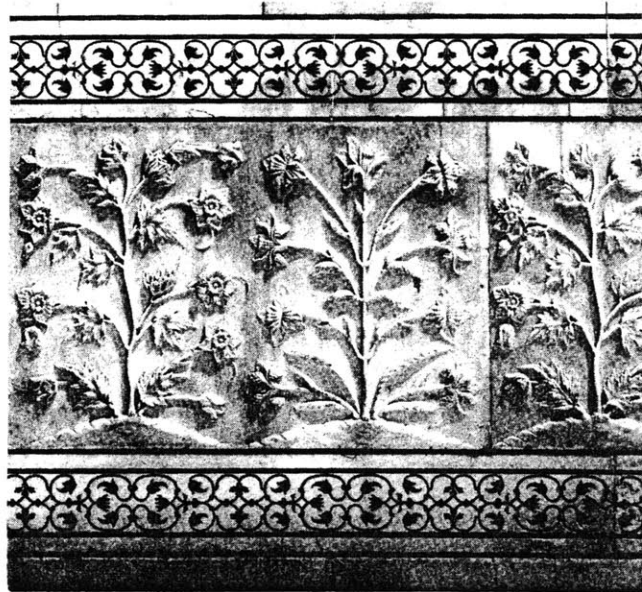
160 Late eighteenth-century mural painting in the room of Mihrişâh Vâlide Sultan at the Topkapı Palace. From Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, 1973, p. 723, fig. 5.



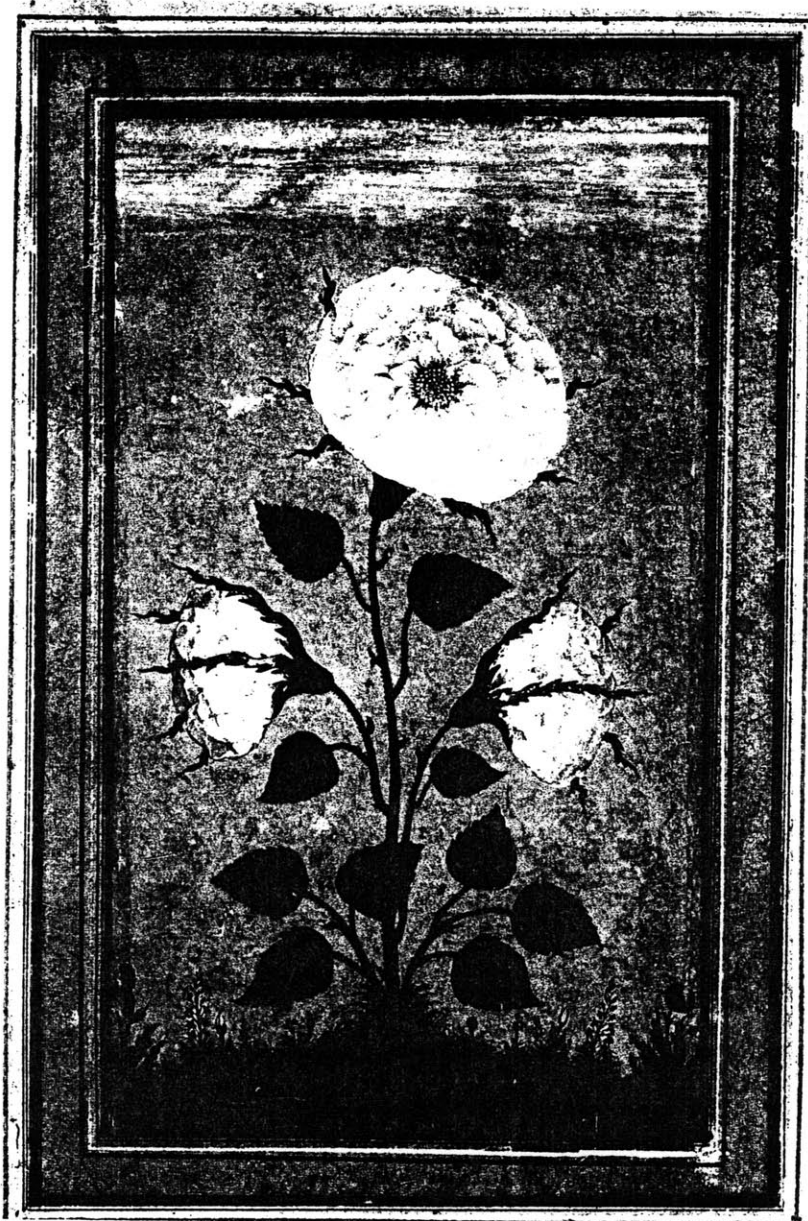
161 Landscape painting in the Pavlidis *yalı* in Çengelköy, from the second half of the eighteenth century. From Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, 1973, p. 723, fig. 6.



162 Tile panel on the exterior wall of the Circumcision Room at the Topkapı Palace. Reproduced from Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 196, fig. 113.



163 Detail of dado in low-relief carving technique at the Taj Mahal in Agra (1631-47). From W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai, *Taj Mahal: The Illuminated Tomb. An Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Mughal and European Documentary Sources*, Cambridge, Mass., 1989, p. 95, figs. 30-31.



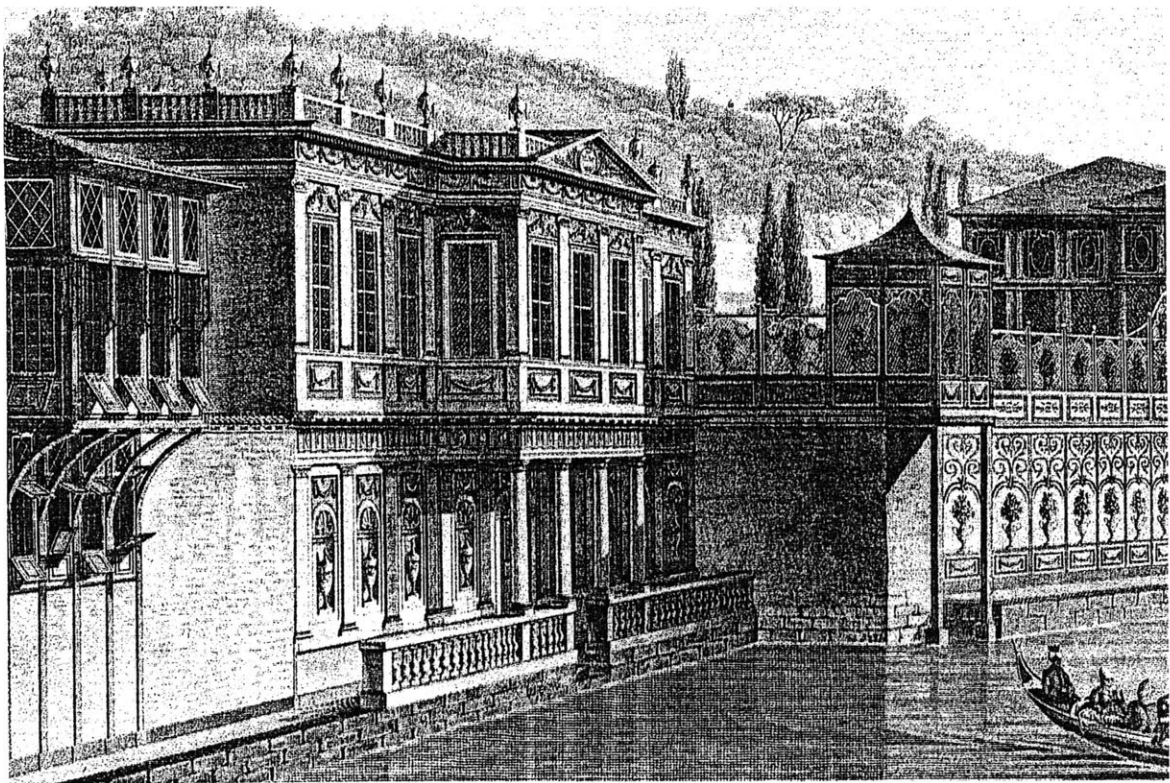
164 Mughal single flower illustration (ca. 1650). Reproduced from Pal, *Court Paintings of India, 16th-19th Centuries*, New York, 1983, p. 196.



165 Mughal fauna and flora study (ca. 1650), possibly inspired from a Dutch illustration. Reproduced from Falk and Digby, *Paintings from Mughal India* (Exh. Cat.), London, n.d., p. 77, pl. 36.



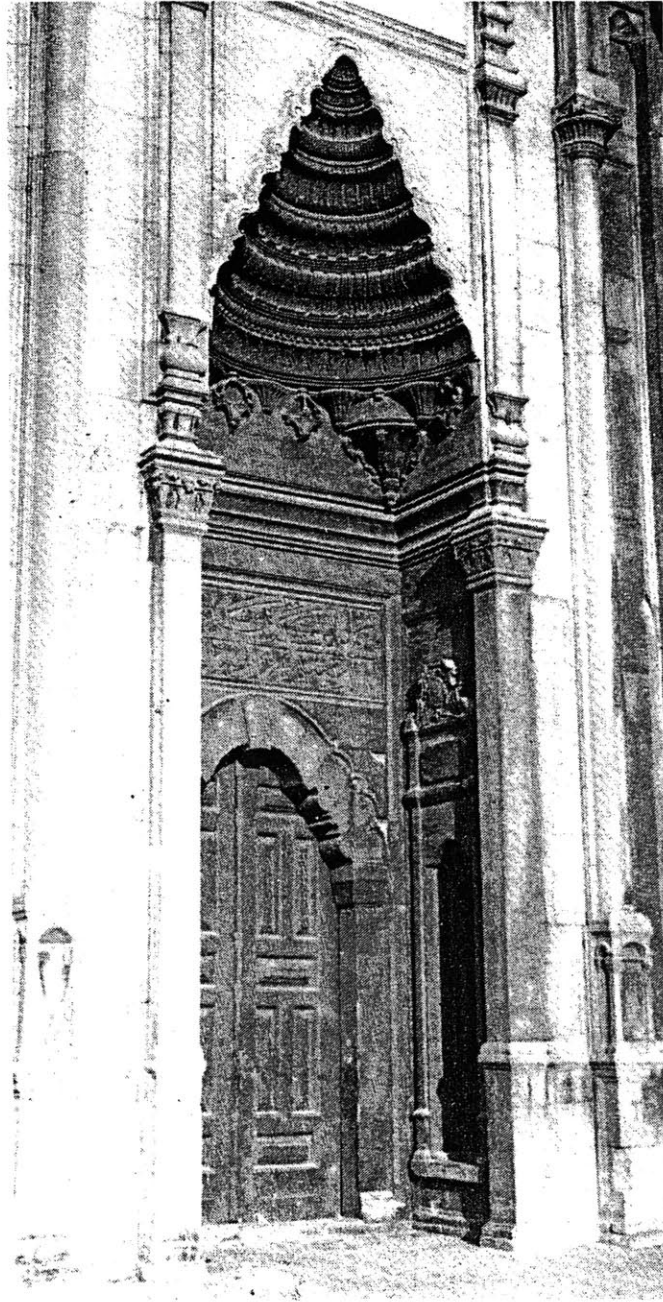
166a-b Single flower illustrations (1727-28). From an anthology of *ğazel* by Derviş Muşafa b. el-Hâc Meḥmed. MS., İÜK, Ty 5650. Reproduced from Demiriz, *Osmanlı Kitap Sanatında Natüralist Üslupta Çiçekler*, İstanbul 1986, p. 313.



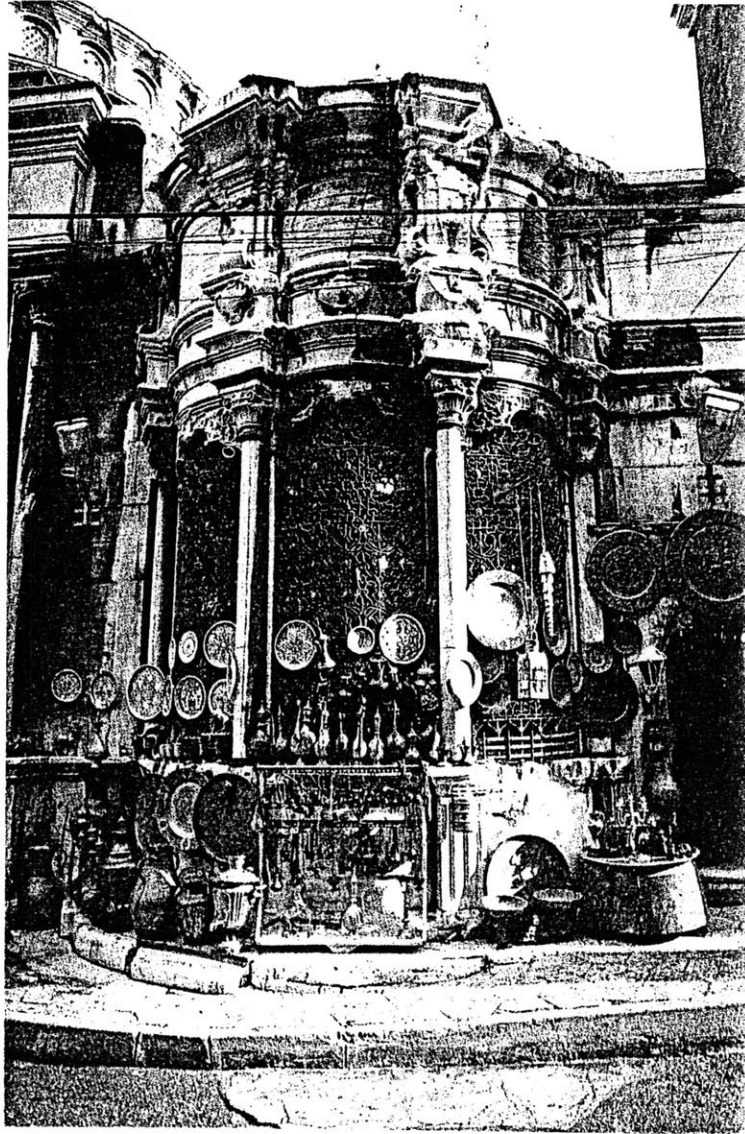
167 Detail of an engraving after a drawing by Melling, of the palace of Ḥatice Sulṭān in Defterdar Burnu in the late eighteenth century, showing garden kiosk. From Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969, pl. 27.



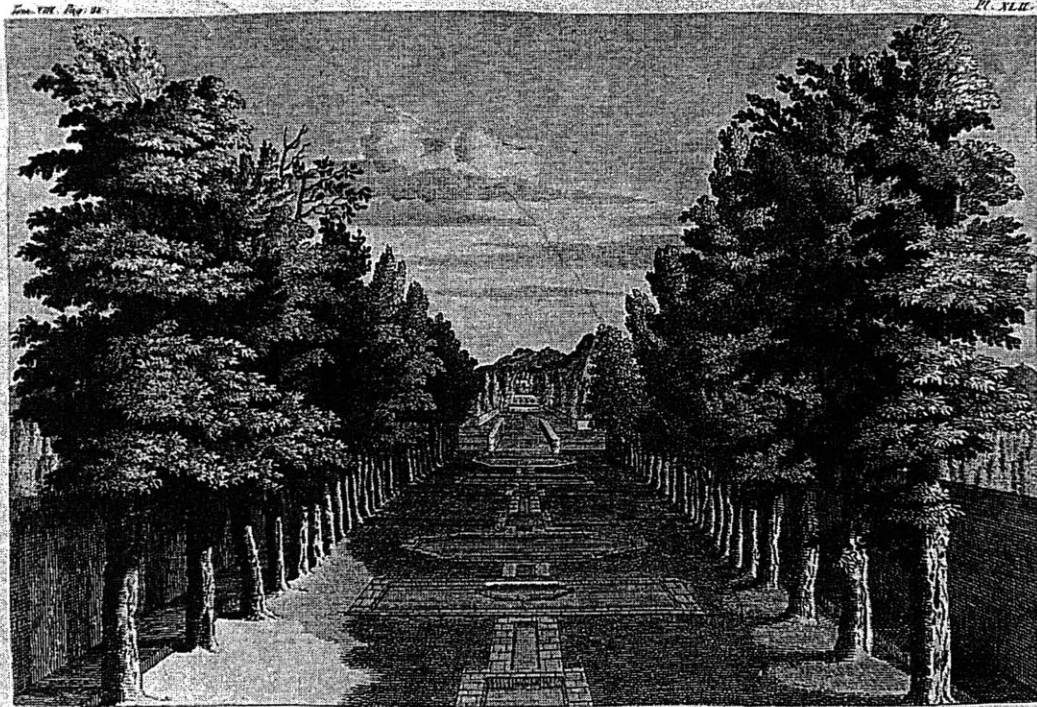
168 Nurosmaniye mosque (1749-55). From Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London, 1971, p. 383, fig. 397.



169 Detail from the Nurosmaniye mosque. From Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, London, 1971, p. 384, fig. 398.

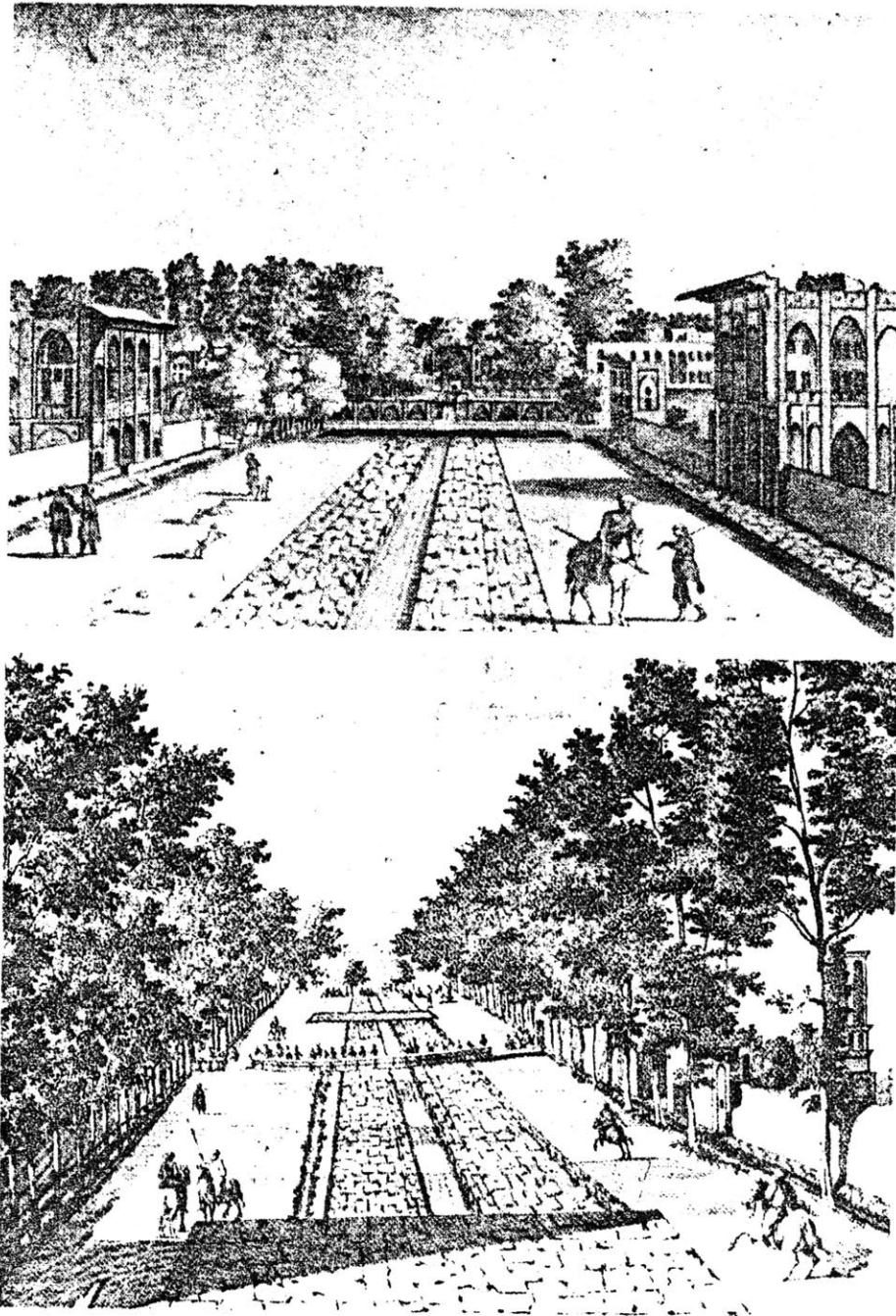


170 Nurosmaniye sebîl (1755). From Şerifoğlu, *Su Güzeli: İstanbul Sebilleri*, İstanbul, 1995, p. 68.

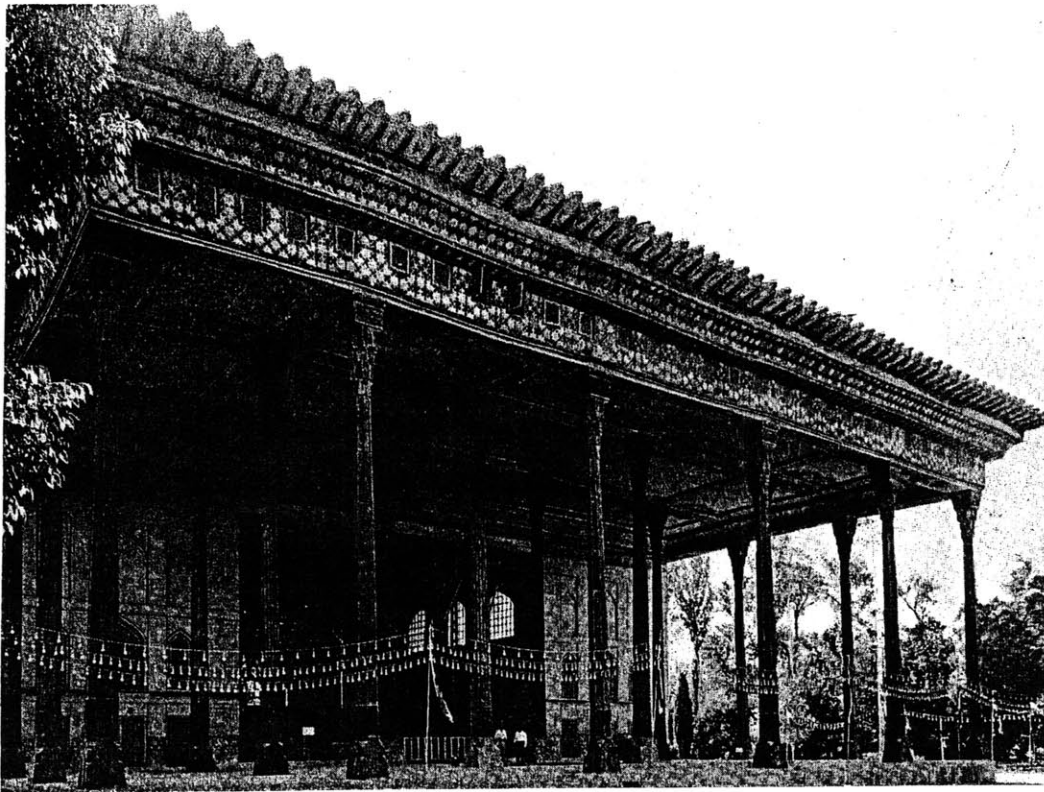


Cours d'Isfahan چارباغ (Hexar d'Éryb)

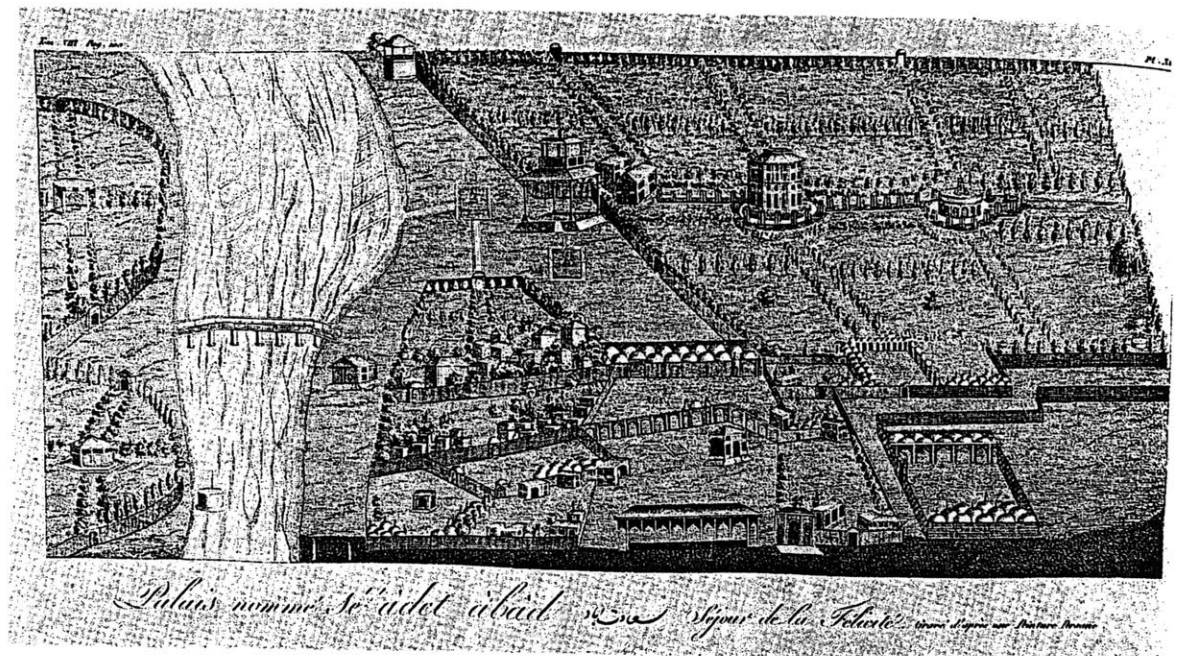
171 View of the *Chaharbagh* of 'Abbās I in Isfahan. From Chardin, *Voyage en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1711. Reproduced from Ferrier, *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's Portrait of a Seventeenth-century Empire*, p. 61, fig. 15.



172a-b Views of the *Chaharbagh* of 'Abbās I in Isfahan. From Cornelius de Bryn, *Cornelis de Bruins reizen over Moscovie door Persie en Indie*, Amsterdam, 1711. Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993), p. 335, fig. 12 a-b.



173 Shāh ʿAbbās I's *Chehel Sutūn* in Isfahan. From Hoag, *Islamic Architecture*, New York, 1975, p. 170, fig. 319.



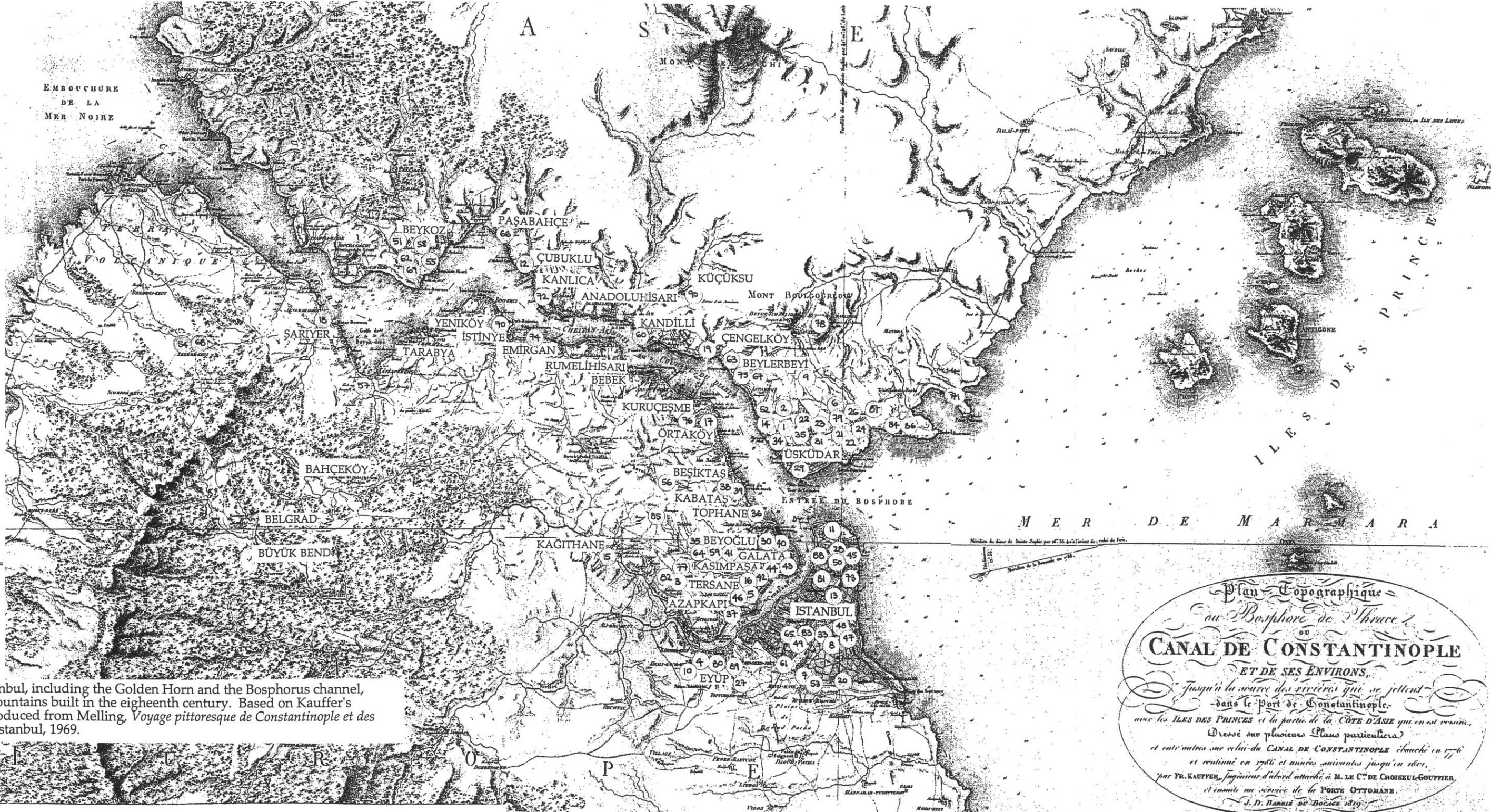
174 Sa'adetābād in Isfahan. From Chardin, *Voyage en Perse et autres lieux de l'Orient*, 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1711. Reproduced from Ferrier, *A Journey to Persia: Jean Chardin's Portrait of a Seventeenth-century Empire*, p. 148, fig. 25.



1 Map of Istanbul, including the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus channel, showing palaces built and renovated in the eighteenth century. Based on Kauffer's map (1776). Reproduced from Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969.

Plan Topographique
 du Bosphore de Thrace
 ou
CANAL DE CONSTANTINOPLE
 ET DE SES ENVIRONS.
 Jusqu'à la source des rivières qui se jettent
 dans le Port de Constantinople
 avec les ILES DES PRINCES et la partie de la CÔTE D'ASIE qui en est voisine
 Dessiné sur plusieurs Plans particuliers
 et continué sur celui du CANAL DE CONSTANTINOPLE commencé en 1776
 et continué en 1778 et années suivantes jusqu'en 1785
 par M. KAUFFER, Ingénieur d'abord attaché à M. LE C^T DE CROISEUIL-GOUTTIER
 et ensuite au service de la PORTE OTTOMANE
 J. D. BARRIS del. & sculp. 1785

- 1 İsmirli 'Ali Paşa
- 2 İsmail Ağa
- 3 Ahmed III
- 4 Çorlulu 'Ali Paşa
- 5 Çorlulu 'Ali Paşa
- 6 Halil Efendi
- 7 Çorlulu 'Ali Paşa
- 8 Çorlulu 'Ali Paşa
- 9
- 10 Hacı Mustafa Ağa
- 11 Ahmed III
- 12 Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa
- 13 Ağub Kadın
- 14 İbrahim'in Ahmed Ağa
- 15 Ahmed III
- 16 (vizier's kethüda 7)
- 17 Mehmed Paşa
- 18 Cazi Hasan Paşa
- 19 Kaymak Mustafa Paşa
- 20 Saliha Sultan
- 21 Topkapı Sarayı'da Mustafa Ef.
- 22 Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa
- 23 Hacı Halil Efendi
- 24 Hacı Halil Efendi
- 25 Mustafa Şehzade
- 26 Emetullah Kadın
- 27 Feyzullah Efendi
- 28 Ahmed III
- 29 Ahmed III
- 30 Hacı Ağa
- 31 Kap. Kaymak Mustafa Paşa
- 32 Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa
- 33 Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa
- 34 Şevkinhal Usta
- 35 Ömer Ağa
- 36 Mahmud I
- 37 Saliha Sultan
- 38 Hekimoğlu 'Ali Paşa
- 39 Mehmed Paşa
- 40 Mihrişah Kadın
- 41 Mehmed Ağa
- 42 Vuslat Kadın
- 43 Hâtunzade Yahya Paşa
- 44 Ziver Efendi
- 45 Hekimoğlu 'Ali Paşa
- 46 Yahya Ağa
- 47 Emine Sultan
- 48 Besir Ağa
- 49 'Ali Ağa
- 50 Besir Ağa
- 51 İbrahim Ağa
- 52 Ahmed Ağa
- 53 Mustafa Ağa
- 54 Emetullah Hâtun
- 55 İbrahim Ağa
- 56 Mahmud I
- 57 İbrahim Ağa
- 58 İbrahim Ağa
- 59 Kapitan Süleyman Paşa
- 60 Mahmud I
- 61 Sadrazam Mustafa Paşa
- 62 İbrahim Ağa
- 63 Mahmud I
- 64 Kapudan Süleyman Paşa
- 65 Yahya Ağa
- 66 Hacı Yusuf Ağa
- 67 Hüseyin Ağa
- 68 Mustafa Bey
- 69 Ahmed Semeddin Efendi
- 70 Başkalfa Hacı Ömer Efendi
- 71 Mehmed Sa'it Efendi
- 72 Esmâ Sultan
- 73 'Abdülhamid I
- 74 'Abdülhamid I
- 75 Sanzade ü-Hac Mustafa Ağa
- 76 Süleyman Yahya Efendi
- 77 Demirci 7
- 78 Mihrişah Vâlide Sultan
- 79 Seyyid 'Abdullah Ağa
- 80
- 81 Mihrişah Vâlide Sultan
- 82 Ebubekir Ağa
- 83 Hâlid Ağa
- 84 Mihrişah Vâlide Sultan
- 85 (Selâmî)
- 86 Selim III
- 87 Hatice Sultan
- 88 Mustafa Paşa
- 89 Mihrişah Vâlide Sultan
- 90



2 Map of Istanbul, including the Golden Horn and the Bosphorus channel, showing meydân fountains built in the eighteenth century. Based on Kauffer's map (1776). Reproduced from Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore*, Istanbul, 1969.

Plan Topographique
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J. D. BARBIÉ DU BOCAË 1819