# The Architecture of Bibliophilia:

# Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Libraries

by

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## ABSTRACT

Libraries were a new building type of Ottoman architecture by the beginning of the eighteenth century. However, they quickly gained a considerable place among the endowments of Ottoman elites and remained one of the most carefully approached architectural questions throughout the century. More than twenty purpose-designed libraries were built in Istanbul until the early nineteenth century. This dissertation investigates the social and cultural conditions that paved the way for this library movement, the dynamics that affected the variety of architectural formulas developed for these buildings, and the receptions of the trend in the elite circles. The Ottomans designed some of the libraries with allusions to the image of mosques and to that of the pilgrimage shrine, and thus created symbols of the highly venerable status they gave to the effort of learning, especially to religious studies. In several library buildings, they made identifiable quotations from other monuments. This variety in library architecture is interpreted here as a reflection of the rise of knowledge of architectural past as a subject of gentlemen's curiosity, akin to interests in history, geography and literature. The latter genres had remarkably large places in library collections compared to the public collections of earlier centuries that lacked their own buildings. The broad demand for the accessibility of books in a wide range of fields certainly formed a pillar of the library movement, but the rivalry emerged between the dignitaries to donate rich libraries as urban landmarks demonstrates the power of this investment as a social asset and a political gesture in the eighteenth century. These were predominantly manuscript libraries; manual reproduction of books and accessibility of rare items were quite important in this library regime.

Thesis supervisor: Nasser Rabbat

Title: Professor of the History of Architecture

To the memory of my father

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The originals of the words and phrases quoted from Ottoman-Turkish texts are written in modern Turkish orthography in Latin letters, while the originals of the translated quotes from Arabic and Persian texts are given in Arabic letters. The terms related to Islamic institutions and learning which are frequently used in scholarly studies in English, like *waqfiyya*, *madrasa* and *adab*, and the names of books in Arabic and Persian are written in their common Anglicized versions.

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A firm headband, it collated the world-as-book
That remained disheveled in the hands of the unskilled.

From Lebîb's poem for the Râgıb Paşa Library in Istanbul (1763)

# INTRODUCTION

In the petition he presented to the grand vizier in 1726 for permission to print books in Arabic letters in a press to be founded in Istanbul, İbrahim Müteferrika referred to the benefits of this technology. Among them was an increase in the number of books in places outside the capital and, as a corollary, the "emergence of several full libraries there [in the provinces] as well" (*anlarda dahi niçe memlû kütübhâneler peydâ olub*). This, in turn, would improve the conditions of learning for students and make those lands "with numerous books flourish and rise" (*kütüb-i adîde ile ma'mûr u âbâdân*). In the introduction to the petition, Müteferrika recalled the damage done to the great book collections of Transoxiana, Mesopotamia and Spain by foreign invaders and stressed that manuscript production in the subsequent periods could not compensate for these losses of the Muslims.[1] Müteferrika predicted the dissemination of libraries when they had recently begun to appear in the built fabric of Istanbul, mostly in the previous few decades. The petition was a formality for the printing press, which had actually initiated its activity earlier that year with the support of Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa who also built a library section within the madrasa he opened in 1720. Yet, the Müteferrika Press worked until 1746, after which it halted activity until 1783. Ottoman printing progressed basically in the nineteenth century, and the number of printed books remained quite low in circulation and in library collections in the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, Müteferrika's prediction about the proliferation of libraries did materialize in a remarkable scale and speed in the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century, there were more than twenty public library buildings in Istanbul, all founded by state dignitaries or sultans. They spread to the provinces from the 1740s on, first by statesmen in the central administration, but in the early nineteenth

[1] İbrahim, *Er-Risâletü'l-Müsemmâ bi Vesîletü't-Tıbâ'a*, in *Lugat-ı Vankulu* I (Kostantiniyye, 1141 [1726]), ff. 6a-8a.

century mostly by local notable families. New libraries continued to be built in the capital in the first half of the nineteenth century, although with a slower pace.

This dissertation investigates the Ottoman library movement that unfolded between the late seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, virtually without the support Müteferrika envisioned the printing press would provide in this respect, and discusses its historical dynamics. The issues it addresses include the social circumstances in which the library building trend arose and thrived, the characteristics of the library architecture the Ottomans created and the ways in which the libraries were received and celebrated by their contemporaries. Libraries did not become a building type of Ottoman architecture in the sixteenth century when the empire's elites commissioned a massive number of public buildings. But libraries dotted the Istanbul landscape in the eighteenth century and gradually found favor in the provinces as well. The thesis concentrates on the libraries in Istanbul and takes into consideration all that were documented. A number of examples from the provinces are incorporated into the analysis when they display significant connections with certain themes discussed and allow for comparison; however, the work does not present a comprehensive account of the provincial libraries. The library tradition emanated from Istanbul where it was emblematic of the entire eighteenth century. All of the libraries were *waqf* institutions, that is, charitable foundations of individuals, like the wide range of public edifices from mosques and madrasas to hospitals built for centuries in the Islamic world, including the Ottoman Empire, until the Tanzimat administration transferred some health and education services to the central state's responsibility. In interpreting these monuments of bibliophilia, this thesis brings together questions and methods of architectural history, social history and the history of reading, and attempts to point at their intersections.

In an age when cities and towns could be expected to flourish with the increase in the number of books, public libraries gained an important and prestigious share in Ottoman architectural production. Several of the most powerful political figures of the period endowed library buildings; for some the library was their principle architectural commission. In other instances, libraries were designed as prominent components of larger building ensembles. Some libraries were physically situated in madrasas, while many were built as addenda to old mosques. A group of others stood alone in the urban fabric. Ottoman libraries, with a few exceptions, were relatively small structures. But with their overall quantity and the assertive and innovative architectural features that many of them displayed, libraries occupied a place near the forefront of Ottoman architecture in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Next to the basic reference to "studying" books (*mütâlaa*), the *waqfiyya*s (foundation deeds) of all Ottoman libraries of the period point to manual copying (*istinsâh*) as another major form of taking advantage of the collections that these buildings were designed to host and support. This new but highly esteemed building type was a ground where valuable collections were endowed to readers and/or copiers. Their function as "public scriptoria" must have been an essential aspect of the conception of library buildings, and they most probably helped the acceleration of manuscript production significantly in their period.

There are a number of recorded cases of palace libraries and publicly accessible libraries, within the confines of great mosques or in independent buildings, in the Islamic lands in the tenth and eleventh centuries. They served as hubs of scientific and literary debate as well as loci of book production. But book endowment, which became an increasingly common charity,

centered mostly in madrasas from the twelfth century onward.[2] Konrad Hirschler has revealed the remarkable popularity that book endowment gained especially in the great cities of Syria and Egypt from the thirteenth century on when numerous collections were formed in madrasas, mosques and mausoleums.[3] Such collections were also established in the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman periods in Anatolia and later in the Balkans and Istanbul as well. Several Mamluk, Seljuk, and Ottoman collections had appointed librarians, "protectors/curators of books" (*hâfiz-ı kütüb*), to assist patrons, and lists of books that could be browsed were not rare in these earlier centuries. The eighteenth century stands as the pinnacle of this practice with an unprecedented number of collections endowed to old types of institutions and to independent libraries, with the larger sizes of collections, and particularly with the new trend of erecting special buildings for libraries.[4]

A main point of departure of the present study is the conspicuous qualitative difference between the perception of a group of books that bore the stamp of the individual who endowed them and placed on shelves at a corner of a mosque or in a madrasa's lecture room and of a library that resides in its own building. Library architecture in the *waqf* system is essentially an accentuation and monumentalization of book endowment. A library edifice presents the collection in an architectural envelope and emerges vastly more visible in the physical urban space, sometimes as a true landmark. The name of the founder is thus far more strongly memorialized. A corollary of this observation is that the rapid popularization of library buildings marks a period when possessing rich book collections and sharing them with, and thus displaying

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[2] Johannes Pedersen, *The Arabic Book* (Princeton, 1984); George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West* (Edinburgh, 1990), pp. 54-59; Mohamed Makki Sibai, *Mosque Libraries: An Historical Study* (London, New York, 1987).

[3] Konrad Hirschler, *The Written Word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh, 2012).

[4] In his recent study on world history of library architecture, James W. P. Campbell seems unaware of the very existence of Ottoman library buildings. James W. B. Campbell, *The Library: A World History* (London, 2013).

them to, the society served as an effective social asset and a favored political gesture, significantly more than in earlier Ottoman centuries.

Most of the purpose-designed libraries were built within the physical and/or institutional confines of madrasas until the 1730s. The weakening of this tie was coupled with the longer-term growth of the place of books outside the madrasa curriculum, primarily works of history and literature, in library collections and with the prominence of statesmen trained in the ranks of scribal bureaucracy among the library founders during the latter two thirds of the eighteenth century when the building type was most fashionable. Social rewards of pursuing studies and personal advancement in libraries no doubt constituted a main pillar of the trend besides the political returns of founding a library. In other words, the broad demand for libraries was certainly decisive. The library building trend of the eighteenth century must have grown symbiotically with the expansion of the Ottoman intellectual elite both in size and in composition.

The excitement created by the new building type and the optimism developed around it must have had a remarkable scale. In the words of a poet who commemorated Sultan Mahmud I's Fatih Library in 1742, this sovereign "emphatically adopted constructing libraries as his modus/emblem" (*derûnunda musammem idi, kitabhâne binâsı ana meslek*).[5] Mahmud I indeed commissioned five library buildings between the 1730s and 1750s.

Building a library substantially differed from endowing a madrasa because of the basic meaning it conveyed as a public gesture. Except for the libraries built by sultans where the collections were largely formed with the books selected from the palace treasury, libraries were

[5] Vâsık İlâhîzâde Mehmed Emîn, *Dîvân*, ed. by İncinur Atik Gürbüz (Ankara, 2011), p. 121.

dedicated essentially with the personal collections of the founders before they were enriched with later donations, made in most of the cases by family members and descendants. Unlike funding a madrasa, which did not require the endower even be literate, libraries more immediately reflected the reading taste, learning and refinement of their founders. The rising prestige of libraries demonstrates, therefore, the growing relevance of learning and cultivation within Ottoman intra-elite politics and symbolic rivalries. To adopt a conceptualization that Pierre Bourdieu popularized,[6] these libraries established a true "cultural capital" architecture.

At the same time, there seems to be continuity between the prominence of madrasas in Istanbul architecture in the seventeenth century and the following library movement. More than thirty madrasas were built in Istanbul, often as the founder statesman or scholar's main architectural monument and in favorable locations and forms, between the final decades of the sixteenth century and the early eighteenth.[7] Madeline C. Zilfi drew attention to the rise of *ulema* (religious-legal scholars) families and their political involvement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which developed in parallel with the growth of the size of the *ulema*.[8] With the wave of new madrasa buildings in Istanbul not only did the community of the learned expand considerably, coupled soon with the rapid growth of bureaucratic offices, but also this old institution of learning gained an enhanced prestige among the investments in public architecture. The madrasa wave and the subsequent library trend heightened together the energy spent on learning in the realm of architecture. The first independent library building of Istanbul was

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[6] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in J. E. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York, 1986), pp. 241-258; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of Judgment of Taste* (London, 1984); Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7/1 (Spring, 1989): 14-25.

[7] See, Mübahat S. Kütükoğlu, *XX. Asra Erişen İstanbul Medreseleri* (Ankara, 2000).

[8] Madeline C. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age, 1600-1800* (Minneapolis, 1988).

commissioned (before 1676) by a madrasa professor-turned-grand vizier, Köprülü Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa.

The Köprülüs were one of the powerful dignitary households that dominated the Ottoman system in the period from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Conscription of Christian boys for the army and administration diminished in the seventeenth century, and a number of vizier households began to fill state ranks with their members or men they recruited through patron-client (*intisab*) networks often in alliances with other households and other sectors of society. Similar households led by personages from the judicial and bureaucratic services emerged in this and the following century. The Ottoman economy seems to have grown with progresses in manufacture, agricultural production and in the imports during much of the eighteenth century, until probably the 1770s, although state policies created impediments for capital accumulation by prioritizing short-term official agendas. The character of the ruling elite transformed with the enlarged channels of recruitment from other sectors of society and stronger links formed through economic alliances while holding a state office more than retained its desirability as a form of political power.[9]

Growing bureaucratization through the rise of the scribal service, the *kalemiye*, in the functioning of the state and in the composition of elites is an important development especially of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century, most of the high-ranking bureaucrats were recruited from the *ulema*. With the growth and sophistication of the scribal

[9] See, Rifaat Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany, 1991); Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (İstanbul, 2000); Fatma M. Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York, 1996).

service, promotion within and between the offices became more dominant in the bureaucracy.[10] While the number of scribes employed in the imperial palace was still less than one hundred in the early sixteenth century,[11] it increased especially in the eighteenth century and rose to more than 1,500 who worked in about twenty offices in Istanbul by the last decade of that century.[12] In addition, there were scribes of *waqf* administrations, vizier households and *qadi* courts. Since the pioneering work of Norman Itzkowitz on the historical role of this class,[13] attention has been drawn to the increasing importance of the office of the *reisülküttab* (lit., "chief of scribes") in the Sublime Porte and its evolution towards specialization in diplomatic relations. Carter V. Findley underlined the eighteenth-century development and character of the scribal service in his studies of the bureaucracy of the late Ottoman Empire and the crucial role the successors of these staff played in the modernization of the empire in the following century. Most of the bureaucrats were educated in the offices, which they entered as apprentices after a primary school education, but they had the chance to improve their cultivation by attending some madrasa lectures or literary gatherings in dignitaries' mansions, using the public libraries or taking lessons from private tutors.[14]

Poetry, lexicography, rhetoric and also history, geography and biography writing were distinguished from theology and the legal field under the common name "*adab*" since early

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[10] For the development of the scribal class and their group identiry in the seventeenth century see, Ekin Emine Tuşalp Atiyas, "Political Literacy and Politics of Eloquence: Ottoman Scribal Community in the Seventeenth Century," unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2013.

[11] Cornell H. Fleischer, "Preliminaries to the Study of the Ottoman Bureaucracy" *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 10 (1986): 137-143.

[12] Carter Vaughn Findley, "Political Culture and Great Households" in Suraiya Faroqhi (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Turkey, volume 3, Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 65-80.

[13] Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Realities" *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962): 73-94; Norman Itzkowitz, "Men and Ideas in the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Empire" in Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (eds.), *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* (Corbondale, 1977), 15-26.

[14] Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 93-97.

Islamic times, and were often associated with bureaucrats since they had more practical relevance to the latter's profession where eloquence in speech and writing played a central role. This traditional organization of knowledge and the bureaucrats' association with *adab* made Findley suggest that it facilitated the cultural opening to the West in the nineteenth century with the further rise of the civil officials' role in the Ottoman system.[15] Mustafa Kâtip Çelebi, a middle-ranking scribe in the state treasury service in the early seventeenth century who produced a rich corpus of studies on geography, history and astronomy and a colossal bibliography of Muslim authors on all subjects in Islamic history, was a much celebrated intellectual in his and the following centuries. The career and work of this quintessential Ottoman scribe-scholar (his epithet, *kâtip*, means scribe) is emblematic of the rise of his interests and his social group in the Ottoman organization of intellectual life. Gottfried Hagen notes a more general shift in the social profile of intellectual production as more people from the middle ranks of the bureaucracy and *ulema* gained visibility as authors in the seventeenth century.[16]

Studies on the level of literacy and the characteristics of book possession in the Ottoman society, however, are quite limited. İsmail E. Erünsal's recently published research on booksellers in Ottoman history, for which he relied mostly on the probate inventories of the members of this profession, forms an important exception. His study brought to the fore rich data about the book market. One of the observations he highlights is the scarcity of bookshops in Istanbul before the last third of the sixteenth century at which point a rapid shift occurred. The fewer shops of the first third of the sixteenth century were concentrated in two districts of the capital: One of them was around Mehmed II's Fatih Mosque and its eight distinguished

[15] Carter Vaughn Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History* (Princeton, 1989).
[16] Gottfried Hagen, "Afterword: Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century" in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 215-256.

madrasas, which attracted a large scholarly and student population. The other was the *bedesten* section of the city's grand bazaar where the booksellers were located next to jewelry dealers, which probably reflects the luxury status that books had at the time. Erünsal found 26 booksellers' probate inventories from the first half of the eighteenth century, 60 from the second half of the eighteenth and 49 from the first half of the nineteenth centuries. He also notes that the average number of books in the possession of these tradesmen increased compared to the previous half century in both halves of the eighteenth century. This average was a little more than two hundred in the first half. The high point of the booksellers' trade in pre-Tanzimat Istanbul was identical with that of the public libraries, the whole eighteenth century. Erünsal also emphasizes the unrivaled domination of Istanbul as the principal center of book trade in the lands of Anatolia and the Balkans after the sixteenth century.[17]

The emergence of libraries as a novel building type was contemporaneous with some other far-reaching developments in Ottoman architecture that likewise reflect new cultural tendencies and social rivalries with relatively broad participation. Waterside residences, free-standing monumental fountains and library buildings can be viewed as the "trio" that left a hallmark on Istanbul architecture during the eighteenth century. Residential architecture went through a considerable transformation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries towards a more exterior-oriented configuration, characterized with multiple projections and large fenestrations on street or water fronts. This light and elegant architecture originated in the capital and was highly indebted to the turning of waterways around Istanbul into residence sites, where

[17] İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar* (İstanbul, 2013).

nature, frequent festive celebrations and others' houses could be contemplated.[18] Houses also had a significant share in the poetic celebrations of buildings in the eighteenth century, which proves the importance of their architecture as an aesthetic issue in which the public was interested. Hundreds of fountains built in eighteenth-century Istanbul and their unprecedentedly ornate designs and exquisite carvings led Shirine Hamadeh to conclude that this building type served as a medium to attain public visibility where people from middling ranks could participate alongside the grandees and the ruling dynasty who commissioned more imposing structures. While the majority adorned public squares in the city, others were designed, later in the period, for public gardens on the Bosphorus. Hamadeh emphasizes that plenty of smaller fountains built on walls or corners of buildings as well as the free-standing ones promised, as stated in their long poetic epigraphs, sensual pleasures to the beholders with their lavish ornaments. A pronounced sensualism characterized this medium of public visibility, and the same was true for residential architecture, as their commemorative poems reveal. These contests for ornate architecture must have been correlated to growing luxury consumption, especially in textiles and ceramics, but they also served as platforms to manifest and appreciate taste in architecture.[19]

Libraries embodied perhaps both a complement of and an antidote to the sensualism that fountains and waterside houses propagated. Celebration of the virtues of erudition and the pursuit of knowledge and of the founders' noble character that led them to this cause usually exceed the visual qualities of libraries in the commemorative poetry produced for them. But there is room to see also parallels between libraries and the other two favorite building types of the era in this respect. While illuminated books and works of calligraphy, both intended for visual appreciation,

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[18] Sedad H. Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi / Turkish Houses: Ottoman Period* 3 vols. (İstanbul, 1984-87); Tülay Artan, *Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1988.

[19] Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle, 2008).

were included in public library collections, contemporaries often described the delights of reading, science and literature in a sensualist language. In addition, the great majority of the library buildings were far from merely functional structures; they were obviously intended to have representative qualities and/or aesthetic promises with their elaborate designs. Theirs was a type that attracted the highest of care from the Ottomans.

The architectural content of these public gestures varied highly between individual cases, and attention to particularities will be essential to their interpretation in the present thesis. A central question of the thesis is whether there were certain determining tendencies behind and meaningful convergences in the variety of architectural formulas employed in library buildings. Most of the libraries were built in forms that largely follow the examples of other building types, including domed neighborhood mosques, masonry houses or kiosks, and Byzantine churches. In several instances, however, more than one design precedent and/or some architectural quotes from identifiable older monuments were brought together in the composition of the library edifice. In most of the cases, architectural forms were composed in profoundly individual and novel manners. One of the emphases of this thesis is the evidence of the development of a taste for architectural vocabulary as an *adab* pursuit among the educated Ottomans in the eighteenth century, and the accompanying claim that the communication of this taste was a factor behind the diversity in library architecture.

Different Ottoman libraries have been the subject of articles where related historical sources or certain titles in the collection were surveyed in the *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* (The Turkish Librarians Association Bulletin) and other publications from the 1950s onwards. But İsmail E. Erünsal's studies on all of the Ottoman libraries established in mosques, palaces, dervish lodges, madrasas and in independent buildings stand as an indispensable and

central guide to these institutions. In addition to painstakingly documenting the foundation and extension of these numerous collections with the help of existing *waqfiyya*s and court records, Erünsal also discusses the definition of the qualities and duties of library personnel in *waqfiyya*s and systems of lending (a practice which largely disappeared by the beginning of the eighteenth century). In addition, he traces the lists of books that were placed at the end of *waqfiyya*s and the emergence of separate catalogues, and then notes his observations about cataloging difficulties and confusions.[20] Most extant Ottoman library buildings within the borders of modern Turkey and some others beyond were visually documented at different times.[21] Özer Soysal brought together a large number of this visual documentation in volumes where he also published the inscriptions of most of the library buildings and excerpts from several *waqfiyya*s.[22]

Some visual documents in the archives of the Committee of Historic Preservation in Istanbul and the construction and renovation expenditure registers preserved in the archives of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul and of the Pious Endowments Administration (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*) in Ankara helped in the identification or partial reconstruction of some extant or no-longer-present libraries for the first time in the present thesis. In other cases, details about the original configuration of libraries or the presence of private libraries in the programs of certain residences are detected with the help of documents.

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[20] Erünsal first published the first version of his study that covered the periods up to the Tanzimat in 1988. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Türk Kütüphaneleri Tarihi II, Kuruluştan Tanzimat'a Kadar Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 1988). In 2008, he published a revised version where he added also the endowments made after the Tanzimat and until the end of the empire, and this time both in Turkish and in English. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri Tarihi Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu* (Ankara, 2008); İsmail E. Erünsal, *Ottoman Libraries: A Survey of the History, Development and Organization of Ottoman Foundation Libraries* (Cambridge, Mass., 2008). He published a further revised edition, only in Turkish, in 2015. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Kütüphaneler ve Kütüphanecilik: Tarihi Gelişimi ve Organizasyonu* (İstanbul, 2015).

[21] Behçet Ünsal and Ayşe Yetişkin Kubilay made descriptive studies of Istanbul's waqf library buildings. Behçet Ünsal, "Türk-Vakfı İstanbul Kütüphanelerinin Mimârî Yöntemi," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XVIII (1984): 95-124; Ayşe Yetişkin Kubilay, "XVIII. ve XIX. Yüzyıl İstanbul Kütüphanelerinin Mimarisi," unpublished PhD dissertation, Istanbul Technical University, 1998; Ayşe Yetişkin Kubilay, "18 ve 19. Yüzyıl Vakıf Kütüphaneleri Üzerine Tipolojik Bir Değerlendirme," in Afife Batur et. al. (eds.), *Osmanlı Mimarlığının 7 Yüzyılı: "Uluslarüstü Bir Miras"* (İstanbul, 1999), pp. 149-153.

[22] Özer Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*, 6 v. (Ankara, 2008).

*Waqfiyya*s have largely standardized ways of recording the regulations prescribed for libraries, but some of the founders included loaded metaphoric descriptions of their libraries and of themselves in the *waqfiyya* texts. Artfully composed letters, compiled as examples of prose writing, preserve examples of the period's language of bibliophilia. Libraries' inscriptions were composed in verse, as in other kinds of *waqf* buildings, and they constitute a major repository for information about the reception of libraries and the meanings attributed to them. Poems that were not inscribed on the buildings but were presented by their authors to the patrons and were ultimately included in poetry or chronogram compilations are essential complements of this repository which contains most of the interesting themes and metaphors that appear in the celebrations of library buildings.

The chronicles, by official state historians and others, and the biographical dictionaries written in this period are among the richest sources of social and cultural history. Crucial archives of the pre-Tanzimat periods, both of these types of primary sources were frequently consulted in the present study's delineation of particular facts as well as the broad dynamics of the library movement. Since many of the statesmen, library-founders included, were also poets and/or calligraphers, many figures appear in more than one of these dictionaries. There were also biographical dictionaries of viziers and *reisülküttâb*s and biographies dedicated to individual figures. The chronicles and biographies present important traces of the reception of libraries by contemporaries and their range of functions. They also provide descriptions of a wide range of figures active in the establishment and functioning of libraries and clues about their social and intellectual networks. Contemporary western observers, too, gave information about and commented on Ottoman learning in general and libraries in particular. References to libraries in

the Ottoman accounts of the West, embassy reports among them, document other facets of the place of libraries in Ottoman thinking and vision.

The book collections endowed in eighteenth-century Ottoman library buildings have not thus far been subjects of an overarching study as repositories of the reading interests of their endowers and, since they were deemed appropriate to be opened to the public, of the society. The present thesis includes a preliminary review of this sort in the section entitled "Excursus" between the chapters 3 and 4. The relative weights of different classes of books in a number of original manuscript catalogues and others that were printed in the late nineteenth century are recorded here as basic indices of the conception of what a public library should contain. Two private library collections, which belonged to a grand admiral and a manager of the shipyards, are highlighted in chapters 2 and 4 respectively. Always seen as desirable for the cultivation of elites, history and literature were not included in formal madrasa education; as an Ottoman report about the program of these schools written in 1741 indicates, they were subjects of evening conversations and promenade walks of madrasa students.[23] The investigation of the catalogues reveals, though with significant variations between individual cases, a general increase in the share of books in *adab* subjects during the period of library buildings, high above the rates in the mosque and madrasa collections of the earlier periods. The eighteenth-century library building trend in Ottoman architecture developed concurrently with an unmistakable "*adab* turn" in public collections. This implies not only a widening access to those works, but also the move of the *adab* fields towards a more central location in the system of knowledge of this society.

In a manuscript culture, the placement of a book in a public library functioned as a form of "publication" of its text. It might be a rare item, or even the only copy ever produced. At the

[23] *Kevâkib-i Seb'a Risâlesi*, ed. Nasuhi Ünal Karaarslan (Ankara, 2015), p. 77.

same time, the text could contain the comments and notes of the copier or the previous owner. The "success" and the presumable influence of pre-nineteenth-century intellectual and literary products are commonly measured today through the number of their copies in libraries. With their fast dissemination, public library buildings appeared as locales where a corpus immensely more extensive than before became available to the attention, browsing, close study and criticism of a reading public and to the reproduction of further copies. The library architecture it produced as one of its hallmarks testifies that the eighteenth century was the period of a major leap in the Ottomans' embrace of books as this particular form of publication found considerable ground and admiration.

Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi, a protégé of Köprülü Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa and an important polymath of the seventeenth century, writes in a passage of the section on the Byzantine period in his universal history, which he penned between 1670 and 1673, that is, on the eve of or during the construction of the grand vizier's public library building, that one of the emperors was so atrocious that he burned numerous books on theology, philosophy and mathematics "together with their libraries and librarians" (*kitâbhâne ve hâfız-ı kütübleriyle*). This left the Byzantines devoid of books, and this, in turn, "caused great disorder in society" (*halk arasında azîm ihtilâl düşdü*).[24] Libraries could be portrayed by the Ottomans of this period as directly correlated to the decline and rejuvenation of societies, and linked even to public order. There is much room, therefore, to evaluate the library building trend from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries as a collective project of cultural renewal and public edification. Enriched most often by members of the same family in the following years and decades, individual libraries

[24] Hezarfen Hüseyin b. Cafer el-İstanköyi, *Tenkîh-i Tevârih-i Mülûk* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Hekimoğlu 731, f. 181a. Also quoted in Cumhur Bekar, "A New Perception of Rome, Byzantium and Constantinople in Hezarfen Huseyin's Universal History," Unpublished MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2011, p. 46.

fundamentally stood as monuments of the cultivation of their founders and of their households, and together they concretized an energetic competition around erudite stature.

Chapter 1 of the dissertation focuses on the period up to the early 1740s. Most of the libraries built in this period were attached to madrasas. The earliest library buildings in mosque compounds and the Âtıf Efendi Library (1742), which was built independent of any larger compound and stands thus as a landmark that separates the earlier phase of the library movement from its further ascent in the subsequent decades, were built with plans derived from the architecture of kiosks. Besides attending to the plan formulas used for the libraries in madrasas and in the kiosk-derived ones, this chapter also highlights certain significant facts about this period's libraries in order to communicate with the themes elaborated in other chapters, like the question of architectural quotes made from other buildings, allusions to a kinship felt between library space and sacred space, and native expressions of a cultural capital rivalry in society. The private residence was one of the loci from where designated library spaces emerged. Chapter 2 takes this subject as its frame, and ventures primarily into documentation of facts around the libraries of mansions and palaces. It collects identities of a group of persons employed as private librarians of elite households besides tracking the architecture of the rooms and buildings that served as libraries in mansions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the sections on the sultanic palaces, it proposes architectural restitutions of three libraries in the Topkapı and the Galata palaces. The libraries' emergence in both the sultanic palaces and the houses of the dignitaries was partly a separation from the treasuries. One of the most striking manifestations of the elevated status that the Ottomans gave to libraries is the analogy of the BaytulMamur, the celestial counterpart of the Kaba, encountered in a variety of sources about a group of libraries built in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Chapter 3 is an analysis of this long-lived

metaphor and is based on the evidence that the textual versions of this metaphor paralleled the placement of wooden book depositories in cubic shape in the center of library halls, which functioned as a visual portrayal of the holy shrine and emphasized in this way the noble, elevating nature of the library experience. After the Excursus section's focus on the question of the structure of the library collections throughout the period, Chapter 4 explores the height of the library movement from the 1740s to the end of the century by dissecting the architectural features of the libraries and attending to the celebrations of libraries in written sources. The chapter first focuses on Mahmud I's Fatih Library as a paradigmatic case. It is argued here that this innovative building is a crystallization of an important tendency in the Ottoman conception of library architecture, namely a kinship with architectural models, which linked the libraries to book furniture and enlarged the basis of quotations made from other monuments. Ultimately the Fatih Library also best exemplifies the privileged position of the aedicule morphology in Ottoman library architecture. Two other pivotal libraries, the Nuruosmaniye (1755) and the Râgıb Paşa (1763), and a number of minor cases are scrutinized to understand the relevance of the popularity of architectural quotes and models and to clarify the emphases of the literary representations of libraries in this period. A growing intellectual curiosity about architecture's past and its manners must have been a main factor behind the popularity of the legible architectural plays. Recording the connections between written representations as well as between architectural designs of libraries is a main objective of the dissertation. Chapter 5, however, is particularly devoted to the discursive uses of the library in the eighteenth century. Measuring civilizational levels of different peoples was one context where libraries could be referred to, but the library idea also gained ground as a metaphorical compliment used to eulogize learned individuals in this period. Literary abilities, eloquence, and *adab* cultivation in

general were glorified in the common understanding of the erudite identity. The ability to make well thought out selections in forming libraries was a highlighted merit. As important repositories of artfully created writings, libraries also emerged as prominent sites of "paying visits" to the examples of the most esteemed visual art, calligraphy. The conclusion of the dissertation attempts to locate the Age of Libraries in the longer social history of Ottoman learning and aims to explain its eclipse in the conditions of the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

# CHAPTER 1

## THE EMERGENCE OF THE LIBRARY AS A BUILDING TYPE WHERE "KNOWLEDGE AS CAPITAL FOUND CURRENCY"

Built-in elements designed for endowed books are not common in Ottoman mosque architecture. Valide Nurbanu Sultan's mosque built by Sinan in Üsküdar in the early 1580s is an interesting exception. There are niches on both sides of the mihrab that were planned for the protection of books (fig. 1.1). Though the eastern third of the southern gallery of the Selimiye Mosque in Edirne has been used as the site of the mosque library since at least the nineteenth century,[1] it is not clear whether the collection of more than four hundred volumes endowed by Selim II in 1575[2] was placed here from the beginning or if it was moved to the interior of the mosque from the adjoining madrasas at a later point. Identifiable library rooms were not common in madrasas either before the eighteenth century. One or both of the narrow upper-storey rooms on the two sides of the main iwan in the Burûciye Madrasa in Sivas (1271) in central Anatolia may indeed be a library, since the *waqfiyya* gives information about endowed books and a librarian.[3] In the case of the Eyne Bey Madrasa in Bursa, one of the oldest Ottoman madrasas, which was built before 1402, a seventeenth-century repair document identifies the small upper-storey room, which has the appearance of a little tower, as a library (fig. 1.2).[4] But the most interesting one among the few and dispersed early cases is the library section in Governor of Egypt Çoban Mustafa Paşa's complex, which was completed in 1524 in the town of Gebze near Istanbul. As its *waqfiyya* clearly indicates, one hundred and sixty endowed books

[1] Özer Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği* vol. 4 (Ankara, 1999), p. 202.
[2] İsmail Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* vol. 4 (Ankara, 2008), p. 148.
[3] Hacer Sibel Ünalan, *Anadolu'da Türk Kütüphaneleri* (İstanbul, 2012), pp. 35-40.
[4] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Mi'mârî Çağının Menşe'i: Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinin İlk Devri* (İstanbul, 1989), p. 443.

were placed in the section composed of two rooms which was built above the main entrance to the compound between the caravanserai and the kitchens, rather than in the mosque or the madrasa of the complex (figs. 1.3-1.4).[5] Although an isolated instance, this was a public library in its own designated architectural space. The Gazanfer Ağa Madrasa (1598) in Istanbul has two niches for books symmetrically arranged on two sides of the lecture hall (*dershane*). The lecture rooms are likely to have been the prior preference in the storage of books. Kara Mustafa Paşa planned the protection of his books that he endowed for his madrasa, which was opened in Istanbul in 1688, in the lecture room's cupboards.[6] The *waqfiyya* of Bayezid II's complex in Edirne, which was prepared in 1488, does not identify a room but indicates that the "library" of 42 books endowed for use in the madrasa of the complex would be preserved in a chest or cupboard (*sandukda*).[7] This must have been the most common form of storage for books in mosques and madrasas before the eighteenth century.

This chapter reviews the experiments with library architecture within and without madrasa compounds, in the late seventeenth and, in growing numbers, in the early eighteenth centuries. The early eighteenth century was a period when perceptions of a general Ottoman progress in learning were shared by many in Istanbul society. The cluster of interesting celebrations of an urban competition for "knowledge as capital" accompanied the intensification of the library building trend. Besides, emulation of a library foundation, the Âtıf Efendi Library, by the other Ottoman elites could be highlighted a few decades later as a main cause of the acceleration of the trend from the 1740s on.

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[5] Fatih Müderrisoğlu, "Bâni Çoban Mustafa Paşa ve Bir Osmanlı Şehri Gebze," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XXV (1995), p. 90.
[6] The *waqfiyya* is excerpted in Özer Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği* vol. 2 (Ankara, 1999), p.25.
[7] M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı: Vakıflar-Mülkler-Mukataalar* (İstanbul, 1952), the *waqfiyyas* appendix, pp. 16; 42.

**Libraries Born Within Madrasa Architecture**

Most of the madrasas built in Istanbul from the last quarter of the sixteenth century onwards were planned as independent landmarks; this was unlike earlier periods of Ottoman Istanbul when madrasas were nearly always built within larger compounds centered around mosques. The new trend of erecting madrasas as independent monuments (which in fact revives the thirteenth-century pattern in Muslim Anatolia) can be seen as a reflection of the political prestige of the study of law and the expansion and rising power of the *ulema* in the seventeenth century. The planning of small complexes consisting of a madrasa, the mausoleum of the founder and a sabil, and sometimes a primary school, settled as a pattern. Sabils spread in Istanbul mostly as attachments, indeed frontal elements, of madrasas more than other building types, beginning in the late sixteenth century. This generation of madrasas' designs brought a novel representative quality to the building type, different from the dominant character of the older madrasas that were usually simpler and subordinate to mosques. The emergence of libraries mostly in madrasa architecture in their early stage added an additional element to this dynamism.

The powerful grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed Paşa's madrasa complex was an example of both trends. The madrasa was built in 1661 with a sabil attached to it and a mausoleum on a main segment of the Divanyolu, the city's central artery, and near the family's palace. The first free-standing public library building in Istanbul was a work of Mehmed Paşa's son Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa who succeeded him in his position where he served for an unusually long term until his death in 1676. Both the *waqfiyya*, which includes the library and was prepared in 1678 during the grand vizierate of his brother Fâzıl Mustafa Paşa but in the name of Ahmed Paşa, and Ahmed Paşa's obituary in Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa's early-eighteenth-century chronicle register the library

as his project.[8] The library was built on a plot very close to the madrasa, on the first side street to the west (fig. 1.5). The *waqfiyya* indicates that at the time there was a line of shops between the library's garden and the Divanyolu;[9] the shops must have been removed in the 1871 enlargement of the street. The library is a square masonry room capped by a dome and has a portico that forms its façade turned towards the side street. Aside from the little baldaquin that extends the central portion of this arcade at the front and is first reached by the stairs, this overall form is closely reminiscent of typical Ottoman neighborhood mosques hundreds of which were built in the previous three centuries. The additional baldaquin at the entrance may have been intended to highlight the distinct function of the building, but the plan still invites association with mosques. The selection of this particular design precedent for a public library in this early case is significant since architectural and verbal allusions to places of worship abounded among later libraries until the early nineteenth century. The Köprülü case suggests that a public building for books and reading could already be seen as a symbolic relative of a mosque in the seventeenth century. The lack of fenestration on about two thirds of the lower sections of the right and left walls indicates that in this library books were stored in tall cupboards placed on those walls.

The building does not have an inscription and Sarı Mehmed Paşa's chronicle does not give the date of its construction. No verse commemoration of its opening has been found. Thus, the exact date of this structure is unclear. This could be an indication of a relatively modest importance attributed to the enterprise at the time. Yet, the chronicle gives an independent identity to the library by omitting any relation to the madrasa in the passage while also calling it

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[8] *Köprülü Kütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu*, eds. Ramazan Şeşen et. al. (İstanbul, 1986), p. 4; Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, *Zübde-i Vekâyiât*, ed. Abdülkadir Özcan (Ankara, 1995), pp. 76-77.
[9] *Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa Vakfiyesi* MS, Köprülü Library: Vakfiyeler 4, ff. 19b-20a.

"a great charity."[10] It was opened as one of the richest public repositories of books in the city. The circa 1600 volumes Ahmed Paşa endowed was only behind the Fatih Mosque's library by a few hundred; the number of books at the newest sultanic mosque, the Yeni Cami, which was opened in 1663, was less than 300.[11] Furthermore, Ahmed Paşa's collection has a structure in which religious sciences and literary and historical works have nearly equal weight, which is a quality that was echoed in most of the libraries of the following century. The Köprülü, in other words, founded the norm in this respect – and already in the first public library edifice of Istanbul. An interesting peculiarity of the Köprülü Library is that its *waqfiyya* is the only one which refers to professional copyists (*verrâkûn*) as an intended group of beneficiaries besides madrasa students.[12] Erünsal noted the British traveler Charles White's observation in the 1840s that most of the copyists in Istanbul worked in their homes or in libraries.[13] Professional copy making and copying for individual needs and tastes must have coexisted throughout the period of libraries, but the single case of the term *verrâkûn* in the Köprülü's *waqfiyya* highlights the significance of the anticipated increase in manuscript production behind the inception of this early library edifice. Furthermore, Sarı Mehmed Paşa writes that Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa brought together salaried copyists for book production.[14] This remark comes right after his comment on the library, but it is not certain whether coordinated book production was attached to the library building.

Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa was a scholar himself and his period was remembered by Râşid Efendi, who wrote his official chronicle between 1714 and 1722, as a time when the learned

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[10] Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, ibid., p. 77.
[11] Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2740.
[12] *Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa Vakfiyesi* MS, Köprülü Library: Vakfiyeler 4, f. 43a.
[13] Charles White, *Three Years in Constantinople; or Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1844* (London, 1846), p. 209; İsmail Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar* (İstanbul, 2013), p. 304.
[14] Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Paşa, ibid., p. 77.

attained good awards and "commodities of knowledge/skill" (*metâ'-ı marifet*) found "demand/currency" (*revâc*).[15] His grand vizierate and the identities of the later viziers from the Köprülü family can be regarded as emblematic of the rise in political prestige of intellectual competence. The leading Phanariot statesmen Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos rose to prominence during the Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa regime. Both of them studied medicine at the University of Padua, one of the main centers of medical training in seventeenth-century Europe, and they were known in the empire and abroad for the quality of their private libraries.[16] Jean-Baptiste Colbert wanted to acquire Nicousios's manuscript collection,[17] while Mavrocordatos was himself an important author of history.[18] Both of them worked as Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa's physicians in addition to their positions as chief interpreters of the Porte, which provided them influential roles in the diplomatic cadres of the empire. The presence of Gabriel Naudé's treatise on library organization, *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque* (1627), which circulated widely in Europe in the seventeenth century, in Mavrocortados's son Nicholas's personal library is noteworthy in this juncture.[19] An earlier graduate of the Padua School of Medicine and author of some works on history and religion, Naudé published this treatise when he was working as a private librarian in Paris. He advised book collectors to bring together the widest diversity of subjects and focused attention on the qualities and particularities of books instead of their quantities. He was also an advocate of wide public accessibility of such research libraries established with careful selections and referred in this respect to one of the few public libraries of

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[15] Râşid Efendi, *Târih-i Râşid ve Zeyli*, eds. Abdülkadir Özcan et. al., (İstanbul, 2013) vol. I, p. 195.
[16] Damien Janos, "Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos: The Rise of the Phanariots and the Office of Grand Dragoman in the Ottoman Administration in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005/06), pp. 191-192.
[17] Antoine Galland, *İstanbul'a Ait Günlük Hâtıralar (1672-1673)* (Ankara, 1973), pp. 234-235.
[18] Cyril Mango, "The Phanariots and the Byzantine Tradition" in Richard Clogg (ed.) *The Struggle for Greek Independence: Essays to Mark the 150th Anniversary of the Greek War of Independence* (Bristol, 1973), pp. 41-66.
[19] Cornelius Dima-Dragan, *Das Rumänische Buch- und Bibliothekswesen* (Wien, 1980), p. 35. I am grateful to Bekir Harun Küçük for bringing this important fact and reference to my attention.

Europe at his time, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, which was opened in 1609, as an inspiring example.[20] Naudé later worked for Cardinal Mazarin's library in Paris for which he purchased thousands of volumes during his travels in Europe in the 1640s and was opened to the public in a wing of the cardinal's mansion in 1643.[21] It is not unlikely that the copy of Naudé's work in Nicholas Mavrocordatos's library was inherited from his father's collection. An acquaintance with Naudé's ideas in Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa's circle might have been among the inspirations for the creation of an independent public library building.

Though more than two decades passed before new library edifices appeared in Istanbul, they rapidly proliferated from 1700 onwards. Feyzullah Efendi's library is a spacious hall in his madrasa, which was opened in 1700 and brought an innovation to madrasa designs. This scholar had been the future sultan Mustafa II's childhood tutor and later the *şeyhülislam* during his reign between 1695 and 1703. Due to his influence in the administration, he was the chief target of the 1703 Revolt when he was executed.[22] The madrasa he built in Istanbul was one of those that specialized in hadith studies. These *dârülhadîs*es collectively held a higher rank in the Ottoman college hierarchy than other law colleges. This college, in the vicinity of Istanbul's leading Fatih Madrasas, has a highly original architecture, primarily because of the library hall. The lecture hall and the library hall were planned as two large square rooms in an edifice that is separate from the structure of the student cells. It thus diverges from the highly standardized madrasa plans where the lecture hall is usually situated on the axis of the courtyard (figs. 1.6-1.7). The library hall has series of niches for books on the lower sections of its walls on the two sides that

[20] Gabriel Naudeus, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. 146-148.
[21] Jack A. Clarke, "Gabriel Naudé and the Foundations of the Scholarly Library," *The Library Quarterly* 39/4 (October, 1969): 331-343.
[22] See, Rifa'at Ali Abou-el-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Leiden, 1984); Sabra Follet Meservey, *Feyzullah Efendi: An Ottoman Şeyhülislam* (Ann Arbor, 1965).

face the neighboring streets. It still retains some of its original paintings above these niches and the windows (figs. 1.8-1.9). Equal in size with the lecture hall, the library must have been covered with carpets like its counterpart. This purpose-built library hall stimulated the unprecedented design of the library-and-lecture hall edifice, which is visually dominated by the wide loggia between the two halls that faces the courtyard and gives access to the halls (fig. 1.10).

A basic feature of this loggia, hitherto unnoticed by researchers, is that its front is a smaller-scale reproduction of a portion of the lateral façade of the seventeenth-century Vâlide Turhan Sultan's Yeni Cami Mosque (fig. 1.11). Lateral porticoes were common elements of grand sultanic mosques built in the city since Sinan, but only the Yeni Cami has a wide eave above its northern portion, which houses a side entrance to the mosque. The loggia in the Feyzullah Efendi Madrasa has an eave that is similarly supported by long metal cantilevers and its proportion to the marble arcade is very close to the one at the Yeni Cami. Moreover, two of the columns of the arcade are octagonal rather than round, which is again consistent with the example of the mother sultana's mosque. Therefore, except for the marble door with its ornate pediment located under the central arch (which is, in fact, very similar to the door frame near the other end of the Yeni Cami's façade and an element of the royal entrance placed there), the loggia's arcade is a faithful copy of a recognizable fragment of the then-newest sultanic mosque in Istanbul. This may or may not be an allegory of power that the *şeyhülislam* wished to see in his principal project in the capital. But in any case it forms an important early example of the trend of noticeable architectural reproductions seen especially in minor-scale structures throughout the eighteenth century and centered, most of all, around library designs. The mini arcade found in a birdhouse sculpted on the outer wall of the New Vâlide Mosque built in

Üsküdar between 1708 and 1711 and similar to the one at the Feyzullah Efendi was probably related to the recent memory of the architectural copy made in the madrasa-library (fig. 1.12).

With more than two thousand books in its collection,[23] the Feyzullah Efendi library was the first in the city whose collection surpassed that of the Fatih Mosque's library. The elaborately embellished marble door of the library room inside the loggia has Arabic stanzas inscribed, outside and inside. The one outside praises the paradise-like beauty of the building, while the inside stanza refers to the objective of the perpetuating the sciences (fig. 1.13).[24] The library hall stands on the side of the entrance to the courtyard from the street. This arrangement must have been chosen to facilitate the movement of the visitors to the library from the outside. Erünsal highlights a few cases among the endowments made to madrasas and mosques in the sixteenth century where *waqfiyya*s restricted book use to the instructors and students of the madrasa attached to the mosque.[25] Such restrictions are not seen in the *waqfiyya*s of the madrasas built with library halls in the eighteenth century. Thus, it has to be assumed that they all practically served as public libraries.

The majority of the public libraries built in Istanbul in the first third of the eighteenth century were planned within the confines of madrasas. But madrasas almost completely lost their privileged position as the prime site of library designs shortly after this period. In other words, the idea of a library space was not to be associated with madrasas with the same intensity thereafter in the capital. These early library structures within madrasas show diversity in their forms. The library in the madrasa that the grand vizier Amcazâde Hüseyin Paşa, another Köprülü, built in the same year as Feyzullah Efendi's is a structure placed at one end of the

[23] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Feyzullah Efendi ve Şeyh Murad ve Kalkandelenli İsmail Ağa* (Dersaâdet, 1310 [1894]), pp. 3-41.
[24] Soysal, ibid., pp. 286-287.
[25] İsmail Erünsal, ibid., pp. 149; 155.

series of student rooms and opposite the lecture hall, again within easy reach of the entrance to the courtyard (figs. 1.14-1.15). Its main room, which is about half the size of the lecture hall, is above a basement and has a semi-open anteroom at the back. With this form, it anticipates the outline of several primary schools built in Istanbul later in the century. Grand Vizier Çorlulu Ali Paşa's madrasa was built alongside a dervish lodge in 1709. Their common wall that faces the Divanyolu is another noteworthy architectural quote, this time of a fragment of the lateral façades of the Süleymaniye and the Sultan Ahmed mosques (fig. 1.16). The library in the madrasa, however, is the least assertive one in its group. A simple rectangular room placed next to the lecture hall but with a separate entrance at the back, it gives the impression of a mere depository, although the *waqfiyya* clearly states that the users would study the books in the library (fig. 1.17).[26] Another least assertive library was the later ruined one built by *şeyhülislam* Mirzazâde Mehmed Efendi in 1731 in the form of a simple rectangular room in the garden of the mosque he built for his name at the same time.[27] The madrasa built by the manager of shipyards Ahmed Ağa in Üsküdar in 1722 (Ahmediye) pairs the lecture and library rooms at the far ends of the student cells, but in this case they are not identical structures. While the lecture room is a small version of the octagonal type, the library is an irregular building comprised of a square room with a slight triangular projection above its basement and a portico longer than the side wall of the room (fig. 1.18). Cârullah Efendi, a *qadi* of Edirne, endowed a large collection to the library in the madrasa he built in Istanbul in 1734;[28] the library's structure must be the building that survived in the close vicinity of the southern madrasas of the Fatih and has a large room

[26] VGMA [Pious Endowments Adminisration Archive, Ankara] 188, pp. 388-389.
[27] İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Âbideleri ve Kitâbeleriyle Üsküdar Tarihi* vol. 2 (İstanbul, 1977), p. 403; Nimet Bayraktar, "Üsküdar Kütüphaneleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XVI (1982): 46.
[28] Erünsal, ibid, p. 207.

placed above two shops.[29] The library of the chief eunuch Hacı Beşir Ağa's madrasa in Istanbul's extramural district of Eyüp, which was built in 1735, was probably in the little room separate from the rest of the school and next to the street entrance.[30]

A member of the powerful local family of Cihanzâdes built a madrasa in Güzelhisar/Aydın in western Anatolia in 1149/1737 which had a hall for the lectures and a separate hall as the library.[31] Ahmed Paşa, the governor of al-Ruha/Urfa, built a library in 1159/1747 next to the lecture hall of the madrasa he had built in this city two decades earlier.[32] The purpose-designed library hall in Aleppo's al-Ahmadiyya Madrasa, which was built by a local notable, Tahazâde Ahmed Efendi, in 1751, is akin to the solution adopted in the Feyzullah Efendi. This library is a bipartite room next to the lecture hall of the madrasa which has a single dome that much exceeds the size of the library's two cross vaults. The hall's two sections are separated by a wooden screen; the anterior room was the reading space, and the space at the back was the depository.[33] Al-Ahmadiyya housed more than three thousand volumes and served as the city's principal public library in the eighteenth century.[34]

**Innovative Statesmen of the "Tulip Period"**

The architectural formula used in the library built within Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa's *dârülhadîs*, which was built in the vicinity of the sixteenth-century Şehzade Mosque in Istanbul and opened in 1720, is a close variation of the one that was invented in the Feyzullah Efendi Madrasa. The library and the lecture hall here are again nearly identical

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[29] Özer Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği* vol. 5 (Ankara, 1999), pp. 19-25.
[30] Ibid., pp. 13-18.
[31] The *waqfiyya* is excerpted in Özer Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği* vol. 2 (Ankara, 1999), p. 31.
[32] The *waqfiyya* is excerpted in Özer Soysal, ibid., p. 206.
[33] Ruba Kasmo, "Restoration Project of al-Ahmadiyya School in Aleppo" unpublished MSc thesis, Istanbul Technical University, 2008.
[34] Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eave of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1989), p. 238.

architectural volumes. But this time the entrance of the compound is located between the two halls and easy access from the street to the library is thus secured. Both the lecture hall and the library have L-shaped porticoes on two sides that face the garden (figs. 1.19-1.20). This library was given an independent identity in the chronicler Râşid Efendi's account of the inauguration ceremony of the complex where he mentions it separately, besides the madrasa.[35] The library was planned to house nearly the whole of the grand vizier's book collection, since only 163 items remained in his household at the time of his death while more than 1500 were endowed to the library.[36]

İbrahim Paşa was a vizier who was trained in secretarial offices. He held the position of the grand vizierate during the period between 1718 and 1730. He was the main actor of the "Tulip Period," as the years of his grand vizierate was first called in the early twentieth century and since then retained its fame in popular culture with this name. The period has been commonly portrayed as characterized by more desire for hedonism and contact with the West.[37] Damad İbrahim Paşa's administration certainly had a share in these longer-term developments. His government also established baize, paper and ceramic manufactures aimed at countering imports. Besides his central role in the printing press project together with *Şeyhülislam* Yenişehirli Abdullah Efendi and İbrahim Müteferrika, he is also commonly credited with leading another important cultural initiative, a translation movement. He is documented to have ordered or encouraged the translation of eight works from Arabic, Persian, Greek and German. These included a world history, a cosmographic and ethnographic encyclopedia and an astronomical

[35] Râşid Efendi, *Târih-i Râşid ve Zeyli*, eds. Abdülkadir Özcan et. al., (İstanbul, 2013) vol. II, p. 1184.
[36] Tülay Artan, "Problems Relating to the Social History Context of the Acquisition and Possession of Books as Part of Collections of *Objets d'Arts* in the 18th Century," in eds. François Déroche et al., *Art Turc / Turkish Art* (Geneve, 1999), p. 90.
[37] Ahmed Refik, *Lâle Devri: 1130-1143* (İstanbul, 1331 [1915]). See also, Mustafa Armağan (ed.), İstanbul Armağanı 4: Lâle Devri (İstanbul, 2000). For the historiography of the "Tulip Period," see, Can Erimtan, Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and iits Development in Modern Turkey (London, New York, 2008).

study translated from Arabic to Turkish, two histories of Persia and a travelogue about China translated from Persian to Turkish, Esad Efendi of Yanya's translation of Joannes Cottunius's Aristotle commentary from Greek to Arabic, which he made during his librarianship at the Ahmed III Library in the Palace,[38] and a history of Austria translated from German to Turkish. İbrahim Paşa probably funded these translations himself. Translations of the fifteenth-century Mamluk Syrian scholar Badr al-Din al-'Ayni's encyclopedia *Iqd al-Juman fi Tarikh Ahl al-Zaman* and of one of the histories of Persia and Turkistan, and of the sixteenth-century Persian historian Khwandamir's *Habib al-Siyar*, were delegated to committees rather than individuals, probably to hasten the work, and thus gained the nature of collective works.[39] The official chronicler Küçükçelebizâde Âsım Efendi gives the lists of the participants in these committees both of which included religious scholars and high-ranking secretaries, in this order.[40] Many other works on history, medicine and literature were translated mostly from Arabic and Latin during the 1720s by different Ottoman statesmen and intellectuals.[41] It can be added at this point that two of the secretary members of the committee established for the al-'Ayni translation in 1725 founded public libraries in the 1740s when they held higher bureaucratic posts: Mustafa Efendi in the masonry branch of his mansion in Istanbul in 1742 when he was the *reisülküttâb*, and Şerif Halil Paşa in a purpose-built structure next to the mosque and the madrasa he built in his town of origin, Shumen (in present-day Bulgaria), in 1744 when he was the governor of Konya province.

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[38] See, B. Harun Küçük, "Natural Philosophy and Politics in the Eighteenth Century: Esad of Ioannina and Greek Aristotelianism at the Ottoman Court" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 41 (2013): 125-158.
[39] Salim Aydüz, "Bilimsel Faaliyetler Açısından Lâle Devri," in Mustafa Armağan (ed.), *İstanbul Armağanı: Lâle Devri* (İstanbul, 2000), pp. 159-193.
[40] Çelebizâde İsmail Âsım Efendi, *Târih-i Râşid ve Zeyli*, eds. Abdülkadir Özcan et. al., (İstanbul, 2013) vol. III, pp. 1484-1485.
[41] Aydüz, ibid.

Nedîm, the leading poet of this period, was given the task of translating the seventeenth-century Ottoman author Derviş Ahmed Dede's general history in Arabic *Sahaif al-Ahbar* into Turkish by İbrahim Paşa in 1720,[42] the year when his college and library were opened. In his divan, Nedîm has a poem that he composed in gratitude for his appointment as the librarian at İbrahim Paşa's library. Here he expresses thanks for the opportunity to deal with a rich repository of books which, he writes, he had been so far devoid of, and then for the prestige (*i'tibâr*) that this librarian position provided him.[43] The date of his appointment is unclear, but it documents that the most influential poet of the decade held this librarianship in the grand vizier's foundation for some time besides his position as a mudarris in other colleges. Nicholas Mavrocordatos wrote his novel *Philotheou Parerga* (Philotheos' Leisures) also in 1720 during his voivodeship in Wallachia, and interestingly his novel portrays a cultural flourishing in Istanbul as the scholar protagonist Philotheos emphasizes the contrast between the immigration of Byzantine intellectuals to Europe in the fifteenth century and the current state in which the Greek Ottomans educated in the West returned to their capital and engaged in intense studies of Islamic as well as Western literatures.[44] In his famous ode for Istanbul, Nedîm celebrates the city's quality as a center of learning and a hub of the learned when he points to its inspiring social gatherings and writes that "drapery/capital of cultivation is sold in its markets" between his praises for the city's gardens, buildings and its inhabitants' good manners.[45]

Şerif Halil Paşa's complex composed of a mosque, a madrasa, an adjacent library and a primary school in Shumen is a project where the library was conceived in accompaniment with a

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[42] Aydüz, ibid., p. 167.
[43] *Nedim Divanı*, ed. Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı (İstanbul, 1972), pp. 135-136.
[44] Karen Alexandra Leal, "'Ancients, Moderns, Ottomans, Romans, Turks, Greeks, Hellenes': The Classical Canon and Communal Identity in Turn of the 18th Century Ottoman Empire," in Halit Özkan et al. (eds), *Medeniyet ve Klasik* (İstanbul, 2007), p. 371.
[45] *"Kâlâ-yı maârif satılır sûklarında." Nedim Divanı*, ibid., p. 85.

pioneering experiment in Ottoman mosque designs. Although this fact is not pointed out in modern scholarly literature, the Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque was the first Ottoman mosque that incorporated Western forms into its ornamental program and in a significant measure, and thus, it is an important precursor of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, which was to be built between 1748 and 1755 as a sultanic commission in Istanbul, in this respect. In its plan and size, Halil Paşa's mosque is similar to Damad İbrahim Paşa's mosque built nearly two decades earlier in the latter's birthplace, Nevşehir.[46] But the muqarnas capitals of the half columns as tall as the side walls in the interior of the Nevşehir translated into Corinthian capitals in the Shumen mosque. In the newer mosque, there are also smaller half columns in the same style above them, placed within the eight pendentives of the dome.[47] (fig. 1.21) Yet another group of Corinthian capitals were carved at the surprising location of the edges of the two muqarnas mihrab niches in the portico. (fig. 1.22) Two other capitals are main elements of the equally surprising engaged columns on the two sides of the mosque's principal door, which are crowned by finials with crescents that normally decorate the tops of domes but here provide the pieces a profile reminiscent of Western memorial columns. (fig. 1.23) The capitals of the half columns that border the main mihrab inside are rococo and nearly identical with the capitals seen in Mahmud I's Fatih Library and the gate of the Hagia Sophia Public Kitchen, which were built in the preceding two years.[48] The complete contiguity of the Corinthian pieces in the portico niches and of the ornamental columns that flank the door with the rest of the surface and ground of the building leave no doubt that all of these elements were parts of the initial form of the mosque.

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[46] This was noted by Doğan Kuban. See, D. Kuban, *Osmanlı Mimarisi* (İstanbul, 2007), p. 592.

[47] It is not easy to elucidate where this motif of superimposition of half columns came from. It may be the Mausoleum of Diocletianus in Split, some *trompe l'oeil* dome decorations in Central Europe, or another source.

[48] The ablution fountain has columns with capitals characterized by leaves that cover their surfaces. These capitals are nearly identical with the ones seen on the interior surfaces of the drums of the five main domes of the Tophane cannon factory, which was built the previous year, 1743, in Istanbul. The same workshop must have been responsible for the examples in the ablution fountain in Shumen.

The source of inspiration for the ornamental columns (and perhaps for the Corinthian capitals as well) might have been the English architect James Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture: Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, which was published in London in 1728 and a copy of which is found in the Topkapı Palace Treasury collection,[49] because this book contains a series of drawings for decorative columns to be erected in estate gardens.[50] (fig. 1.24) The historian Vâsıf Efendi, who wrote more than half a century later, referred to Şerif Halil Paşa's mosque as a monument that made the praises said for him "proverbs in distant and close places."[51] How important the role of the novel ornaments of the mosque was behind its reputation is not easy to deduce, but the mosque indeed stands as a strong synthesis of the Ottomans' old and brand new sources of ornamental forms.

The prominent presence of the library in the cutting-edge project commissioned by this successful statesman from a *kalemiye* background is emblematic of the ascent of libraries in the Ottomans' architectural agenda. The library is a structure built in the likeness of masonry mansion wings in Istanbul with its cross vaults over the rectangular main room and its vestibule, which are above a basement, and with the stone consoles that support the full projection of the library towards the street. This likeness must be a result of the association developed between the library function and the masonry mansion wings in the seventeenth and early eighteenth

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[49] Topkapı Palace Library, H. 2610.

[50] With vases at their tops, two of Gibbs's drawings must have been a source for the design of the column erected in the Okmeydanı archery ground outside Istanbul to commemorate Sultan Mahmud II's record in this sport in 1829 (today in front of the building on Mezarlık Cami Street, no 5). For the Gibbs drawing, see, James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture: Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments* (London, 1728), plate 87. For Mahmud II's archery monument and its inscriptions, see, M. Şinasi Acar, *İstanbul'un Son Nişan Taşları* (İstanbul, 2007), pp. 72-73. The general relation of the designs of Okmeydanı's archery monuments, and the two similar monuments erected for the jereed/javelin sport teams in the outer garden of the Topkapı Palace, in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries to the European monumental columns, especially to the miniature ones in estate gardens, is a question that awaits scholarly attention.

[51] Quoted in, Osman Keskioğlu and A. Taha Özaydın, "Bulgaristan'da Türk-İslam Eserleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XVII (1983), p. 124, fn. 56.

centuries, which will be discussed in Chapter 2. The volume of the library is an essential constituent of the volumetric configuration of the complex as a whole. The mosque and the madrasa share the courtyard, which has an ablution fountain at its center, but unlike several sixteenth-century examples, the madrasa was not positioned in front of the mosque in this project. Instead, it is to one side of the mosque and leaves the front to the library. (fig. 1.25) The library is reached through the courtyard of the madrasa, but it is placed at the corner closest to the public entrance of the college, following the common planning preference in Istanbul's madrasas that were built with libraries (figs. 1.26-1.27). The madrasa lacks a lecture room (classes were probably held in the mosque), and thus the library stands as the main volume that balances the mosque in the calculated asymmetry of the complex. The library's width is equal to the distance between the mosque's portico and the street wall that curtains its forecourt. It features a well-carved birds' house that is seen from the madrasa courtyard. The library was planned as a main object of the frontal appearance of the complex, and a defining element of its whole composition.

**Public Libraries Styled as Public Kiosks**

The first public library building in Istanbul that was planned as an element of a mosque compound is Grand Vizier Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's library opened in 1146/1733. Ali Paşa's father was the Cretan convert Nuh Efendi who served as the chief physician of the Ottoman court between 1695 and his death in 1707 (hence Ali Paşa was called *Hekimoğlu*, "physician's son"). Nuh Efendi had studied at the School of Medicine of the University of Padua before the Ottoman conquest of Crete in 1669. Converted later to Islam and promoted first to the post of chief

surgeon of the palace in 1675,[52] he also wrote a book on medicine in Turkish.[53] Ali Paşa was thus the son of another seventeenth-century Ottoman who had been educated in Padua. He was admitted to the Enderun during the reign of Ahmed III and later held a number of military positions. He commanded a series of operations in the wars against the Safavids in the eastern front from 1724 on and he was appointed the grand vizier upon capturing Tabriz with his forces in the year 1731.

One of the first initiatives he took after his arrival in Istanbul in 1732 was the construction of his memorial complex. The mosque of this complex is the greatest in size among the vizier mosques of the eighteenth century. It reintroduced the hexagonal baldaquin plan of a group of sixteenth-century mosques, and its walls are covered with products of the new ceramic tile factory in the capital. The garden is bordered by three structures lined on the artery to the north of the mosque. The sabil is at the corner, the paşa's mausoleum is adjacent to it, while the library is further to the west, separated from the mausoleum (fig. 1.28).

This library is designed as the gate structure of the compound. There are two other, simple doorways to the garden on other corners, but the gate-library edifice was certainly conceived of as the primary frontal element of the compound (fig. 1.29). The inscription placed here on the street side is a chronogram composed by Ali Paşa's protégé, then-secretary of the grand vizier (*mektûbi-i sadr-ı azâm*) Râgıb Efendi, the future grand vizier and library-founder Râgıb Paşa, but this verse refers only to the mosque.[54] The library had its own inscription carved on wood, referred to below, inside the room. Taller than the mausoleum, the library appears as

[52] Bekir Harun Küçük, "Early Enlightenment in Istanbul," unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 2012, p. 119.
[53] Orhan M. Çolak, "Arşiv Belgelerinin Işığı Altında Sadrazam Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa'nın (1100-1171/1689-1758) Hayatı, İcraatı ve Hayratı" unpublished MA thesis, Istanbul University (1998), p. 236.
[54] Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevârih*, eds. Fahri Ç. Derin and Vahid Çabuk (İstanbul, 1985), p. 339.

the architectural volume second only to the mosque in the complex. A wide and deep barrel vault that covers the passage from the street to the courtyard forms the lower storey of the structure. The main spaces of the library are located above this passageway, hence this library is essentially a gate with a pavilion on top. A stairway from the courtyard leads to the open loggia in the upper storey (fig. 1.30). This spacious loggia is surrounded by openings of two arches on each of the shorter sides and three arches on the longer side. Although the library and the mosque are not on the same axis but in oblique angles in relation to each other, the library's loggia and the arcade in front of the mosque, which is raised on a platform reached through stairs, virtually form an ensemble of interrelated spaces, adding thus to the visual prominence of the library inside the courtyard. The main hall of the library covers a larger piece of the upper storey. Following the dominant convention in Ottoman residential architecture and unlike, for example, the library hall of the Feyzullah Efendi and İbrahim Paşa madrasas, the door of this hall is located on a corner. The interior of the room has a fireplace and low platforms for couches on the borders, again in the manner of residential furnishing, both of which evidence the direct influence of residential architecture on the design of this pavilion. The wooden book cabinet that stands above four pillars in the center of the hall, practically a building within the building, is the oldest surviving example of its type, which is a subject of chapters 3 and 4 of the present study. An interesting detail of this library building that can escape attention is another work of microarchitecture, the little birdhouse carved between two stone cantilevers on the street side which, with its miniature cantilevers, looks like a tiny sculpture of the library (fig. 1.31).

The absence of a madrasa in its program is a noteworthy characteristic of Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's memorial complex. This absence is indicative of the importance of the library as an institution of learning by the 1730s. Ali Paşa's manuscript biography written by his son İsmail

Ziyâeddin Bey, a *qadi*, and completed in 1174/1760 provides rich information about the construction of the charitable compound as a major project in the vizier's life.[55] We learn from the biography that the library was the first building completed and inaugurated in the complex while the cornerstone of the mosque was laid by the paşa only a few months earlier in the same year.[56] Writing about a quarter century later, Ziyâeddin Bey memorably describes this institution as a "library that became a school of learned comprehension for the erudite of the time" (*dânişverân-ı zamâna mekteb-i irfân olan kütübhâne*).[57] This metaphor captures an understanding of libraries by the Ottomans as schools of autodidact erudition. The phrase's school analogy is reminiscent of the promotion of Mazarin's library in a French newspaper in 1644 as "an academy for all the learned and curious."[58] Ziyâeddin Bey's reference to "the erudite of the time" rather than to madrasa students reflects the goal to reach the broader public and the importance of autodidact learning. He also records the poet Behiştî's chronogram line, which calls the library the "Treasury of books of Ali Paşa, the erudite Âsaf."[59] The entire text of this poem is inscribed on the wooden panel which remained in the library until 1916 when it was removed to the Istanbul Museum of Islamic Arts.[60] One of the lines of the poem praises the vizier for reinforcing the social rewards of culture and learning with the following words: "Drapery/capital of knowledge found market currency in his time" (*Kâlâ-yı ilm buldı zamânında revâç*). The vocabulary of this phrase is similar to Râşid Efendi's comment about Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa, Nedîm's comment on the high demand for cultivation in Istanbul's urban life and, no less, to the modern "cultural capital" conceptualization. Though used already in the sixteenth century,

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[55] İsmail Ziyâeddin Bey, *Metâliu'l-Âliye fî Gurretu'l-Gâliye* MS, Istanbul University Library, TY 2486.
[56] Ibid., pp. 49b.
[57] Ibid., pp. 49a-49b.
[58] Quoted in Clarke, ibid., p. 337.
[59] *Kenz-i kütüb-i Âsaf ve dânâ Ali Paşa*. İsmail Ziyâeddin Bey, ibid., f. 49b. Âsaf is the name of King Solomon's legendary vizier and a common analogy for Ottoman grand viziers.
[60] İstanbul Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi – Yazma Eserler Seksiyonu, inventory number: 2748.

analogies with the acts and objects of the marketplace were highly augmented and popularized in Ottoman Turkish poetry by the works of the seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century poet Nâbî.[61] There appears an aggregation of such analogies used for erudition and statesmen's capabilities in that realm in several instances. It is interesting to see how the presence of intellectuals in major positions of power was expected to bring dynamism to cultural life by rendering knowledge and learning more fashionable in society, presumably through the viziers' powers as role models as well as, or more than, through their preferences in official appointments.

Abdürezzak Nevres, a native of Kirkuk (today in northern Iraq), had entered Ali Paşa's retinue during his missions in the eastern provinces as the paşa's bookdealer (*kitâbî*) and he came to Istanbul together with his protector with the same responsibility in his hands.[62] His presence in the grand vizier's retinue facilitated his entry to refined circles, and he was later appointed as a mudarris at the prestigious Fatih madrasas in 1147/1734,[63] that is, the year following the opening of the library. In one of the eulogies that he wrote for Ali Paşa, Nevres praises him for having unified refined learning with combative talents, normally found singly in exemplary historical figures.[64]

Ziyâeddin Bey's text reveals the significant fact that Ali Paşa's mosque was actually built next to his palace.[65] Documenting the ceremonial unity between the two, he also writes that the illumination of the palace's garden for a social occasion during Ramadan was placed on an axis

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[61] See, Meserret Diriöz, *Eserlerine Göre Nâbî* (İstanbul, 1994), pp. 216-229; Cemâl Kurnaz, "İmge ve Simge Olarak Halep Kumaşı," in Ali Fuat Bilkan (ed.), *Şair Nabi* (Ankara, 2012), pp. 299-307.
[62] Hüseyin Akkaya, "Ön Söz" in *Nevres-i Kadîm ve Türkçe Dîvanı*, ed. Hüseyin Akkaya (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), vol. I, pp. 20-21.
[63] Ibid., p. 22.
[64] *Nevres-i Kadîm ve Türkçe Dîvanı*, ed. Hüseyin Akkaya (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), vol. II, p. 66.
[65] İsmail Ziyâeddin Bey, ibid., pp. 51b-52a.

between the palace edifice (*kasr*) and the mosque's gate.[66] The inscription on the stone gate that stands today alone on the same axis with one of the minor gates of the mosque's courtyard but about a hundred meters to the south refers to the settlement (*kondı*) of the vizier with his house (*hâne*) in a couplet, as well as to the mosque in another one. (fig. 1.32) Therefore, the slightly sloping area that overlooks the Marmara Sea and lies between the mosque and this solitary gate must have been the site of the palace. The unity of the two building groups, the mosque complex and the palace, may have implications for the library. In close proximity to the palace, the library must have originally been planned to continue to serve the household as well. Therefore, it can actually be evaluated as a public extension of the palace as well as an addendum to the mosque. Nevres might well have been the first librarian employed in the public library in the year before he was appointed a mudarris.

The attachment of the palace to the mosque complex also suggests a symbolic meaning ascribed to the gate structure. In this period, elite households, in the sense of the extended family, its employees and protégés, were commonly called *kapu*, which literally means a "gate" or a "portal" in Turkish. The library structure originally stood as the monumental entrance to the larger compound consisting of the mosque and the palace, in other words, as entrance to the physical grounds of Ali Paşa's *kapu*. This may help explain the decision to construct the library building before the mosque, because this *kapu* structure represented the household.

This representative quality, in turn, helps us understand the symbolic aspect of the architectural genealogy of the building. As a kiosk-above-gate, the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library is akin, first of all, to the Topkapı Palace's outermost gate near the Hagia Sophia, the fifteenth-century *Bâb-ı Hümâyûn* (Imperial Gate). The pavilion, that is, the upper storey of this gate,

[66] Ibid., pp. 299a-299b.

burned down in the nineteenth century, but Gülru Necipoğlu revealed with the help of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century repair documents that it had a colonnaded portico on the side of the palace garden,[67] at the back of the rooms that formed a continuous mass, which is seen in several visual depictions, on the side of the public square (fig. 1.33). Besides this similarity between the basic spatial organizations of the two pavilions, the function of the pavilion above the Imperial Gate was also not very distant in character from that of a library. It primarily served, at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as the treasury of the inheritances of deceased Muslims without heirs and a depository for a portion of the palace archives.[68] It is highly likely, therefore, that an intention to make an allusion to the outermost gate of the sultans' palace had a determinant role behind the design of the Hekimoğlu Library.

Necipoğlu quoted elsewhere a passage from the *Hünernâme*, a royal chronicle completed in 1588, which relates that Süleyman I placed a number of endowed books in the rooms above the gates of the outer courtyard of the Süleymaniye for the benefit of distinguished authors and calligraphers of the period.[69] The three rooms above the gates in question must have held this function for some time at least in the sixteenth century, before the endowed books moved inside the mosque at an unknown date. The *Hünernâme* passage thus documents an association between elevated rooms above gates and the idea of a library-scriptorium space in the sixteenth century. The libraries within the Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa and the Ahmediye (in Üsküdar) madrasas are both close precedents; their proportions are in fact closer to the Hekimoğlu's than the Imperial Gate Pavilion where the street façade is the longer side of the rectangular plan. The library room in the Ahmediye Madrasa in Üsküdar is also next to an entrance to the garden, but it is not the

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[67] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991) pp. 37; 269, footnote 18.
[68] Ibid., pp. 38-39.
[69] Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, 2005), p. 212.

gate structure. Çoban Mustafa Paşa's library stands as an important, though temporally distant, precedent of the Hekimoğlu with its placement above the entrance to the courtyard. But the anteroom of this smaller library is not an open gallery, nor is it a free-standing gate structure. Despite its similarities to all these probable precedents in different respects, the Hekimoğlu Library has a unique design. With its profile viewed from inside the courtyard and the mosque's portico (fig. 1.34), the library was possibly planned to allude to the Ali Qapu Palace in the Safavid capital Isfahan. Built in the early seventeenth century, this monument overlooks the city's vast Naqsh-e Jihan Square and was originally also the portal/gatehouse (hence the Turkic word *qapu* in its name) to the palace compound behind it (fig. 1.35). In the depth of the gallery and the relative proportions of the lower and upper storeys, the library resembles a reduced-scale representation of the contours of the Isfahan monument. The Hekimoğlu Library was built only a decade after the development of Kağıthane in the vicinity of Istanbul with the allocation of plots of land to several state functionaries and elites around an artificial channel constructed in 1721. In turn, these individuals built kiosks and gardens in these plots following the Sa'dâbâd pavilion that Damad İbrahim Paşa built and presented to the sultan as a gift in 1722. Shirine Hamadeh underlined the possible inspiration of Isfahan's Chaharbagh extension developed around the straight channel and boulevard with the same name by the Safavid elite's formal gardens and pavilions in the early seventeenth century behind the Ottoman counterpart.[70] The Ali Qapu and the adjoining square were integral to this extension project in Isfahan, and Chaharbagh was no doubt known to many elites in Istanbul by the early eighteenth century. Râşid Efendi records how the Ottoman grand vizier told the Iranian ambassador who was in Istanbul in 1706 that they believed the part of the Bosphorus around the Anatolia Castle, where the latter was hosted in a

[70] Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle and London, 2008), pp. 229-234.

seashore mansion, equaled Isfahan's Chaharbagh.[71] The biography compiler Safâyî noted in the 1720s that the poet Süleyman Nahîfî, a bureaucrat who was also in Damad İbrahim Paşa's translation team, had close interaction with Persian poets, litterateurs and scholars in Isfahan and other towns of Iran where he had been as a secretary in an embassy mission a few decades before.[72] Equally important is Ali Paşa's own engagement with Iran. He had just returned triumphant from the Iranian border before he began to build his complex and its gate-library. Ottomans occasionally displayed architectural "trophies" in their monuments. In the 1580s, Özdemiroğlu Osman Paşa presented some fragments including the dome and the window glasses and ornate shutters of a pavilion he seized in the Shirvan and Tabriz area upon his conquest of the region to Sultan Murad III who then ordered that the fragments be used in a pavilion to be constructed on the Bosphorus.[73] Named the Sultaniye Kiosk, it remained in good condition until at least the early eighteenth century.[74] But the Hekimoğlu Library might be an example of the technique of architectural transplantation alternative to the use of spolia as a new building that produced an approximate image of the Isfahan landmark. Süleyman I's mausoleum, which was built in the late 1560s in a plan reminiscent of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem probably as a pun based on the identity of the sultan's name and King Solomon's, is an example of this alternative practice.[75] As articulated in verse and prose passages in his biography written by his son, Ali Paşa was similarly a namesake of Caliph Ali, and he had also been given the epithet Âli (meaning "exalted") by certain religious authorities at the time of his birth.[76] He thus shared the

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[71] Râşid Efendi, ibid., p. 757. Also quoted in Hamadeh, ibid., p. 232.
[72] Mustafa Safâyî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâyî: Nuhbetü'l-Âsâr min Fevâidi'l-Eş'ar*, ed. Pervin Çapan (Ankara, 2005), p. 649.
[73] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. I, eds. Robert Dankoff et al. (İstanbul, 1996), p. 229.
[74] Sedad H. Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (Ankara, 1976), p. 17.
[75] Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1986): 100-104.
[76] İsmail Ziyâeddin Bey, ibid, f. 50b; 54a; 4b-5a.

name of the Isfahan monument according to both versions of its pronunciation. Therefore, it is indeed plausible that the Hekimoğlu Library's form was an architectural pun on the Ali Qapu, communicated to the learned who could infer it, as well as a pun on the Ottoman palace's Imperial Gate, more easily legible to more Istanbulites.

Another eulogy, this time written by a madrasa graduate called Fethi Efendi to celebrate Ali Paşa's appointment to the grand vizierate for the second time in 1742 and included by Ziyâeddin Bey in the biography, presents interesting clues about the culture around libraries. This eulogy is in effect also a petition for a job, and Fethi Efendi mentions first an appointment to a rank in the judicial hierarchy, but then praises the paşa for having built benevolent institutions in Istanbul and requests him to build a library and appoint him as its librarian. This remark is noteworthy because it documents that the establishment of a second library by a statesman who had already opened one was conceived of as probable by that time. In the subsequent lines, the petitioner adds how he spent his life hitherto devoid of well-written books and his time with a longing/passion for beautiful books (*iştiyâk-ı kütüb-i enfesle evkâtım*).[77] The motif of a thirst for quality books appeased with a librarianship position is in the same line with Nedîm's gratitude poem for his appointment to this position, and was probably directly inspired by it. The word Fethi Efendi chose to express his attachment to books, *iştiyâk*, with its connotation that lies between longing and passion, indicates that the enjoyment of books as objects had its own considerable share in the Ottoman understanding of bibliophilia.

Following the inclusion of a library in the program of a new mosque complex, Hagia Sophia became the site where the first library was built adjacent to an old mosque. This was a project of Sultan Mahmud I. There is a group of sultanic directives, published by Ahmed Refik,

[77] Ibid., ff. 107a-107b.

about a public double bath, which was being built in 1153/1740 as a source of income for the library built next to the Hagia Sophia.[78] This must be the Cağaloğlu Bath, which was completed in 1741. Opened in 1740, the Hagia Sophia Library was also the first library founded in its own structure by a sultan outside the palace. This is referred to by the official chronicler Subhi Efendi who wrote that libraries were not among the "ornaments of the record sheets" (*pîrâye-i sahâyif-i a'mâl*) of earlier sultans.[79] His chronicle, which was completed in 1744, is one of the earliest texts that refer to a public broader than madrasa students as the intended body of users. The audience the sultan had in mind was the people of comprehension (*fühûm*).[80] With about 4400 items, this library's collection far surpassed in size both the Fatih Mosque's and the Feyzullah Efendi libraries. Among these endowed books, there were contributions made by a number of statesmen including viziers, higher *ulema* and several bureaucrats, the future library-builders Âtıf and Râgıb Efendis among them, in addition to the sultan's massive donation made from the palace treasury.[81] The library built at the city's great old mosque was thus the site where book donation became a collective gesture of the Ottoman state elite, which was not repeated in any later project and remained unique to this monument.

The passage where Subhi relates the foundation of the library includes a surprising anecdote about the selection of its location. He writes that the decision about the site was postponed for some time, and then it was determined by the sultan himself "according to a divine inspiration" (*ber-muktezâ-yı ilhâm-ı Hudâ*) to build it next to the wall of the Hagia Sophia.[82] This motif of a divine inspiration, coupled with the element of a period of indecision prior to the

[78] Ahmet Refik, *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı* (İstanbul, 1930), pp. 145; 147-148; 150-152.
[79] Vak'anüvis Subhi Mehmed Efendi, *Subhi Tarihi: Sami ve Şakir Tarihleri ile Birlikte*, ed. Mesut Aydıner (İstanbul, 2007), p. 619.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Günay Kut, "Sultan I. Mahmut Kütüphanesi (Ayasofya Kütüphanesi)," in Özlem Bayram et al. (eds.) *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Bilim Kültür ve Kütüphaneler* (Ankara, 1999), 110-111.
[82] Vak'anüvis Subhi Mehmed Efendi, ibid.

selection, appears significant. Although there is ample evidence for Mahmud I's close personal interest in architectural projects and modifications that were made to them,[83] a reference to divine guidance does not seem to have any parallel. It is not common in the predominantly worldly tone of eighteenth-century Ottoman chronicles, nor is it usual for Ottoman narratives of building processes. It is evocative of the parable narrated by Evliya Çelebi in his *Seyahatnâme* (Book of Travels; written in the mid to late seventeenth century) according to which Selim II was directed by Prophet Muhammad in a dream to build Selimiye in the city of Edirne.[84] Hagia Sophia's sanctity and its symbolic weight in Ottoman consciousness[85] must have been important in turning the search for an appropriate location for the library into a heavenly affair as the chronicler narrated. But the use of this expression for the construction of a library is at the same time an important manifestation of the elevated status attributed to this emerging building type.

At least six commemorative poems were written for the library by religious scholars and other poets.[86] One of them, which was penned by a state functionary by the name of Sâlik Efendi, presents a noteworthy metaphor by calling the library a sacred invocation (*salâdur*), like the calls for prayer from the minaret, for the seekers of most various skills. The next line then calls it "treasuries of difficult/intricate details of knowledge."[87] The richness of the subjects

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[83] The chronicler İzzî's work and other chronicles contain several examples. For some of the instances, see Chapter 4 of the present thesis.
[84] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, vol. III, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (İstanbul, 1999), p. 246.
[85] See, Stefanos Yerasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les tradition turques: légendes d'Empire* (Istanbul and Paris, 1990); Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in Robert Mark and Ahmet Ş. Çakmak (eds.) *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 195-225; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (University Park, Pa, 2009).
[86] Hatice Aynur collected and published these poems: Hatice Aynur, "I. Mahmûd'un (ö. 1754) Kütüphaneleri ve Tarih Manzumeleri," in Hatice Aynur et al. (eds), *Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuhfe: İsmail E. Erünsal'a Armağan* vol. 2 (İstanbul, 2014), pp. 681-734.
[87] Ibid., p. 716.

available and the opportunity to make higher-level investigations in these places were to remain important themes in Ottoman references to public libraries.

The Hagia Sophia Library is composed of multiple parts and has a complex plan. The library proper is built between two buttresses of Hagia Sophia on its southern side. This is where the royal mausolea built since the sixteenth century are also located, but the entrance to the library is from inside the mosque. Composed of three marble arches enclosed by metal trellises, this entrance gives way both to a corridor that reaches the library at the back and another room built inside the mosque next to the entrance. Roughly the same size as the library proper, this latter room is covered with a wooden ceiling. It is defined in the sources as the space where public lecturers would teach religious sciences and, in addition, hadiths would be recited on certain days of the week.[88] It was essentially an addendum to the library, and was no doubt used as a space for reading at other times.

The long outer wall of this latter room is composed of an arcade of five openings, again enclosed by trellises (fig. 1.36). Something that escaped earlier researchers' attention is that this arcade, in all likelihood, mimics the church's great arcade that separates its nave from the aisle (fig. 1.37). Not only is the number of openings the same, but the five arches on the room façade are also round ones as in the greater arcade. There are also half columns at two ends, which recall the pilasters in the same place in the old arcade. When looked at from some points up in the gallery floor, the small arcade of the hadith recitation room appears as a scaled-down copy of the nave arcade, and seen right at its back. We thus encounter another instance of replication of a fragment of an old monument, similar to the cases in the Feyzullah Efendi and the Çorlulu Ali

[88] Ahmet Akgündüz et al., *Üç Devirde Bir Mabed: Ayasofya* (İstanbul, 2005), p. 424; p. 445.

Paşa madrasas, but here inside the same monument and in visual proximity with the original piece.

The library proper at the Hagia Sophia essentially has the design of a kiosk. One first enters a square space covered by a dome. The ornate wooden book depository structure, which will be further discussed in Chapter 4, is at the center of this space. It leaves a small space for movement at the margins of the room. The room is extended with an elevated platform on the south (fig. 1.38). This platform is covered with a rectangular vault and separated from the central space by an arcade of two marble arches. These platforms, called *suffe* or *şahnişîn* in Ottoman sources, are the main generating elements of most of the Ottoman kiosks. Although they are more often placed on three sides of the square or polygonal central spaces of kiosks, there are some examples of single *şahnişîn*s. The sultan's pavilion in the Davud Paşa Palace in the vicinity of Istanbul was built in 1596 in a larger scale but in nearly the same plan with the Hagia Sophia Library (fig. 1.39).[89] At least two other kiosks with single *şahnişîn*s were built around Istanbul in the seventeenth century.[90] Therefore, the Hagia Sophia Library has to be evaluated as a kiosk design, in other words, a tiny kiosk attached to a mosque. In fact, it can be considered a variant of the Ahmed III Library, which was built in the Topkapı Palace in 1719 (and will be discussed in Chapter 2) and has three *şahnişîn*s around a square space. The *şahnişîn* in the Hagia Sophia Library was certainly furnished with low couches as in other examples. The walls of the lecture room, the library and the corridor between the two are largely covered with reused and new ceramic tiles. There are also additional book niches with shutters on the walls of the library. The interior of the drum of the dome above the wooden depository structure has an inscription of seven verses from the Quran where the value and rewards of the guidance of the Book (*Kitâb*)

[89] Sedad H. Eldem, Köşkler ve Kasırlar vol. I (Ankara, 1964), pp. 209-237.
[90] Ibid., pp. 238-284.

are enunciated and where the word *kitâb* appears three times (fig. 1.40).[91] This epigraphic choice is unique to this library.

### The Charity to Emulate: The Âtıf Efendi Library

The Head Treasurer Mustafa Âtıf Efendi legally endowed the first of the two portions of his books less than a year after the inauguration of the Hagia Sophia Library, at the beginning of 1153 H.,[92] that is, in 1740. The construction of his library in Istanbul might have begun around that time. The date given in the inscription above the door of the book depository in the library reveals that it was completed in 1155/1742, the year in which Sultan Mahmud I's second public library built next to the Fatih Mosque was opened, and Fethi Efendi expected from the grand vizier a similar decision to build a second library. Indeed, these were years when the library building trend in Istanbul significantly accelerated. Âtıf Efendi's *waqfiyya* lists 730 entries, more than one thousand volumes, which he endowed before the opening of the library.[93] His probate inventory indicates that there were 352 more volumes in his house, but an accompanying note in the document states that a group of them had been legally endowed earlier by his father-in-law and, for some unspecified reason, kept in the treasurer's house.[94] Like Damad İbrahim Paşa, Âtıf Efendi turned nearly the entirety of his collection into a public amenity, his personal memorial of bibliophilia. Âtıf Efendi was trained within bureaucratic offices and this is referred to, together with his identity as an eminent calligrapher, in the introduction of his *waqfiyya* where he is called

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[91] The Quran, XXXV/29-35. Ahmet Akgündüz et al., ibid., pp. 437-438.
[92] Fuat Sezgin, "Âtıf Efendi Kütüphanesinin Vakfiyesi" *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* VI (1955), p. 134.
[93] Süleymaniye Library: Âtıf Efendi 2858
[94] BOA [Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, Istanbul], D. BŞM. MHF. 12494. H. Sievert mistakenly gives the number of Âtıf Efendi's books in the inventory as 3452. Henning Sievert, "Verlorene Schätze – Bücher von Bürokraten in den *Muhallefât-Registern*" in Tobias Heinzelmann and Henning Sievert (eds) *Buchkultur im Nahen Osten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Bern, 2010), p. 232.

a "pillar of the professionals of registers and pen" and a "choicest one of the masters of writing."[95]

The *defterdâr*'s library displays some important novel features and a unique architectural design apparently highly indebted, once again, to the kiosk tradition. The Âtıf Efendi Library is actually a complex consisting of two edifices. On the street side is a structure containing three dwellings built for the librarians (fig. 1.41). Each of these attached houses have separate entrances from the street, and characteristically for the residential architecture of the city, their uppermost storeys have projections that reflect the regular quadrilateral shapes of their main rooms and contrast with the curve of the street. The largest of these dwellings on the west apparently belonged to the chief librarian; the second and third librarians must have moved between the dwellings as they were promoted in rank. The chief objective behind the inclusion of this structure in the complex in masonry must be protecting the library from possible fires in the surrounding timber neighborhoods. Still, such quality dwellings by eighteenth-century standards can also be seen as a reflection of the social status of librarians. The library edifice is located in a garden of an irregular shape, which is reached through a long vault beneath the dwellings (fig. 1.42). Thanks to the slope in the garden, the library edifice has a basement left open to air circulation with large arches, aimed at protection from humidity. It is the first Ottoman library where the book depository is a room separate from the study hall. Above the door to the depository, which is located at the center of its wall is an inscription of a Quranic verse about God's guarding and protecting character (fig. 1.43).[96] This is a signed panel of calligraphy, but it is not easy to understand which of the calligraphers with the name Yahyâ who lived in those years its artist was. The inscription of this verse was unique to this library; the quite similar

[95] Sezgin, ibid., p. 133.
[96] The Quran, XII/64.

depository rooms of the Nuruosmaniye and the Veliyüddin Efendi have unrelated inscriptions above their doors. Not only in their architectural designs, but also in the epigraphic programs of the Ottoman libraries, a taste for particularity remained dominant throughout the century. On the wall to the right of the main entrance to the study hall, on the other hand, is the inscription of the regulations about the operation of the library summarized from the *waqfiyya*, which is highly unusual for Ottoman conventions (fig. 1.44).

The opening of this library was commemorated in a verse. In this hitherto unnoticed short eulogy, which is found in an anonymous manuscript compilation of chronograms in the Istanbul University Library, the poet Tevfîk writes how he looked with an "applauding eye" (*nigâh-ı tahsîn*) at the library, which had "enviable" nine domes (vaults).[97] That the library served as Âtıf Efendi's memorial is testified to by the references made to it in most of the period biographies of the founder, including Şemdanîzâde's chronicle and Râmiz's dictionary of poet biographies, both of which were written more than three decades later.[98]

This library's study hall is composed of a central space and five iwans aligned on three sides of it (figs. 1.45-1.46). Each of these smaller spaces is one step elevated. They are practically small alcoves that allow one or two persons to study. They must have been furnished with cushions. This series of five alcoves is the dominant spatial feature of the library. Obviously related to *şahnişîn*s in kiosk architecture, they can also be seen as functional counterparts of alcoves that began to spread in interior designs of libraries in western Europe during the preceding period, an important example of which is Sir Christopher Wren's Trinity College

[97] *Mecmuâ-yı Tevârih* MS, Istanbul University Library, TY 2580, f. 25b.
[98] Şem'danîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Müri't-Tevârih* I, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul, 1976), pp. 109-110; *Râmiz ve* Âdab-ı Zurafâ'*sı*, ed. Sadık Erdem (Ankara, 1994), p. 209.

Library in Cambridge which was completed in 1695[99] (fig. 1.47). Whether this trend was known to Ottomans is not clear, but the marked emphasis on small secluded study spaces in the Âtıf Efendi Library may be a reflection of the increasingly individualized practices of reading and studying among the eighteenth-century Ottomans. In a recent study, Khaled el-Rouayheb emphasized that "deep reading" as a practice had roots in the earlier centuries of Islam, but Ottomans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries produced conscious articulations of this. Several older medieval manuals of transmission of knowledge typically prioritized hearing, discussion, interaction and memorization and were largely indifferent to private reading, but Müneccimbaşı Ahmed ibn Lütfullah completed in 1691 a treatise on the manner of closely examining books, deriving meanings from writings, in advanced stages of learning where he underlined the importance of logic, semantics and rhetoric. The same fields and the question of relation to the text were given unusual emphasis in Mehmed Saçaklızâde's education manual from 1716 as well.[100] The abounding alcoves in the Âtıf Efendi Library may be a crystallization of a tendency towards private reading, but in fact the growing demand for library buildings as a whole implies an expansion of solitary and individual reading, since we do not find any trace of discussions, group studies or loud voice normally seen in the eighteenth-century libraries. Italian cleric-scholar Giambattista Toderini, who investigated the madrasas and the libraries in Istanbul in the 1780s, found the architecture of the Âtıf Efendi Library's study hall practical. He saw eight students engrossed in books during his visit to the place.[101]

This plan appears like a derivative of kiosks with three *şahnişîn*s. Several seventeenth-century kiosks in this group built in Istanbul have plans only a little different from the Âtıf

[99] James W. P. Campbell, *The Library: A World History* (Chicago, 2013), pp. 141-142.
[100] Khaled el-Rouayheb, *Islamic Intellectual History in the Seventeenth Century: Scholarly Currents in the Ottoman Empire and the Maghreb* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 97-130.
[101] Abbé Giambattista Toderini, *De la littérature des turcs*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1789), pp. 86-87.

Efendi's. The Sultaniye Kiosk (fig. 1.48),[102] which was apparently the earliest of the type, and the Revan Kiosk in the Topkapı Palace, which was built in 1635 and turned into a library by Mahmud I in 1737, featured octagonal central spaces. Some others, like the Sepetçiler Pavilion above the sea walls of the Topkapı Palace (1591) and the Tiled Kiosk of the Beşiktaş Palace on the Bosphorus (1679; demolished in the mid-nineteenth century)[103] had square central spaces (fig. 1.49), but their *şahnişîn*s were as wide as half the width of one side. All of the kiosks in this group were built on basements, and most of them had service spaces on the fourth side, which correspond to the depository in the Âtıf Efendi. The Âtıf Efendi appears basically as a novel variation on this plan type, developed here by the addition of two more iwans between the usual three. Turgut Saner suggested that the Âtıf Efendi's scheme was a derivative of the plan of the fifteenth-century Pienza Cathedral.[104] This probability seems in accordance with the selection of the plan of Borromini's San Carlo alla Quattro Fontane for the Nuruosmaniye Library, which was first realized by Saner and will be dealt with in Chapter 4. But a derivation from the Pienza monument seems much less likely, given the fact that the Âtıf Efendi's plan significantly differs from the cathedral's with the absence of most of the nave columns and the presence of the depository, with the important difference between their scales, and also because the Pienza monument did not have a reputation like that of Borromini's work. If there was such an inspiration, it must have converged with a preference for the practicality of *şahnişîn*s. The intention to privilege the role of alcoves and reading seclusion in the plan may have been a decisive factor in the development of this formula. With the emergence of the separate depository and the five-iwan space, the first Ottoman public library built independent of any

[102] Sedad H. Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (Ankara, 1976), pp. 14-17.
[103] Sedad H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar* vol. II (Ankara, 1964), pp. 124-150.
[104] Turgut Saner, "Mimari Dönüştürmeler," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 9 (2005): 80-82.

other *waqf* compound leaves the impression of an effort spent to create a spatial solution peculiar to and appropriate for the new building type.

The passage in the *waqfiyya* about its location reveals that the Âtıf Efendi Library was built on an older property in the vicinity of but not next to the head treasurer's mansion.[105] This close proximity could facilitate the association between the library and Âtıf Efendi's household, but the main motivation for the selection of the site must have been the district's character. Lying between the Şehzade and the Süleymaniye complexes, this is an area where madrasas were highly concentrated, and as the sole reference to madrasa students in the *waqfiyya*[106] – despite the secretary origin of the founder himself – indicates, the student body was a primary audience for libraries. It was also an elite neighborhood with scholar and statesman residents, ideally suited for a public library. Şemdanîzâde refers to the "fitting location" of the beautiful monument (*mahallinde bir eser-i cemîl*).[107] The use of a formula akin to kiosk architecture in this first totally independent library building, a watershed in the history of Ottoman libraries, is an important crystallization of the weight of the kiosk paradigm in the trend, which was as pronounced as the allusions to mosques throughout the period.

The Âtıf Efendi Library was described as a breakthrough in the Ottomans' interest in public library foundation by Müstakîmzâde Süleyman Saâdeddin Efendi, a contemporary of the trend. In his dictionary of calligraphers *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn* (Calligraphers' Gift), which he completed in 1783, Müstakîmzâde wrote that Âtıf Efendi's library had a peculiar place among the "charitable works of the period" (*hıdemât-ı yevmiyyede*) since it served as the "model/example of the other libraries [built] by sultans and viziers who thus became his

[105] Sezgin, ibid., pp. 136-137.
[106] Ibid., p. 135.
[107] Şem'danîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, ibid., p. 109.

imitators" (*sâir mülûk ve vüzerâ dârülkütüblerine nümûne olub anın mukallidi olmuşlardır*).[108] Müstakîmzâde was a native observer of the efflorescence of the trend and his perception must be regarded as a significant insight. The formative role that he attributes to the Âtıf Efendi Library, although it was obviously not the first public library, must be due to its emergence in the urban fabric as an independent memorial, which apparently considerably increased the prestige of this new form of charity. It influenced even its founder's superiors. Müstakîmzâde's use of *mukallid* (imitator) in the statement must be related to the term's common appearance in calligraphy criticism and in descriptions of the stylistic genealogies of artists. In the world of calligraphy individuals could be pupils or imitators of artists from lower official ranks. However, this is nonetheless a significant application of the notion of imitation to the realm of architectural patronage. It explicitly defines imitation as a central dynamic of the development of the new building type. This statement crystallizes the competitive environment developed around the penchant for library building for which the Âtıf Efendi was a trendsetter.

[108] Müstakîmzâde Süleyman Saâdeddin, *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn*, ed. Mustafa Koç (İstanbul, 2014), p. 485.

# CHAPTER 2

# LIBRARIES IN MANSIONS AND PALACES: DISENGAGEMENT FROM TREASURIES

Books were typical contents of the palace treasuries and of the treasuries in most elite households. A study hall seems to have been a common element of a religious scholar's house in Istanbul already in the seventeenth century, if not earlier. In the eighteenth century, there were several instances of designated spaces, in some case multi-storey buildings, for the storage and study of books in mansions. In the Imperial Palace, library was physically separated from the older repository of the treasury and placed in its own building; this might have had parallels in some mansions. On the other hand, a few of the public libraries were opened in structures that once belonged to mansions. Also in the eighteenth century, employment of private library curators was increasingly common, perhaps earlier more in religious scholars' houses, but soon also in bureaucrats' and other statesmen's as well. This is one of the implications of a semi-public character the libraries of the elite houses could have. The present chapter mainly aims to document the physical and institutional features of this group of libraries.

## Library Wings of Mansions

Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi's history, which he completed in 1704 and covers the period between 1000-1068 H./1591-1660, presents vivid descriptions of events and historical figures. It must be this quality that led to its popularity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when it was printed multiple times. Naîmâ's text contains some traces of dignitaries' private reading and library spaces. The historian consulted witnesses and used oral reports in addition to written

sources. For Karaçelebizâde Aziz Efendi, who had been the *qadi* of Istanbul and later the *şeyhülislam*, and died in 1658, Naîmâ recounts from people "educated in his service" that he displayed a "vizirial, maybe sultanic" outlook through his house and clothing, his servants' cultivation and his general grandeur. We learn from this account that Aziz Efendi used to spend most of his time "in his special/reserved ornate nest/kiosk" (*kâşâne-i mahsûsasında*) occupied with studying (*mütalaâ*) and writing books.[1] Here *kâşâne-i mahsûsa* most probably denotes a large kiosk reserved for studying and writing within the compounds of the *qadi*'s mansion; in other words, the *qadi*'s private study. We encounter a reference to yet another *şeyhülislam*'s private library space in Naîmâ's description of the Jannisaries' pillage that occurred during the 1655 Riot. The mansions of both the grand vizier's and the *şeyhülislam*'s were looted during the riot. Naîmâ recounts that one day after the grand vizier's mansion was looted and jewelry, money and several "curious/phenomenal and rare things" (*tuhaf ve nevâdir*) which included Chinese porcelains (*fağfur*), and sables scattered in the hands of the rebels, a group of them moved to *Şeyhülislam* Ebu Said Efendi's mansion. There they plundered precious objects like "valuable books" (*kütüb-i nefîse*) and curious and rare things that had been "piled up" (*müddehârı olan*) by the family in a hundred and fifty years. After the destruction of portable things, they turned towards the cabinet shutters decorated with mother-of-pearl and gilt in "the space which was the *müfti*'s [*şeyhülislam*'s] library and personal room" (*müftinin kitabhânesi ve mahsûs odası olan mekân*).[2]

These passages document the presence of spaces reserved for the purpose of storing and studying books within the dwellings of high ranking scholar-judges by the middle of the

[1] Naîmâ Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Naîmâ: Ravzatü'l Hüseyn fî Hulâsâti Ahbâri'l-Hâfikayn*, ed. Mehmet İpşirli (Ankara, 2007), p. 1799.
[2] Ibid., pp. 1612-1613.

seventeenth century. It is not easy to know, however, how common library rooms were in earlier centuries. In her account of the construction of the Şehzade Mehmed Mosque in Istanbul in the 1540s, Gülru Necipoğlu quoted from a sixteenth-century source that the mosque's ablution fountain in its arcaded courtyard was built in the place of *Şeyhülislam* Kemalpaşazâde's library, which was a "fountainhead of knowledge."[3] In the illustrated copy of Âşık Çelebi's sixteenth-century biographical dictionary, *Meşâirü'ş-Şuarâ*, which is dated to the 1590s, some of the scholar-poets, including Kemalpaşazâde, are portrayed in front of closets or niches filled with books and in iwan-like spaces (fig. 2.1), although the iwan-like background also appears in portraits that do not contain books, implying that it served primarily as a pictorial frame.[4] Evliya Çelebi relates the case of a room refashioned into a library. He writes that in a later visit to the place, he found the small room (*hücre*) in which he had stayed in the 1640s in the Köprülüs' palace in Damascus turned into a library (*kitabhâne itmiş*) by Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa. This was done as a part of the extensive architectural intervention with which several rooms with ceramic tiles and decorated small loggias were also added to the compound.[5]

Little can be directly inferred about the architecture of the rooms that Naîmâ mentions. Nevertheless, in the case of Karaçelebizâde Aziz Efendi's study hall, the employment of the term *kâşâne*, which denotes a rather sizable structure, a building in itself, and rich embellishment, strongly suggests that it was similar to the masonry wings of some mansions built in Istanbul and its suburbs, nearly twenty of which survived until the twentieth century. Although they are dated by modern scholars to the eighteenth century, the refinement of some early-eighteenth-century

[3] Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton, 2005), pp. 192-193.
[4] Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâirü'ş-Şuarâ* MS, Millet Kütüphanesi-Ali Emiri-Tarih 772.
[5] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, v. 9 (İstanbul, 1996), p. 276.

examples published by Sedad Hakkı Eldem[6] suggests that they began to spread earlier. The majority of them are near the southern shore of the Golden Horn; they were originally built as annexes of seashore mansions. But many other masonry wings of this kind, or "stone rooms" (*taş oda*) as they were called by the contemporaries, are scattered in other districts of Istanbul and Üsküdar. Since residential architecture in Istanbul was predominantly of timber, including grandees' mansions and palaces, it is clear that a main purpose of these structures, which were nearly always built as annexes to timber mansions was the protection of valuable belongings from fire. However, with stucco coverings and paintings on their walls and vaults, with their marble columns, ornate fireplaces and sometimes ablaq arches and ceramic tiles, many of the stone rooms display a palatial aesthetic on the scale of a single room (figs. 2.2-2.4). The study hall in Karaçelebizâde's house, which was said to be "vizierial" and "sultanic," might have been an example of these stone rooms. Above a vaulted ground floor, these structures have one or two floors and usually a single room on each. There is close architectural kinship between the stone rooms and "royal pavilions" (*hünkar kasrı*) that were built as extensions of new dynastic commission mosques in the capital also in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Designed for dynastic visits and linked to royal lodges (*hünkar mahfili*) inside mosques, these pavilions stand like mini one-room palaces.[7] On the other hand, the stone rooms seem to have transformed the architecture of primary schools. Unlike the earlier schools built from the fifteenth century on with domed rooms directly on the ground, the primary schools of the eighteenth century have upper floors projecting towards the street and covered by rectangular vaults, and thus appearing as versions of mansions' masonry wings with simpler decorations.

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[6] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi/Turkish House: Ottoman Period*, v. 1 (İstanbul, 1984), pp. 232-259.
[7] Ibid., pp. 212-230.

The stone rooms were evidently designed to be visually enjoyed from inside, despite the clear prominence of their storage function. The specific functions each of the eighteenth-century stone rooms of Istanbul were originally given are not possible to detect. But they could be *divanhâne*s, that is, settings for poetry and music gatherings, the main forms of elite socialization, as well as repositories of precious objects, including books. They could certainly also have been reading rooms. Probably many of them combined these functions.

As a part of his political-moral criticism of Grand Vizier Râgıb Paşa, *Qadi* Şemdânizâde Süleyman Efendi writes in his chronicle, which he penned in the 1770s, that the paşa promoted some corrupt men to the positions of the directorate of imperial kitchens and the paşa's personal treasury scribe. With their illicit incomes they managed to build palaces and seashore mansions for themselves, acquired *tuhaf* (curious/phenomenal things) and their houses surpassed those of all the state grandees.[8] It is highly likely that the increased importation of luxury rare objects, especially foreign porcelains and textiles, was a leading dynamic in the spread of stone rooms in the eighteenth century. Râgıb Paşa's corrupt protégés might not have been interested in books, but books, especially illuminated books and pieces of calligraphy could be objects of enjoyment in many of these flamboyant treasury rooms. "Beautiful books" were physically next to other rare objects that Ebu Said Efendi's family amassed for multiple generations. Many of the extant eighteenth-century stone rooms have multiple niches with shutters. These niches could be used primarily for books, but books and other objects could also be kept in movable closets and coffers.

[8] *Şem'dânizâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi: Müri't-Tevârih*, ed. M. Münir Aktepe, v. 2 (İstanbul, 1976), p. 55.

The strongest evidence for the role of stone rooms in the preservation of books in private hands is the fact that three among those that survived until the twentieth century were already designated as libraries in the eighteenth century. These are two of Grand Vizier Şehid Ali Paşa's libraries and *Şeyhülislam* Âşir Efendi's library. The details of the fate of Şehid Ali Paşa's libraries pose a complicated question. Ali Paşa endowed groups of his books in the stone rooms attached to his three mansions in Istanbul in 1715 and in 1716, before he died at the front during the Petrovaradin Battle (hence his posthumous title of *şehid*, martyr) against the Habsburgs. All the three structures mentioned in the documents as the location of the endowed books are called *kitabhâne*s. This reveals that before the *waqfiyya*s were penned they already served primarily or exclusively as library spaces. One of them was in a waterside house in a Bosphorus village.[9] One of the two structures in the city, which is the only one that survived until today, is called "solid/faultless masonry library" (*mükemmel kârgir kitabhâne*).[10]

The third one, which was originally a part of a palace complex in the Yerebatan district near the Topkapı Palace, was demolished in 1939. But it was documented in photographs and a few schematic plans by the Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation shortly before the demolition. It was designated as "the building known as the Şehid Ali Paşa Library" in the committee's documentation file,[11] and its form is indeed in agreement with the description of the library in question in the *waqfiyya* as the "three-storey masonry large library"[12] (figs. 2.5-2.6). Ali Emiri Efendi, who donated his manuscript collection to the Ottoman Ministry of Public Education to be used as the core of a modern research library in the 1910s, wrote an account of

[9] Quoted in Erünsal, ibid. p. 187.
[10] ŞS [Sharia Court Registers, Istanbul], Rumeli Sadareti 189, f. 47b.
[11] Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no. 411 (1939).
[12] ŞS, Rumeli Sadareti 188, f. 128b.

the establishment of this institution in an article in 1922, where he makes an important reference to the structure in Yerebatan. Ali Emiri's collection was ultimately placed in the Feyzullah Efendi Madrasa where it was united with the eighteenth-century founder's old collection and began to serve in 1915 as Millet Kütüphanesi (Nation Library) with the allocation of the entire space of the madrasa to this purpose. But in his detailed account of the establishment of his famous library, Ali Emiri writes that actually the library in Yerebatan was his first choice, although this plan was abandoned because of the length of the time foreseen for its repair. He relates that he used to meet the vice chair of the Council of State (*Şûra-yı Devlet*) in the latter's house next to the then-vacant Yerebatan building before the Restoration of the Constitution (1908), and he began to wish to place his books in this imposing old edifice, which, he writes, was Şehid Ali Paşa's "private library" (*husûsi kütübhânesi*).[13] To trace the history of this building after Şehid Ali Paşa's death is difficult, but it did retain its name in memory until the early twentieth century.[14]

This palace complex was where the vizier resided with his wife Princess Fatma Sultan. It must have been a royal property given to the couple as Fatma Sultan's dowry, as was typical of the palaces in this area,[15] but Ali Paşa might have made some additions. The library had an entrance from the street, like many of the stone rooms, and a main hall, which featured a hearth and an arcade with muqarnas capitals, on the uppermost floor (figs. 2.7-2.9). The middle floor with a lower ceiling underneath this room might have been the space where the books were kept.

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[13] [Ali Emîrî], "Millet Kütübhânesi Ne Sûretle Teşekkül Etti," *Tarih ve Edebiyat* 3 (Teşrinievvel 1338 [October 1922]), p. 55.

[14] The antiquarian and the general secretary of the Committee of Historic Preservation Mehmed Ziya Bey identified the building as the Şehid Ali Paşa Library and, interestingly, dated it to the seventeenth century. Mehmed Ziya, *İstanbul ve Boğaziçi: Bizans ve Osmanlı Medeniyetlerinin Âsâr-ı Bakiyesi* (İstanbul, 1928), p. 33.

[15] Tülay Artan, "Alay Köşkü Yakınlarında Bâbıâli'nin Oluşumu ve Süleymaniye'de Bir Sadrazam Sarayı," in *Bir Allâme-i Cihân: Stefanos Yerasimos*, eds. Edhem Eldem et. al., v. 1 (İstanbul, 2012), pp. 73-140.

The *waqfiyya* indicates that the library was next to the *baş oda* (literally "main room") of the palace, which was normally the most embellished room of Ottoman dwellings and belonged to the head of the household. This room in turn was next to the *divanhâne*, the reception hall.[16] Its street entrance, concurrent with its direct attachment to the *baş oda*, implies a semi-public function envisaged for this private library.

Ali Paşa's other library, the only one that survives today, was attached to his mansion in the Vefa district in the vicinity of the Şehzade Mosque. This library originally did not have direct access from the street. Here too the main room is on the second floor. Ahmet Küçükkalfa referred to the nineteenth-century historian Tayyarzâde Atâ who wrote that Ali Paşa's library was "his mansion's stone room [*taş odası*] which he separated and endowed in his lifetime."[17] It was connected to the rest of the mansion through a door on the southern wall, which can be seen today from the exterior of the building as filled and closed off (fig. 2.10). As stated also in the *waqfiyya*,[18] the interior of the room has ceramic tile revetments (*kâşî*) on its walls (fig. 2.11). Characteristic for this room configuration, two marble columns with muqarnas capitals separate the original vestibule of the room from the main area where seats and the hearth were, while the surface of the semicircular wall carried by these columns feature unusual marble reliefs of floral designs, also referred to in the *waqfiyya* (*mermer bahar işleme kalkan*)[19] (figs. 2.12-2.13). However, the building clearly went through considerable alteration. A stone staircase was built on the northern side of the building and what was originally a niche on the wall was turned into the entrance to the hall from the north. The entrance is reached through a narrow corridor from a

[16] ŞS, Rumeli Sadareti 188, f. 128b.
[17] Tayyarzâde Atâ, *Tarih-i Atâ*, ed. Mehmet Arslan (İstanbul, 2010), p. 34. Referred to in Ahmet Küçükkalfa, "Şehid Ali Paşa Kütüphanesi," *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* XXXII/3 (1984), p. 134.
[18] ŞS, Rumeli Sadareti 189, f. 47b.
[19] Ibid.

smaller room, which was built adjacent to the main building and stands now at the upper end of the staircase (its wall patterns imply more than one building phase for this additional structure; fig. 2.14). The marble doorframe with the inscription and a muqarnas pediment above were relocated inside the hall at the newly opened entrance. The stucco reliefs were heavily damaged at that point. A group of book closets were placed in what was once the vestibule of the room, while the hearth was closed off and some marble pieces were replaced. In addition, a door was opened in the garden wall of the precinct, also on the north, in order to provide access to the library from the street.

Tayyarzâde Atâ was probably mistaken in stating that Şehid Ali Paşa himself separated his stone room from his house. The alterations in the library highly damaged the charm of the building, and moreover, the description of the building in the *waqfiyya* does not include references to the later additions like the new vestibule and the stairs that lead to it.[20] It was probably the family who made the architectural interventions after the paşa's death. The sultanic decree issued for the confiscation of the paşa's books following his death,[21] was probably decisive for the fate of Ali Paşa's libraries. Sultan Ahmed III had obtained an unusual legal opinion from the *şeyhülislam*, apparently tailored particularly for Ali Paşa's books, which asserted that the endowment of philosophy, astrology, poetry and history books was not permissible. With the decree in question a judge and a financial official were commanded to prepare lists of Ali Paşa's endowed books in these subjects and of the books he had purchased but not yet endowed so that they could be confiscated.[22] Today there is only one collection in Istanbul's central manuscript library, the Süleymaniye, with the name of Şehid Ali Paşa, which

[20] ŞS, Rumeli Sadareti 189, ff. 47a-50b.
[21] Published in Ahmet Refik, *İstanbul Hayatı: Hicri Onikinci Asırda: 1100-1200* (İstanbul, 1930), pp. 56-57.
[22] Ibid.

arrived there in 1933 from the library in Vefa. There are many books on the subjects deemed impermissible by the decree in the collection; it is probable that relatively more precious books were confiscated and others were left. Writing in 1782, Toderini mentions only one Şehid Ali Paşa Library.[23] Therefore, most probably the building in Yerebatan never functioned as a public library. Whatever remained of Ali Paşa's books must have been brought together in a single library by his family, and understandably not in or near the dowry of Fatma Sultan who was married to another vizier, İbrahim Paşa, shortly thereafter. On the other hand, İsmail E. Erünsal underlined the point that Ali Paşa had not determined days and hours of work for his libraries in the *waqfiyya*s, and suggested that the paşa considered unifying his libraries in the future.[24] The assumption that appears in this light is that the *waqfiyya*s were binding the books as endowments and the vizier actually planned to erect a new structure for his library.

Similarly, in the case of the *taş oda* structure that ultimately became the Âşir Efendi Library, the conversion of the building was realized with hesitation. The building in question originally belonged to *Reisülküttâb* Mustafa Efendi, whose book collection formed the core of the library. Following his embassy to Vienna in 1730, Mustafa Efendi wrote a report on the Habsburg state organization and the political affairs of the broader European scene.[25] The chronicler İzzî praises him as talented and productive in anecdotal advice literature.[26] In one of his *waqfiyya*s, which was prepared in 1741, Mustafa Efendi states that he organized the "stone rooms" (*taş odaları*) next to his house, and he decided to make the building a library upon

[23] Abbé Giambattista Toderini, *De la littérature des turcs*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1789), p. 84.
[24] İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), p. 189.
[25] For a brief evaluation of this report and its manuscript copies see, Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal (Ankara, 1968), pp. 65-68. In the context of the War of Spanish Succession, Mustafa Efendi points at Leiden (*Leyde*) and its academy (*akadamya*) as a hub of learning and students from different countries. Mustafa Efendi, *Nemse Devletiyle Herseklilere Dair Tarihçe* MS, The Nuruosmaniye Library 1282/2, f. 27a.
[26] İzzî Süleyman, *Târih-i İzzî* MS, vol. 2, Istanbul University Library TY 6020, f. 215.

making a "selection/pruning" (*tenkîh*) among his books.[27] However, in another *waqfiyya*, which was prepared in 1747, he refers to his plan to erect a new library building, and determines the working days of the library in this future building.[28] Mustafa Efendi died two years later and this project did not materialize. Some five decades later, his son *Şeyhülislam* Âşir Efendi revived the initiative, added his collection to his father's and opened the library in 1800 in the originally selected location (fig. 2.15). One of Âşir Efendi's *waqfiyya*s states that Mustafa Efendi had planned to either turn the masonry rooms adjacent to his house into a library or build a library anew (*müceddeden*) in an appropriate location.[29] The main room of this building has some niches, but it is not certain whether the space was a library before it was separated from Mustafa Efendi's dwelling. Âşir Efendi's son Hafîd Efendi, a high-ranking judge who translated a cosmography of Nasiral-din Tusi and wrote a dictionary of Ottoman admirals,[30] and a prominent figure of the faction that led the coup against Sultan Selim III in 1807, refers to the library as his "grandfather's" in the *waqfiyya* of the endowment of his own books to the same place in 1805.[31] Although the profile of the architectural investment was modest, the small garden of this library became the burial ground of some family members including Âşir and Hafîd Efendis, which reflects the meaning of the library for the family's identity.

The renovation expenditure registers kept by the Accounting Department contain the traces of the presence of some libraries in Bosphorus residences in the late eighteenth century. There were libraries in the royal Beşiktaş Palace during the renovations made in 1191/1778,[32]

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[27] VGMA [Pious Endowments Administration Archive, Ankara] 736, ff. 205-206.
[28] VGMA 738, f. 142.
[29] VGMA 738, f. 149.
[30] This dictionary of admirals was published in Latin letters. Kazasker Mehmed Hafîd, *Sefinetü'l-Vüzera*, ed. İsmet Parmaksızoğlu (İstanbul, 1952).
[31] MS, Süleymaniye Library: Hafîd Efendi 486, f. 9.
[32] BOA [Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, Istanbul], D. BŞM. BNE. d. 16002, f. 22.

and the waterside residence that was used by "the treasurer of the imperial retinue's movements" (*rikâb-ı hümâyûn defterdarı*) when it was repaired in 1206/1792.[33] The documents' references are to a lock in the case of the Beşiktaş Palace and to glass sheets in the case of the treasurer's waterside house, which were purchased for the libraries (called *kitabhâne* in both cases). These objects might be needed for an indoor book cabinet or a room reserved for study that contained one or more cabinets.

Turning a stone room that housed a private library into a *waqf* was apparently not an ideal path in the eyes of their founders. But a new library could be built in *taş oda* architecture. As noted already in Chapter 1, the library built next to Şerif Halil Paşa's mosque in Shumen is testimony to the relevance of stone rooms' architectural form to the common imagination of a library space, notwithstanding its similarity to new-generation primary schools as a corollary. The public library that Sultan Abdülhamid I built as a part of his *waqf* building compound in Istanbul together with his mausoleum, a madrasa, a soup kitchen and an elementary school in 1780, is another instance. The Hamidiye Library housed a collection endowed from the Imperial Treasury. The Hamidiye's collection was praised by Toderini as one of the greatest in the Ottoman capital.[34] Toderini saw the celestial globe in the Hamidiye Library, which is an unusual case where the European convention of embellishing library spaces with scientific instruments was paralleled in an Ottoman public library. This globe was transferred to the Istanbul Museum of Islamic Arts in the early twentieth century.[35] The Hamidiye's library building features a smaller depository room next to its entrance, but the reading room was designed essentially as a *taş oda* with its platform one step elevated from the vestibule, marble columns and arches that

[33] BOA, D. BŞM. BNE. d. 16058, f. 2.
[34] Toderini, ibid., pp. 130-151.
[35] *Türk ve İslâm Eserleri Müzesi Rehberi* (İstanbul, 1939), p. 27.

separate the main space from the entrance, and a number of bookshelf niches on the walls. In the engraving that shows this library, which was published in the Armenian-Swedish diplomat and historian Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau General de l'Empire Ottoman* (1787), and conforms to Toderini's account, additional wooden bookcases are seen placed next to the walls between windows (fig. 2.16).

### A Testimony to the Advances in Learning: Admiral Mustafa Paşa's *İlmâbâd*

An interesting and unmistakable proof of the construction of a private library building in the early eighteenth century is found in a poem that commemorates this now-extinct structure. The anonymous chronogram compilation, which has a page reserved for library buildings, and was referred to in Chapter 1 in the context of the Âtıf Efendi Library's commemoration, also contains a trace of this private library. While all of the other couplets and stanzas gathered here were composed for public libraries built in Istanbul in the first three quarters of the century, one couplet is dedicated to the library of the *Kapudan Paşa* (Grand Admiral) which was built "in his own house" (*kütübhâne-i Kapudan Paşa be-hâne-i hôd*), as its title clarifies.[36] The grand admiral of the time was Kaymak Mustafa Paşa, the son of the vizier, and once admiral, Kara İbrahim Paşa. Mustafa Paşa was married to the daughter of the Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa and was one of the central figures of the 1720s regime before he and İbrahim Paşa were executed in the 1730 Revolt. As it is indicated in the chronogram compilation, the sum of numerical values of the letters in the last line gives the date of 1140 (1728 AD).

The full text of this poem is found in the poet Münif Mustafa Efendi's divan. Münif Efendi eulogizes in no less than three couplets the visual appeal of the "refreshing" (*müferrih*)

[36] *Mecmuâ-yı Tevârih* MS, Istanbul University Library, TY 2580, f. 25b.

building, and particularly the exquisitely detailed ornaments (*hürdekârî nakşlar*) its walls and vaults displayed. He thus leaves a document of the decorative pomposity of this library space. That it was commemorated as a building and the richness of its ornaments support the presumption that this library was akin to, or practically one of, the typical stone mansion wings of the period. But the poem also includes clues about the reverence for erudition in the social milieu of the time, expressed here at the juncture of a private library building. Münif Efendi praises Mustafa Paşa for combining the mastery of learning with the observance of justice in a way which was not heard of about the viziers of earlier times. The paşa collected abundant books, since he devoted all his time to wisdom. Most importantly, reflecting a feeling of a cultural rejuvenation perceived by contemporaries, a surprising couplet of the poem states that in the paşa's period the community of the learned (*ehl-i irfân*) was so merry that "the period of the State of the Abbasids" was not longed for (*eylemezler yâd*).[37] This couplet makes manifest that the celebrated cultural efflorescence of the Ottomans, represented by Mustafa Paşa and his peers, also had a historical reference point in the eyes of some people, and it was found in early Islam. It is an instance of an aspiration for reviving the intellectual merits and successes of a remote period in the Islamic history. Finally, the poet remarks that this library was worthy of being named *İlmâbâd*. This proposed name literally means "a thriving abode of knowledge," but it clearly alludes to the group of palaces built earlier in the same decade by the sultan and the ruling elite in the environs of Istanbul. These palaces were given names that combined words that generally evoke joy and delight with the Persian word *âbâd* (thriving abode), the Sa'dâbâd (Abode of Bliss) Palace being the most famous example. Münif Efendi's suggestion makes

[37] Antakyalı Münif, *Antakyalı Münif Divanı: Tenkitli Basım*, ed. Sabahattin Küçük (Ankara, 1999), pp. 125-127.

Mustafa Paşa's building for books a library counterpart of the emblematic elite fancies of the 1720s.

In a poem that commemorates Mustafa Paşa's appointment to the admiral position in 1133/1721, another poet similarly emphasizes his erudite (*dânâ*) identity.[38] We do have a record of his repository of erudition, his book collection that once filled the *İlmâbâd*, in the form of a section in the comprehensive register of Mustafa Paşa's precious belongings found in his houses and confiscated after his and the grand vizier's execution. The record is a detailed list of the names of all books, organized under subject headings. The title of the list indicates that the collection was located in one house only, which must be the one where the paşa's purpose-built library was erected. Mustafa Paşa's collection had broad coverage, where all the subjects were represented in important numbers, but history and literature were the most abundant. The number of books on Quran exegesis was 70, studies on hadith 76, on religious law 75. There are 203 items under the heading "history." The second largest group is "literature" which has 109 items, but the "Turkish and Persian divans" is another group with 62 entries. The admiral paşa had 18 books on medicine, 67 on physics/philosophy (*hikmet*), while the books on philosophical theology, semantics, Sufism, syntax, and also dictionaries as well as *mecmûa*s (collected writings) were in numbers between these two. The total number was 879.[39] We do not know how much Münif's suggestion took hold as this library's name in its short life of two years, but *ilmâbâd* reappears in the commemorations of two early-nineteenth-century libraries in the provinces. One of them is in the verse inscription of the library built by Hacı Hüseyin Ağa of the leading family of Manisa, the Karaosmanoğlus, in 1807 next to the Muradiye Mosque to serve as

[38] Kâmî, *Kâmî Dîvânı (Edirneli Efendi Çelebi): Hayatı, Sanatı, Eserleri ve Divanının Tenkitli Metni*, ed. Ali Yıldırım (Ankara, 2009), p. 239.
[39] Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, D. 2211/1, ff. 7b-11a.

the new location of this old mosque collection.[40] Perhaps directly transplanting it from Münif Efendi's piece, this poem saw its library worthy of being named *İlmâbâd.* The library built in Joannina (today in Greece) by the governor Veli Paşa in 1231/1815, the fate of which is unclear, is celebrated in a poem found in Refi'î Efendi's divan as another *ilmâbâd.*[41]

### A Practice Ground for Young Intellectuals: Private Librarianship

Significant evidence that we find about the organization of private libraries of Istanbul in the eighteenth century is about the employment of private librarians in some elite households. Usually called "*kitabcı*" (lit., "book dealer"), and thus distinguished from the librarians appointed to the collections in mosques, madrasas and independent libraries (*hâfız-ı kütüb*s), they often dealt with the purchase of new books for the employer's collection as well as with the physical protection of books. Much recollection is presented about the *kitabcı*s' spaces and routines of work in the early-twentieth-century antiquarian Abdülaziz Bey's book on everyday life in Istanbul in older times.[42] Abdülaziz Bey penned this amateur historical ethnographic study around 1910-12; as he states in his introduction, he approached the old customs of the period prior to Sultan Mahmud II's reign (1808-1839) and the Tanzimat as main constituents of the national way of life as important subjects of study and remembrance. Abdülaziz Bey was born in 1850 as the grandson of Pertev Paşa, a powerful cabinet minister of the 1830s and a library builder; the latter is a simple building (1836) with a main room and a vestibule, built in the garden of the dervish lodge Selim III had built in 1805 in Üsküdar. (fig. 2.17) Abdülaziz Bey richly describes the daily life of the period recounted by his informants. It must be roughly the

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[40] See, İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, "Manisa Kütüphaneleri," *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* VIII/1 (1959): 17-22.
[41] Kalâyi Refi'î Efendi, *Divan-ı Refi'î Kalâyi* (İstanbul, 1284 [1868]), p. 78.
[42] Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Âdet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, eds. Duygu Ansan Günay and Kazım Arısan, 2 v. (İstanbul, 1995).

end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. *Kitabcı efendi*s form a subsection of his work within the section on viziers' and other dignitaries' mansions. Abdülaziz Efendi writes here that employing librarians in their houses was exclusive to viziers. Private library rooms usually had wooden bookcases with glass shutters placed on two sides of the room and a cushion and a small, low lectern for reading (*rahle*) reserved for the head of the household that was placed in front of the window. A cushion and a *rahle* were placed at another corner for the *kitabcı*. Some *kitabcı*s served also as consultants to the heads of the houses in scholarly matters. If the *kitabcı* had legal training and was appointed to a *qadi* position he left this occupation to another person. *Kitabcı*s used followed the book market, particularly when other grandees' collections were sold at auction, and made suggestions to the vizier about acquisitions. They could invite other scholars to the house to have discussions with the attendance of the vizier. *Kitabcı efendi*s were normally present in their libraries in the mornings until the noon prayer, after which they were free unless they also served as the vizier's children's tutor. They were expected to return to the mansion before the evening prayer, and viziers often met them for conversation after the night prayer. Abdülaziz Bey adds that the libraries within viziers' mansions were kept open in the mornings to the "community of erudition" in the capital city; an erudite who heard of the presence of a certain book in a vizier's mansion could see and read it there before the noon prayer.[43]

This last point is significant for the history of the correlation between the conceptions of private and public libraries among the Ottomans. The practice of accepting readers from outside to the private library of the household seems to be consistent with, and an important component of, the "educational" role that the grand households assumed in social reproduction. *İntisâb* was

[43] Ibid., v. 1, pp. 175-176.

practically one's affiliation to certain houses or dignitaries with the aim of improving cultivation and also promotion to important positions. Râmiz Efendi's biographical dictionary of poets refers to figures that moved from mansion to mansion in search of *intisâb* and advancement in learning in the eighteenth century.[44] Informal training in grandees' mansions was gained through lectures and tutorials given by scholars and through participation in literary gatherings. The accessibility of private libraries might have been a considerable complement to this broad educational role of houses.

The primary sources of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries allow us to identify several *kitabcı*s active in this period, and thus save the term that Abdülaziz Bey uses from mere anonymity. Certainly far from comprehensive, the following overview attempts to bring together some figures of this profession. Râmiz's biographical dictionary of poets, which was completed in the 1780s and covers the period of the previous one century, has three entries for men who worked as *kitabcı*s of important houses. A certain Edîb, who managed to gain a place in the literary circles of his times, is remembered as a *kitabcı* of the period of Damad İbrahim Paşa's grand vizierate. Thanks to his *kitabcı* occupation, he had become a "bookcase of learning and *adab*" (*mahfaza-yı maârif ve edeb*). In Râmiz's parlance, like other writers in his tradition, a person's death is seldom referred to with the verb "to die," and thus Edîb departed for "the library of paradise" (*kütübhâne-i cinân*).[45] Mehmed Emin, who was alive in Râmiz's time, had entered the service of a *şeyhülislam*'s close companion, a younger judge, who made him his *kitabcı*.[46] Thus, refuting Abdülaziz Bey's claim that employing *kitabcı*s was a prerogative of viziers, a mid-ranking judge had a private librarian in the second half of the eighteenth century.

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[44] See, for example, Râmiz, *Râmiz ve Âdâb-ı Zurafâsı*, ed. Sadık Erdem (Ankara, 1994), p. 120.
[45] Râmiz, ibid., p. 12.
[46] Ibid., p. 25.

Also from Râmiz's dictionary, we learn that Zihnî's intelligence made Grand Vizier Bâhir Mustafa Paşa choose him as his *kitabcı* (in the 1750s or 60s) and from this position he could move to a secretary position in a state department.[47]

A *kitabcı* position could be a station in the career of a high-ranking religious scholar, even of a *şeyhülislam*. The chronicler Şemdânîzâde's obituary for Pîrîzâde Mehmed Sâhib Efendi notes that he had been *Şeyhülislam* Seyyid Feyzullah Efendi's *kitabcı* before he became the imam of a vizier, and then a mudarris in 1113/1701, served in different judicial positions in the subsequent forty five years, and became himself the *şeyhülislam* in 1158/1745. His employment by Feyzullah Efendi was no doubt in the latter's household and not in the public library he built in his madrasa in 1700. This was recorded as a noteworthy early stage in a scholar's life.[48]

The two major dictionaries of poets' lives written in the 1720s, by Safâyî and Sâlim, record cases of employment as a *kitabcı* as an important biographical information. Sâlim notes that Edîb, who was later remembered by Râmiz as well, was honored with the *kitabcı* service in none other than Damad İbrahim Paşa's palace, where he had earlier been "educated," in 1132/1720.[49] Hasîb Mehmed Efendi was honored with the same service in his young age in the household of Çatalcalı Ali Efendi, a *şeyhülislam* of the 1690s, before he graduated from a madrasa and ultimately found a teaching position.[50] Apparently, religious scholars always had a significant share in employing *kitabcıs* in their houses. Safâyî's dictionary, on the other hand, gives the information that another poet with the name Hezârî Mehmed developed his cultivation

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[47] Ibid., p. 99.
[48] Şem'danîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Müri't-Tevârih* I, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul, 1976), p. 147.
[49] Sâlim Efendi, *Tezkiretü's-Şuarâ*, ed. Adnan İnce (Ankara, 2005), p. 217.
[50] Ibid., p. 287.

in the service of the vizier Musahip Mustafa Paşa (who died in 1686), and then became the latter's *kitabcı*, before he moved to certain positions in other vizier households.[51]

An anonymous chronicle, which records events in Istanbul between 1769 and 1774, includes the note that in 1184/1770 a woman from the author's neighborhood was married to the *kaymakam*'s (the deputy of the grand vizier) *kitabcı*, an Ali Efendi.[52] The extent of the private librarian employment might have grown in the second half of the eighteenth century to include more statesmen from outside the religious scholars' ranks. Henning Sievert referred to a document, which relates that Grand Vizier Râgıb Paşa sent one of his librarians to Aleppo to purchase books in 1758.[53] This was four years before the construction of the paşa's public library began. Fatin Efendi's mid-nineteenth-century biographical dictionary contains the reference that a provincial student with the name Edhem Şefkatî Efendi studied in Istanbul before he joined the household of Serezli Yusuf Paşa, the governor of Rumelia, as his *kitabcı*, apparently in the 1830s.[54]

These dispersed references prove the prevalence of the occupation of *kitabcıs*, learned young assistants of powerful men and their houses in maintaining and curating their libraries, from at least the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries. Dealing with books was considered a useful exercise for future judges and secretaries. Despite the obvious defect of using an absence as evidence, it can be added at this point that Âşık Çelebi's voluminous sixteenth-

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[51] Mustafa Safâyî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâyî: Nuhbetü'l-Âsâr min Fevâidi'l-Eş'ar*, ed. Pervin Çapan (Ankara, 2005), p. 727.

[52] *Müellifi Mechûl Bir Rûznâme: Osmanlı-Rus Harbi Esnâsında Bir Şâhidin Kaleminden İstanbul (1769-1774)*, ed. Süleyman Göksu (İstanbul, 2007), p. 14.

[53] Henning Sievert, "Eavesdropping on the Pasha's Salon: Usual and Unusual Readings of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Bureaucrat" in *Osmanli Arastirmalari* 41 (2013), p. 166, fn. 28.

[54] Fatin, *Tezkirecilik Geleneği İçerisinde Fatîn Tezkiresi*, Orhan Sarıkaya, unpublished thesis, İstanbul University, 2007, p. 380.

century biographical dictionary of poets does not contain a reference to the *kitabcı* occupation in any of the careers it portrays.[55] The increase of the number of *kitabcıs* in elite households might indeed be a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century development. Their manifest prevalence considerably enhances the view that special rooms for the protection and study of books in mansions' architecture proliferated in the same period, with the basic assumption that refined private libraries delegated to curators would normally require designated spaces.

Their partial public accessibility as well as their designated spaces is a part of Abdülaziz Bey's depiction of the old Ottoman mansion libraries managed by *kitabcıs*. Abdülaziz Bey's reflects a picture from around the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it is not easy to ascertain how common this accessibility was before then. An important underlying question here is whether the spread of *waqf* library buildings in the course of the eighteenth century exerted an influence on the operation of private libraries to increase and even regularize the latters' accessibility. In the pattern described by Abdülaziz Bey, collections were not necessarily legally endowed, which means that they could be sold in part or in whole at any time, but with their routine accessibility similar to the collections in mosques and public libraries they carried an interesting in-between status. The commemoration of Admiral Mustafa Paşa's *İlmâbâd* like *waqf* libraries and its inclusion in a page next to public library buildings in the chronogram collection strongly suggest that it was planned to be open to (at least some) outsiders and serve as a semi-public institution. This was in the 1720s, and therefore, it may be representative of much of the century and many of the private libraries. The esteem of the *kitabcı* office and the preference for ostentation in the architecture of private libraries appear as important indications of ordinarily expected, though certainly controlled and limited, accessibility to private libraries in this century.

[55] See, Âşık Çelebi, *Meşâ'irü'ş-Şu'arâ: İnceleme-Metin*, ed. Filiz Kılıç (İstanbul, 2010).

**Books in the Sultanic Palace**

Tastes for collecting books and rare and precious objects had a royal model in the Imperial Treasury. Gülru Necipoğlu referred to a number of inventories of the Inner Treasury in the Topkapı Palace made in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which indicate the coexistence of chests full of manuscripts and illustrated albums with astronomical and musical instruments, porcelains, maps, jewels that entered the Treasury as trophies and gifts, and with archival documents.[56] The structure that housed the Inner Treasury was among the first planned edifices of the palace in the period of Mehmet II and built in the 1460s. The Treasury and the Privy Chamber were built in the same courtyard as the school and dormitories of imperial pages. According to Necipoğlu, the treasury building's architectural prominence reflects the importance Mehmet II attributed to this collection of objects.[57] The interior walls of the Treasury's halls have multiple large niches which were clearly designed to exhibit some of the precious objects, especially Chinese porcelains (fig. 2.18). One of the largest collections of Chinese porcelains in the world was amassed in the Topkapı Palace from the fifteenth century onwards. Necipoğlu thus found in the original conception of the Topkapı Palace's Inner Treasury building an Ottoman counterpart of *chini-khana*s (lit., "china house"), the porcelain exhibit halls, which were created in the Timurid, Safavid and Mughal courts as well. The sultan showed collections housed here to courtiers or important captives,[58] but the design was probably made primarily for the enjoyment of the sultan himself. The physical proximity of books to valuable objects of display parallels the majestic *chini-khana* built by Shah Abbas I in 1611 in the dynastic shrine of the Safavid house in

[56] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 134-135.
[57] Ibid., p. 135.
[58] Necipoğlu, ibid., p. 135.

Ardabil. The shah had endowed an important number of books in this hall alongside more than one thousand Chinese porcelains for which the numerous niches opened in the vaults were designed.[59]

Erünsal noted in Sehî Bey's dictionary of poets' biographies completed in 1528, a passage that reports a conversation in the palace library between Mehmed II and the famous religious scholar of the period Molla Lutfî, whom the former appointed as the palace librarian.[60] Molla Lutfî was recommended to Mehmet II when the sultan was looking for a trustworthy scholar for his *hizâne-i kütüb* (lit., "treasury of books").[61] Necipoğlu located an inventory from 1546 which records that Arabic, Persian and Turkish book collections were preserved in separate cabinets in one of the halls of the Treasury.[62] Emine Fetvacı, on the other hand, concentrated on a register in the Topkapı Palace Archive, which contains records kept in the 1570s and 1580s about the books lent from the Treasury to people like the pages being trained in the palace, managers of the palace school and the chief physician of the sultan. The Treasury Library was certainly not a mere depository of books inaccessible to anyone except the sultan; at least in the second half of the sixteenth century, it was an important tool of the education given to the select servants of the sultan and future administrators of the empire trained in the palace.[63]

There was at least one other space for books in the palace in the late sixteenth century, the private library of the sultan. Sultan Murad III's Italian physician Domenico Hierosolimitano reported that in the Privy Chamber two dozen of the illustrated manuscripts that the sultan

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[59] Kishwar Rizvi, *The Safavid Dynastic Shrine: Architecture, Religion and Power in Early Modern Iran* (London and New York, 2001).
[60] Erünsal, ibid., p. 93.
[61] Gelibolulu Mustafa Âli, *Künhü'l-Ahbâr, Fatih Sultan Mehmed Devri: 1451-1481* v. 2, ed. M. Hüdai Şentürk (Ankara, 2003), p. 202.
[62] Necipoğlu, ibid., p. 137.
[63] Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2013), pp. 25-37.

frequently read were kept in "two cupboards with glass doors," which allowed the books to be seen.[64] With regard to Hierosolimitano's passage, both Necipoğlu and Fetvacı discussed an Ottoman miniature painting found in a manuscript made in 1582 that depicts a throne structure with decorated bookshelves on its two sides (fig. 2.19).[65] These shutter-shelves containing the sultan's favorite books were designed to be ostentatious elements of the throne structure. This unusual throne might have been commissioned by the sultan depicted in the image, Murad III, who was known for his taste for illustrated books and was the patron of many produced in the Ottoman workshops.[66]

The shutter-shelves of the throne would probably be closed at will, turning the throne into a reading retreat for the sultan. This polygonal throne also had a cupola. This form and the presence of bookshelves make it highly reminiscent of decorated wooden bookcases that became common from the sixteenth century, which were made primarily for Qurans and were used in palaces, mausoleums and later library buildings.[67] In small scales with heights that may exceed one meter, most of these *mahfaza*s (lit., "protection place," but normally referring to a bookcase) clearly emulate monumental architecture with their domes, sometimes even little turrets around the dome. Murad III's unusual throne was definitely designed to resemble a *mahfaza*-throne, a *mahfaza* built on a scale that allowed the sultan to enter and sit. Located between carpentry and architecture, this throne-library appears as a luxurious, if not fantastic, furniture specifically designed for the enjoyment of books.

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[64] Quoted in Necipoğlu, ibid., p. 153.
[65] Necipoğlu, ibid.; Fetvacı, ibid., pp. 37-39.
[66] Fetvacı, ibid.
[67] See, Nazan Ölçer et. al., *Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art* (Istanbul, 2002), pp. 252-259.

This was probably not the only luxury cabinet of its kind. We encounter an interesting reference to a *camlı köşk* (kiosk with glass) next to the items listed for the library room (*oda-yı kitabhâne*) in the inventory prepared for the apartments of a princess's palace, which was repaired in the year 1107/1694. This was the palace of a Fatma Sultan, most probably one of the seventeenth-century princesses who married viziers since there is a section for the "paşa's room" in the inventory. The section of the library room in the inventory lists, first, different kinds of felts purchased to furnish the room and a big cushion (*minder*). Although *camlı köşk* was a term used for spaces enclosed on one or three sides completely with glasses, especially in waterside residences, and the section for the library is next to that of the *divanhâne* on the page of the inventory, most probably this particular *camlı köşk* was an element inside the library room, since it is recorded right below the other elements of the library. A decorated curtain was purchased to be hung on the door (*kapusuna*) of this kiosk (fig. 2.20).[68] Thus, it might be another highly luxurious furniture for reading, even an imitation of Murad III's structure in the sultanic palace. It is also probable that this palace was none other than the one later given to the princess's namesake, the younger Fatma Sultan, wife of Şehid Ali and Damad İbrahim Paşas. If so, this library room may be the uppermost floor of the building that later came to be known as the Şehid Ali Paşa Library.

### A "Belated" Building: The Ahmed III Library

As the practice of confiscating statesmen's precious books after their deaths became more frequent over the course of the seventeenth century, the collection in the Treasury grew

[68] BOA, KK 7120, f. 3.

considerably.[69] An independent library building was erected in the Topkapı Palace in 1719. This library is commonly known by the name of the sultan who commissioned it, Ahmed III, or with the name of the palace school, *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*, since it was founded with the aim to serve this school and is located in the center of its courtyard. With the construction of the Ahmed III Library, about three thousand books selected from the collection hitherto preserved in the Treasury were transferred to the new, free-standing structure. About one thousand of these books were in religious sciences and about seven hundred in history and literature.[70] The new building marked also a change in the legal status of the books selected for it since they were endowed as *waqf* and thus made inalienable. In other words, they could no longer be sold or distributed as gifts by the sultan, but were now allocated for the education in the Enderun in perpetuity. Ahmed III's *waqfiyya* states that the students in the Enderun would use the library.[71] The building also served as a lecture room in the school.[72] At the same time, the new structure was clearly planned to be a space for the sultan's repose and intellectual contemplation. In the report of his embassy to Persia in 1721, Ahmed Dürri Efendi writes that when the shah asked how the Ottoman monarch spent his time on ordinary days, he answered that the sultan especially enjoyed listening to the exegesis and hadith lectures given in the recently-built library in the palace.[73]

The application of a plan where three iwans-*şahnişîn*s surround a central space makes the building of the library appear essentially as a new royal pavilion. The Revan and Bağdad Kiosks built in the hanging gardens behind the Enderun courtyard in 1635 and 1639 respectively (named

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[69] Fetvacı, ibid.
[70] Mehmed Refik, "Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn Kütübhânesi" *Tarih-i Osmâni Encümeni Mecmuası* 40 (Teşrin-i evvel 1332/October, 1916), p. 241.
[71] *Ahmed-i Sâlis Vakfiyeleri*, The Topkapı Palace Library Y 148, f. 16a.
[72] Erünsal, ibid., p. 198.
[73] Râşid Mehmed Efendi, *Târih-i Râşid*, eds. Abdülkadir Özcan et. al., vol. 2 (İstanbul, 2013), p. 1260.

thus to commemorate the conquest of these cities, Yerevan and Baghdad) are conspicuous design precedents for the Ahmed III Library. The Ahmed III Library was designed as a variation of the kiosks with iwan. Having no doubt on this point, S. H. Eldem discussed and classified the Enderun Library as an example of Ottoman kiosk architecture.[74]

On the other hand, the library also has an arcade with three openings and cupolas at its entrance, which strongly resembles characteristic Ottoman mosque façades. The domed central space of the library and this arcade in front of it approximate the form of single-dome mosque, as in the Köprülü Library in the 1670s. This is a point where the Enderun Library differs from the Revan and Bağdad Kiosks. Therefore, the design of the library is an original composition that combined the typical mosque image (and thus incorporated the Köprülü Library's form) with the iwan-type pavilion plan. This interesting synthesis of the kiosk plan with the mosque figure in the Ahmed III Library appears almost as a paradigmatic demonstration of two of the main forces in the Ottoman conception of library architecture, since mosques and kiosks exerted the strongest influences on library designs as precedents throughout the eighteenth century.

The arcaded entrance of the library is at the north, but its exterior walls are covered with large white marble slabs on all sides. The library is near the center of the Enderun courtyard, directly behind the edifice where foreign ambassadors were received by the sultan or the grand vizier and stands as a main element of visual attention of the courtyard (fig. 2.21). It replaced a smaller garden pavilion, which was built in the second half of the sixteenth century.[75] The interior walls are covered with Iznik tiles taken from older structures. The vaults, on the other hand, feature colored stucco flower-in-vase reliefs. The iwans are separated from the central

[74] Sedad H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar* v. 2 (İstanbul, 1969), pp. 194-202.
[75] Ibid., p. 194.

portion of the hall by short arcades of two columns and walls carried by them (figs. 2.22-2.24) – an element not found in the seventeenth-century kiosks with *şahnişîn*s in the palace but was almost indispensable in the designs of the stone rooms of the eighteenth century and called *kalkan* (lit., "shield") according in the *waqfiyya* of Şehid Ali Paşa's library in Vefa, which was quoted above. The niches that contain bookshelves are located on the wall surfaces between windows. However, it was realized during the currently ongoing restoration in the library that these niches between the windows were not original, but opened at an unknown later date.[76] The four small holes seen on the floor under the main dome as filled with lead but still recognizable must be the vestiges of the supports of the original book depository, which was apparently a wooden structure with a square plan (since the filled holes on the ground form the corners of a square).[77] This discovery sheds light on the original interior configuration of the library. (figs. 2.25-2.27) The views of those who sat in all of the three iwans were largely directed towards this depository in the center.

When he called the library a *mahfaza* in the first couplet of his commemorative poem,[78] *Şeyhülislam* İshak Efendi was probably partly inspired by this cabinet-depository structure, given the clear kinship between the portable wooden bookcases and the extant examples of wooden depositories, in the Hagia Sophia and elsewhere. However, built at the center of the courtyard to attract views from all sides, and with an abundance of finials at the corners of the drum of its

[76] *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Saray Yapıları ve Harem Yapıları Kısmi Revize, Rölöve, Restitüsyon, Restorasyon İşi / 3. 3. 18. III. Ahmet Kütüphanesi Restitüsyon ve Restorasyon Raporu*, January 2015, pp. 24-28.

[77] The restoration team realized the filled holes on the ground after I told them the probability that there was originally a depository at the center of the room and reminded them the similar examples in the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa and the Hagia Sophia libraries.

[78] İshak Efendi, *Şeyhülislâm İshak Efendi: Hayâtı, Eserleri ve Divanının Edisyon Kritiği*, ed. Muhammet Nur Doğan (İstanbul, 1997), p. 238.

dome and above its vaults, the outer shell of the library as well as the depository inside might have seemed to the *şeyhülislam* essentially as *mahfaza*-like.

The Arabic poem inscribed above the door of the Enderun Library made a long-lasting impact on the epigraphic program of Ottoman libraries. The last couplet of the poem states that the phrase فيها كتب قيمة, which is a quote from a Quranic verse,[79] expresses the building's construction date. Selected from a passage in the Quran where the holy book itself is described, this phrase means "contains venerable scriptures/books." The sum of the numerical values of its letters gives the date of the building as 1131. The meaning of the phrase was seen appropriate to express the library's function. The same phrase was also inscribed later on the wooden depository of the Hagia Sophia Library and above the entrance to the study hall of the Âtıf Efendi Library. Thereafter, it became an almost indispensable element of the inscription program of Ottoman libraries well into the nineteenth century. Like fountains or kitchens for the poor before them, libraries thus acquired their almost-standardized sacred epigraph, which was used for the first time as the chronogram line of the Ahmed III's inscription.

Despite the transfer made to the Ahmed III Library, a grander portion of the royal book collection remained in the Treasury. Later selections from the Treasury formed endowed libraries founded in different locations of the palace later in the eighteenth century. Other selections were made for public libraries built in the city by sultans from the late 1730s on. A group of books remained in the Treasury until the abolition of the sultanate and the nationalization of the palace (1922-1924) and today form the *Hazine* (Treasury) section of the Topkapı Palace Library.

[79] The Quran, 98: 3.

The steady growth of book collections endowed in the madrasas of the capital over the course of the seventeenth century, and later the emergence of library halls in the architectural design of some of the early-eighteenth-century madrasas must have been important sources of inspiration for the idea of erecting a purpose-built library in the Enderun. From this angle, the imperial school of administration within the confines of the palace was a follower of the trend of designating separate library rooms in madrasas. However, the Enderun was certainly defined as a sector of the imperial house, and the library of the school inside the house was, at the same time, a royal pavilion.

We learn from an article published in 1916 that at the time an astrolabe, which was ornamented with gold and silver and bore the name of the Egyptian master who made it and the date of 681 (1282 AD) was seen inside the library. There was also a glass lamp that once belonged to Sultan Hasan of the Mamluk Empire.[80] It is very likely that these items, and perhaps some others, were placed in the library from the beginning. The mutual associations of treasury and library seem to have continued as the new library building housed some treasury items.

Ahmed III's *waqfiyya* makes an explicit and underlined reference to the fact that before the edifice in the Enderun, sultans did not build library structures.[81] This is a surprising crystallization of the Ottoman consciousness about the belatedness of libraries as a building type in the centuries-old program of Ottoman architecture. The official chronicler Râşid Efendi notes that he authored this *waqfiyya* and the *waqfiyya* of Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa.[82] A sense of regret, and even apology, is felt in the passage where it is stated that earlier sultans devoted

[80] Mehmed Refik, ibid., p. 240.
[81] *Ahmed-i Sâlis Vakfiyeleri*, The Topkapı Palace Library Y 148, ff. 10a-11a.
[82] Râşid Mehmed Efendi, ibid., p. 1297.

lifetimes to building various charitable institutions, and yet, although they collected such a high number of books that no Muslim monarch had ever been able to gather even one tenth of (*âmme-i mülûk-i İslâmiyenin cem' ve öşr-i mi'şârına kâdir olamadıkları*), no library was hitherto built by Ottoman sultans.[83] That some other Ottoman projects, the Köprülü Library and the library halls in madrasas, preceded the sultan's library building might have been one of the reasons behind this expression of regret. Certainly no less important, however, must be the Ottomans' awareness of the scales of the investments made to this building type in the West as a conspicuous aspect of the Europeans' sophistication in sciences and learning.

**New Libraries for Palace Servants**

In 1753, Sultan Mahmud I built a library in the Galata Palace (*Galata Sarayı*). This palace was built in its first form at the northern outskirts of the capital in the late fifteenth century to serve as a major extension of the Enderun in the Topkapı Palace. The college was closed and its spaces were divided between a military unit and a madrasa in 1675, but it was reopened during Ahmed III's reign in 1714 in its original function as a palace school. This palace-barracks-college had apartments reserved for sultans who occasionally visited the compound, besides three main classrooms, student dormitories, mosques, baths, kitchens and a hospital.[84] The library was a major supplement to the institution. According to the chronicler Hâkim Efendi, building a library in this palace seemed a "most severe necessity" to Sultan Mahmud.[85]

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[83] *Ahmed-i Sâlis Vakfiyeleri*, The Topkapı Palace Library Y 148, f. 11a.
[84] See, Fethi İsfendiyaroğlu, *Galatasaray Tarihi* (İstanbul, 1952).
[85] Hâkim Efendi, *Vak'anüvîs Hâkim Efendi Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)*, ed. Tahir Güngör, unpublished thesis, Marmara University, Istanbul, 2014, p. 144.

The Galata Palace was rebuilt in 1820, and then replaced by the edifice of the modern high school opened in 1868, but the expenditure register of the renovation carried out in the palace in 1189/1775 provides important information about the architecture of its eighteenth-century library.[86] One of the entries for the repairs done in the library is about "the renovation of the marble revetment and [painting or relief] flowers on the library's six half-domes and pendentives and *kalkan* walls."[87] The library featured ornate *kalkan* walls like the ones in stone rooms and in the Ahmed III Library in the Topkapı Palace, and this indicates that it had a plan essentially generated with *şahnişîn*-alcoves like Sultan Ahmed III's and Âtıf Efendi's libraries or Revan and Bağdad kiosks. But more interestingly, the library building had six half-domes. This suggests, first, that it probably had six, or more likely, five alcoves – since one of the half-domes might have been above the entrance. The Galata Palace seems to be another instance of the privileging of alcoves in library design. The kiosk conception must have, once again, had a basic role in shaping this library, but its half-domes also differentiate it from the normal architecture of kiosks, all of which had rectangular vaults rather than half-domes above their *şahnişîn*s. How prominently visible these half-domes were from the outside, and to what extent the library resembled the six-pier baldaquin architecture of the mosques built by Sinan and after, is not easy to speculate. Like the Ahmed III, the Galata Palace Library might have been another, and unique, attempt to combine a kiosk plan and the mosque image.

On two sides of the entrance to the library, there were two fountains.[88] The place of the book depository is not apparent. But Hâkim Efendi reports that an elaborate throne was

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[86] VGMA, 776, ff. 175-181. I am grateful to İsmail E. Erünsal who gave me the reference of this renovation register.
[87] "Kütübhânenin altı aded nîm kubbelerinde ve kavislerinde ve kalkan dîvarlarında mermer bıtâne ve çiçekleri tazelenme..." VGMA, 776, f. 180.
[88] Hâkim Efendi, ibid., p. 145.

assembled in the library for the visits of the sultan.[89] A throne is mentioned in the renovation register as well, but as an element in the new classroom,[90] which was built to the library and built at the same time.[91] The library that the sultan had built for his servant-protégés in one of his palaces was perhaps conceived as akin to a reading throne, a derivative of it developed to embrace and harbour the sultan's juniors for the cause of reading.

Mahmud I had placed books permanently in the bookshelves of the Revan Kiosk in 1146/1734.[92] Later in the century, in 1782, Sultan Abdülhamid I turned one iwan of the Bagdad Kiosk into a book depository and ordered the appointment of a page of the Enderun as its librarian. According to the bureaucrat Ahmed Kesbî Efendi's contemporary chronicle, these books were "reserved for the monarch's studies" (*mütalaâ-yı mülûkâneye mahsûs*).[93] (fig. 2.28) After the erection of the Ahmed III Library, which was designed in a plan akin to theirs, these two seventeenth-century kiosks were reorganized with marked library functions, as private libraries of the sultans, in the same century.

In 1767, Sultan Mustafa III built a library in the grounds of the Gardeners' Corps (*Bostancılar Ocağı*) in the outer zone of the Topkapı Palace.[94] A successor mainly to Ahmed III's library in the Enderun and Mahmud I's in the Galata Palace, this project indicates that over the course of the eighteenth century, library buildings were increasingly considered major embellishments to the sultan's elite servants' barracks, or actually a necessity for every sizable

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[89] Ibid., pp. 144-145.
[90] VGMA, 776, f. 180
[91] Hâkim Efendi, ibid., p. 144.
[92] Semavi Eyice, "Revan Köşkü," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6 (İstanbul, 1994), p. 320.
[93] Mustafa Kesbî, *İbretnümâ-yı Devlet*, ed. Ahmet Öğreten (Ankara, 2002), p. 521.
[94] Erünsal, ibid., pp. 239-240. Ahmet Refik published the order that Mustafa III sent in 1180/1766 to the Marmara Island for the dispatch of marbles necessary for the library he was building, which is certainly the *Bostancılar* Library. Ahmet Refik, *Hicrî On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100-1200)* (İstanbul, 1935), p. 212.

Ottoman institution that hosted literate staff. Repositories of books were thus becoming normal amenities. The *Bostancıs* were an elite unit of the Janissaries responsible for the horticultural activities in all of the gardens that belonged to the sultan in and around Istanbul and for the security of Istanbul's shores and the immediate countryside around it.[95] The library endowed for them was later closed and its collection was transferred in 1831 to the madrasa in the Laleli Mosque's compound,[96] probably because this compound was built by the same sultan, Mustafa III, following the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826 and the reorganization of the Gardeners' Corps.

The fate of this library building in the aftermath of its collection's transfer remained unknown to modern students of Ottoman libraries. During the research for the present study, I realized that the structure, which stands next to the railroad constructed in the 1870s and registered in the inventories as a mosque with the name of Oda Camii or Tıbbiye Camii,[97] is the library of the *Bostancıs*' barracks. In a military zone today, it functions as a mosque, as it apparently has since the mid nineteenth century. Among its names, Oda carries the memory of the barracks, and Tıbbiye that of the medical school which was founded on the site in the 1840s. But the building conforms completely to a contemporary description of the library and to the stylistic conventions of the architecture of the 1760s. The British orientalist Joseph Dacre Carlyle, who saw the library in 1800, wrote in a letter that it was adjacent to the mosque of the barracks and reached through it, and it was a cruciform building. One of the arms of the cross was its vestibule, and the other three formed the main hall of the library together with the center

[95] See, İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara, 1945), pp. 465-482.
[96] Erünsal, ibid., pp. 240-241.
[97] Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no. 309 (1940).

under the main dome. The book closets were placed in the three arms of the space.[98] The column pairs seen in each of the three-opening arcades that separate the arms of the space, its *şahnişîn*s, from the center have voluted capitals very similar to the ones used in the Râgıb Paşa Library and the Laleli Mosque, both of which were completed in 1763. It seems certain that after its evacuation, the library was integrated into the adjacent mosque and the mihrab in the style of the mid-nineteenth century was added to the once-library building (figs. 2.29-2.30). The original mosque must have been demolished to give room to the railroad when the present façade of the structure, which largely conceals it from views, given the small size and height of its dome relative to its width, was built. Necipoğlu highlighted the probability that a Byzantine church, in some kind of a converted state, remained in the grounds of the Gardeners' compound as late as the 1740s.[99] The substructure of this church might have been used for the cruciform library. But it is clear that it was planned primarily to be a variant of the architecture of the Ahmed III Library in the Enderun, with its *şahnişîn*s one step elevated from the center, ablaq arches, and the rectangular vaults over its arms. A difference is that the later library's outer walls are cut stone, and do not have marble revetments. It also does not seem to have featured ceramic tiles.

The Enderun Library was the most pompous but only one of the library spaces designed with the forms of residential architecture in eighteenth-century Istanbul. There is sufficient evidence that private library rooms abounded in the Ottoman capital in this period. It seems that the escalation of private library architecture was roughly contemporaneous with the spread of public library buildings. It is almost certain that a desirable library wing in a mansion was practically synonymous with a *taş oda*, at least in the eighteenth century. Several Ottoman

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[98] *Memoirs Relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, ed. from manuscript journals, by Robert Walpole (London, 1817), pp. 171-173. Also quoted in Özer Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği* vol. 5 (Ankara, 1999), pp. 190-191.
[99] Necipoğlu, ibid., p. 207.

scholars and statesmen showed an appetite for building study retreats for themselves. Often ornate decors created with expensive materials enveloped these study spaces. The ongoing perception of books as luxury objects and the old sultanic habit of treating a library as a component of the treasury, which was a model for the sultan's elite subjects, were influential at this point. Rooms specified to be primarily used as a library were not uncommon, but associations between treasury and library were still alive both in the palace and outside it. Unless they were endowed at a certain point, the collections and buildings of the private libraries of this period left few traces today. But they could be commemorated in verse, delegated to professional librarians' administration, and remembered generations later. They apparently had constitutive roles similar to those of public libraries in the development of the competitive milieu around books.

# CHAPTER 3

# PILGRIMAGE TO THE LIBRARY: THE BAYTULMAMUR/KABA ANALOGY IN OTTOMAN LIBRARIES

The main focus of visual attention in the interior of the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library, and certainly the principal embellishment of the space, is the large wooden book cabinet placed at the center of the hall and extant today in good condition (figs. 3.1-3.2). This cabinet is roughly in the shape of a cube. It is elevated above the floor on a marble baldaquin of four pillars which allows people to walk underneath. It also has small metal turrets at the upper corners. The borders of the surface at the bottom of the cabinet are decorated with richly colored flower paintings. They seem to have been transferred from bookbinding illuminations.[1] (fig. 3.3) This large piece of furniture has rows of bookshelves on all four sides, which are accessible with the help of a ladder. There is a door, however, in the middle of one side of the cube that allows the librarian to enter the narrow corridor inside the cabinet where there are other bookshelves, which form the shape of a U together with the shelves at the outer edges (figs. 3.4-3.5). This elegant book cabinet thus appears basically as a small architectural work located inside a larger building, an interesting creation that hovers between furniture and architecture. Like the late sixteenth-century sultan Murad III's library-throne with bookshelves discussed in the previous chapter, the Hekimoğlu Library's book cabinet also seems to be a creatively conceived derivative of the portable wooden bookcases (*mahfazas*), which were ornamented inside and out, often had cupolas and spread in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (figs. 3.6-3.7). They attract

[1] See, Zeren Tanındı, "Books and Bindings," in Halil İnalcık and Günsel Renda (eds.) *Ottoman Civilization*, vol. 2 (İstanbul, 2002), pp. 840-863; Gülnur Duran, *Ali Üsküdarî: Tezhip ve Ruganî Üstâdı, Çiçek Ressamı* (İstanbul, 2008). Üsküdarlı Ali's works also reflect the incorporation of rococo forms in Ottoman book illumination, as Duran notes in this monograph. He may deserve a larger place in studies of Ottoman rococo.

attention as refined material products of Ottoman book culture. On the other hand, the cabinet in the Hekimoğlu is actually one of several book depositories that were placed at the centers of library halls, some of them surrounded by metal screens, in a group of Ottoman libraries built between the 1720s and the 1820s. This, in other words, was a frequently preferred spatial arrangement in the design of Ottoman libraries which persisted for about a century. The depository in the Hekimoğlu Library is the oldest one of its kind that survived to our day.

The *waqfiyya* of Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's building compound uses an unexpectedly compelling metaphor for the library in the early part of the text where individual structures are enumerated and calls it an "example of the BaytulMamur, a library replete with light" (*numûne-i Beytü'l-Ma'mûr, bir kütübhâne-i pür-nûr*).[2] The library is defined, therefore, as no less than an example, or a representation, of the BaytulMamur, the celestial counterpart of the Kaba – or the Kaba itself according to some interpreters – in the Islamic exegetic, cosmological and literary traditions. In the most widely held conception of it, which was derived from a number of hadiths attributed to Prophet Muhammad, BaytulMamur is a place located at a certain high echelon of the heavens above the earth and is a shrine regularly visited and circumambulated by angels. In other words, the surprising metaphor encountered in Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's *waqfiyya* compares his library to the angels' pilgrimage shrine in the heavens, and presumably, by extension, the attendants of the library to angels who perform this worship. This loaded artful expression finds parallels in various other texts produced for a group of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Ottoman libraries, and thus a worship and pilgrimage site emerges as a quite popular metaphor used for libraries in this period. Moreover, the comparison to BaytulMamur or Kaba was evidently interconnected with the employment of square-shape depositories in library designs.

[2] *Vakfiyye-i Gâzî Ali Paşa* MS, Ankara Cebeci Library, Y 304, 4b.

The present chapter will trace the verbal expressions of this analogy and the architectural arrangement that accompanied it in each of the individual libraries. It will also examine the other uses of the BaytulMamur/Kaba motifs in the Ottoman tradition in order to elucidate the web of intertextualities in which this compelling symbolism proliferated, and to consider the implications it carries with regard to the social and cultural status of libraries.

**The BaytulMamur in the Ottomans' Sources**

The Quran mentions the BaytulMamur once, near the beginning of a chapter that largely deals with the end of the world and the punishment that awaits unbelievers thereafter. As in a number of other places, the Quran begins the passage by swearing to a number of things, in this case "To the Mount / And to the books [writings] inscribed line by line / On parchment spread open / And to the BaytulMamur / And to the Heaven's raised ceiling / And to the sea filled with fire."[3] The word "books/writings" (*kütüb*) in the second verse refers most probably to the Quran itself, which was inscribed on parchments during the life of the Prophet. It may also refer to all sacred books revealed by God. The consecutive appearance of the word "books" and the BaytulMamur's name in the Scripture might be a reason for the association formed between the two that facilitated the development of the BaytulMamur symbolism in libraries.

As an Arabic phrase, BaytulMamur literally means a well-built or frequented house. *Bayt* is common with some names of the Kaba like *BaytulHaram* (Sacred House) and *Baytullah* (Allah's House). *Ma'mûr*, on the other hand, is a derivative of the root *'-m-r* which can mean a number of things including to live long, to stay, to be well populated and to become populated.[4] It can be noted that *ma'mûr* is also the passive form of *i'mâr*, which was a common concept for

[3] The Quran, 52: 4.
[4] Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* Book I – Part 5 (London, Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 2153-2157.

developing a place through building activity.[5] The idea of the state of flourishing that *ma'mûr* conveys includes a sense of dynamism and activity seen in a place, besides a sense of physical solidity; it means the exact opposite of desolation. It was one of the words chosen by İbrahim Müteferrika in his presentation of the aims of the printing press in 1726 to describe the projected thriving of Ottoman cities and towns with the increase of the numbers of books.[6] The sense of vigor of a locality thanks to population was probably essential to the original seventh-century meaning of the name of the BaytulMamur conveyed in the Quran since it is a place of pilgrimage which is ideally always populous. This meaning was certainly essential also for the analogy the Ottomans formed between this temple and libraries, as libraries were expected to be *ma'mûr* with visitors/readers seeking knowledge and wisdom.

According to some reports, Prophet Muhammad described the BaytulMamur as the temple visited by seventy thousand angels who worshipped there every day, and it was shown to him at a certain point during his Night Journey to the heavens. Caliph Ali is likewise reported to have defined the BaytulMamur as a shrine in the sky where angels pray and with a sanctity like the Kaba on Earth. According to an interpretation dating to the second century of Islam, however, the BaytulMamur mentioned in the Quran was the Kaba itself.[7]

Both Cafer Efendi's *Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye* (Treatise on Architecture) on the architect Sadefkâr Mehmed Ağa's life and the architectural practice and terminology of the time, which he completed in 1614, and Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme*, refer to various accounts of the BaytulMamur's story in different sources. According to Cafer Efendi's treatise, the patriarch of

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[5] Another derivative is *imâret*, the term used in the Ottoman tradition for building ensembles until the nineteenth century.

[6] İbrahim, *Er-Risâletü'l-Müsemmâ bi Vesîletü't-Tıbâ'a*, in *Lugat-ı Vankulu* I (İstanbul, 1141 [1726]). See also "Introduction" of the present thesis.

[7] Abdurrahman Küçük, "Beytülma'mûr," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* v. 6 (İstanbul, 1988), pp. 94-95.

the architects' craft was Adam's son Prophet Şîs (Seth), because he built the first Kaba in masonry in the place of the BaytulMamur, which had been first moved out of Paradise by God and placed on Earth but later returned to its original place. The treatise then adds that according to an alternative account found in certain sources, the BaytulMamur was ascended by God to the celestial realm in Noah's Flood, and the Kaba was built first by Abraham.[8] That the Kaba replaced the BaytulMamur is a common point in the narratives around it. Cafer Efendi's text returns to the BaytulMamur in the section about the Kaba's renovation carried out by Mehmed Ağa in 1612-13. It is noted here that, according to some accounts, the BaytulMamur, which was Adam's pilgrimage site, was made of rubies.[9] In the section he devoted to Mecca and its past, Evliya Çelebi likewise writes that, according to reliable narratives, God had created a pavilion (*kasr*) made of red rubies in Paradise two thousand years before He created Earth. After the Fall of Adam, that pavilion was descended to Earth for Adam's use as the place of worship, located at the site of the Kaba, and named by God as *Beyt-i Ma'mûr*. Adam and Eve used to circumambulate this temple in the company of all the cherubim (*kerrubiyân*) who joined them with God's license. Until Noah's Flood, this temple was the place of pilgrimage of mankind who were obliged to visit it every year. It ascended to the skies, and later Abraham was ordered to build the Kaba in its place with the stone and sand of seven mountains.[10] At another point, Evliya writes that it was made of red rubies according to one narrative and of white pearl according to another.[11] In all these narratives, the BaytulMamur and the Kaba mark the two main epochs of the history of mankind on Earth. BaytulMamur, as the elementary temple, appears as an emblem of the Antediluvian period, liminal between the mankind's presence in Paradise and the current

[8] Ca'fer Efendi, *Risâle-i Mi'mâriyye*, ed. İ. Aydın Yüksel (İstanbul, 2005), pp. 18-19 (in the manuscript original ff. 12b-13a).
[9] Ca'fer Efendi, ibid., p. 49 (in the manuscript original ff. 34a-34b).
[10] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman et. al. vol. 9 (İstanbul, 1996), pp. 378-379.
[11] Ibid., vol. 10, p. 10.

conditions of man and the world as we know it. These texts indicate that in the seventeenth century the BaytulMamur was remembered by the Ottomans as the Kaba's counterpart in the sky and a pavilion built in paradisiac perfection, a divine artifice of exquisite beauty.

Evliya uses the name of the BaytulMamur as a metaphor for one building, the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Upon describing the cathedral-turned-mosque and the Ottoman additions to it, he calls it a parallel of the BaytulMamur (*nazîre-i Beyt-i Ma'mûr*) for the reason that it contained various arts and originalities (*sanâyi u bedâyi*).[12] Lâtifî, a scribe of the early sixteenth century, in his description of the city of Istanbul that he wrote in 1525, enthusiastically compared the same mosque to the Kaba and the BaytulMamur, because the Hagia Sophia was, in his words, ever replete with recitations of the name of God, worshippers, ascetics and devotees of God.[13] For him the Hagia Sophia was "in the character of the Kaba of the Land of Rûm [Anatolia and the Balkans] because of the honor of circumambulation by the people of spiritual purity."[14] He uses the Kaba metaphor for yet another site in Istanbul, the tomb attributed to Prophet Muhammad's companion Abu Ayyub al-Ansari who died during a siege of Constantinople in the late seventh century and was claimed to have been discovered by the Ottomans outside the city walls on the eve of the conquest in 1453. Following the erection of a mausoleum above the alleged grave and a mosque adjacent to it in 1458, the tomb became a frequently visited site of veneration. Documenting this local pilgrimage center quality of the tomb, Lâtifî notes how people revered the site much like the admiration expressed for the Kaba.[15]

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[12] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 58.
[13] Lâtifî, *Evsâf-ı İstanbul*, ed. Nermin Suner Pekin (İstanbul, 1977), pp. 28-31.
[14] Ibid., p. 28.
[15] Ibid., p. 63.

A significant sixteenth-century BaytulMamur metaphor, more directly related to the form cultivated for libraries in the eighteenth century, is found in a version of the *waqfiyya* of Fatih (Conqueror) Sultan Mehmed II's mosque complex built in Istanbul between 1463 and 1470. The *waqfiyya* of this building ensemble was prepared first in 1473, but during the reign of Mehmed II's son Bayezid II, an altered version was issued in 1482 (which is also found in a copy from 1496),[16] because some changes were made to the organization of the complex in the meantime. Bayezid II's *waqfiyya* written in Arabic was later translated into Turkish with some modifications in 1596.[17] These *waqfiyya*s serve as the main sources to illuminate the complicated story of the libraries at the Fatih Complex. The BaytulMamur metaphor found in the Turkish version directly refers to the milieu of learning and scholarship around the mosque, of which the library was a part, and thus forms an important precursor to the eighteenth-century metaphor used for libraries.

Unlike the first *waqfiyya*, which mentions groups of books sent to four of the eight madrasas and four librarians appointed for these collections, the second *waqfiyya* refers to a place "built" (بنا [in the Turkish version *inşâ*][18]) "to the west" or "in the western part" of the mosque (فى جانب الغربى المسجد) for the protection of books.[19] It must have been decided before 1482 to unite the madrasa libraries in, or near, the mosque. This new library is also called *bayta'l-kutub* (house of books) in the Arabic *waqfiyya*,[20] and *dârü'l-kütüb* (house of books) and *kütübhâne* (house of books) in the Turkish text.[21] While the Arabic text defines the professors of

[16] This *waqfiyya* was published in facsimile in *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II. Fatih*, ed. Tahsin Öz (İstanbul, 1935).
[17] This *waqfiyya* was also published. *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri* (Ankara, 1938).
[18] Ibid., p. 204.
[19] *Zwei stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II. Fatih*, p. 14.
[20] Ibid., p. 119.
[21] *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, pp. 247-248.

the Fatih madrasas and the students who stayed there as the users of the collection,[22] the Turkish text adds the clause "other meriting scholars who would need it" (*ulemâ-i müstahikkînden sâir muhtâcîn*) to the beneficiaries.[23] Mehmed II had initially endowed more than eight hundred books, but the collection was significantly extended in the subsequent period with endowments made by religious scholars who taught in the Fatih madrasas. The number of books reached more than 1700 by the year 1560 when a catalogue of the library was prepared by one of those professors, Hacıhasanzâde.[24] Erünsal did not locate documentation of books endowed to the Beyazıt (1505) and the Süleymaniye (1557) mosques in their early decades, but found librarians in the payment registers of these mosques from the 1580s onwards.[25] Therefore, it is clear that the Fatih's collection exceeded all other mosque collections in Istanbul in the sixteenth century, and hence was practically the prime mosque library of the capital. Some scholars have suggested that it was a separate structure outside and to the west of the mosque.[26] Fahri Unan, however, refuted this view by emphasizing that in all the employee payment registers of the building ensemble from the 1490s onward the librarian is listed among the servants of the mosque rather than another building. Madrasas, the primary school, the hospital and other structures of the complex had their own lists.[27] Most probably the place mentioned in the *waqfiyya* was a depository built inside the mosque. The introduction of a catalogue of the mosque library that Erünsal published, and dated to the early sixteenth century, misses a piece of the page, but the remaining part describes the placement of books in different categories and endowed by Mehmed II and by others in certain parts of the space organized for their preservation. This text

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[22] *Zwei stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmed II. Fatih*, pp. 14-15.
[23] *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, p. 204.
[24] Topkapı Sarayı Archive, Defter 9559.
[25] İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), p. 119; pp. 141-143.
[26] Ahmet Süheyl Ünver, *Fatih, Külliyesi ve Zamanı İlim Hayatı* (İstanbul, 1946), pp. 51-60; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'mârîsinde III: Fatih Devri* (İstanbul, 1989), pp. 403-404.
[27] Fahri Unan, *Kuruluşundan Günümüze Fâtih Külliyesi* (Ankara, 2003), pp. 68-74.

refers to an "eastern chest" (*sanduk-ı şarkî*), "upper," "lower" and apparently middle layers, their "qibla" and "other" sides,[28] indicating that the storage place was comprised of multiple closets and allowed movement between them. But whether it had an overall architectural expression is unclear. The mosque was destroyed by an earthquake in 1766. The book collection, however, had already been transferred to the new library building erected by Mahmud I adjacent to the mosque in 1742.

The Turkish *waqfiyya* written in 1596 contains a number of new passages not found in the previous one on the merits of the charitable institutions. Before the madrasas, the text relates how the founder sultan resolved (*cezm buyurdular*) in the light of the relevant divine verses and hadiths that learning (*'ilm*), which elevates man above angels, is "the highest cause" (*matlab-ı a'lâ*), "the farthest objective" (*maksad-ı aksâ*), "the safest handle to grasp" (*urve-i vüskâ*), and "the eminent qibla" (*kıble-i ulyâ*).[29] After the educational facilities and immediately following the library, the text moves to relate how scholars (*ulemâ*) were encouraged from the beginning to settle around this mosque complex by the founder sultan. As worthy dwellings were prepared for them, the "masters of virtue" (*erbâb-ı fezâil*) inclined to the "water and air" of the district, and therefore the environs of the mosque ultimately became "replete with light" (*pürnûr*) as the place of gathering of scholars and an "example of the *Beyt-i Ma'mûr*" (*numûne-i Beyt-i Ma'mûr*).[30] The combination of the last two phrases is the same as the one found in the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's *waqfiyya* about the library. Given the prestige of the Fatih Complex and the value that its *waqfiyya* had as an example of prose composition, its constituents might well have been sources of inspiration for later compositions. The fact that in this usage of the metaphor the concentration

[28] İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), pp. 659-660.
[29] *Fatih Mehmet II Vakfiyeleri*, pp. 203-204.
[30] Ibid., p. 204.

of scholars and intellectual life around the Fatih Mosque is the basis of the comparison with the BaytulMamur makes it an important direct precedent of the analogy that flourished for libraries in the eighteenth century. In the 1596 text, the statement about the concentration of intellectual life around the Fatih Mosque must have been a retrospective observation about the preceding period since the foundation of the complex. The institutional foci of this concentration, on the other hand, were the eight madrasas, which are more numerous than in any other Ottoman mosque complex ever built, and the mosque library, which was the best in Istanbul. This comparison with the celestial Kaba is accompanied by an accentuated definition of the deed of seeking knowledge as a noble form of devotion to God, almost a form of worship, as the highest cause, the farthest objective and the eminent qibla of the believer.

Some of the sultanic mosques built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are compared to the BaytulMamur in different sources, but these comparisons seem to celebrate their physical beauty. Mehmed IV's mother Hatice Turhan Sultan's mosque, which was inaugurated in 1663 and is the grandest mosque built by an Ottoman mother sultana, is known today as the Yeni Cami (New Mosque). According to the *waqfiyya*, it was described as "similar to the BaytulMamur" (*Beytü'l-ma'mûr'a şebîh*) at the endowment statement made at the court.[31] In his account of the inauguration ceremony of Mahmud I and Osman III's Nuruosmaniye Mosque in 1755, court chronicler Vâsıf calls the mosque "second to the luminous and glittering *Beyt-i Ma'mûr*" (*sâni-i Beyt-i Ma'mûr-ı münevver u rûşen*) and an enviable temple.[32] The inscription placed on the sixteenth-century Nişancı Mehmed Paşa Mosque in Istanbul to commemorate the renovation carried out in 1180/1767 during Mustafa III's reign similarly likens the mosque in its repaired state to the BaytulMamur.

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[31] Published in *İstanbul Yeni Cami ve Hünkar Kasrı*, ed. İbrahim Ateş (İstanbul, undated), p. 76.
[32] Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakâikü'l-Ahbâr* (İstanbul, 1219 [1804]), p. 72.

**Invention of a Study Pilgrimage**

The earliest employment of the BaytulMamur metaphor for a library space is an inscription in the library of the madrasa built in Istanbul by the Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa and inaugurated in 1720. This library does not have a book cabinet that has survived. The interiors of both the lecture and the library halls are embellished with long poems inscribed in pieces on marble plaques placed above the windows and niches. The description of the library as a BaytulMamur appears in the Arabic chronogram inscription above the door of the library hall and outside. The first two of the three couplets of this poem can be translated as follows: "İbrahim, Âsaf of the monarch / With his propensity for bringing life to customs/ceremonials of the cultured (رسم العارفين) / Built this distinguished station / For noble, influential scholars/intellectuals."[33] Then, the final couplet brings the metaphor forward: "As the *Bayt Ma'mur* of knowledge (بيت معمورلعلم) came into being / Circumambulation site of the virtuous (مطاف الفاضلين) became chronogram to it."[34] (fig. 3.8) The numerical value of the letters in the phrase "circumambulation site of the virtuous," *metāfa'l-fāḍilīn*, gives the opening date of the institution (1132 H./1720) as the line states. *Metāf* literally means "circumambulation site;" it is also traditionally the name of the pavement around the Kaba. This reference in the last line cleverly duplicates the pilgrimage place motif that the couplet cultivates in the preceding line. According to the poem's interesting portrayal, the grand vizier, inclining to create customs for intellectuals, built a temple of knowledge to be circumambulated by the virtuous.

The author of this important composition can be identified, because the final couplet of the chronogram is one of the examples of the poet Ahmed 'İlmî's works given in the entry for

[33] قد بنى هذا المقام المجتبى * للكرام العالمين العاملين * اصاف الخاقان ابراهيم اذ * مال فى احياء رسم العارفين
[34] بيت معمورلعلم اذ بدى * ظل تاريخا مطاف الفاضلين

him in Sâlim Efendi's contemporary dictionary of poet biographies. Sâlim Efendi narrates here how this religious scholar's caliber was unacknowledged and he remained in solitude teaching in a provincial madrasa until he was discovered by the benefactor grand vizier who promoted him to the Fatih madrasas, and later also to the position of the superintendent of the *waqf*s that served Mecca and Medina. This scholar, who composed poetry "to sharpen his mind" (*teşhîz-i zihn içün*) with the penname 'İlmî, was teaching at the Süleymaniye at the time of the inauguration of the library, and a year later he was appointed *qadi* of Aleppo.[35]

The Turkish poem inscribed on the marble panels above the windows and niches inside the library has a section similar in spirit to the chronogram poem. The sixth of the nine stanzas acclaims the hall as the following: "Although in appearance a library it is in truth / A spring and source of the purest water and ore of wisdom and perfection / Its floor is a place to be kissed by the community of the competent / Its domes a manifestation ground for the angels of the Throne of the Compassionate God."[36] As the penname Tâib mentioned in the final stanza attests, this poem was composed by another figure from the circle of İbrahim Paşa, the madrasa professor and prolific writer Osmanzâde Ahmed Tâib Efendi. 'İlmî's Arabic chronogram and Tâib's verses, both placed on the walls of the building, celebrate the library with unprecedented fervor that go so far as to attribute a ritual-like sublimity to the experience in the library and an almost sacred quality to the space.

While the BaytulMamur motif in 'İlmî's chronogram was repeated in Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's *waqfiyya* in 1734, the chronogram's other motif, "place of circumambulation," finds a parallel in a verse chronogram composed by another madrasa professor, Mehmed Emin Vâsık

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[35] Sâlim Efendi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ Sâlim Efendi*, ed. Adnan İnce (Ankara, 2005), pp. 512-515.

[36] "Eğerçi sûretâ dârülkütüb ammâ / Zülâl ü gevher-i fazl u kemâlin menba' u kânı / Zemîni bûse-cây-ı zümre-i erbâb-ı isti'dâd / Kıbâbı cilvegâh-ı kudsiyân-ı 'Arş-ı Rahmânî"

Efendi, for the new library building erected by Sultan Mahmud I adjacent to the Fatih Mosque and opened in 1742. This text is not inscribed on the building but found in Vâsık's divan. Right after a couplet where it is stated that a determination to build libraries developed as his personal style in Sultan Mahmud I's heart, which was noted in the introduction of the present thesis, Vâsık's next couplet applauds him for "exhilarating" Mehmed II's benefaction with the new library building, which "emerged really as a site of circumambulation and an aid for students" (*Metâf u 'avn-i tullâb oldu gerçek*).[37]

There is a point about the architecture of this library which must be directly related to the original meaning of the circumambulation site motif used by the poet. The design of its interior space strongly, in fact almost undeniably, suggests the presence of a book depository located at the center of the hall, in the area between the four marble columns that carry the central dome, in the original organization of the space. The area under the main dome and between the columns is naturally the main visual focus of the library (fig. 3.9). But more importantly, the difference in the pavement level between the two sections of the interior clearly points at a direction of movement and differentiation of functions that were initially conceived of for the space. The marble columns and the cruciform plan separates the interior into nine units, and out of these nine, only the one under the main dome and a narrow band between the entrance of the hall and the central unit have lower pavements while the rest of the hall are one step elevated (fig. 3.10). Therefore, it is highly likely that a depository was placed at the center of the hall and was structured to allow librarians to walk inside, whereas the sections of the hall with the elevated floor were reserved for reading and writing. This view is corroborated by the fact that the Râgıb Paşa Library, which was built about two decades later, in 1763, with a plan that almost

[37] Hatice Aynur, "I. Mahmûd'un (ö. 1754) Kütüphaneleri ve Tarih Manzumeleri" Kitaplara Vakfedilen Bir Ömre Tuhfe: *İsmail E. Erünsal'a Armağan*, eds. Hatice Aynur et. al. (İstanbul, 2014), p. 722.

duplicates that of Mahmud I's Fatih Library in larger dimensions, has exactly the same arrangement. The Râgıb Paşa likewise has a cruciform plan and the pavement has the exact same height difference. The book depository is within tall metal screens that connect the marble columns and thus form a smaller square room under the main dome accessible through a door on the side of the lower pavement, opposite the entrance of the library. The depository inside this segregated room is comprised of three cabinets connected to each other at their upper corners, and hence practically has two corridors in it. (figs. 3.11-3.12).

Toderini had seen in the early 1780s another cubic book depository which then stood at the center of a library. This one was in the small library building that was commissioned by Sultan Ahmed III adjacent to his grandmother Hatice Turhan Sultan's mausoleum near her Yeni Cami to house the collection donated by her to the mosque and the mausoleum and a new group of books Sultan Ahmed added in 1725 (fig. 3.13). This simple single-dome building, which was called Valide (Mother Sultana) Library, is ornamented with paintings almost identical to those seen in the İbrahim Paşa Library, which was built five years earlier. The cabinet-like bookcase that Toderini saw is not extant today. Toderini describes this structure in the middle of the room as one "which resembles a large cube." With niches on four sides, it was apparently similar to the cabinet later made for the Hekimoğlu Library, but was placed on the ground. It must have been another impressive mini structure in a hall less than 40 square meters wide. Toderini also reports that one would see rich manuscripts aligned on the shelves when entering this section.[38] Therefore, this cubic depository in the middle of this small library was another structure that could be entered and had shelves inside.

[38] Giambattista Toderini, *De la littérature des Turcs*, v. 2 (Paris, 1789), p. 82.

This document indicates that there might have been other cubic book cabinets that did not survive to our time for different reasons. d'Ohsson noted in the 1780s the placement of ornate book cabinets in the middle of the hall as a form of library furnishing was seen in multiple examples in Istanbul. Although he does not specify names, he writes that in some Istanbul libraries a gilded lattice closet, knitted with bronze strings, is found in the middle of the room.[39] In fact, one of the reasons behind the selection of the cruciform plan for Mahmud I's project at Fatih, might be the intention to further emphasize the center of the room where a book cabinet was placed. In this light, the employment of the term "circumambulation site" for the İbrahim Paşa and the Fatih libraries in laudatory poems invites closer consideration. Neither of these libraries are freestanding buildings; the İbrahim Paşa Library is at the corner of the two outer walls of the compound, and the Fatih Library is adjacent to the mosque on one side while open on the other three. In other words, it is not physically possible to walk around them. Therefore, at first glance, the uses of the circumambulation site metaphor seems to be purely rhetorical in both cases with no real architectural reference, that is, poetic expressions that simply aim to describe the libraries as frequented places. However, in all likelihood the metaphor took the book cabinets in the middle of the halls as their immediate points of reference.

The Râgıb Paşa Library is physically the largest and one of the most ostentatious Ottoman libraries. The central piece of the memorial building compound of its founder, it appears as a primary focus of attention of contemporary Ottoman and foreign commentators on Istanbul libraries, and there is written evidence of the use of the Kaba analogy for the spatial arrangement of this library as well. This reference is found in a short narrative in the *Menâkıbnâme* (Book of Stories) of the important Ottoman polymath of the early nineteenth

[39] Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau General de l'Empire Othoman* (Paris, 1788), p. 296.

century, Kethüdâzâde Mehmed Ârif Efendi (1777-1847). A *qadi* by profession, Kethüdâzâde was a leading member of the Beşiktaş Society of Learning (*Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyesi*), which was active in the 1810s and the 1820s and organized philosophical, scientific and literary discussions in the mansions of its members. He was the informal tutor of a number of statesmen and scholars of the subsequent decades in the fields of mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, literature and Persian language.[40] Kethüdâzâde's *Menâkıbnâme* is composed of anecdotes and short stories that basically represent the end of the pre-Tanzimat Ottoman intellectual tradition and were recorded and later published by one of his pupils in 1889. Râgıb Paşa was one of Kethüdâzâde's intellectual heroes. This is expressed at one point with a parable. According to this parable, once a shaykh offered a pill (*hab*) so strong that one would fall asleep upon taking it. One would either never wake up or wake up with an extraordinary capacity added to his memory and intellect enabling him to forget nothing seen or read. Of the two students who took the pill one survived the sleep and came to be known as "Râgıb Paşa's master/tutor" (*Ragıb Paşa hocası*); the pupil's wisdom and cultivation were similarly famous. From this, Kethüdâzâde immediately moves to Râgıb Paşa's "peerless" (*emsâlsiz*) library in Istanbul where, he remarks, "books stand in the middle like the Kaba" (*kitablar Kabe gibi orta yerdedir*).[41] Kethüdâzâde thus provides us with a testimony that the BaytulMamur or Kaba analogy could be voiced for libraries with central depositories even if the analogy was not expressed in the *waqfiyya* or the inscriptions of that library. In other words, it seems to have had a wider ground in the contemporaries' perception and recollection of the libraries that featured this spatial configuration than such documents indicate.

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[40] See Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "19. Asrın Başlarında Tanzimat-Öncesi Kültür ve Eğitim Hayatı ve Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyesi Olarak Bilinen Ulema Grubunun Buradaki Yeri," *OİMC-1. Milli Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu 3-5 Nisan 1987*, ed. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (İstanbul, 1987), pp. 43-74.

[41] Emin Efendi, *Menâkıb-ı Kethüdâzâde el-Hâcc Mehmed Ârif: Menâkıbnâme*, (İstanbul, 1305 [1889]), pp. 111-112.

The third and last library with the cruciform plan was commissioned by the madrasa professor Murad Molla and built on the grounds of a *tekke* of the Nakshibandiyya order in Istanbul in 1775. This library displays the same pavement level difference as in the Fatih and the Râgıb Paşa libraries (fig. 3.14). Today nineteenth-century bookshelves are seen at the far end of the hall opposite the entrance, but the pavement suggests a depository at the center in the original design. Another library, in this case outside Istanbul, is reported to have had a square depository at the center of its hall. The depository of the library built by Kethüdâzâde Mehmed Ârif's grandfather, Yusuf Ağa, the chief steward (*kethüdâ*) of the mother sultana, in Konya in 1795 was inside a square space surrounded by metal screens until the 1960s.[42] This library is the largest eighteenth-century library in the provinces.

In another important provincial library, the Necib Paşa in the western Anatolian town of Tire, there is not only a book cabinet in the middle of the hall but also yet another instance of the BaytulMamur analogy stated in an original inscription. Commissioned by a member of the central elite who was trained in the scribal service and was the supervisor of the state gunpowder factories at the time, the Necib Paşa Library was built in 1826. The building is basically in the usual form of single-dome neighborhood mosques with a portico in front, which was employed earlier in the Köprülü and the Selim Ağa (1783) libraries in Istanbul, but enriched here with a high semicircular stairway that leads to the loggia, probably inspired by the example in Sultan Mustafa III Ayazma Mosque (1760) in Istanbul. Today, the books are placed in a wooden octagonal cabinet located in the center of this mosque-like room; however, the inscription panel hung above its wall states that this current indoor structure was built in 1333/1917. It is very probable that this cabinet replaced an older one, because there is no large niche here like in many

[42] Müjgân Cunbur, "Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi ve Kütüphane Vakfiyesi," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* I/1 (1963): 207.

of the single-room libraries – actually there is no niche in the walls (fig. 3.15). At the same time, one of the two original chronogram inscriptions seen at the library celebrates it as "congruent (*'adîl*) to the BaytulMamur" near the beginning of the poem. Mehmed Zühdî Efendi, whose name appears in the final couplet of the chronogram and who had shifted from madrasa training to a career in the scribal class according to Fatin's biographical dictionary,[43] begins the eulogy with this enthusiastic couplet: "Praise and glory to you, Necib has reached the Throne of the Compassionate God / Because the library is congruent to the *Beyt-i Ma'mûr*."[44] (fig. 3.16) The association between Heaven and the BaytulMamur, which carried the beneficent founder of the library to the Throne of God in this original composition, is a significant one. The poem states later that with the arrival of the books Tire was "filled with lights" (*envâr ile doldu*); its inhabitants thus found comfort and became thankful to the Benevolent God. There is little doubt that the forceful BaytulMamur analogy was tied to the presence of a bookcase, probably cubic in form, in the room. The Necip Paşa case demonstrates the persistence of the heavenly temple symbolism as late as the 1820s when it was more than a hundred years old. Kethüdâzâde narrated his parable about Ragıb Paşa in or around the same decade.

In aggregate, these cases demonstrate that the cubic bookcases in library designs and the Kaba/BaytulMamur symbolism were closely intertwined. Their considerable currency lasted from the early eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. The ardent bibliophile identity of the Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa as the promoter of the first printing press and the initiator of a remarkable translation program makes the innovation of such an assertive analogy nourished by graphic evocation in his library project seem highly probable. After all, its inscriptions present the most passionate interpretation of the library as akin to a sacred space.

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[43] Davud Fatin Efendi, *Tezkire-i Hâtimetü'l-Eş'ar* (İstanbul, 1271 [1870]), p. 166.
[44] "Sana medh ü senâ irdi Necîb Arş-ı Rahmâna / Ki zîrâ Beyt-i Ma'mûra 'adîl oldu kütübhâne."

Associations of similar kinds were seen in the case of the alleged divine guidance in the selection of the Hagia Sophia Library's location or its comparison to the sacred call to prayer, both noted in Chapter 1. But the recurrent BaytulMamur symbolism is remarkable especially in the way it combined the poetic metaphor that defined an exalted status for the activity the buildings were planned for with the graphic evocation of the metaphor, the BaytulMamur and the Kaba, in the architectural space. One is invited to think that, at one point, the cubic format as one of the available options for the pavilion-like cabinets must have stimulated the idea that such a structure could stand as a physical illustration of the great celestial and/or the earthly temple. The book cabinet which originally stood in the center of the Ahmed III Library on four supports might have been one, probably the first, of the cubic cabinets. But the Ahmed III Library lacks any accompanying verbal reference to the BaytulMamur; it began to be voiced in the project of this sultan's grand vizier, İbrahim Paşa, which was opened soon, the following year. That they are more often compared to the BaytulMamur than to the Kaba in the sources is probably because the BaytulMamur was conceived of as a better candidate for use as a literary motif as something that belongs to the celestial realm. Its exquisite beauty must be the main reference in the expressions of aesthetic appreciation of the mosques when they were compared to the BaytulMamur, but less relevant in the analogy developed for the libraries. The cubic shape was evidently thought to be an approximation of the form of the heavenly counterpart of the Kaba as well.

### Facing the Temple's Likeness

These three-dimensional representations of the Kaba had a striking precedent, though temporary and built for a highly different occasion, in the early seventeenth century. This interesting event is recorded in the chronicler Mustafa Sâfi's detailed description. As the

protector of the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina, the Ottoman monarch provided physical maintenance service to the Haram Mosque in Mecca and the Prophet's mosque and mausoleum in Medina; some objects like the cloth cover, the *kiswa*, of the Kaba and its gutters were thence brought to the Topkapı Palace. The objects were transported when they were replaced with new ones and were kept here besides the relics that were claimed to belong to a group of historical holy figures and transferred to the Ottoman capital with the annihilation of the Mamluk Sultanate in the early sixteenth century. Mustafa Sâfî narrates how in 1022/1613, during the Ottoman renovation of the Kaba in Mecca, a group of such objects were employed for the erection of a model of the Kaba in the Treasury of the Topkapı Palace and then visited by Sultan Ahmed I. Constructed "in the plan of"[45] (*resmi üzerine*) the Kaba and completed with the placement of old gutters and keys in right places, this model was made "in accordance with and in all respects in agreement with" (*muvâfik ve min külli'l-vücûh mutâbık*) the "true" Kaba,[46] and therefore made people who saw it halt "at first sight" and ask, in Sâfî's words, "How! Did the Kaba the Magnificent come to visit his majesty the sultan of the Refuge Religion?"[47] Especially interesting is the end of the anecdote. After he raised his hands and recited prayers in front of the model Kaba, the sultan opened a page from a Quran copy nearby and saw on the first line of the page a verse about the pilgrimage in Mecca. He thanked and praised God, and interpreted this to the courtiers present as a "harbinger sign" (*işâret-i pür-beşâret*) that his deed of turning his face (*teveccüh*) through the "picture" (*sûret*) of the Kaba to its truth and meaning was awarded by

[45] Mustafa Sâfî, *Mustafa Sâfî'nin Zübdetü't-Tevârih'i*, ed. İbrahim Hakkı Çuhadar, vol. II (Ankara, 2003), p. 255. This structure was noted with Sâfî's testimony by Gülru Necipoğlu. G. Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in 15th and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XLV: 3 (September, 1986), p. 238.
[46] Ibid., p.257.
[47] "Âyâ Kabe-i Muazzama pâdişâh-ı din-penâh hazretlerinin ziyâretine mi geldi?" Ibid., pp. 255-256.

God as the "essence of pilgrimage" (*hakîkat-ı hâcc*).[48] The cubic book cabinets in the libraries obviously did not carry any material piece that had once touched the Kaba; they did not contain an element of "contagious magic" aimed at founding a para-pilgrimage through corporeal contact with the temple. They were figural representations that symbolically underlined the wisdom of the learning effort, reading and writing. But the model Kaba's event in the Topkapı Palace's Treasury helps considerably to explain the basis of operation of pilgrimage symbolism in the libraries.

These book cabinets as three-dimensional representations of the BaytulMamur/Kaba proliferated in the same period with another trend of the graphic representations of the temple in architectural contexts, namely the production and dissemination of ceramic tiles that feature pictures of the Kaba and the other shrines around it. In an article published in 1971, Sabih Erken compiled and described thirty two such tiles or tile panels found today in Turkish, Egyptian, Greek and European museums, on the walls of a number of mosques in Istanbul and Anatolian provinces, and in some sections of the Topkapı Palace. Six of the single-piece tiles on mosque walls and two others in museums have inscriptions that designate the "benefactors'" names and thus indicate that these tiles were often produced upon the order of individuals who wished to present the image of the holy shrine as gifts to mosques (fig. 3.17). About one third of the examples have dates on them, all of which are from the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. One of the tiles is seen on a wall of the basement of the Ahmed III Library in the Palace, but the details of its placement there are not known. The other Kaba tiles in the Topkapı Palace are found in places reserved for prayer, like the majority (or all)

[48] Ibid., pp. 257-258.

of the ones outside the palace apparently were.[49] Thus, affixing a picture of the chief mosque of Islam on mosque walls or prayer corners developed as a form of pious act in this period. Some of the examples are nearly identical with each other and closely resemble the images of the Kaba and its environs found in popular prayer books called *Delâil-i Hayrât* that survived from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[50] Most of the Kaba tiles in public mosques were installed in older monuments. But one of them was planned as a part of the tile revetment program of a new mosque and stands as a peak of the trend, in none other than the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Mosque. This outstanding panel placed on the wall to the right of the mihrab is also one of the earliest Ottoman pictorial depictions made according to aerial perspective (fig. 3.18). Considering the practice around this group of tiles, building book cabinets in the three-dimensional likeness of the pilgrimage shrine could also have been viewed as pious gestures, one that merged verbal metaphor with visual symbolism.

A variety of comparisons made to the Kaba were used in the literary realm for centuries. Müjgân Cunbur compiled some of the references to the Kaba and different metaphorical uses of it in pre-nineteenth-century Ottoman poetry. The believer's heart was of course a preeminent Baytullah, house of God. The doorstep of the Prophet Muhammad's house could be called another Kaba in religious poetry. Another widespread metaphorical appearance of the Kaba, however, from as early as the fifteenth century onwards in Ottoman examples, was the comparison of the beloved person or his/her house or neighborhood to the holy shrine, sometimes coupled with different comparisons like the beloved's hair to the Kaba's *kiswa*. Obviously heterodox, these popular metaphors could be presented in polysemy that potentially carried mystical justifications like the suggestion that this love basically represented, or was a

[49] Sabih Erken, "Türk Çiniciliğinde Kabe Tasvirleri" *Vakıflar Dergisi* 9 (1971): 297-320.
[50] See, Günsel Renda, *Ankara Etnoğrafya Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Yazma ve Albümler* (Ankara, 1980).

reflection of, the love of God.[51] In prose, too, certain religious figures like scholars or shaykhs of religious orders could be called a qibla or a Kaba. The chronicler Mustafa Sâfî's commemoration of a Mawlawi shaykh buried in Cairo as a Kaba of the community of friends is one example.[52]

Comparisons of architectural spaces to the Kaba and the BaytulMamur, examples of which were noted above, were ultimately of this nature. Mosques and a saint's mausoleum could be attributed an affinity with the Kaba and the BaytulMamur, but the rise of libraries as another type of built space that were frequently attributed an affinity with the pilgrimage temples is a significant leap. It is significant, partly because this attribution was a recurrent one rather than a zealous but isolated artful expression. Moreover, there seems to have been no instance where a madrasa, the other building type dedicated to learning, was likened to the BaytulMamur or the Kaba. The analogy of worship through learning, or a learning pilgrimage, was therefore a prerogative of libraries as the Ottomans developed it; most probably because libraries were, by definition, sites to make study visits and return from, unlike the madrasas where studies were programmed in long periods and stays. This recurrent analogy for an architectural type was even more significant due to the striking presence of the pilgrimage sites' graphic representations. Evocation of the temples in the cubic shape of the book depositories and the accompanying verbal depictions constituted a full-fledged new topos and architectural symbolism. The comparison of libraries to the two temples directly alluded to a feeling of religious ritual and devotion, to a sacred act and, as a corollary, a spiritual ascension. The rooted basis of these allusions is clearly the conception of the deed of learning and the efforts to that end as dignified forms of piety in Islam. The definition of learning as the believer's eminent qibla and the

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[51] Müjgân Cunbur, "Eski Şiirimizde Kâbe ve Kâbe Ziyaretleri" in *Marmara Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 7 (1993): 141-171.
[52] *Mustafa Sâfî'nin Zübdetü't-Tevârih'i*, ed. İbrahim Hakkı Çuhadar, vol. II (Ankara, 2003), pp. 98-99.

accompanying portrayal of the Fatih's scholar population, its madrasas and library as comparable to the BaytulMamur in the sixteenth century text is a most immediate precedent of the later architectural-cum-literary convention. Library spaces were seen as architectural embodiments of the noble piety of learning effort, as settings of an uplifting experience akin to worship and the holy pilgrimage. The trend can be seen similar to the tendency to create sublime and transcendent associations in another emerging building type for public instruction, the architecture of museums, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the West. It reveals the surprisingly high expectations the Ottomans had from their public libraries. The intent to see libraries *ma'mûr*, frequented by many readers, was certainly a primary connotation of the metaphor. The creativity of the new topos, notwithstanding its multiple historical precedents, marks the dynamism in the literary and architectural culture of the eighteenth-century Ottomans, while its forceful content helps explain the vigor with which the patronage of library buildings was embraced by many in the Ottoman elite as a social asset.

## EXCURSUS: REPOSITORIES OF POLYMATH ERUDITION

This brief section gives an overview of the quantitative weights of books in different subjects in the collections of Ottoman public libraries and aims thus to elucidate the development of all-encompassing coverage nearly as a norm in the eighteenth century. The significant presence of literature and history in libraries, although not challenged by the primacy of religious fields, especially mark this period. This excursus section also dwells on the historical roots of the ideal of polymath learning and the code in which a taste for form, for the language arts and enjoyable information were essential features of the interest in literature and history in the tradition where the Ottoman library movement grew.

The catalogue of the Fatih Library, Istanbul's then-principal mosque library, which was prepared in 1560, has entries for a total of 1770 books endowed by Mehmed II and later donors.[1] The separate catalogue of the library, founded in the new building at this site by Mahmud I in 1742 and extended in 1749 with new book endowments, contains 1695 entries.[2] The two numbers are close to each other, but the distribution of these items in subjects show remarkable differences. In the older collection, we find little more than 1100 items in the fields of exegesis, hadiths and law, while the total number of literature and history books is not more than one ninth of this. In the later catalogue, however, literature and history have long sections. "Literature" (*edebiyât*) has 186 entries in the list, while "histories" (*tevârih*) are 176 in number. There is also the distinctly labeled group of *muhâzarât*, which gathers counsel literature and reference works for linguistic skills and contains 110 entries. The sum of these three groups, the *adab* conglomeration, is more than three quarters of the exegesis, hadith and law books in the new

[1] Topkapı Palace Archive, *Defter* 9559.
[2] *Fatih Kütüphanesi Defteri* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 242, ff. 2a-84a.

library. The new library also housed 91 books on medicine, as opposed to a dozen in this field in the old library. The new collection of the Fatih Library reflects an effort to present a clearly more encyclopedic coverage with a more balanced presence of different subjects for public accessibility in the new building. In fact, this is a characteristic of most of the foundations of the eighteenth century and thus can be viewed as a foundation of the very idea of a public library in the period when they were often established in buildings of their own.

There are data about many early mosque and madrasa collections in this regard. For example, the collection that was transferred from the Şehzade Mosque (opened in 1548) to the Fatih Library also in 1749 has 103 books on religious sciences, but two in literature, one on history and two on medicine.[3] *Qadi* of Istanbul Mehmed Molla Çelebi endowed a collection to the mosque that he built in Istanbul in 1590, which contains 84 books on exegesis, hadiths and law and 17 on history, counsel literature and poetry.[4] Valide Nurbanu Sultan endowed 85 works on religious sciences and two in literature to her mosque complex in 1582.[5]

On the other hand, we find books in *adab* fields usually in numbers between half of and equal to the ones on religious sciences (often around two thirds) in Istanbul's purpose-built libraries. This ratio is already more than three quarters of the initial collection formed by Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa in the Köprülü Library with 564 in religious sciences and 419 in *adab* while they are nearly equal in the collection that his descendant Hâfız Ahmed Paşa endowed in the same building in 1757 with 95 and 98 items respectively.[6] The ratio is again nearly three quarters in the Hagia Sophia Library, which has 1444 books in religious sciences and 1066 in *adab*. With

[3] Ibid., ff. 135b-143a.
[4] İstanbul Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi 28167.
[5] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Emir Hoca Kemankeş* (İstanbul, n.d.), pp. 50-63.
[6] *Köprülüzade Mehmed Paşa Kütüphanesinde Mahfûz Bulunan Kütüb-i Mevcûdenin Defteridir* (İstanbul, n.d.).

605 entries, histories exceed each of exegesis, hadith and law in this collection and remain only behind Sufism among all the subjects.[7]

There is also a large group of 212 books on medicine in the Hagia Sophia Library. They are 175 in number in the Nuruosmaniye (1755).[8] There is a marked emphasis on medicine in the libraries that Mahmud I founded with numbers that considerably exceed those in other statesmen's and Abdülhamid I's libraries (1780) where they are less than 50 with the exception of *şeyhülislam* Veliyüddin Efendi's collection (1768) where there are about 100.[9]

The weight of *adab* fields is very high in each of the collections endowed by *Reisülküttab* Mustafa Efendi and his son and grandson, both religious scholars. They are nearly equal to religious sciences in Mustafa Efendi's initial collection (both groups about four hundred items) but more than the latter Âşir Efendi's collection and in the last portion endowed by Hafîd Efendi (less than a hundred and fifty in each case).[10]

Examples of political or moral advice literature are sometimes grouped under the title *mev'iza* (advice) while works on "manners of disputation" (*âdâbü'l-bahs*), that is rhetorical guides, are sometimes shortly called *âdâb* books. These two groups are often seen in categories combined with certain other subjects. The *mev'iza* books form a group together with Sufism and morals (*ahlâk*) in the Âtıf Efendi's manuscript catalogue. Here *muhâzarât* is a separate group of 10 books and *âdâbü'l-bahs* is another with 14 entries. Persian literature and divans form a group of 140 entries categorized separately from "literature" (*edebiyât*), which has 119 entries in this

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[7] Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Fihrist 25-1.
[8] Süleymaniye Library: Nuruosmaniye Fihrist 1.
[9] *Veli Efendi Kütüphanesi Defteri* MS, İstanbul Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi: Veliyüddin Efendi 3290.
[10] *Reisülküttap Mustafa Efendi Kütüphanesi Fihristi* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2738; *Âşir Efendi Kütüphanesi Fihristi* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2720; *Hafîd Efendi Kütüphanesi Fihristi* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2725; *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Âşir Efendi* (Dersaâdet, 1306 [1890]).

catalogue. "Biographies and histories" (*tabakât ve't-tevârîh*) are a group of 191 works, nearly equal in number to the works on hadiths. Biographies and also geographies were usually categorized under "histories" in this period. In total, books on *adab* fields are more than two thirds of the works on religious sciences in the Âtıf Efendi.[11] However, they are more than only one-third in the list of books endowed by Âtıf Efendi himself, which is found in the *waqfiyya*.[12] In other words, the intensity of *adab* works must have increased with his two sons', brother-in-law's and two grandsons' endowments later. In the Hacı Selim Ağa Library (1783), 115 histories are equal in number with the exegeses, and together with the 129 in *edebiyât* and 13 in *âdâb* (in the sense of disputation manuals) they are once again about two thirds of the works on religious sciences.[13] This is the case in the Hamidiye Library as well, where *âdâb* are categorized alongside logics, astronomy and mathematics.[14] The ratio is just above half in the Nuruosmaniye, but the literature and the history sections (647 and 460 respectively) are sizable in this largest collection of the century. There is also a section of 32 *âdâb*.[15] The library that Ahmed III built next to his grandmother Hatice Turhan Sultan's mausoleum in 1722 incorporated the collection the sultana had endowed to the mosque of the complex in 1663. The older collection has 160 works on religious sciences and 36 in history and literature,[16] while the entries in the sections of history (118 entries) and literature (93 entries) are more than one third of the religious sciences in the new collection.[17]

Most of the libraries within madrasas, however, show different kind of configurations in their collections. The *adab* books are only about one tenth of the religious sciences in the library

[11] Süleymaniye Library: Âtıf Efendi 2860.
[12] Süleymaniye Library: Âtıf Efendi 2858; f. 28b-55a; 85a-88b; 90b-93b.
[13] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i el-Hâc Selim Ağa* (İstanbul, 1310 [1894]).
[14] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Hamîdiye* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2727.
[15] Süleymaniye Library: Nuruosmaniye Fihrist 1.
[16] Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2740.
[17] Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2742.

founded (without a building of its own) in Grand Vizier Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa's madrasa, which was opened in 1688.[18] They are less than a fifth in the library of the Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Madrasa,[19] and about a quarter of the large collection of more than 900 exegesis, hadith and law books in the *qadi* Carullah Efendi's library,[20] both of which had library spaces in their architecture. They are less than one eighth in the collection once placed in the Çorlulu Ali Paşa Madrasa's book depository.[21] The primacy of the madrasa curriculum is certainly a major factor behind this distribution, but in mudarris Murad Molla's library built in a dervish lodge in 1775 the items on religious sciences are once again about five times more than *adab* works.[22] In general, this must be largely due to the usual reading and collection preferences of religious scholars.

Feyzullah Efendi's library opened in its own hall in the madrasa appears as an interesting exception among religious scholars' foundations. It has almost a thousand items on Quran exegesis, hadiths and law, and nearly two fifths of this on *adab* subjects.[23] On the other hand, it is surprising to see that in the library founded by Râgıb Paşa (1763), a vizier from the secretary background, the weight of the works on religious sciences in proportion to those in *adab* fields is nearly the same as in the Feyzullah Efendi Library, and thus exceed most of the libraries founded by other statesmen from *kalemiye* backgrounds.[24] Collections were formed by the founders' varying individual preferences within relatively wide ranges, often leaving a mark of these

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[18] *Kara Mustafa Paşa Kütüphanesi Defteri* MS, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi 21346.
[19] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Amca Hüseyin Paşa* (Dersaâdet, 1310 [1894]), pp. 1-49.
[20] Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2741.
[21] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Çorlulu Ali Paşa* (İstanbul, 1303 [1887]).
[22] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Dâmadzâde Kazasker Mehmed Murad* (İstanbul, 1311 [1895]), pp. 1-148.
[23] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Feyzullah Efendi ve Şeyh Murad ve Kalkandelenli İsmail Ağa* (Dersaâdet, 1310 [1894]), pp. 3-41.
[24] *Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi Vakfı Kitap Listesi* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Ragıp Paşa 4111; *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Râgıb Paşa* (Dersaâdet, 1310 [1894]). See also, Henning Sievert, "Eavesdropping on the Pasha's Salon: Usual and Unusual Readings of an Eighteenth Century Ottoman Bureaucrat" *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 41 (2013): 159-195.

personal interests, while often *adab* subjects were given significant allotments and religious sciences usually retained primacy.

The readership outside Istanbul was in all likelihood more largely composed of madrasa students, but the proportions of *adab* fields in the libraries founded by the elites of the central administration in the provinces are not dramatically lower. In the library that Vâhid Paşa founded in a room that he built next to the Great Mosque of Kütahya in 1811[25] and in Yusuf Ağa's grand library built next to Konya's Selimiye Mosque in 1795, *adab* works are more than a hundred in number and their proportions are more than one third of the exegesis and law fields.[26] The brief introductory note at the beginning of the list of endowed books in Şerif Halil Paşa's *waqfiyya* refers to the benefit of the pursuers of both "study of religious sciences" (*tahsîl-i ulûm-ı dîniye*) and "perfection of *adab* skills" (*tekmîl-i fünûn-ı edebiyye*).[27] The small collection of this library in Shumen has 61 works in religious sciences and 37 in *adab*.[28]

The rise in attention paid to *adab* fields is unmistakable in the capital. In the collection that Emir Hoca Kemankeş, a madrasa professor, endowed at Valide Nurbanu Sultan's mosque in 1723, *adab* works have a place almost equal to that of religious sciences, both more than 100.[29] This proportion is about three-fifths in Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's library, which was enriched by the donation of a shaykh in 1740.[30] Halet Efendi, a leading statesman of the Mahmud II administration, endowed 206 *adab* books and 178 on exegesis, hadiths and law in the library he

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[25] *Vahit Paşa Kütüphanesi Defteri* MS, Kütahya Vahit Paşa Kütüphanesi 1031.
[26] *Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi Vakfiyesi* MS, Konya Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi 2850; the catalogue of the books in the *waqfiyya* inventorized in Müjgân Cumbur, "Yusuf Ağa Kütüphanesi ve Kütüphane Vakfiyesi," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* I/1 (1963), pp. 212-213.
[27] Orlin Sabev (Orhan Salih), "Bir Hayrat ve Nostalji Eseri: Şumnu'daki Tombul Camii Külliyesi ve Banisi Şerif Halil Paşa'nın Vakfettiği Kitap Kataloğu," in Faruk Bilici et al. eds., *Enjeux Politiques, Économiques et Militaires en Mer Noire (XIVe-XXIe Siecles)* (Braila, 2007), p. 571.
[28] Ibid, pp. 571-578.
[29] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Emir Hoca Kemankeş* (İstanbul, n.d.), pp. 1-49.
[30] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa* (Dersaâdet, 1311 [1895]), pp. 1-73.

built in 1825 in the compound of the Mawlawi lodge on the northern edge of Istanbul.[31] Chronicler Esad Efendi's library, the last *waqf* library built at the center of the city in 1846, has more than 1000 *adab* books in its collection, exceeding religious sciences by a small margin. Its printed catalogue prepared in the late nineteenth century distinguishes a section of 114 works on "morals and politics" (*ahlâk ve's-siyâset*) and a more unusual section on another important *adab* genre, compendia of letters and writing samples (*münşeât*), which has 94 entries.[32]

All of the library collections had sections of books on the grammar (*sarf*) and syntax (*nahv*) of the Arabic language and the majority had sections on other rhetoric subjects as well. These instrumental sciences of the study of religious subjects and of the examination of *adab* texts were part of the madrasa curricula and were present also in older endowed book collections. Dictionaries – not only of Arabic – usually have large independent sections. Works on astronomy, geometry, mathematics and *hikmet*, a category that brought together philosophical discourses and physics due to the ancient association between these two, are usually grouped under single headings in catalogues. Their quantities in the collections vary; they are nearly as large as histories in the Âtıf Efendi, the Râgıb Paşa and the Hamidiye, but much less in most of the other libraries. These subjects which were briefly taught at madrasas but still carried the important influence of pre-modern paradigms thus had a presence in the libraries of the century probably commensurate in average with the generally limited availability of their texts. Studies on logic (*mantık*), classified sometimes with these latter subjects and sometimes with the topics of rhetoric, also have a remarkable presence throughout. Arabic logic was a dynamic field with original production in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and had influential practitioners in Istanbul like Gelenbevî İsmail Efendi, a mudarris and later a teacher of mathematics in the

[31] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Hâlet Efendi* (Dersaâdet, 1312 [1896]), pp. 2-69.
[32] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Esad Efendi* (İstanbul, n.d.).

first Ottoman school of engineering from 1774.[33] *Kelâm*, philosophical theology, usually has extensive sections in the catalogues placed after law and before *adab* categories. In short, libraries of this period made sources of large spectra of fields of learning available to users, notwithstanding the marked differences of the founders' tastes in the formation of individual collections while verse and prose literature, history and advice writings secured prominent places in library holdings.

It seems that the sense of proper conduct and sophistication in social intercourse had precedence in the connotations of the complex notion of *adab*. But it was closely associated with philological training and literary abilities from very early on in medieval Islamic contexts thanks to the great importance given to the command and richness of language in social encounters, written correspondence and official state documents. *Adab* also came to mean the intellectual contents of verse and prose works, including historical chronicles and biographical dictionaries as well as poetry and the genre of anecdotal stories, that is, literary scrutiny of and speculation about human behavior and the natural realm from most probably the ninth century onwards. This latter sense of moral debate and an intellectual interest in worldly life, especially of man, had a significant share in the notion of *adab* while the simpler connotation of linguistic training also retained its importance, highlighting the connection seen between the two in the individual's refinement.[34]

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[33] See, Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Relational Syllogisms and the History of Arabic Logic, 900-1900* (Leiden and Boston, 2010.

[34] See, Marshall Hogdson, *The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization, vols. 1-2: Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago, 1974); George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West* (Edinburgh, 1990); Lenn Goodman, *Islamic Humanism* (New York, 2003); Peter Heath, "Al-Jahiz, Adab, and the Art of the Essay" in eds. Arnim Heinemann et al., *Al-Jahiz: A Muslim Humanist for Our Time* (Beirut, 2009), pp. 133-172.

Marshall Hodgson emphasized that *adib* (a student of *adab*) was essentially a man of a varied set of attainments in the medieval world and called his "a life of good taste."[35] *Adab* refinement was basically thought to be an embrace of all high culture, meaning that it was expected to include a good comprehension of exegesis and law sciences as well. This ideal of an encyclopedic grasp of all available knowledge certainly constitutes a fundamental historical root of the encyclopedic scopes of most of the eighteenth-century Ottoman libraries. But rhetorical and literary abilities had foremost roles in *adab* cultivation as clever compositions of words "moved cultivated men as nothing else in life was permitted to" and these skills were supreme marks of a sophisticated education and main pillars of "enjoyable" social intercourse.[36] Hodgson underlined at this juncture the privilege of literature and rhetoric in quests for knowledge. Knowledge of the past and other narratives largely served as sources of allusions to be made in conversations. He gives the example of adib's study of biology, which would be mostly aimed at collecting curious things to be said about creatures and finding ways of making literary references to them. The tenth/eleventh-century historian and ethicist Ibn Miskawayh is celebrated for his project of using history and literature together with natural sciences in a basically philosophical enterprise.[37] Hodgson likewise found a philosophical approach in the tenth-century geographer, traveler and historian al-Mas'udi's output but added that it was commonly utilized as a mine of curious extracts.[38] "All knowledge was a means of adorning and enriching literature," Hogdson writes.[39] Encyclopedic surveys of multiple branches of knowledge and bibliographies as well as poetry anthologies from which pieces could be memorized were among adib's assistants. Interestingly, the most famous visual image of a medieval Muslim

[35] Hodgson, vol. 1, p. 451.
[36] Ibid., p. 452.
[37] Goodman, ibid., pp. 107-109.
[38] Hodgson, ibid. p. 455.
[39] Ibid., p. 454.

library, which is a thirteenth-century illustration made for the eleventh-century writer al-Hariri of Basra's book of novellas *Maqamat*, depicts an anecdote that takes place in the town library of Hulwan where the protagonist and the other characters engage in a poetry discussion (fig. E.1),[40] centuries before the apparent Ottoman association between literature and the notion of a public library.

Combining the love of the language arts with the quest for knowledge of the world and of man, *adab* was the realm of the pursuit of urbane elegance. George Makdisi, who delineated the contexts, characteristics and development of *adab* genres in medieval Islamic societies and evaluated it as the "humanistic" tradition unfolded in this civilization, quotes at one point a remark found in the tenth-century thinker Abu Hayyan at-Tawhidi's collection of short essays and anecdotes *al-Basaer wa al-Dhakhair* (copies of which were available in Istanbul's Cârullah Efendi and new Fatih libraries) concerning the status of *adab* among the branches of knowledge. Conveyed by at-Tawhidi as a statement of an anonymous figure, this remark precedes Hodgson's emphasis on *adab*'s primary character of being an adornment of individuals' appearance in society: "The sciences are three in number: one that exalts, one that is useful, and one that adorns. The one that exalts is law, the one that is useful is medicine, and the one that adorns is *adab*."[41]

Compendia that present introductory information about various fields of study, classification of the fields and their terminologies were written in earlier periods as well, but the Mamluk period, especially the fourteenth century, of Syria and Egypt had been the supreme Muslim setting of the production of multi-themed encyclopedic works in terms not only of

[40] *The Assemblies of al Hariri*, translated from the Arabic with an introduction and notes historical and grammatical by Thomas Chenery, vol. 1 (London and Edinburgh, 1867), pp. 112-121.
[41] Abu Haiyan at-Tauhidi, *al-Basair wa 'dh-dhakhair*, ed. Ibrahim Keilani, vol. II/2 (Damascus, 1964), pp. 748-749. Quoted in Makdisi, ibid., p. 96.

quantity but also exhaustiveness. Shihab al-din al-Nuwayri's *Nihayat al-Arab fi Funun al-Adab* from this century, for example, was a compendium of astronomy, biology and history subjects while Ibn Fadlallah al-Umari's world geography systematically organized knowledge of countries' pasts, politics and folklores. Al-Nuwayri's encyclopedia has twenty five copies in Istanbul's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century public libraries – nine of them in the Köprülü, five in the Feyzullah Efendi, and three in the Nuruosmaniye – and al-Umari's abovementioned work has three copies. Elias Muhanna connects the "encyclopedic ethos" that he studied largely to the tastes and needs of the sizable Mamluk bureaucracy where many of the compendia writers were employed. It coincided with the rise of the expressed self-esteem of the main body of the learned class, the *ulemâ*, but when they were highly intertwined with and frequently employed in the bureaucracy. The classifying and summarizing impulses behind encyclopedia writing were, Muhanna suggests, akin to the institutional-administrative agendas of the bureaucracy.[42]

The fact that Ottoman adventurer-bureaucrat Evliya Çelebi worked as the storyteller companion of Sultan Murad IV during his palace service in his youth in the 1630s and displayed talent especially, he tells us, in inventing various and most original jests[43] can be regarded as a reflection of the demand for entertainment in the *adab* practice – which can actually be true, to different degrees, for most of the production in humanistic fields in all times before and since. Evliya's *Seyahâtnâme* is a grand composition of geographical descriptions, historical narratives, numerous short stories and ethnographic, linguistic and aesthetic remarks. At once an extensive quasi-encyclopedic compilation in these fields, the *Seyahâtnâme* is also Evliya's

[42] Elias Muhanna, "Encyclopedism in the Mamluk Period: The Composition of Shihab al-Din al-Nuwayri's (d. 1333) *Nihayat al-arab fi funun al-adab*" unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2012; Elias Muhanna, "Why Was the Fourteenth Century a Century of Arabic Encyclopaedism?" in eds. Jason König and Greg Woolf, *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 343-356. See also, Maaike van Berkel, "Opening up of a World of Knowledge: Mamluk Encyclopaedias and Their Readers," in ibid., pp. 357-377.
[43] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* vol. I, Robert Dankoff et. al. eds., (İstanbul, 2006), pp. 114-119

autobiography.[44] His personal and pseudo-historical anecdotes, which may have sarcastic or other moral points but often put forth wonder and surprise and not infrequently feature jests, are fundamental for the complexion of the travelogue. It has been noted that he essentially operates as a "fiction composer" in many of the anecdotes by using real and fabricated elements side by side.[45] The large majority of his physical descriptions and ethnographic notes, however, are accurate and detailed. About these plural tones in the text, Robert Dankoff pointed at the "traditional twin aims" of instructing and entertaining embedded in the tradition of *adab*.[46] One remembers at this point that the aim of enchanting through words, innovations, tensions and other components seen in all literatures made Johan Huizinga ascribe a basic underlying "play-function" to literary production. The profound role of the play element, which adorns and amplifies life according to Huizinga,[47] in the *adab* tradition, cannot be overemphasized.

Alongside his histories, his treatises on political organization and several works on geography, Kâtip Çelebi left an incomplete compendium of short writings in Arabic more directly aimed at assisting the readers in social gatherings. With its entries about great ancient buildings and others on curious features of plants and animals, *Tuhfat al-Akhyar* again reflects an interest in the extraordinary, but many of the other entries written for alphabetically organized keywords are moral stories, grammar topics or poetry examples.[48] The general increase in history, biography and poetry writing during the next, the eighteenth, century in the Ottoman center was accompanied by the dominance of history and geography among the translations made from other languages and led by Damad İbrahim Paşa, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa and others. But

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[44] See, Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden and Boston, 2006).
[45] See, Nuran Tezcan, "Kurmacanın Gücü: Alıntı mı, Yanılgı mı, Kurmaca mı?," in eds. Hakan Karateke and Hatice Aynur, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nin Yazılı Kaynakları* (Ankara, 2012), p. 12-25.
[46] Dankoff, ibid., p. 153.
[47] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston, 1955).
[48] See Orhan Şaik Gökyay, *Kâtip Çelebi: Yaşamı, Kişiliği ve Yapıtlarından Seçmeler* (Ankara, 1982), pp. 33-34; 385-409.

it is important to note at this juncture that, as Ethan L. Menchinger underlined, besides the qualities of truth and utility the beauty of the form in exposition was commonly appreciated and pursued in the eighteenth-century Ottoman historiographical discourses and apparently no less in its practice, including the work of the chronicler Vâsıf Efendi who wrote around the end of the century.[49] Form, in other words, did not remain behind utility in the expanding Ottoman interest in history in the century of libraries.

With substantial *adab* shares in their collections, eighteenth-century libraries mark a period when literatures that aimed to convey moral commentaries and political examples and/or enhance their readers' language and explication skills held an important popularity. The collections reflect a remarkable emphasis on publication of resources that would add to a gentlemen's urbane elegance virtually as their adornments and enliven their meetings alongside rich sources of religious sciences. These corpuses of reflection on politics, knowledge-as-entertainment and mastery of language are comparable in weight to those of legal and theological fields. The libraries thus have the outlook of repositories of the rooted ideal of embracing the whole high culture, of polymathia, or encyclopedism, and seem to have served as critically important vehicles of the broader social dissemination of this ideal.

The chronicler Şemdânizâde's description of Râgıb Paşa as a "shareholder in all the sciences" (*her ilimden behremend*) is one instance of the appreciation of polymathia.[50] The frequency of *hezarfen* (literally "thousand skills") as an epithet is noteworthy. The seventeenth-century historian Hezarfen Hüseyin Efendi who also authored a medical dictionary, a collection of short stories and a dictionary of the Indian language is the best known of these intellectuals,

[49] Ethan Lewis Menchinger, "An Ottoman Historian in an Age of Reform: Ahmed Vâsıf Efendi (ca. 1730-1806)," unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan, 2014; Ethan L. Menchinger, "'Gems for Royal Profit': Prefaces and the Practice of Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Court History," *History Studies* 2/2 (2010): 129-150.
[50] *Şem'dânîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi Mür'i't-Tevârih* II. A, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul, 1978), p. 54.

but the famous calligrapher of the early eighteenth century Hezarfen Mehmed Efendi shared the epithet. There are other indications that aesthetic and/or technical creativity found a place in the definition of the *hezarfen* identity. Evliya Çelebi famously tells the story of a Hezarfen Ahmed Çelebi who was sent in to exile upon making superb artificial wings that allowed him to lift off from Galata Tower in Evliya's time, a fictional anecdote that expresses his criticism of the poverty of interest in technology and even hostility towards the knowledgeable he saw in the Ottoman country.[51] On the other hand, while praising the beauty of the new Tophane cannon factory building opened in Istanbul in 1743, Şemdânizâde writes that the handling of this project (actually including the design)[52] revealed the chief officer Mustafa Ağa's *hezarfen* character (*hezarfenliği malum oldu*).[53]

Toderini recognized a role played by adibs and the promotion of *adab* in the proliferation of libraries in Istanbul – "ornaments of peace" as he called them – which he explained with "the sultans' and viziers' generosity and the philosophical spirit of men of letters and of the people of law."[54] He also emphasized his observation that all of these libraries had large sections of books on moral philosophy in their collections although, he added, European scholars only had a limited knowledge of this field of Turks' education. At this point, he briefly introduces some of the most popular works of the genre. He begins with Bidpai's Arabic and Persian renderings *Kalilah wa Dimnah* which had, as he notes, also a Turkish translation made in the sixteenth century with the title *Hümâyûnnâme* and quotes from the introduction of this book of tales which conveys moral and political lessons. He then gives the outline of some Ottoman works on good manners and political advice, refers to the thirteenth-century Iranian poet Sa'di Shirazi's classics

[51] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* I, p. 359.
[52] İzzî Süleyman, *Târih-i İzzî* MS, vol. 1, The Süleymaniye Library: Hamidiye 908, f. 86b.
[53] *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi Mür'i't-Tevârih* I, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul, 1976), p. 116.
[54] Abbé Giambattista Toderini, *De la litterature des turcs*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1789), p. 30.

*Gulistan* and *Bustan* and repeats the general abundance of the examples of this genre in Istanbul's libraries.[55]

The modern historian Orhan Şaik Gökyay found it noteworthy that Kâtip Çelebi paid far more attention to the contents of *Kalilah wa Dimnah* than other books in his annotated bibliography *Kashf az-Zunun*.[56] *Kalilah wa Dimnah* and its translations have multiple copies in the Fatih Library's *muhâzarât*, advice/manners section as well where actually an interestingly wide range of works were gathered. Some of them are examples of didactic literature. The early sixteenth-century Ottoman religious scholar and litterateur Kemalpaşazâde's Persian *Nigaristan*, which he modeled after Sa'di's *Gulistan*, is among them. Different renderings of the Story of Joseph are present here with many copies. Many other books, however, carry the more explicit character of political counsel literature. For example, there is a translation of the eleventh-century Eastern Iranian amir Keykavus's *Pendname* and a copy of the fourteenth-century Persian work on state organization *Dustur al-Katib*. Besides, Ali Şir Nevâî's fifteenth-century dictionary of poets' lives *Mecâlisü'n-Nefâis* and a number of other biographical dictionaries are placed in this section, reflecting the value of useful and exemplary knowledge attributed to biographies. *Kashf az-Zunun* was classified here as another work of *muhâzarât*, which echoes the place of knowledge of bibliography in polite identities. Also in this section are two different works of al-Hariri, *Maqamat* and his *Durret al-Gavvas* where he presents corrections to common language mistakes. Rhetorical skills were evidently main kinds of useful intellectual equipment according to the organizers of the collection. Ahmad al-Maidani's eleventh-century compilation of Arabic proverbs *al-Amthal* and a collection of letters of the sixteenth-century Ottoman *şeyhülislam* and historian Hoca Sadeddin Efendi are among the other items.

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[55] Abbé Giambattista Toderini, *De la litterature des turcs*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1789), pp. 79-89.
[56] Gökyay, ibid, pp. 375-378.

In the same section, there are also two copies of the ninth-century adib Ibn Qutaibah's *Adab al-Katib* (The Scribe's Handbook), the pioneering Arabic work written for the scribal class as a guide in vocabulary, composition, style of correspondence and orthography.[57] This last mentioned classic had a copy in the Fâzıl Ahmed Paşa collection, two in the Cârullah Efendi and two in the Hagia Sophia libraries; four more were endowed in the *Reisülküttâb* Mustafa Efendi's collection and at least nine more in other *waqf* libraries built later in Istanbul. The popularity of this old text of the secretaries' education (and of its commentaries) can be seen as emblematic of the prominent place of *adab* in the libraries of the period. Like in the case of the Mamluk encyclopedia movement and their scribal bureaucracy, a similar social factor, that is, the growth of the Ottoman secretarial class, seem important behind the eighteenth-century libraries most of which appear as manifestations of an archivist and all-embracing impulse similar to the one that shaped encyclopedism. There is agreement among several modern historians that the secretarial classes in pre-modern Muslim societies were closely associated with *adab* fields and their practice through centuries, mainly because of the correlation between their profession, the language arts and this-worldly knowledge. Râmi Mehmed Paşa, who was from the *kalemiye* ranks and served as the *reisülküttâb* in the 1690s and then as the grand vizier in 1703, is celebrated in Osmanzâde Tâib's dictionary of grand vizier biographies written in 1718 as "without equivalent in history recitation and poem construction" (*târihgûyluk ve kasîdeperdâzlıkta bîbedel*) when his house was a "forum for the elegant" (*hânesi mecma'-ı zurefâ*).[58] In her recent dissertation, Ekin E. Tuşalp Atiyas examined how in the course of the seventeenth century eloquence and literary abilities took root as the hallmarks of the Ottoman scribal community's self-definition when the community grew in size and gained more political

[57] *Fatih Kütüphanesi Defteri* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 242, ff. 48b-49a.
[58] *Osmanlı Sadrazamları: Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ ve Zeylleri*, ed. Mehmet Arslan (İstanbul, 2013), p. 136.

prestige.[59] In fact, the same qualities, eloquence and fluency (*fesâhat u belâgat*), are highlighted also in Evliya Çelebi's description of the elites' storytellers (*meddâhân*) among the groups that paraded in the 1637 Festival in Istanbul.[60] Later, in the early eighteenth century, the chronicler Silahdâr Mehmed Ağa explained Sultan Mustafa II's attachment to the future grand vizier (and library-founder) Şehid Ali Paşa and thus the beginning of the latter's political success with his talents in telling and performing various stories and plays in the royal presence when he had been in the service of the Privy Chamber.[61] There appears, therefore, an interesting symmetry between the qualities of rising statesmen and the group of professional entertainers through their common occupation with *adab*, which captures the wide scope of *adab*'s functions in the period's social setting.

[59] Ekin Emine Tuşalp Atiyas, "Political Literacy and the Politics of Eloquence: Ottoman Scribal Community in the Seventeenth Century," unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2013.
[60] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* I, p. 259.
[61] *Silahdar Fındıklılı Mehmed Ağa Nusretname: Tahlil ve Metin*, Mehmet Topal, unpublished thesis (Marmara University, 2001), p. 864.

# CHAPTER 4

# ARCHITECTURAL QUESTS DURING THE HEIGHT OF THE AGE OF LIBRARIES

This chapter discusses the characteristics of architectural planning of libraries and their literary celebrations from the 1740s to the end of the century, the period when both were most varied and assertive. One of the aims is to delineate the porosity developed between architectural model making and library architecture, which, the present thesis contends, was an important pillar of the Ottomans' approach to the library question. The playful content of the engagement with models-hence-libraries appears as a pole besides the temple analogy in the Ottomans' understanding of the library.

## The Fatih Library and the Aedicule Form in Ottoman Library Designs

Sultan Mahmud I's new library built at the revered old mosque of the capital, the Fatih, in 1742 is on a site that made it highly visible (fig. 4.1). Adjacent to the mihrab wall of the mosque near its southern corner, the library stands next to the pathway between two main entrances to the outer courtyard of the mosque from the main urban artery that flows between south and north. This planned open space of fifteenth-century design leaves a considerably large area to behold the library building (figs. 4.2-4.3). The library appears like a sizable ornament added to the mosque.

An inviting visual quality attributed to the Fatih Library by contemporaries finds expression in some commemorative poems. According to a couplet of the anonymous Arabic poem inscribed above its entrance, the library was like a gracefully written document that bound

its beholders with its design.[1] Beautiful writing is not a common metaphor used to describe buildings. The library's function as a repository of writings must have spurred this noteworthy usage. A eulogy in the divan of a poet called Şehrî, who was probably an endowments scribe, stresses the elegant (*nâzik*) beauty of the building and describes it as awaiting (*muntazır olmuş*) beholders.[2]

The Fatih Library has unusually complex vaulting for an Ottoman building of this size. The structure is covered by a small central dome, with four rectangular cloister vaults on its sides and four smaller domes on the corners. In addition to the varying heights of these vaults, the building was designed with dynamic façades as the corner spaces under smaller domes are recessed. The overall effect of the small building's intricacy is likely to be a reason for its visual appreciation. In fact, the library closely reproduces the plan type of the "cross-in-square" Byzantine churches which dominated the ecclesiastical architecture of Byzantium in the late middle ages.[3] This type could be seen in several structures in Istanbul and elsewhere in the Ottoman domain. Moreover, the library's proportions in the third dimension accord with its Byzantine precedents (fig. 4.4). The use of monolithic white marble columns, which support the central dome as in most small late Byzantine churches, diverges from the standard Ottoman practice of using pier supports, and thus strengthens the view that a Byzantinizing appearance was intentional in this project (fig. 3.10). This quality makes the Fatih Library a striking instance of archaism and a chief example of the utilization of the architecture of a discernible building or type for purpose-built libraries by the Ottomans. At the same time, a primary visual effect of the

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[1] وثيقة أنيقة قد أعجبت * نظارها طرحا و رصفا يصفد

[2] Hatice Aynur, "I. Mahmûd'un (ö. 1754) Kütüphaneleri ve Tarih Manzumeleri," in Hatice Aynur et al. (eds), *İsmail Erünsal'a Armağan* vol. 2 (İstanbul, 2014), pp. 720-721.

[3] This similarity is noted in a recent dissertation. Soner Şahin, *"Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı Mimarlığı: III. Ahmet ve I. Mahmut Dönemi (1703-1754)"*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Istanbul Technical University (2009), p. 249.

library is derived from the dramatic difference between the size of the mosque and that of the library, when viewed from the open square. The background role that the mosque plays from this principal vantage point highlights the small size of the library and the ultimate effect is that the library is perceived as an aedicule, a building with miniature appearance and prone to ceremonial and symbolic uses. This apparently calculated effect is paradigmatic for some of the Ottoman library buildings and resonated in a number of later cases. The coexistence of architectural archaism and the aedicule character makes the Fatih Library a particularly important milestone in the history of Ottoman library architecture.

The Fatih Mosque was the site of the Ottoman capital's chief mosque library in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Mahmud I's project aimed to further invigorate this leading mosque library by enlarging the collection in a new architectural space. The *waqfiyya* of the new library building is included in one of Mahmud I's combined endowment deeds.[4] In 1749, Mahmud I ordered the construction of a screened room to be built for hadith recitations and lectures in the Fatih Mosque near the corner next to the entrance of the library, following the example of the similar room at the Hagia Sophia next to its library.[5] This must be the occasion when a second large group of books was endowed to the Fatih Library by this sultan. The screened room seen today at that corner inside the mosque must be the later substitute of this hadith room, built after the 1766 earthquake (fig. 4.5). The sultanic precept that ordered the transfer of the collection from the library building to be temporarily preserved in one of the madrasa rooms during the repair of its domes which threatened to collapse (*müşrif-i karîn-i inhidâm*) as a result of the 1766 earthquake leaves no doubt that the library essentially survived

[4] VGMA [Directorate of Pious Endowments Archive, Ankara], Defter 1400, Kasa 54, *Sultan Mahmut Evvel ibni Sultan Mustafa Vakıfnamesi* IV.
[5] İzzî Süleyman, *Târih-i İzzî* MS, vol. 2, Istanbul University Library TY 6020, ff. 248a-250b.

the disaster,[6] whereas the mosque was largely demolished and then rebuilt between 1767-71. The original "ornamental" value of the library must have been more pronounced in front of the far more austere fifteenth-century mosque than the current late-eighteenth-century structure which has several turrets around its domes – Sinan inventions applied here in great number. Inside the library, the columns' rococo capitals with their volutes and oval carvings are similar to the ones used in Mahmud I's Cağaloğlu Bath and the Hagia Sophia Public Kitchen, built in the previous and following years respectively, but they also have seashells (fig. 4.6).

The columns (*sütunhâ*) are mentioned in the library's construction expenditures register kept in 1155/1742. The same register refers to gold leafs and cushions purchased for an imperial throne to be placed in the library. Since a similar throne is found in the program of the Galata Palace Library, as noted in Chapter 2, the throne in the Fatih must have been likewise planned to remain in place after the inauguration ceremony and be kept for sultanic visits. The register also has entries for metal threads and gilded hinges to be used for the cabinets (*dolabhâ*),[7] most – or all – of which were certainly placed below the main dome and between the columns. The cabinets' original configuration most probably allowed access from the side of the entrance to the hall, given the same level of pavement, which is one step lower than the rest of the library.

In all likelihood, these book cabinets formed a structure similar to the ones that survived in the Hekimoğlu and the Hagia Sophia libraries, and the ones that once stood inside the Ahmed III and the Valide libraries. However, the masonry outer shell of the Fatih Library itself shares a basic characteristic with the Hekimoğlu and Hagia Sophia depositories. The latter are essentially buildings in themselves within buildings; they are especially fascinating to viewers with the

[6] Ahmed Önal, *18. Yüzyıla Âit Buyruldu Mecmuası (Türk Tarih Kurumu Y. 70-Değerlendirme, Transkripsiyon)*, unpublished thesis, Marmara University, 2006, p. 140. Also quoted in İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), p. 222, footnote 1165.
[7] Topkapı Palace Archive, Defter 3118.

exposition of their defining miniature quality. Further, a surprising source reveals significant evidence of sophisticated indoor structures designed as libraries in the Ottoman tradition before the eighteenth century. In a Turkish translation of Ahmed al-Bistami's fifteenth-century book of apocalyptic omens and numerology *ad-Durru'l-Munazzam* prepared circa 1600 with the title *Tercüme-i Cifrü'l-Câmi*, the anonymous translator brings the conjectural explanation for the unusual word مزحه used in the Arabic original in the description of the interior of a church in Rome that what is meant by this word is either a mihrab (an altar) or "a little kiosk like a library" (*kitâbhâne gibi bir sagîr köşk*).[8] Since the Latin word *aedicula* was used for both altar niches with pediments and columns framing them and for canopied indoor structures, the word in the Arabic original must be a direct translation of the Latin word. The Turkish translator, in his turn, understood that the word in question might denote a tabernacle, or a *kiborion* as they were called in the Byzantine tradition, the imagery of which he was familiar with, and wished to convey a sense of its physical quality to the Ottoman reader by using the analogy of "a little library." Written two decades after the visual documentation of Murad III's reading throne, this passage signals that indoor shelters designed for purposes related to books, storage and/or reading and writing, were a furniture type for the Ottomans already around 1600. Interestingly, a domed book cabinet is seen in a miniature painting that depicts a bookbinder and seller's shop in a Shiraz manuscript from around 1580 (fig. 4.7).[9] There is reason to believe that they were common objects in the seventeenth century as well. These structures can be designated as Ottoman (and Shiraz) *ur*-libraries. The translated passage reflects the conceptual parallel between tabernacles and Ottoman book kiosks. The Turkish word *köşk* (kiosk) normally denotes a relatively smaller

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[8] *Tercüme-i Cifrü'l-Câmi* MS, Topkapı Palace Library MS, B 373, 216b. I am grateful to Çiğdem Kafescioğlu for bringing this reference to my attention.

[9] Lâle Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans, and Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth-Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (İstanbul, 2006), p. 223.

size building, and the kiosk terminology strongly implies the architectural expressions that those indoor structures carried.

The surviving book depository in the Hagia Sophia Library is truly flamboyant (figs. 4.8-4.9). This cabinet consists of four pieces taller than two meters which have bookshelves on all sides and also caps made of wooden laths in the shape of cupolas. A wooden band connects them at the uppermost edge of the four pieces, forming a structure which can be entered from all four sides. Unlike the similar cabinet in the Hekimoğlu Library which was perhaps made by the same masters five years earlier, this structure features a group of inscriptions that add to its flamboyance. Two Quranic verses are inscribed on the internal face of the wooden band that binds the pieces together.[10] On the outer face, a eulogy in Arabic for Sultan Mahmud and his beneficence is visible.[11] On the continuation of these bands inside the cabinet the names of the fields of books beneath such as "Books on Noble Hadiths," "Books on Noble Fiqh" and "History Books" are written in phrases which were also the usual headings in library catalogues. Müjgân Cunbur published a ballad dedicated to the Hagia Sophia Library in its early days. This piece is found in an anonymous compilation of ballads sung by Istanbul's night watchmen which is today in the collection of the Ankara National Library. The ornate cabinet (called here *dolab*; lit. "cupboard") presented to public views in this sultanic endowment is emphasized by the bard as the locus where "the master exhibited the skill." Then he moves to the room's ceramic tiles, but

[10] The first is the one which means "Contains venerable scriptures" (The Quran, 98: 3), which is the second inscription of this verse after the Ahmed III Library in the Topkapı Palace. The other is a commonly recited one, which means "The Word from the Merciful Lord to them [who will be admitted to Paradise] is 'Peace.' (The Quran, 36: 58).

[11] Ahmet Akgündüz et. al., *Üç Devirde Bir Mabed* (İstanbul, 2005), pp. 440-441.

the piece also recounts how the library's adornment "emitted splendor to the world" and was exalted everywhere in the capital.[12]

Slightly narrower than the masonry building around it, this wooden building has a dramatic appearance especially from the threshold of the entrance. There is only a small leap between the design character of this pavilion and that of the Fatih Library built three years later. The introduction of one of the catalogues of the Fatih Library prepared in 1749 clearly states that the collection older than Sultan Mahmud I's endowment used to be located in the mosque (*câmi-i merkûmede mevzû'*).[13] This older storage place must have been similar to, or identical with, the place comprised of multiple closets and corridors between them, which is described in the early-sixteenth-century catalogue introduction that Erünsal published and was referred to in Chapter 3 of the present thesis. Whether the previous collection was in an aedicule or not, the Fatih Library's new building was definitely planned with the objective precisely of displaying an aedicule quality – this time outside the mosque. This was a moment when the habitual application of architectural forms to the range of containers of books and reading, from a reading throne to numerous small portable wooden bookcases and depository pavilions from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, virtually returned to masonry architecture and affected the design of a library in masonry.

John Summerson presented in one of his famous essays an interpretation of the psychological origin of aedicules and their power to serve symbolism. He suggested that the miniature shelter has always been particularly prone to be associated with the "ceremonial idea," mainly because it is easily linked with the memory of childhood plays and almost universally touches our sense of security in a wild, hostile and confusing world outside. Aedicule-making is

[12] Müjgân Cunbur, "Kütüphane Destanları," *Folklor* 69-3 (1969), pp. 11-12.
[13] *Fatih Kütüphanesi Defteri* MS, The Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 242, f. 75b.

essentially adult play and its connection to "vestiges of infantile regression" is a reason for their ceremonial aspect. Common sympathy for architectural models as well as the use of aedicules for the protection of certain sacred objects is related to this process of the mind, according to Summerson.[14] The philosopher Gaston Bachelard pointed to the strength of literary images of the miniature in space in amplifying dreams and imagination. He stressed that "values become condensed and enriched in miniature" when nourishing the imagination's grasp of the world. Selection of an aedicular shape for a library, especially one that presented an encyclopedic scope like the new collection of the Fatih Library, is consonant with Bachelard's point that imagination aims at miniaturizing the world, in order to better possess it.[15] Sutra repositories built essentially as little buildings inside larger shelters in Buddhist monasteries in China and Japan from the eleventh century onwards (fig. 4.10) are surprisingly similar to the use of aedicules in Ottoman libraries.[16]

Summerson also highlighted the general tendency to be fanciful in aedicular architecture. The Fatih Library's Byzantinizing profile can be viewed as a typical and representative example of Summerson's point. The library does not have apses, indispensable in Byzantine churches, but the recession of corner spaces and the varying height of the vaults certainly approach the characteristic multipartite elevations of small Byzantine buildings. Particularly important is the use of rough-cut stones and brick in the exposed walls. This must be an intentional allusion to the image of late Byzantine churches, and indeed the library closely approximates them in this respect as well, and as a whole it merits to be seen almost as a "neo-Byzantine *avant-la-lettre*"

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[14] John Summerson, "Heavenly Mansions: An Interpretation of Gothic," in *Heavenly Mansions and Other Essays on Architecture* (New York, 1949), pp. 1-28.
[15] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (New York, 1964), p. 150.
[16] James W. P. Campbell, *The Library: A World History* (London, 2013), pp. 68-69.

structure. It also increases the visual contrast that the library created with the cut-stone mosque behind.

This library is the earliest of the Byzantine quotes in Istanbul architecture made in about a century, and before the famous Byzantinizing drum of the dome of the Zeynep Sultan Mosque (1760), the Byzantine- and/or Mamluk-inspired colored marble decoration of the Laleli Mosque (1760),[17] and the Byzantinizing drum built in the renovation of the sixteenth-century Cihangir Mosque in 1826.[18] They can be considered similar in nature to the use of double arches within tympana arches in the façade of the Ayazma Mosque in Üsküdar, which revived a form of fourteenth-century Bursa architecture. Hitherto little investigated together, these experiments were probably aimed at enriching the architectural vocabulary alongside the concurrent Rococo; but they may also have addressed an audience who could enjoy detecting little revivals of forms from before the then-two-centuries-old Sinan idiom.

The conception of the Byzantine church form as appropriate for an Ottoman library might have been facilitated by the powerful statesmen Panaiotis Nicousios, Alexandros and Nicholas Mavrocordatos's efforts to promote learning and history writing that combined a grasp of the Byzantine past and elevation of the Ottoman cause in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[19] However, the wish to create something in the likeness of an old and bygone idiom, more than any political message, must have been more determinant cause. In addition, it is highly probable that rather than the profile of the free-standing single Byzantine churches, the

[17] Ünver Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," unpublished PhD dissertation, Harvard University (2013), pp. 277-278.
[18] Hakan Arlı, "Cihangir Camii," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* vol. 2 (İstanbul, 1994), p. 431.
[19] See, Damien Janos, "Panaiotis Nicousios and Alexander Mavrocordatos: The Rise of the Phanariots and the Office of Grand Dragoman in the Ottoman Administration in the Second Half of the Sventeenth Century," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23(2005/06): 177-196; Karen Alexandra Leal, "'Ancients, Moderns, Ottomans, Romans, Turks, Greeks, Hellenes': The Classical Canon and Communal Identity in Turn of the 18th Century Ottoman Empire," in Halit Özkan et al. (eds) *Medeniyet ve Klasik* (İstanbul, 2007).

characteristic configuration formed between a number of churches and their chapels, *parekklesia* (lit. "side churches"), built adjacent to them was the source of inspiration for this project. This inspiration might have been born as a corollary of the decision to build the library at that outside corner of the mosque, because the outcome would closely resemble the harmony between the main churches and the *parekklesia* built at their corners near the apse in a number of Byzantine monuments. In other words, the example and the visual appeal of the asymmetric configuration encountered in Byzantine churches probably had a primary role in directing attention towards Byzantine examples. The single-aisle *parekklesion* of the Khora Monastery from the early fourteenth century (fig. 4.11) and the cross-in-square side church built in the Pammakaristos Monastery in the same period (fig. 4.12) are minor counterparts of their main churches. Concerning the Khora case, Robert G. Ousterhout argues that the ensemble was designed to attain the aesthetic appeal of deliberate irregularity.[20] Today, the perspective from the side of the chapel's apse is the most frequently photographed view of the Khora. This very harmony must have captured some Ottomans as well. The almost aedicular appearance of the smallest chapel located between the two main bodies and seen from this perspective might also be relevant. The *parekklession* at the Pammakaristos is also one the tiniest of its plan type in the capital; it is smaller than the Fatih Library.

### The Fatih Library's Probable Architect: Mehterzâde Ali Efendi

There is a record in Mahmud I's daily activities chronicle (*rûznâme*) that in the inauguration ceremony of the Fatih Library, the sultan awarded the supervisor of its construction (*va'd-ı binâ-yı kitabhâneye nâzır olan*), Mehterzâde Ali Efendi.[21] The name of this interesting

[20] Robert G. Ousterhout, "Reading Difficult Buildings: The Lessons of the Kariye Camii," in Holger A. Klein et al. (eds.) *Kariye Camii, Yeniden / The Kariye Camii Reconsidered* (İstanbul, 2011), pp. 95-105.
[21] Kadı Ömer Efendi, *I. Mahmut Rûznamesi*, ed. Yavuz Oral, unpublished thesis, Istanbul University, 1966, p. 137.

personage is encountered in fact in various contemporary sources as a figure who was involved in an important number of architectural projects. He thus appears as a major actor of the court-sponsored architecture in Istanbul in the 1730s and 1740s, although his name and career were not earlier recognized in the scholarly literature. In all likelihood, he was largely responsible for the innovative design of the Fatih Library's building.

Şemdânizâde Süleyman Efendi refers to *Haremeyn Muhasebecisi* (keeper of Mecca and Medina's accounts) Ali Efendi's responsibility in the famous *Mermer Direkli Köşk* (lit., "kiosk with marble columns"), which was built above twenty two columns as an edifice in the Beşiktaş Palace in 1747 and was one of Mahmud I's most ostentatious projects on the Bosphorus.[22] His engagement with architecture must have been a principal reason for Ali Efendi's reputation. The official historian Süleyman İzzî's chronicle describes Ali Efendi as peerless in "the science/technique of building and designs of geometry" (*fenn-i binâ ve rüsûm-ı hendese*) in the context of the construction of this new edifice in the Beşiktaş Palace.[23] The legendary Chinese painter Mani would be an admirer of its beautiful paintings (*nakş-ı cemâline*), and Sinimmar, the legendary ancient Persian architect, of "the configuration of its forms" (*tarh-ı eşkâline*).[24] İzzî mentions Ali Efendi also in the context of the extension of the Mahbûbiye waterside palace in 1749. Mahmud I had built the first section of this wooden palace in the previous decade near the Cannon Gate (*Topkapusu*) of the outer garden of the Imperial Palace; this ensemble of structures would enjoy an exceptional esteem and ultimately give its name to the whole Imperial Palace in the nineteenth century.[25] For the extension project, İzzî writes that Mahmud I gave his detailed

[22] Şem'danîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Müri't-Tevârih* I, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul, 1976), p. 133.
[23] İzzî Süleyman, *Târih-i İzzî* MS, vol. 1, The Süleymaniye Library: Hamidiye 908, f. 363a.
[24] Ibid., f. 363b.
[25] Emel Esin, "Le Mahbûbiye, Un palais ottpman 'alla franca'," in Hamit Batu and Jean-Louis Bacque-Grammont (eds.), L'Empire ottoman, république de Turquie et la France (Istanbul, Paris, 1986), pp. 73-86.

directives about the design of the new section to *Haremeyn Muhasebecisi* Ali Efendi, whose "perfect proficiency in the technique of building" (*fenn-i binâda mahâret-i tâmmı*) was known and who immediately initiated the construction with practicing builders (*mühendisân*).[26] The names of the latter are not mentioned by İzzî. In the account of his observations in Istanbul, the French merchant Jean-Claude Flachat, who lived in the Ottoman Empire between 1740 and 1755 and formed commercial networks with some court figures for his luxury imports, refers to Ali Efendi in his description of the sultan's apartment in the vicinity of the Cannon Gate, the *Top Capi*. Upon depicting some details about the mirrors, murals, cartouches and other details of the decoration of this apartment, he praises the work of Ali Efendi who "s'étoit affranchi des préjugés, & avoit travaillé d'après les grands principes."[27] A number of pages after this passage, he adds that Ali Efendi was the superintendent of buildings "en qualité de premier Architecte" during the reign of Sultan Mahmud. Ali had an ample collection of plans and drawings through which he made interpretations of the best treatises of architecture. He devoted himself to studying mathematics, which was a subject he enjoyed talking about.[28] Ali's portrayal in İzzî's passages and Flachat's characterization of him as the royal architect leave no doubt that his responsibilities in the projects he was entrusted with was far beyond worksite management. It must have included much of the design of the configurations of spaces and the selection and placement of decorative details, certainly in communication with the patron and the team of builders who executed the schemes. He was a bureaucrat turned self-made architect, was

[26] This passage is reminiscent of the remarks in Sinan's autobiography about the architect and the sultan's consultation on the design and location of the Süleymaniye Mosque when this project was first conceived. Sinan, *Sinan's Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu, Howard Crane, and Esra Akın (Leiden and Boston, 2006), p. 122.

[27] Jean-Claude Flachat, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts d'une partie de l'europe, de l'asie, de l'afrique, et méme des indes orientales*, vol. 2 (Lyon, 1766), p. 207.

[28] Ibid., p. 225. In his recent dissertation, Ünver Rüstem misidentified this Ali whom Flachat describes as Ali Ağa, the building supervisor of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque. Rüstem, ibid., p. 152.

immersed in foreign architectural publications, clearly enjoyed the design and building enterprise, and gained profits from the series of commisions he received.

It is not clear whether Flachat applauds Ali Efendi for the extension made in the Mahbûbiye in 1749 or also for the initial section that was built there in 1735, because Ali had organized the earlier project as well. Şemdânizâde notes first that Mehterzâde Ali Efendi was appointed the scribe (*yazıcı*) of the Chief Harem Eunuch in 1732,[29] and then records that the new pavilions, bath and gardens near the Cannon Gate (*Top Kapı*) were built "with the hand of" (*be-dest-i*) Yazıcı Ali Efendi in 1735.[30] Given the likelihood that Mehterzâde already had access to European publications at that time,[31] it appears probable that this project was the one where Western decorative forms, or particularly rococo, were applied for the first time in Ottoman architecture. Ali Efendi's later success may have been partly indebted to this breakthrough. But more importantly, the great later reputation of this waterside palace makes it a highly likely candidate for the first site of Ottoman Rococo. The record of the inauguration of this section in 1735, which is found in another of Mahmud I's daily activities chronicle emphasizes its paintings (*nukûş*), and calls its a rare style "external to the products of all architectural characters" (*cümle-i âsâr-ı mimar-tab'îden hâric*), although this might denote merely an originality achieved in the composition as well as a stylistic revolution.[32]

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[29] Şem'dânizâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, ibid., p. 28.
[30] Ibid., p. 38.
[31] The process of the acquisition of the European architectural publications in the collection of the Imperial Palace is not well known, but one of them, a copy of *Nouveau theatre d'Italie ou description exacte de ses villes, palais, eglises* (Amsterdam, 1704) has Turkish annotations and dated 1145 (1732 AD). Topkapı Palace Library, H. 2724 and H. 2751.
[32] Hıfzî ve Salâhî, *Sultan Mahmud Rûznâmesi* MS, Istanbul University Library, TY 2518, f. 27a.

*Haremeyn Muhasebecisi* Ali Efendi was appointed as a trustee of the *waqf* of the Hagia Sophia Library.[33] He was also the trustee of the *waqf* of the Hagia Sophia Public Kitchen, which was built in 1743, and in this capacity the host of the inauguration ceremony of this important showcase of Rococo in Istanbul's public architecture. (fig. 4.13) He, the building supervisor İshak Ağa and the architect, whose name is not mentioned by the chronicler Subhî Efendi, were awarded by the sultan in this ceremony.[34] Subhî uses the metaphor of a *kıt'a-yı İmâd*, that is, a portion from a work of the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Persian calligrapher Mir Imad al-Hasani, for each piece (*her fıkra*) of the decoration of this building.[35] This is an interesting instance where the similarity between rococo forms and the cursive scripts of the Arabic alphabet – perhaps a reason behind their easy adoption – is alluded to. İzzî gives place to an obituary of Ali Efendi. Mehterzâde Ali Efendi had been the scribe of the Chief Eunuch of the Imperial Harem before he was promoted to the post of the accountant of the Two Holy Cities and then to the position of the manager of state records (*defter emâneti*).[36] Müstakîmzâde records Mehterzâde Yazıcı Ali as a practitioner of calligraphy who, after the scribe and accountant positions, died in the office of the manager of state records in 1165 (1752 AD). He had obtained (*dest-res olduğu*; apparently copied) "from ancient buildings" (*ebniye-i kadîmeden*) a *Kalima Shahada* written by the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman calligrapher Şeyh Hamdullah and bequeathed that it be placed near his tomb.[37]

Oya Şenyurt noticed that the responsibilities of Ottoman building supervisors (*binâ emîni*) grew in the eighteenth century and became more porous with those of the practicing

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[33] Vak'anüvis Subhî Mehmed Efendi, *Subhî Tarihi: Sâmî ve Şâkir Tarihleri ile Birlikte*, ed. Mesut Aydıner (İstanbul, 2007), p. 622.
[34] Ibid., pp. 763-764.
[35] Ibid., 763.
[36] İzzî Süleyman, *Târih-i İzzî* MS, vol. 2, Istanbul University Library TY 6020, ff. 408b-409a.
[37] Müstakîmzâde Süleyman Saâdeddin, *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn*, ed. Mustafa Koç (İstanbul, 2014), p. 307.

architects. Practically contractors for these projects who could earn important profits, some of the building supervisors, though not necessarily all of them, tried to improve their technical and artistic abilities as rivalry heightened between them.[38] Mehterzâde's career appears as an epitome of this trend. The prestige that knowledge of architecture had among the learned might have accompanied the rivalries for profit. İzzî's chronicle preserves interesting anecdotes where building supervisors are reported to have made visual representations of their designs. The Tophane Cannon Factory's building supervisor Mustafa Ağa was asked, first, to "pull the picture/model of the shape in his imagination outside" (*resm-i heyet-i muhayyelesin hârice çıkarmak*) in 1743.[39] In 1751, Yusuf Efendi, *şehremîni* (construction and repairs inspector of royal buildings) and the building supervisor of Mahmud I's Küçüksu Pavilion on the Bosphorus, presented a draft of his composition (*müsvedde-i terâkib-i heyetin*) on mental and external plate (*sahîfe*), which probably comes to mean verbally and visually, before he prepared the final model (*resm*).[40] For another apartment in the Beşiktaş Palace, this Yusuf Efendi had a picture he imagined and then presented outside (*hâricde arz*).[41] On the other hand, Şerif Halil Efendi, the future patron of the building complex in Shumen, was not only a colleague of Mehterzâde Ali in the bureaucracy of the Treasury,[42] but he was also appointed building supervisor of a bridge built over the River Sava during the war against the Habsburgs in 1740.[43]

It has been argued that public buildings in Mamluk Egypt were designed in collaboration between the patrons, the building supervisor statesmen (*shad*s) and the engineers and builder

[38] Oya Şenyurt, *Osmanlı Mimarlık Örgütlenmesinde Değişim ve Dönüşüm* (İstanbul, 2011), pp. 48-71.
[39] İzzî Süleyman, *Târih-i İzzî* MS, vol. 1, The Süleymaniye Library: Hamidiye 908, f. 86b.
[40] İzzî Süleyman, *Târih-i İzzî* MS, vol. 2, Istanbul University Library TY 6020, f. 417a.
[41] Ibid., f. 59a.
[42] Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtında Defterhâne-i Âmire (XVI.-XVIII. Yüzyıllar)* (Ankara, 2014), p. 158.
[43] Vak'anüvis Subhî Mehmed Efendi, ibid., p. 568.

craftsmen, with varying contributions made by each in different projects.[44] Even in the sixteenth century, Ottomans, too, chose and/or praised some of the building supervisors for their talents in architecture, which they could display in the renovation of a castle and the construction of a mosque.[45] It seems that just as Sinan once secured an unmistakably large share for the practicing architect in the design process in the sixteenth century, the building supervisors of the eighteenth, now usually from the bureaucratic staff, gained a remarkable prominence in the sphere of architectural design and creativity.

The extraordinary architecture of the Fatih Library, where a Byzantinizing archaism and a manifestation of the tendency to conceive libraries as aedicules converged, must be a design of Mehterzâde Ali Efendi's mind. Both of them obviously had roots in the sensibilities shared by a broader collectivity among the Ottomans, but a careful and talented person could pull them outside the imagination at once.

**Successors to the Fatih Formula**

The direct relationship between the increasing size of the book collections endowed at mosques and the emergence of library rooms as their physical extensions is clear. The library built as a part of the charitable complex of the chief Harem eunuch Hacı Beşir Ağa besides a mosque, a madrasa, a sufi lodge and a sabil in the center of Istanbul in 1745 is an example. It is a simple rectangular room accessible only from inside the mosque and located at the latter's right side. In addition to the book niches on a wall, there is an alcove inside the room, which was probably used by the librarian, and opened to the mosque hall with an oval window (fig. 4.14). The library room has a vault remarkably lower than the mosque's dome and, more importantly, it

[44] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "*Muhandis, Shad, Mu'allim* – Notes on the Building Craft in the Mamluk Period," *Der Islam* 72/2 (1995): 293-309.
[45] Necipoğlu, ibid., pp. 178; 376.

is visually differentiated on the street façade of the ensemble with a slight projection (fig. 4.15). Hence, before the construction of a modern structure on the adjoining spot, it too had a basically aedicular, though less ostentatious, appearance from the road.

In 1159/1746, an order was sent to the castellan of Belgrade to erect a new structure "next to" a mosque to protect the endowed books from humidity in the upper story of this new structure.[46] Further information about this small library can not be detected, since neither of the buildings survived, but it might have had a aedicular character.

Veliyüddin Efendi's library built adjacent to the Bayezid Mosque (1505) in 1768 is a peculiar case. This *şeyhülislam* chose to build his library as an addendum to the great mosque of the ensemble where the holders of his official post customarily also held a teaching position at the madrasa according to the ordinance of the founding sultan, Bayezid II. The decision apparently aimed to appropriate the honor of building a library at Bayezid II's mosque for the office of the *şeyhülislam*s collectively. This library is a pavilion composed of two rooms (fig. 4.16). The square room entered from the mosque was the reading/copying room; it is covered with a dome and embellished with blue-purple-white ceramic tiles, most probably Kütahya works, on its walls (fig. 4.17). There is a rectangular depository at the back. The library was built at a corner of the mosque visible directly from the Bayezid Square, a major open space in the city since the Byzantine period and surrounded by the buildings of the Bayezid Complex. The library's location is near the point where the Divanyolu artery of the city meets the square at the corner of the mosque closest to the madrasa. However, its architecture almost avoids attracting visual attention. Its walls are built of cut stones of the same color as the mosque and it is connected to one of the two low wings of the mosque, which were originally built as dervish

[46] BOA [Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives], AE.SMHD.I 196/15370 (1159 Z 29).

lodges but later in the sixteenth century integrated into the mosque (fig. 4.18). Hence the library does not form any contrast to the adjoining piece of the mosque in size, vaulting or color. A location for this library near the mihrab wall would largely hide it from public view. Given the location selected, the designers did not chose to create a contrast in color and vaulting, probably calculating that it would be disharmonious with the adjacent wing, which has nearly the same height, and thus followed the reverse method of creating a continuity to attain visual harmony.

The mother sultana's chief steward Yusuf Ağa's library built in Konya in 1795 adjacent to the Selimiye Mosque (1567) is another monument where the masonry of the mosque is carefully replicated to the extent that the ablaq relieving arches above the windows are reproduced in the library as well. However, the addendum character of the new edifice is conspicuous. The curvilinear corner windows are products of the late eighteenth-century manner of Ottoman architecture, but more importantly the volume of the library is so large with respect to the mosque that the eventual asymmetry of the ensemble is abundantly clear and it was attempted to turn this irregularity into an aesthetic advantage. The library is also noticeably projected from the line of the mosque's mihrab wall. The resulting volumetric relationship between the mosque and the library is a closest relative of the Byzantine churches with small *parekklesia*, reached most probably with the mediation of the design of the Fatih Library (fig. 4.19).

*Reisülküttâb* Râşid Efendi was another of the most important political figures of the Selim III period besides Yusuf Ağa, and was largely controlling the Sublime Porte in the early 1790s.[47] Earlier, he and the chronicler Vâsıf Efendi reopened the Müteferrika Press in 1784. Râşid Efendi's library building was his major architectural project, and he built this monument

[47] Ahmet Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet* (İstanbul, 1974), pp. 191-194.

adjacent to the twelfth-century grand mosque of his town of origin, Kayseri, in 1796. This elegant library has pilasters that separate its façade into units, in addition to the four decorative turrets, similar to the ones at the Yusuf Ağa Library (and at the older Laleli Mosque in Istanbul) at the corners. The dome of the library is approximately the same size with the dome in front of the *mihrab* of the old mosque (fig. 4.20).

In 1210/1796, Selim III's mother Mihrişah Sultan endowed a book collection to the Eyüp Mosque in Istanbul, which was built in the fifteenth century next to the tomb of the Prophet's companion Abu Ayyub al-Ansari. The library was inside the mosque (*derûnunda*).[48] Due to concern about damage done to it by the earthquake of 1766, the mosque was demolished and rebuilt between 1798 and 1800. However, we find a commemorative poem written for the endowment made in 1796 in the divan of a *qadi* of the period, Seyyid Osman Sürûri. Besides praising the meaning of the charity and the wide scope of the books in the collection, this poem also refers to two cupboards placed at one side of the interior (*bir tarafda iki dolabın*) of the mosque for the protection of the collection, and then calls the site of the library a *maksûre*.[49] According to E. W. Lane's lexicon, this word might denote a chamber, a screen that encloses a section of a building, a canopy or a baldaquin.[50] It is highly probable that the two cupboards formed an aedicular section inside the mosque, similar to the depositories comprised of cabinets and corridors between them.

The library that the Kapanoğlu family built in 1835 adjacent to a recently rebuilt mosque in Izmir looks similar to octagonal portable wooden *mahfaza*s with legs (fig. 4.21). This little

[48] Mütercim Ahmed Âsım Efendi, *Âsım Efendi Tarihi*, vol 1, ed. Ziya Yılmazer (İstanbul, 2015), p. 143.
[49] Osman Sürûri, *Divan-ı Sürûri* (Bulak, 1255 [1839]), p. 48.
[50] Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon Book* I – Part 7, ed. Stanley Lane-Poole (London, Edinburgh, 1885), p. 2536.

library, which has book niches on four of its interior walls,[51] might have been designed after some masjids built above columns and arches in courtyards of a number of caravanserais since the fifteenth century (fig. 4.22), but wooden *mahfaza*s, too, were probably modeled after them. The library that the Tekelioğlu family added around the year 1810 to the mosque they had built in 1796 in Antalya[52] is a structure at the corner of the mihrab wall that replicates the simple single-dome architecture of the mosque at a smaller scale (fig. 4.23). But a most original revelation of the persistent importance of the aedicule paradigm in Ottoman library architecture is the library built by the Karaosmanoğlu family in 1832 adjacent to the fifteenth-century Çaşnigir Mosque in Manisa. Since the principal approach to this mosque is from the side of the entrance portico, the library in its aedicular character is exposed on this side. The library is not necessarily a very small structure; it is once again in the form of a single dome mosque with a portico of three openings projected towards the garden. But these openings are half the width and half the height of the arches of the mosque's portico, and the outcome is a memorable asymmetry and contrast in the manner basically of the Fatih Library but produced here with arcades (fig. 4.24). This is a late but remarkable instance of the Ottoman taste for miniature appearances in library architecture, which collectively support Bachelard's assertion that the images of the tiny and of the immense may in fact often be compatible and "miniature is one of the refuges of greatness."[53]

### An Occidentalist Pavilion: Imported Plans and the Nuruosmaniye Library

Mahmud I's own memorial complex, constructed between 1749 and 1755, includes one of the most important eighteenth-century libraries in its program. Located near one of the gates

[51] Hacer Sibel Ünalan, *Anadolu'daki Türk Kütüphaneleri* (İstanbul, 2012), pp. 244-254.
[52] Ibid., pp. 201-205.
[53] Bachelard, ibid., p. 155.

of the Grand Bazaar, this complex includes a section of the thoroughfare between the bazaar and the Topkapı Palace area in its garden. The mosque, the madrasa, the library, the mausoleum, and the public kitchen are built on two sides of this pathway. Completed a few months after Mahmud I's death, it was named not after him but instead as Nuruosmaniye (lit., "Ottoman Light") which carries a reference both to the name of his brother and successor Osman III and to the name of the whole dynasty. With the extensive use of undulating curves, prominently displayed in the arcades and heavy cornices of the lateral façades of the mosque, and the rococo designs carved in relief at the fountains, the mosque, and the library, the Nuruosmaniye stands as the principal rococo landmark of Istanbul. Especially memorable are the two portals that lead to the arcaded courtyard in front of the mosque and the slightly larger portal on its main axis and opens to the main hall. They display the basic outline of the muqarnas portals common in Islamic architectures since the thirteenth century, but here leaves, seashells and rococo curves occupy the places of the crystalline geometric forms of muqarnases. This latter experiment remained unique, as did the half-ellipse plan of the arcaded courtyard, but the combination of a conventional structure with western ornaments remained a characteristic of most of the building types of Ottoman architecture for more than a century. As a sultanic commission with a massive mosque at its center, which gained a place in the skyline of the capital, the Nuruosmaniye project certainly elevated the status of rococo considerably and paved the way for the nearly complete domination of architectural ornaments by rococo in the period until the 1820s, during which it was absorbed into the Istanbul vernacular.[54]

The library of the Nuruosmaniye was one of the chief public libraries of the century. At the same time, its building has a significant place in the history of the implementation of forms

[54] For a recent research on the design and construction of the Nuruosmaniye, see Ünver Rüstem's dissertation. Rüstem, ibid., pp. 159-254.

of western origin in late Ottoman architecture. About 5030 books were endowed to this library at the time of its opening. This number is the highest among the endowments made in all of the Ottoman *waqf* libraries; in other words, it is the site where the public accessibility of books formerly in the royal possession was in the largest scale. The *waqfiyya* of the Nuruosmaniye is the earliest case where students are not referred to and a general readership is defined as its intended users. The text describes the library "in the service of those who profit from and copy works on sciences."[55]

The library of the Nuruosmaniye is placed at a corner of the grounds of the complex (figs. 4.25-4.26), and is reached from the central pathway by walking underneath the bridge that connects the mosque to its royal pavilion and then climbing a few steps. It stands on a basement and a number of shops that face the street at that corner. It was inaugurated with the same ceremony as the mosque and other buildings.[56] As in the Âtıf Efendi, it has a book depository adjacent to the study hall. The latter has a rectangular plan with beveled corners and niches on the walls for the protection of books in addition to wooden shelves. The study hall has two entrances at the two corners where it intersects with the depository. A modern director of the library, Ali Öngül, claims that the entrance on the north, which does not have any inscription, was planned for the use of the public (fig. 4.27) whereas the other entrance, which features an inscription of the statement attributed to the Prophet, "Demand knowledge from cradle to grave,"[57] above the door (fig. 4.28) was reserved for the sultans' visits.[58] In light of the presence of sultanic thrones in the initial furnishing of the Fatih and the Galata Palace libraries,

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[55] Ali Öngül (ed.), *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi* (Manisa, 2003), p. 10.
[56] Hâkim Efendi, *Vak'a-nüvîs Hâkim Efendi Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlîl)*, ed. Tahir Güngör, Marmara University, unpublished thesis (2014), p. 341.
[57] اطلبوا العلم من المهد إلى اللحد
[58] Ali Öngül, "Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi," *Marmara Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Türklük Araştırmaları Dergisi* 6 (1990), p. 143.

reservation of one entrance for the monarch seems highly probable. The arrangement with two entrances could thus highlight the point that this was a library the sultan generously shared with the public. The walls of the study hall have white marble revetments up to the beginning of the vaults, in the same manner as in the mosque in this ensemble (fig. 4.29). The library hall has an ellipse plan, which is a chief characteristic of the building (fig. 4.30). A verse chronogram inscription is placed above the door of the depository and crowned by a rococo pediment (fig. 4.31).

The ellipse plan came to be employed in the central halls of some mansions in Istanbul in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the Nuruosmaniye Library is its earliest instance in Ottoman architecture. The building was celebrated by Doğan Kuban as the most original baroque design in Turkey. He thought that Simeon Kalfa, the Ottoman Greek architect of the Nuruosmaniye, whose biography is still very poorly known, behaved more liberally in the planning of the library unlike in the case of the mosque where the established typology of great mosques must have been a constraint. Kuban found in the complex polygonal walls of the library the impression of an architect who saw baroque buildings in the West.[59]

This hall is one of the late Baroque oval library designs alongside the more famous Wolfenbüttel Library (1713) and the central hall of Fischer von Erlach's Hofbibliothek in Vienna (1726). However, it has a peculiar quality that distinguishes it from such western counterparts and makes it a significant manifestation of an Ottoman library architecture paradigm. Turgut Saner pointed out the strong similarity between the plans of Francesco Borromini's church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (1638-41) in Rome and the study hall of the Nuruosmaniye

[59] Doğan Kuban, "Nuruosmaniye Külliyesi, *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* vol. VI (İstanbul, 1994), p. 103.

Library, and asserted that the former served as the model for the latter.[60] This similarity is indeed unmistakable (fig. 4.32). Modern art historians note the rumors voiced in the writings of some western visitors to Istanbul in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, like Toderini and Thomas Allom, that Mahmud I had brought drawings and models of some famous buildings of Western Europe for the Nuruosmaniye project. Both Toderini's and Allom's narratives include a probably fabricated claim that an initial proposal for the mosque based on western designs was declined upon religious authorities' protests, and ultimately a more conventional appearance was given to the mosque.[61] Soner Şahin suggested that probably underlying the emergence of this narrative was the actual utilization of some drawings of San Carlo in the design of the Nuruosmaniye Library and the memory of that event, highly distorted during the fabrication of the story.[62] Today there are twenty six books on architecture and landscape design published in Western Europe in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries preserved in the Topkapı Palace Library.[63] A plan of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane is not found in any other of the extant items in Topkapı's collection, but the material used in the project might well have been among those that did not survive.

It must be added to Saner's and Şahin's observations that the dimensions of the ground plan of the study hall of the Nuruosmaniye Library are close to those of San Carlo, with only little differences. The length and the width of the church are roughly 20 and 12 meters, while in the study hall they are roughly 18.5 and 13.5 meters. This approximation of the size of the church space in the library hall may reflect an intention of the library's design. Because it

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[60] Turgut Saner, "Mimari Dönüştürmeler," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 9 (2005): 79-92; Turgut Saner, "18. Yüzyıl İstanbul Kütüphanelerinde Kullanım, Mekan ve Tipolojik Esinlenmeler," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 13-14 (2010): 187-196.
[61] Toderini, ibid., pp. 20-21; Thomas Allom, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor Illustrated* (London, 1836), p. 12.
[62] Soner Şahin, ibid., p. 339.
[63] See Gül İrepoğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine Kütüphanesindeki Batılı Kaynaklar Üzerine Düşünceler," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi – Yıllık* 1 (İstanbul, 1986), pp. 56-130.

suggests that San Carlo's plan was probably seen by the actors behind the creation of the building in Istanbul as more than merely an inspiration for the shape of a reading room, and the new building was meant to be a kind of a representation, nearly a model, of the original in Rome.

In the size of the Roman church, the library looks like another mini structure beside – though here not adjacent to – the colossal mosque. Despite the near-identity of the plans, differences in the superstructure of the church and the library are not lacking. Instead of an elliptic dome as in San Carlo, the library's study hall is covered by a round central dome supported by two semi-domes on the longer axis (figs. 4.33-4.34). The engaged columns on the interior walls of the church and the architrave above them have free-standing counterparts in the library which carry arches that in turn support the higher vaults (fig. 4.35). The ambulatory-like arcades built very close to the wall surface inside the hall are features seen in some sixteenth-century sultans' mausolea in Istanbul. The multiple curves of these arches are prominent elements of this early example of Ottoman rococo and play a role in the unique appeal of the hall. Thus, the library hall looks like an Ottomanized-and-rococoized version of the Roman church's interior. It could be assumed that the Ottoman team only had the ground plan of the church at hand, but these differences must be due to the vaulting techniques of the Ottoman construction practice. The church's famous two-story undulating façade is not referred to in the library. But the church and its façade are adjacent to other structures in a densely-built block, whereas the library is completely free-standing. Besides, the façade conceals certain subsidiary spaces of the church which do not have any counterpart in the library. Nevertheless, the numbers of columns that surround the two halls are the same, with the only exception in the library: two columns are lacking on the side of the entrance to the book depository. Furthermore, there are tall niches carved in the walls with semicircular volute patterns at the top, resembling the niches

and seashells between the columns in the nave of the church (fig. 4.36). The library hall thus seems basically to be a strong allusion to the nave, the interior of San Carlo. This attitude finds a noteworthy parallel in an architectural event of a much later period. Modern architect Mario Botta exhibited in Lugano between 1999 and 2003 a full-scale section model of San Carlo, which reproduced the interior, but completely omitted the outside walls of the church from the representation (fig. 4.37). Therefore, this library is an interesting and unusual event in the process of the incorporation of western forms, particularly through publications or drawings, to Ottoman architectural practice, while at the same time it constitutes a major instance of the pattern in which images of other buildings were employed in the creation of Ottoman library edifices.

This was not the only time that San Carlo's image was transported to a foreign context and as a memorable event. Russian emperor Peter the Great (r. 1682-1725) made reforms to give a distinctly western outlook to architecture in his country in the early eighteenth century. To this end, he invited several masters, and purchased books and treatises from various western European countries, and in addition sent students to get architectural training to Italy and the Netherlands in 1716. Dmitry Shvidkovsky writes that as a result of the emperor's initiatives and with the works of the Russians trained in the West and of the western architects, "Russian Imperial Baroque" completely emerged by the 1730s and 1740s.[64] It is remarkable that when the three students returned from Rome to their country in the early 1720s, they showed their drawings of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane as their study certificates.[65] The parallel between these two events that took place within a few decades suggests that Borromini's church was seen

[64] Dmitry Shvidkovsky, *Russian Architecture and the West* (New Haven and London, 2007), pp. 183-185.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

as representative of the whole Italian Baroque, perhaps even a metonym of all western European architecture, by these eastern recipients.

The Ottoman diplomat Şehdî Osman Efendi's report of his embassy to Russia in 1757-58 includes rare and hitherto not studied observations on the establishment of the Western idiom in Russian architecture. His remarks are also relevant to the contemporary reception of western architecture in the Ottoman center and to the conception of San Carlo's plan as the model of the Nuruosmaniye Library. Şehdî Osman Efendi was Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's chief household scribe before he was promoted to the group of Imperial Council secretaries, and his selection for a diplomatic mission from that rank was typical for the eighteenth century. After this embassy, he was appointed the manager of royal armories, and then he built a library in 1173/1760 in Sarajevo, the main provincial center near the town of Akova (today in northern Montenegro) where he was born.[66] This library, which stood until 1911, was a hexagonal structure capped by a dome built at a corner of the foregarden of the mid-fifteenth-century Hünkar Mosque, which was commissioned by the first Ottoman governor of Bosnia (fig. 4.38).[67]

Şehdî Osman Efendi had earlier been in the envoy of Mehmed Emnî Beyefendi's embassy to Russia in 1740. Emnî Beyefendi penned his own embassy report which includes a passage about his impressions of Peterhof. He mentions here the palace built "in a Frankish design" and describes at length the water jets, fountains and sculptures in the gardens.[68] Muscovites prided themselves with this ensemble as they believed it was an unequalled place, but he found the unnatural forms given to trees and the absence of beautiful flowers in the gardens unappealing and the Frankish arts "far from harmony and grace" (*münâsebet ve*

[66] Erünsal, ibid., p. 244.
[67] Kemûrazâde Seyfeddin bin Ali, *Hünkâr Câmi-i Şerîfi* (Saraybosna, n. d.), p. 9.
[68] *Mehmed Emnî Beyefendi (Paşa)'nin Rusya Sefâreti ve Sefâretnâmesi*, ed. Münir Aktepe (Ankara, 1974), pp. 66-67.

*letâfetten dûr*).[69] Osman Efendi writes that Empress Elizabeth was informed about his presence in another legation to Russia seventeen years before, and asked during their meeting for his appraisal of the transformation of St Petersburg in the interim. He records that the city was far more embellished and enlarged than its previous state with Frankish arts and newly introduced curious buildings and that he responded to the empress's question by stating that her "efforts and adornments" could only be appreciated.[70] He devotes a passage to his visits to the grand printing press and the neighboring "curiosities house" (*acâyibhâne*; Kunstkamera) where they saw rare and unheard-of species and costumes from various places. The empress later insisted that he see Tsarskoye Selo (*Çaruskısle*) near the capital. In this palace, which was recently completed in 1756, Osman Efendi describes in detail the Chinese porcelain room, and notes that the walls of multiple rooms were adorned with Chinese, Persian and Western paintings (*nükûş*). The Russians were proud of this palace and its grounds to which they believed there was no equal in other Christian realms.[71] In a subsequent passage, the ambassador remarks on the houses in St Petersburg. He writes that "[a]ll the buildings and mansions of the elites are in agreement and semblance with the plans and examples they obtained from France, Austria and other European countries."[72]

His generally appreciative tone about the new architectural idiom in Russia is perhaps a reflection of the new taste in Istanbul. Furthermore, his reference to the utilization of "plans and examples" (*resim ve nümûneler*) obtained from Western Europe echoes the similar practice in the Ottoman center. However, particularly noteworthy is his emphasis on the accordance

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[69] Ibid., pp. 67-68.
[70] Şehdî Osman Efendi, *Rusya Sefâretnâmesi, 1757-1758*, ed. Türkân Polatcı (Ankara, 2011), pp. 34-35.
[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52.
[72] Osman Efendi adds that the elite's architecture was in contrast with the commoners' houses, which were simple wooden huts and normally lacked furnishings, pots and pans. But they were so devoid of consciousness, comparable to "land animals," that they did not consider this a discomfort. Ibid., p. 52.

between the western models conveyed in publications and the Russian applications. Rococo applications in the Nuruosmaniye are in general faithful to western examples, but the close approximation of San Carlo's plan in the library is a special register of the attention paid to truthfulness to examples. Moreover, in Osman Efendi's passage the authenticity of the works of westernized Russian architecture is expressed with the same vocabulary, "in agreement and semblance with" (*mutâbık ve müşâbih*), used in the chronicler Mustafa Sâfî's description of the unique event of the building of a wooden replica of the Kaba in the Topkapı Palace Treasury in 1613, and quoted in Chapter 3. Although somewhat obliquely, this identical vocabulary supports the suggestion that the Nuruosmaniye Library's study hall was conceived as an installation of the form of the Roman church, in a nature fundamentally similar to the "travel" of the Kaba's image in the event Sâfî narrated. The relevance of the fact that this wooden replica was a major precedent of a number of book cabinets viewed as Kaba illustrations in eighteenth-century libraries cannot be overemphasized. In other words, by bringing another case of the transportation of a distant building's image, the Nuruosmaniye Library further reveals a kinship that Ottomans saw between library building and model making. It is also not the least possibility that, as a climax of the utilization of western architectural sources by the Ottomans, it was designed to monumentalize this breakthrough, the decisive moment of the use of European sources extensively in a grand project.

### Ottoman Fascination with Models:
### Playthings, Curios and Inspiration for Architectural Practice

Ottomans had a long-established tradition of exhibiting architectural images in public festivals from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, mainly in Istanbul and Edirne. The accurate model of the Süleymaniye Mosque, which was prepared most probably with Sinan's

supervision carried by members of the state corps of architects in the parade of the 1582 Festival in Istanbul, is one of the best known cases of this practice (fig. 4.39). A man inside the model sang praises of God during the parade.[73] Actually three-dimensional architectural images made in different formats were common among the variety of objects displayed in some earlier sixteenth-century festivals and others in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Usually organized to celebrate the circumcision of princes or weddings of princesses, these festivals were aggregates of different components often designated as "game/play" (*mel'abe* or *mülâ'abe*) by the Ottomans. They included historical enactments, representations of the activities and products of the people of the capital and of the richness of the natural and mythological beings in the world, and exhibitions of wondrous mechanical plays with lights or curious devices. These festivals were not infrequent. Held in large open areas in or usually right outside the city, some of them lasted several days and were important occasions of entertainment and leisure in the lives of the population of the capital.

Parades of sugar sculptures had prominent and nearly standard places in festival programs. Metin And, the pioneer student of Ottoman festivals, pointed out the presence of similar sugar sculptures in Renaissance festivals.[74] Their Renaissance counterparts in the West probably had an important influence on the character of Ottoman festivals in general. More than a hundred sugar sculptures, about 75-90 centimeters tall, which included peacocks, swans, pelicans, lions, bears, horses, elephants and rams were paraded on trays in the 1675 festival in Edirne. And writes that there were Ottoman masters who made such sculptures, but for the latter festival several masters were brought from Venice.[75] A European visitor saw cities, castles and

[73] Gülru Necipoğlu, ibid., p. 161.
[74] Metin And, *Osmanlı Şenliklerinde Türk Sanatları* (Ankara, 1982), p. 92.
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

various animals made of colorful candies in the wedding of a vizier and the sultan's sister in 1575.[76] The expenditure registers of the 1582 festival lists candy sculptures made by local Jews including a kiosk, cypresses, cocks, mermaids, a giraffe, a rhino, goats, monkeys, hundreds of flowers, a church, and an elephant, among other things.[77] Naîmâ recorded that "wondrous representations and curious trees" made of candies were paraded in the wedding of the sultan's daughter to a vizier in 1646.[78] The colorful candy exhibits were ostentatious gestures of abundance. Miniature gardens made of candies and usually containing kiosk models within and conical cypress-like structures called *nahıl*, which could have wax or candy fruits, flowers, birds, animals and also buildings hung on their branches, were among the typical artifices paraded in festivals. The painter Levnî's well-known depictions of gardens with trees, kiosks and pools and the grand *nahıl*s, which also had multiple kiosks at their bases paraded in the celebrations of princes' circumcision in 1720, are found in the album that documented this festival (fig. 4.40). Some of them apparently about one meter tall, these model kiosks indeed look like playthings for grown-ups and children alike. They and the portable wooden bookcases made in architectural forms were unmistakably close relatives. Sugar contemplation could be an occasion for the sultan's entertainment also at times other than festivals. Mahmud I's chronicle of daily activities notes the event of his "contemplation" (*temâşâ*) of sugars brought by a sugar maker named Seyyid Ahmed to the reception room of the Mahbûbiye in 1740.[79]

Hâfız Mehmed Efendi's *Sûrnâme* (Book of Festival) text that Levnî's paintings accompany narrates how child princes, leaving their plays elsewhere, visited the *nahıl*s and the sugar gardens' (*şeker bağçelerinin*) "minutely executed artful kiosks" (*hurdekârî musanna*

[76] *Ibid.*, p. 217.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 94.
[78] Quoted in And, *ibid.*, p. 219.
[79] Kadı Ömer Efendi, ibid., p.106.

*köşkler*) made of cardboards twice before the festival and enjoyed contemplating them very much.[80] Their passage on the shoulders of the Arsenal corps caused great outcry in the streets and the beholders' wonder during the festival.[81] Who fabricated these model kiosks is not clear in Hâfız Mehmed Efendi's text. But they could have been royal architects or the carpenters'/timber builders' guild, or perhaps the toy makers' guild which was organized also under the surveillance of the chief royal architect. In the 1675 festival, an apparently larger model kiosk made by the chief architect Ahmed Ağa and presented as his gift to the sultan was located in a model garden and paraded on wheels. A second kiosk was the timber builders' guild's gift and had furnishings, oriels and a grapevine pergola.[82]

We learn from the official chronicler Hâkim Efendi's long description of the festival organized to celebrate the birth of Mustafa III's daughter Hîbetullah Sultan, the first infant born in the dynasty in 1759 after decades, that "a number of kiosks" (*birkaç köşkler*) were exhibited above the gate of the chief architect's mansion at Vefa as embellishments of this site that was frequented by musicians, dancers and crowds of commoners.[83] When he gave the order for the organization, the sultan defined the sense of a festival, nearly anthropologically, as an "exhibition of plays" (*izhâr-ı melâib*) and music and creation of images and curious representations and looseness and gaiety.[84] During the festival that lasted seven days and nights, streets were filled with musicians, comedians and story tellers while shops and houses were adorned with pendants in various shapes[85] and lamps, flags, mirrors in different colors, "strange

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[80] Hâfız Osman Efendi, *Şehzâdelerin Sünnet Düğünü, 1720: Sûr-ı Hümâyûn* (İstanbul, 2008), pp. 180-182.
[81] Ibid., p. 228.
[82] Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği, 1675* (Ankara, 1972), p. 72.
[83] Hâkim Efendi, ibid., p. 745.
[84] Ibid., p. 724.
[85] Ibid., p. 739.

pictures" (*acîbe sûretler*)[86] and expensive fabrics. The palace of the grand vizier – then Râgıb Mehmed Paşa – was likewise richly adorned and "a mosque illustration," no doubt another model, suspended from the ceiling was seen in the reception hall alongside other pendants and some chandeliers.[87]

Three types of structures that became salient in Istanbul architecture in the first half of the eighteenth century, namely the intricately carved birdhouses on façades of public buildings, free-standing fountains and some of the libraries, seem to be related to a novel fascination with the imagery of the model buildings displayed in festivals. They may reflect a desire to preserve these characteristic constituents of the festival atmosphere and thus an underlying wish to perpetuate the associations of the festival mood in the built environment.

Birdhouses carved in great detail and in mosque, palace or kiosk forms are seen on the surface of several mosques, madrasas and other *waqf* edifices built throughout the eighteenth century and some in the nineteenth (fig. 4.41). They are interesting sculptural examples of micro-architecture that the Ottomans produced. An influence of the mini sculptural building representations on real buildings common in Indian Hindu and Muslim architecture[88] is highly probable. However, Ottoman birdhouses are singular works placed seemingly haphazardly on the walls, disregarding symmetry, quite unlike the Indian examples which are repetitive and symmetrically arranged. Ottoman birdhouses seem to be contiguous with their model making practice, or better, a trend created at the intersection of an Indian influence and the charm that the Ottomans found in models.

[86] Ibid., p. 737.
[87] Ibid., p. 743.
[88] See Elizabeth A. Lambourn, "A Self-Conscious Art? Seeing Micro-Architecture in Sultanate South Asia," in *Muqarnas* 27 (2010): pp. 121-156.

Fountains in public squares are obviously larger than most of the models seen in festivals. But their placement in centers of open spaces as objects of visual apprehension from all sides, coupled with their still relatively small scales within easy control of the beholder, implies a relation to the model conception. More importantly, the compositions of completely functionless domes and series of turrets that surround them in some fountains – usually without specific referents, but in the case of the Sâliha Sultan Fountain (1732) a smaller version of the dome and eight turrets of the neighboring sixteenth-century Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Mosque in Azapkapı – further suggest a kinship with models. After all, the largest among them, the Ahmed III near the Imperial Gate (1726) and the Mahmud I (1732) are virtually the same size as the Süleymaniye model paraded in 1582. Indoor book cabinets that were built since at least the early seventeenth century and called "kiosk" by contemporaries must have been generically akin to models, preceding most of the birdhouses and fountains in this respect. The four equal pieces of the extant wooden book cabinet in the Hagia Sophia are really quite close in outlook to festival models. Analogous to small late Byzantine churches many of which are in the approximate dimensions of the 1582 Süleymaniye model, the Fatih Library is even more reminiscent of models thanks to the background that the mosque forms at its back.

The loggia in the madrasa-and-library of Feyzullah Efendi, the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa, the Fatih and the Nuruosmaniye libraries, are a group of structures where scaled down or full-scale transplanted images of other buildings were used. They form an important series in the trend of carving-or-building permanent counterparts of architectural models. It can be suggested at this point that the intimate association between the festival models and the abundance of foreign and rare images in the same occasions, which almost looked like Ottoman curiosities houses on the move, facilitated the incorporation of non-Ottoman forms to the imagery of the model-like

permanent structures. Probably due to the longer past of indoor cabinets, the very idea of a library might have been more prone to fanciful architecture, and hence *waqf* libraries could be erected in the likenesses of Byzantine, Safavid and Western buildings. Huizinga dwells on the basic role of imitation in play, and emphasizes that these performances of "dressing up" or "representation" are normally in competitive moods, especially in the higher forms of play.[89] This can be considered as another legacy of festivals to the architecture of these libraries, which made their designers execute even formulas outside the Ottoman routines and with care to accord with the originals.

Library architecture thus came to constitute a major platform of playful gestures. Actually, some comparable gestures are found in Sinan's much older oeuvre as well. For example, Admiral Sinan Paşa's mosque (1555) in Istanbul's faubourg Beşiktaş was built in the plan of the 1440s Üçşerefeli Mosque in Edirne in a reduced scale, and the principle portal of the Süleymaniye has a design, unique in Ottoman architecture, which alludes to the multi-story façade of Cairo's Sultan Hassan Madrasa. Whether they were mere plays within architectural profession or some also had ideological subtexts such as a statement of dominion is not always easy to detect. The point here, however, is that libraries secured a prominent place in the particular realm of architectural plays in the eighteenth century. A convergence of the more rooted practice of architectural plays with a growing taste for the aesthetics of the model became influential in library architecture. These elegant little buildings in all likelihood invited some of their viewers to understand or learn the visual pun.

It is tempting to compare the pavilion libraries in this group with the historicizing garden pavilions and *fabrique*s that became popular towards the middle of the eighteenth century in

[89] Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston, 1955), pp. 11-13.

Britain and quickly spread to other parts of Europe so far as to be a common fashion by the end of the century. In this process, noble estates across Europe were dotted with several structures of this sort that generally imitate a wide range of architectural manners from the past and/or geographically distant cultures. Their playful use in landscape architecture was the predominant stimulus for the early experimental engagements with most of these manners, such as Gothic, Chinese and Islamic. Intended to be contemplated and visited during walks in the garden, they were usually in small (some even model-like) scales and planned to evoke combinations of astonishment, pleasure and learned historical/literary associations of the style and its origin.[90] Since the Ottoman libraries in question are, first of all, exact contemporaries of the early monuments of this kind in British estates and they were, moreover, linked to diverse domestic dynamics of Ottoman architecture, it is not very probable that European garden *fabrique*s had an influence. But the similarities of the outcomes are remarkable. The Fatih Library is a striking counterpart of the medievalizing, usually Gothic, structures that imitated castles or churches in European landscape architecture. The Nuruosmaniye Library can be seen to be quite similar in conception to the various exotic Oriental pavilions in the contemporary West. An important aspect of this symmetry seems to be the common role of the pavilion paradigm in the two traditions. European garden ornaments of this century were obviously contiguous with older repose pavilions, and while some of them did not have functions other than display, some other Gothic castles or Turkish mosques had furnishings to serve as repose sites. On the Ottoman side, not only the indoor book cabinets of the seventeenth century were called *köşk*s but also many of the masonry libraries of the eighteenth century, like the Ahmed III in the Topkapı Palace or the

[90] See, John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994); Monique Mosser, "Paradox in the Garden: A Brief Account of *Fabriques*," in Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot (eds.) *The Architecture of Western Gardens: A Design History from the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Milan, 1991), pp. 263-280.

Âtıf Efendi, among others, were designed in plans very similar to kiosks, evidencing the weight of repose and reception kiosks in the Ottoman vision of a library space. In other words, non-Ottoman plans were probably executed essentially as "kiosks" and/or bulky "models." Many constructional and decorative elements executed in the libraries are standard Ottoman ones, but most of the exotic pavilions in Europe were likewise far from authentic and also contained elements derived from current European practice. A pagoda could feature Tuscan Doric columns and pilasters for example,[91] but they signified the intended manner with a number of visual markers. The cake design in the shape of a Chinese pavilion published in Paris in 1815 is a good illustration of the extent to which this fashion reached around the turn of the century, but also reflects well the underlying desire to possess and consume these idioms in the often-model-looking pavilions[92] (fig. 4.42). We do not know whether, had the library building fashion in Istanbul lasted with the same dynamism after the third quarter of the eighteenth century, Ottomans would build a library in the shape of a pagoda.

### Ut adab architectura*: Architectural Awareness in the Age of Libraries*

Ottomans verbally distinguished different architectural idioms since at least the late fifteenth century. One of the pavilions, namely the *Çinili Köşk* (Tiled Kiosk) that Mehmed II built in the outer gardens of the Topkapı Palace in the early 1470s has the plan and decoration of the *hasht bahisht* type of kiosks of Iran and Central Asia and was probably executed by the masters that this sultan brought from the realm of the Karamanid Dynasty in Anatolia. In his chronicle from the following decade, Tursun Beg referred to the Çinili Köşk as constructed in the Persian "manner" (*tavr*) and another one which once stood across from it in the "Ottoman

[91] This is the case in the pagoda which was built in 1775 in Duc de Choiseul's chateau near Amboise in France.
[92] Monique Mosser, ibid.

manner."[93] This much older experiment on the palace grounds may be seen as analogous to the stylistic play evident in some libraries. But the legibility of the design sources of library buildings to their contemporary viewers, especially outsiders to the architectural profession is a crucial question. Though dispersed and only indirectly related to the plurality in library architecture, we have some traces of a "public" interest in architecture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that enhances the likelihood of this legibility and hence renders the plurality in question more important. Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatnâme* is an important instance of the taste for architectural aesthetics and stylistic variety among Ottoman non-professionals. Evliya is so acute and enthusiastic an observer of a mass of architectural monuments and so attentive to differences of design features that he indeed shows the profile of an antiquarian. His grand composition of geographical descriptions, historical narratives, numerous short stories and linguistic and ethnographic notes which made him one of the most important Ottoman prose writers also offers major evidence that knowledge of architecture could be a component of Ottomans' *adab* pursuits. The "style" (*tarz*) conceptualization is an important element of many of his passages on architecture. Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu underlined how he accentuates the *Rûm* (that is, Ottoman) or "Arab" (usually Mamluk) styles of mosques in Egypt and Syria.[94] As Kafesçioğlu elucidated in another essay, Evliya quite notably distinguishes an "old style" of the pre-Ottoman Islamic buildings of Anatolia and some early Ottoman monuments from a contrasting "new style" which designates mosques built as light structures of piers and arches that support central domes and allowed the opening of plenty of windows on thin walls, a system which really developed basically in the first half of Sinan's career and persisted as an Ottoman characteristic thereafter.

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[93] Quoted in Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power: the Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1991), p. 210.

[94] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "'In the Image of *Rûm:*' Ottoman Architectural Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Aleppo and Damascus" *Muqarnas* 16 (1999): 70-96.

Comparisons of certain spatial and visual features between particular buildings are also frequent in Evliya's text.[95] Upon describing the eight-pier structure of Edirne's Selimiye, he suggests readers who wished to behold this monument look at the Rüstem Paşa Mosque in Istanbul since it was built "in nearly the same plan/configuration" (*hemân ol tarh*), and immediately after notes the similarity between the Selimiye's mihrab and a mihrab in a little town in Central Anatolia.[96] His comparison of the Hagia Sophia and the Süleymaniye, which he fictionalized in the form of an interview he had with a group of western European connoisseurs (*sâhib-ayârları*) of architecture in the Süleymaniye is thought-provoking even for modern readers. Referring clearly to the rhythmic arrangement of the mosque's exposed tectonic elements and to its lateral façades created with arcades, the argument the Europeans voice here is that every creature of God and every building alike may be beautiful either from inside or from outside, and the two kinds of beauty cannot coexist with the astonishing exception of the Süleymaniye.[97] This characterization of Sinan's principal work in Istanbul is reminiscent, surprisingly, of the debate on the coexistence of interiority and exteriority in Gothic architecture since at least Hegel.[98] On a different occasion, Evliya points to the Mamluk decoration of marble revetments on walls in the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Mosque in Gebze and recounts how this first Ottoman governor of Egypt had these favorable/extraordinary (*tuhfe*) colorful patterns made by masters in Egypt as separate sheets and conveyed them to this town by sea.[99] He might have added this passage after he settled in Cairo towards the end of his life in 1673 where he edited his work.

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[95] Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "Itinerant Gaze: Ottoman and Medieval Anatolian Architecture in the Book of Travels" translated by Robert Dankoff, in Nuran Tezcan and Semih Tezcan (eds.) *The Book of Evliya Çelebi* (Ankara, 2013), pp. 310-324.
[96] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* vol. III (İstanbul, 1996), pp. 246-247.
[97] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* vol. I (İstanbul, 1996), p. 73.
[98] Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, tr. T. M. Knox, v. II (Oxford, 1975), pp. 687-695; also see, Mark Jarzombek, "The Cunning of Architecture's Reason," *Footprint* 1 (Autumn, 2007): 31-46.
[99] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* vol. II (İstanbul, 1996), p. 88.

Dâyezâde Mustafa Efendi's treatise on the beauty of the Selimiye, which he wrote probably in the late 1740s, is a valuable source on amateur taste for architecture in eighteenth-century society. This spokesman for architectural delight was a mid-ranking bureaucrat; he was the chamberlain of the treasury of the Province of Rumeli (much of the Balkan Peninsula) at the time. Interestingly, he begins his text with a detailed account of the autodidact curriculum that he pursued in libraries when he explains how he was motivated to study the Selimiye. He writes that he had been involved in intense studies in the library that Ahmed III built in the Enderun and the other one that Mahmud I opened in the Revan Kiosk in the Palace for more than two decades until 1154/1741. He enumerates the names of many of the books he read: he starts with four books on the lives of prophets and continues with more than twenty histories written before and during the Ottoman period, followed by eight examples of the wonders of creation literature and then three geographies. Then he emphasizes the pleasure he took from reading, according to his "estimate," more than 300 volumes on history.[100] In reading Solakzâde's (mid-seventeenth century) history, Dâyezâde paid attention to the author's citation from Sinan's autobiography, which was "not against the famous rumor" that the Selimiye's dome was built larger in circumference and higher than that of the Hagia Sophia.[101] He then found Sinan's book in the Revan Kiosk Library and developed a further interest in this question. When he was appointed to his post and arrived in Edirne he made the due investigation and proved the claim. But a main subject of the treatise is the appreciation of the Selimiye by its viewers, and he tells various anecdotes in this respect. He writes that once in Mustafa II's assembly (around 1700), statesmen

[100] Dâyezâde Mustafa Efendi, *Selimiye Risâlesi* MS, The Süleymaniye Library: Esad Efendi 2283, ff. 3-6. In folio 34, he writes that he had been in Kars during an uprising in 1156 (1744 AD). Therefore, he must have completed the treatise after this date, probably in the later part of the decade. For an interpretation and a full translation of Dâyezade's Selimiye treatiese see, Selen Morkoç, *A Study on Ottoman Narratives on Architecture: Text, Context and Hermeneutics* (Bethesda, 2010).
[101] Ibid., f. 6.

voiced different ideas about whether the Selimiye had any fault in its architecture.[102] A certain Ahmed Çelebi had the passionate habit of scrutinizing Selimiye's architecture and turned its contemplation, discussion and description into a life-long engagement. To "manifest [his] love" for the building, he used to ascend to the galleries and stroll from corner to corner to discover an art, or alternatively stood in the main hall or roamed in the courtyard seeking the same, and recount his findings to friends in the evenings.[103] Dâyezâde devotes passages to the meanings of the numbers of architectural elements like windows in certain parts of the mosque, or piers or minarets as presumable metaphors (*teşbîhât*) and puns (*telmîhât*) to the same numbers encountered in Quranic verses or hadiths. However, he also has an outstanding commentary on the purely visual quality of the Selimiye that makes him, like Evliya, one of the best analysts of all times of the leap that Sinan represents in the history of Ottoman architecture. This passage is a memorable interpretation of the nature of ornament in visual arts, approaching Kant's formula "purposive without purpose" that he expressed later in the century.[104] Characteristic for Ottoman literature of the time, the passage is composed as a parable, and it narrates a story about the design of the eight turrets built as extensions of the load-bearing piers above the shell of the building and around the main dome (fig. 4.43). They stand, in all likelihood, as a metonym for all turrets of this kind built first in Sinan's Şehzade Mosque (1548) in Istanbul and playing an important role in rendering mosques more sculpturesque objects with the exposition of the structural frame. Although themselves structurally functionless, they remained nearly indispensable in Ottoman mosque designs until the late nineteenth century. According to Dâyezâde's story, upon the completion of its main dome, Sinan beheld the Selimiye from a distance. The dome was complete, and it was larger than the Hagia Sophia's, but the master did

[102] Ibid., ff. 14-15.
[103] Ibid., ff. 17-18.
[104] Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment* (Indianapolis and Cambridge, 1987).

not find it beautiful (*kat'â istihsân eylemediğinden*) and became preoccupied with the purpose of giving beauty to it.[105] When one of his pupils found him in this anxious state he complained that it was he who motivated the sultan to erect the large dome, but the outcome was "unpleasant" (*tatsız*), for some unstated reason.[106] The pupil proposed to build turrets on tops of the eight piers in order to bring beauty to the main dome. The two immediately made a three-dimensional (*mücessem*; lit. "bodied") picture of the mosque, which now had a beauty that could not be interpreted with tongue or appreciated with pen and then applied it to the real building.[107] Dâyezâde's text ends with this tale.

This is one of the two passages in the treatise where a model has a role. The other one reflects not only the general appeal of models to contemporaries but also an association between model making and the movement of architectural images in geographical space – and this during or on the eve of the construction of the Nuruosmaniye. Dâyezâde writes that the first thing the Russian ambassador did when he stopped in Edirne was to visit and contemplate the Selimiye. Upon seeing that the laudations that made up this mosque's reputation abroad were not exaggerated, he ordered an "image maker" in his envoy to make a model because he wished to show it to his monarch.[108]

Ottomans also imported foreign architectural images for visual enjoyment, practical use, and to enrich their knowledge of this art. The presence of a group of architectural items in the list of books found in the probate inventory of the manager of royal shipyards (*tersâne emîni*) Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi who died in 1770 testifies that European architectural publications also interested some Ottomans outside the dynasty. This high-ranking secretary was a true bibliophile having

[105] Dayezâde Mustafa, ibid., p. 83.
[106] Ibid., p. 84.
[107] Ibid., pp. 84-85.
[108] Ibid., p. 16.

amassed no less than 1500 books, many of them in multiple volumes.[109] He owned several books on geometry, mathematics, medicine, astronomy and religion, but the great majority of his collection comprised divans of poets, *mecmû'a*s, and a significant number of histories. Dictionaries of various languages and a medical dictionary, grammar and rhetoric books, books on ethics and, not least, geographies are abundant in the list. He owned a complete copy of Evliya Çelebi's ten-volume travelogue. Geographical descriptions that gave remarkable place to ethnographic information were often called "history," and Evliya's work is likewise named here "The History of the Traveller" (*Târih-i Seyyâh*) as it was referred to also in later sources of the century.[110] It is likely that the list basically reflects the physical order of Sıdkî Efendi's library during the inventory. Architectural books appear towards the end of the list where they are accompanied by some atlases and maps, more histories, including one of China (*Târih-i Çin-i Mâçin*; most probably the eighteenth-century Turkish translation of a fifteenth-century Persian travelogue) and another of Cyprus, and more dictionaries. One of Sıdkî Efendi's books was a two-volume "Description of Paris" (*Paris tasvîri*). The legal official who made the inventory called another in three volumes "Architecture book" (*Mimariyye kitabı*). These two items were certainly imported printed books. But there is another item registered curiously as "Architect['s] set (*Mimar takımı*) / 1 volume." This one was given a value much less than the other two, and the word "set" implies that it might have been a little muraqqa of a kind made of plates of architectural images.[111] These sources in the bureaucrat's hands could well have been accessible to architectural practitioners, but it is clear that he bought them primarily to improve his culture

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[109] ŞS [Istanbul Sharia Court Records], KA. 338, ff. 83a-86b. Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi's probate record, the unusual richness of literature and history books and the presence of a complete set of Evliya Çelebi in his collection were first noted by Erünsal. But he did not pay attention to the items related to architecture. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar* (İstanbul, 2013), p. 203.

[110] Chroniclers Hâkim and Vâsıf referred to Evliya Çelebi's work with this name. Bekir Kütükoğlu, "Müverrih Vâsıf'ın Kaynaklarından Hâkim Tarihi," *Vekayi'nüvis – Makaleler* (İstanbul, 1994), p. 139.

[111] ŞS, KA. 338, f. 86b.

about a foreign geography, comparable to the maps and atlases' function, and for his visual enjoyment. Their inclusion in this collection which shows an impressive *adab* coverage is at the same time a remarkable evidence of the place of architectural knowledge in an Ottoman gentleman's learning objectives in the eighteenth century.

The sources of this century present a number of other hitherto unnoticed symptoms of the favor that a taste for architecture had among the Ottomans as one form of "gentleman's occupation." Mehmed Fennî, a scribal official and poet of the beginning of the century, was known in his time for having himself designed his waterside house on the Bosphorus. This poet was none other than the author of the famous ode for the beauties of the Bosphorus, which is used by modern researchers as a major document of the rising attraction of the area for settlement in that period.[112] According to Sâlim Efendi's dictionary, his epithet, Fennî, was a derivative of his *hezârfen* qualifications.[113] Poetic celebrations of newly built residential structures were common in his time and later, but Mehmed Fennî's engagement was that of an amateur architect. His feat was remembered by both Safâyî and Sâlim and expressed in different words in the two sources. His was apparently a *libido aedificandi*; according to Safâyî, with his extreme fondness for women he married and divorced many, and at the same time, he was ever occupied with building activity, inclined towards demolishing and then rebuilding. His was a disposition for architecture (*tab'-ı mi'mâri*), and he himself made the colorful painted decorations (*nukûş*) of the mansion he built on the coast.[114] In Sâlim's words, Fennî's mansion

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[112] Fevziye A. Tansel, "Divân Şairlerimizden Fennî'nin Boğaziçi Kıyılarını Canlandıran Mesnevîsi: Sâhil-nâme," *Belleten* 40/158 (1976): 331-346; Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle, 2008).
[113] Sâlim Efendi, *Tezkiretü'ş-Şu'arâ Sâlim Efendi*, ed. Adnan İnce (Ankara, 2005), p. 562.
[114] Mustafa Safâyî Efendi, *Tezkire-i Safâyî: Nuhbetü'l-Âsâr min Fevâidi'l-Eş'ar*, ed. Pervin Çapan (Ankara, 2005), p. 470.

was an "artifact of his own artistry-marked hand" (*kendi masnû-ı yed-i san'at-şi'ârı*).[115] With his personal aspiration for design, Mehmed Fennî, who died either in 1120/1708[116] or 1127/1715,[117] anticipated the activities of the building managers responsible for the court's projects later in the century, who enlarged the space for knowledge of architecture in the common understanding of polymathia.

Contemporaries might also have had the feeling of the existence of a community formed by the people who had a propensity and capacity for enjoying good architecture. In his narrative of the opening ceremony of the Sa'dâbâd Palace in 1722, Râşid Efendi gives a beautifully created name to this group of gentlemen. He writes that the contemplation of the plan and organization of the new palace gave wonder to "those capable of appreciating the subtleties of the matters of building" (*dakîka-şinâsân-ı ahvâl-i binâ*).[118]

It is hard to forget that, as Günsel Renda has shown, architecture formed a major theme of the wall paintings made in several palace apartments and mansions in the second half of the eighteenth century and later.[119] Enjoying the beauty in architecture and an acquaintance with the range of its forms was evidently in the agenda of the elites.

Ali Aziz Efendi's book of fabulous stories *Muhayyelât-ı Aziz Efendi* (Aziz Efendi's Imaginations), which he completed in 1796, includes an interesting instance of an acquaintance with the architectural idiom of a distant geography. Aziz Efendi was a protégé of the mother sultana's steward Yusuf Ağa and later the first Ottoman resident ambassador to Berlin. His stories, a late but famous example of the Ottomans' traditional prose fiction, was much

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[115] Sâlim Efendi, ibid., p. 563.
[116] Mustafa Safâyî Efendi, ibid., p. 471.
[117] Sâlim Efendi, ibid.
[118] Râşid Mehmed Efendi, *Târîh-i Râşid ve Zeyli*, eds. Abdülkadir Özcan et al., vol II (İstanbul, 2013), p. 1294.
[119] Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700-1850* (Ankara, 1977), pp. 77-170.

acclaimed in Istanbul in the nineteenth century when it was printed three times.[120] In the foreword, Aziz Efendi writes that his text was a simplified version of a book of tales written in forgotten languages that he found one day while passing time "in the madrasa of desire and the library of vague/miniscule thoughts" (*medrese-i kâm ve kitabhâne-i evhâmda*).[121] In the last of the twenty four stories of the book there is a passage where the protagonist, a prince, enters a city and encounters in the center of a square a structure built with little chests in the normal size of bricks and in different colors. Aziz Efendi explains that the configuration (*resm-i ta'biye*) of these colored brick-like chests formed large and legible Quran verses and hadiths on the surfaces of the building.[122] The prince was in search of another character's imprisoned soul in the chests, but the scene reflects the writer's familiarity with the version of the *banna'i* technique which adorns the surfaces of buildings with writings made of glazed tiles, which appeared in the twelfth-century Iran but became a major characteristic especially of the Timurid architecture and its successors in Central Asia. He might also have paid attention to the example in the entrance iwan of the Çinili Köşk, or seen the Timurid builders' manual that arrived in the Topkapı Palace in the sixteenth century, which Gülru Necipoğlu published and called "the Topkapı Scroll,"[123] but in all likelihood Aziz Efendi was aware of this technique's wide and emblematic use in the building tradition of a distant land. Earlier in the text, the protagonist arrives in Tunisia, but the narrator adds the clarification that during the time of the event to be told the town of Tunis was an unimportant settlement and the main city of the country was Qayrawan.[124] Aziz Efendi's case, like Sıdkî's, suggests that a taste for architecture and its idioms could be a part of the broader

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[120] See, Zeynep Uysal, *Olağanüstü Masaldan Çağdaş Anlatıya:* Muhayyelât-ı Aziz Efendi (İstanbul, 2006).
[121] Giridî Ali Aziz Efendi, *Muhayyelât-ı Aziz Efendi*, ed. Hüseyin Alacatlı (Ankara, 1999), p. 1.
[122] Ibid., p. 256.
[123] Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture / Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956* (Santa Monica, 1995).
[124] Giridî Ali Aziz Efendi, ibid., p. 249.

taste for geography and history, similar to Evliya Çelebi's curiosity. Dâyezâde, Fennî, Sıdkî, Aziz and Mehterzâde can indeed be viewed as identifiable ones among the "dispersed Evliyas," as it were, of the eighteenth century with their different engagements with architectural aesthetics.

This apparent consolidation of the status of architectural awareness as an important *adab* qualification coincided with the exposition of a variety of forms and manners in the newly-developing library architecture. In fact, this vivid variety is itself a significant hint at a growing awareness of architecture among a group of connoisseurs who enjoyed discussing the forms of old and new buildings. There is an auspicious convergence between this development of the taste for architecture and its idioms and the fact that library buildings were the great products of the popularization of *adab* and visual envelops of culture.

**A "Nest of Exuberance:"**

**The Râgıb Paşa Library as the Apex of the Ottoman Library Movement**

Râgıb Paşa's library was built between 1762 and 1763 in a plan derivative of the Fatih Library. The grand vizier's monument is about twice as large as its precedent in its ground plan, but the Byzantinizing proportions of the older library were abandoned here for a more horizontal profile. Standing in the middle of a spacious garden, its appearance is remote from that of *parekklesia*, but it was chosen for a building of this size apparently because the configuration of a central book depository and study spaces around it was favored. The plan of the Fatih edifice was thus absorbed to later library building practice while its specific historical reference was blurred (fig. 4.44). But the employment of white marble columns rather than piers as the supports of the central dome strengthens the visible influence of the Fatih on the Râgıb Paşa. This

relationship is one of several instances of indebtedness of the design of a library to an earlier example within the highly variant repertoire of library architecture.

The Râgıb Paşa Library and the group of structures surrounding its garden were built in a plot on Istanbul's principal thoroughfare, the Divanyolu Street. The chronicler Hâkim notes that the vizier purchased some houses and properties on the site for the project.[125] The site is quite close to Sultan Mustafa III's Laleli Mosque Complex, also on the Divanyolu, whose construction began about two years before the library. This proximity may not be a particularly meaningful political gesture however; this segment of the Divanyolu developed with a number of other public edifices in the eighteenth century, and Râgıb Paşa clearly wished this most sizable Ottoman library building be a monument and focus on the capital's busy main road.

The building of the Râgıb Paşa Library approximates the size of many sixteenth-century vizier mosques in Istanbul. Its main hall is only slightly smaller than the Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Mosque in Kadırga (1571).[126] There is a primary school on the upper floor of the gate structure of the compound around this library (fig. 4.45). Two little rococo fountains that border the large trellis, which gives visual access to the paşa's and his daughter's mausolea in the garden from the street, and rented shops are placed on the ground floor of the primary school and on two sides of the trellis and fountains. The presence of the mausolea underlines the memorial function of this library building, which is one of the few that form the central piece of their compounds. There are two masonry dwellings for the librarians at the back corner of the garden. The physical correlation between the library and the primary school structures in this compound is reminiscent of the configuration of the mosque and the library in the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa complex which was

[125] Hâkim Efendi, ibid., p. 1068.
[126] The square hall of the library has the dimensions of about 14 x 14 meters, while the dimensions of the Sokollu Mehmed Paşa Mosque are roughly 13 x 18 meters.

built less than three decades before, as if between the planning of the two complexes the library virtually moved from a place at the fore as a gate structure to the central position.

The Râgıb Paşa Library has a square baldaquin at its entrance which is accessible through stairs on both sides since the edifice is elevated above a basement to avoid humidity. There is a vestibule the left half of which was arranged as the masjid of the library with a mihrab on the corner. Although inside another institution, this masjid was seen as important enough to be registered in Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî's encyclopedia of Istanbul's mosques that he completed in 1768, where it is called "The Masjid of the Library" (*Kütübhâne mescidi*).[127] The door of the main hall has an ablaq arch made of red and white marbles and features multiple inscriptions. One of them states the founder and the date in prose and in Arabic, while another one is a Turkish verse chronogram. A third is a long version of the basic formula of the Islamic creed that includes some attributes of God and of the Prophet in the *Kalima Shahada* (Statement of Testimony). A major embellishment of the interior of the hall is the lengthy inscription band that surrounds the whole space and is composed of passages from the thirteenth-century Arab poet al-Busiri's panegyric for Prophet Muhammad.[128] With its size and location, this band resembles the one in the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, which was probably its immediate predecessor. There are painted inscriptions of the names of Allah, Muhammad, the first four caliphs and the grandsons of the Prophet within medallions on the pendentives of the central dome. This feature reproduces the nearly standard element of the Sunni-Ottoman mosques' inscription program since the sixteenth century. The walls of the interior are covered with blue-and-white delftware tiles below the inscription band and above up to the level of the upper row of windows (fig. 4.46). In the

[127] Hafız Hüseyin Ayvansarayi, Ali Sâtı Efendi, Süleyman Besim Efendi, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi: İstanbul Câmileri ve Diğer Dini-Sivil Mimâri Yapılar*, ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (İstanbul, 2001), p. 242.
[128] İbrahim Mutlu, "Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi 200 Yaşında," *Türk Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni* XII/1-2 (1963): 1-15.

mid-to-late-eighteenth century, the Ottomans imported Dutch tiles in significant quantities and they were used in the Throne Room (*Hünkâr Sofası*) of the Harem in the Topkapı Palace during the reign of Osman III (1754-57), among other places.[129] The Râgıb Paşa is a main locus of delftware in Istanbul architecture, and the eight flowers-in-urn panels located near the corners of the walls (fig. 4.47) show a continuity of taste at a time when foreign elements were absorbed, since flowers in vases were commonly depicted in Ottoman tiles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and in marble reliefs in the early eighteenth. A royal order was sent to the *qadi* and voivode of Marmara Island for the facilitation of the transportation of the six large desks (*kebîr kürsi*) made in a workshop there for the Râgıb Paşa Library to the town's pier.[130] These lecterns, or desks, can be seen in the engraving scene of the library published in d'Ohsson's *Tableau General* in 1789 where readers sit on carpets (fig. 3.11). Eleven wooden pendants made of exquisitely carved letters are rare specimens and indeed among the most beautiful ornaments in the library. Each of them has six statements executed as high-profile calligraphic works. Some of these are Quranic verses; the others are certain invocations to God or some of God's Beautiful Names (fig. 4.48-4.49).[131] Early-twentieth-century poet Süleyman Nazif writes in an article that he published in 1924 to attract attention to this repository of valuable ancient books that the location of the Râgıb Paşa Library was not unknown to the majority of Istanbulites, but most of them showed little interest in the institution. He urges the removal of the modern, *alafranga* desks and chairs and the restoration of the original furnishing with carpets and old-style desks since the majority of the items in the collection would no longer be studied as sources of current

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[129] Deniz Mazlum, "Osmanlı Arşiv Belgeleri Işığında 18. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Mimarlığında Avrupa Kökenli Malzeme Kullanımı," in Frederic Hitzel (ed.) *14th International Congress of Turkish Art: Proceedings* (Ankara, 2013), pp. 503-507; Hans Theunissen, "Dutch Tiles in 18th-Century Ottoman Baroque-Rococo Interiors: Hünkâr Sofası and Hünkâr Hamamı," *Sanat Tarihi Dergisi* 18/2 (October, 2009): 71-135.

[130] Ahmet Kal'a (ed.), *İstanbul Ahkâm Defterleri; İstanbul'da Sosyal Hayat 2 (1755-1765)* (İstanbul, 1998), p. 260.

[131] See, Nermin Kırdar Kalyoncu, "Koca Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesindeki Ahşap Avizeler," *Türkiyemiz* 37 (June, 1982): 31-33.

knowledge but they had to be dignified basically with contemplation. He felt the need to emphasize the resemblance of this interior to a mosque or a mausoleum, to a sanctuary, thanks to the wooden pendants with sacred names and invocations, the tiles on the walls and the metal screens around the depository, which gave him the impression of the real resting place of the paşa's soul more than the mausoleum in the garden.[132]

Two later libraries in Istanbul resembled Râgıb Paşa's complex. The mudarris and high ranking judicial authority Murad Molla's library was built in 1775 within the confines of the Naqshbandiyya Order convent that he built in 1769.[133] This library is the first of a series of library buildings erected within Sufi order compounds in Istanbul. Its *waqfiyya* is lost, but the structure next to its garden entrance must have originally been a primary school. The library building itself in the Murad Molla closely repeats the plan and proportions of the Râgıb Paşa. It is a more modest version of the grand vizier's library built in a smaller scale. Only the vestibule with the masjid was discarded in the plan, and the central dome in the hall was probably initially marked the depository. But the hall lacks any ceramic tiles. The only inscription is Fıtnat Hanım's chronogram placed above the main door in the entrance baldaquin where she praises the concordance between Murad Molla's benevolent project and the name of his family that goes back to the seventeenth-century *şeyhülislam* Minkarî, that is, Minkarîzâde Yahya Efendi.[134] Where applicable, emphasis on one's lineage was a common component of the celebrations of intellectual caliber.

Selim Ağa's library opened in 1782 in the center of Üsküdar, Istanbul's principal faubourg across the Bosphorus, is independent from any other compound and in fact is the center

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[132] Süleyman Nazif, "Râgıb Paşa Kütübhânesi," *Servet-i Fünûn* 1-1475 (20 November 1340 [1924]), pp. 3-5.
[133] Muzaffer Gökman, *Murat Molla: Hayatı, Kütüphanesi ve Eserleri* (İstanbul, 1943), p. 9.
[134] Fıtnat Hanım, *Dîvan-ı Fıtnat* (İstanbul, 1286 [1869]), pp. 50-51.

of a little complex itself, and therefore shares this prominent characteristic of the Râgıb Paşa Library. The second main component here was once again a primary school, which seems to have become a normal supplement to a library by that time. This school stood to the right of the library's low street wall before it was replaced by a modern primary school building in the 1940s. The library was conceived to be an attraction at the center of the town, near the market area. Selim Ağa was a freed slave of *Reisülküttâb* Mustafa Efendi that the latter had bought in Iran and the second of the three library founders from this household before the *reis efendi*'s son Âşir Efendi. Within a secretarial career, he served as the manager of royal kitchens (*matbah emîni*) before he built the library, and later he was appointed as the manager of shipyards. The nineteenth-century historian Cevdet Paşa remarks, however, that he was a very influential figure in the Mustafa III administration and, together with his son who was married to a princess, held a power that exceeded his official rank. Cevdet Paşa writes that it was probably because of his stance against the then-prince Selim III in court struggles of the 1780s that when he ascended the throne the latter executed Selim Ağa in 1789 by using an affair in the shipyards as a pretext.[135] He is buried in the garden of the library. His *waqfiyya* likens him to a "title in the register of the people of learning" (*serlevha-yı defter-i erbâb-ı dâniş*) and calls him unique in perceptivity.[136] A line of the verse inscription above the garden entrance, which was signed by the prominent calligrapher of the period Mehmed Esad Yesâri, claims that Selim Ağa's merits were ornaments of the speeches (*zîver-i efvâh*). This library is one of those whose design recalls a mosque. Its main room is covered with a single dome and preceded by an arcade of three openings and eaves supported by cantilevers (fig. 4.50). But the most interesting feature of the plan is the book depository. The latter is separate and at the back of the main room, hence the library combines

[135] Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Tarih-i Cevdet: Birinci Cild* (İstanbul, 1972), pp. 370-376; Nimet Bayraktar, "Üsküdar Kütüphaneleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* XVI (1982): 47-48.
[136] *Hacı Selim Ağa Vakıfnâmesi*, Süleymaniye Library, Fotokopi Arşivi, 21, p. 4a.

the separate depository idea with the neighborhood mosque image. However, unlike the earlier examples where a doorway gives access to depositories, here a large arch wider than two thirds of the wall separates the two spaces (fig. 4.51). The depository room that stands today has a late nineteenth-century vault and windows. But it is likely that the original plan of the library was essentially the same. If so, this organization was most probably a playful gesture that referred to the unusual plan of the Şemsi Paşa Mosque and Mausoleum (1580) on Üsküdar's Bosphorus shore. Sinan placed the paşa's mausoleum adjacent to the mosque and gave visual access to it from inside the mosque through a large arch (fig. 4.52). With some precedents in pre-Ottoman architecture of Anatolia, this arrangement is the only case in Ottoman architecture and creates a unique volumetric relationship between the two rooms. The designers of the Selim Ağa Library might have wished to visually recall this unusual old landmark of the town in the new library of Üsküdar and thus given yet another example of the tendency for making puns in library architecture.

Another chief steward of the mother sultana, *Kethüdâ* Said Mehmed Efendi built a "single-door" library in 1788 in the garden of the fifteenth-century Dülgerzâde Mosque,[137] which is in the middle and close vicinity of the Amcazâde Hüseyin Paşa and the Feyzullah Efendi madrasas. This building disappeared before 1940.[138]

There would be little argument against the retrospective view that the Râgıb Paşa Library is a climax of the Ottoman library foundation trend. But it might have been widely perceived as thus in the eighteenth century as well. In fact, it is highly probable that Râgıb Paşa planned his institution to acquire precisely the status of an apex and leave in this way an enduring monument of his reputation as an eminent personage among Ottoman intellectuals.

[137] İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), p. 252.
[138] Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no. 13317.

Jacob Jonas Björnståhl, a Swedish professor of oriental languages, describes the Râgıb Paşa Library in a letter he sent to the royal librarian in Stockholm in 1778. It held manuscript books in all fields, and was frequented by Muslims. It served Europeans as well. However, its furnishings in the manner of this country were found to be very uncomfortable by the Europeans. The books were in good order; there was a catalogue and a librarian who provided efficient assistance to all.[139] Toderini criticizes the French diplomat François Baron de Tott, who indeed lived for eight years in the Ottoman Empire between 1755 and 1763, for referring to the Râgıb Paşa in his memoirs as the first library opened in Istanbul. Toderini is among the admirers of Râgıb Paşa's intellectual talents and hails him as a friend of the sciences and a man of letters. He gives information about the contents of the vizier's compilation of religious, ethical and philosophical writings *Sefînetü'r-Râgıb* (Râgıb's Vessel) and praises his commission of an abridged Turkish translation of J. P. du Halde's history of the Chinese Empire from an Istanbulite Christian a copy of which he saw in the hands of the translator's son. The librarian he talked to in the Râgıb Paşa was very polite and showed him the catalogue and some of the rare manuscripts. When he visited this library an afternoon in May there were seven Turks reading books and two others copying.[140]

Râgıb Paşa was a vizier who is distinguished by the frequency of references to his intellectual brilliance in the poetry that celebrates him. Sultan Mustafa III himself commemorated his appointment to the grand vizierate with the words "Râgıb has become my vizier / Good tidings to all men of knowledge."[141] Haşmet, a mudarris and a protégé of Râgıb Paşa, wrote in his eulogy, "The trace of his fresh reed pen is a black light of learned

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[139] *L'esprit des journaux, François et étrangers, par une société de gens-de-lettres* (Paris, 1781), pp. 210-211.
[140] Toderini, ibid., pp. 117-124.
[141] "Vezîrim Râgıb oldu / Müjdeler erbâb-ı irfâna." Râmiz, *Râmiz ve* Âdâb-ı Zurafâ'*sı*, ed. Sadık Erdem (Ankara, 1994), p. 113.

comprehension / [...] / Leading thinkers are enamored of the beauty of his learning / [...] / Like the Moon, we are obtaining perfection from his splendor."[142] Nevres, in turn, called him a "preponderant legislator of the realm/empire of learning" (*Nâfizü'l-ahkâm-ı dârü'l-mülk-i irfân*).[143] Nevres also composed a chronogram for the library where he compares its windows to the gate of the *Lawh al-Mahfuz*, the Preserved Tablet in God's possession that contains the complete knowledge of past and future, and the library's gate to the elevated ninth sky.[144] This couplet reflects at once the common ideal of all-encompassing scope for libraries – in fact, for learning in general – in this period and the important tendency to associate the library experience with the sublime. The Râgıb Paşa is a library that elicited an exceptionally high number of commemorations from the poets of the time. One of the couplets in *Şeyhülislam* Yahya Tevfik Efendi's composition comments on the paşa's charity with the words, "By pouring a silver channel from his cistern of virtue / He turned the gardens of learning fresh and ever-blossoming throughout."[145] The "silver channel" that represents the library in the first line is obviously an allusion to the *Cedvel-i Sîm*, which was constructed in 1721 by reforming a portion of the Kağıthane River near the Golden Horn. This channel served as the backbone of the assemblage of the royal Sa'dâbâd Palace, dignitaries' mansions and a major public recreation area around it.

The chronogram written by a poet called Lebîb and included in Ayvansarâyî's compilation (completed in 1786) calls the library a mine for the community of sharp/solid comprehension (*erbâb-ı itkâna*). His following couplet expresses a strong emphasis on the

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[142] "Eser-i kilk-i teri nûr-ı siyâh-ı irfân / [...] / Şâhid-i ilmine dil-dâde fuhûl-ı ulemâ / [...] / Meh gibi kesb-i kemâl etmedeyiz nûrundan" *Haşmet Külliyatı*, eds. Mehmet Arslan and İ. Hakkı Aksoyak (Sivas, 1994), pp. 131-132.
[143] *Nevres-i Kadîm ve Türkçe Dîvanı: İnceleme, Tenkidli Metin ve Tıpkıbasım*, ed. Hüseyin Akkaya (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), p. 121.
[144] Ibid., p. 163.
[145] "İdüp âbişhor-ı fazlından icrâ cedvel-i sîmîn / Ter ü her dem bahâr itdi riyâz-ı ilmi sertâpâ." Nazmi Özerol, *Şeyhülislam Yahya Tevfik Efendi ve Türkçe Şiirleri*, unpublished thesis, İnönü University, Malatya, 2010, p. 211.

association of the public library institution with the ideal of salvaging, standardizing and embracing the broadest knowledge:

> A firm headband, it collated the world-as-book
> That remained disheveled in the hands of the unskilled.[146]

These lines highlight the desire to approximate the true knowledge and the great expectations from the library in this exploration by comparing the world and the whole corpus of the written knowledge of it to a grand but disjointed and confusing book, and the Râgıb Paşa to its novel headband.

The second of the two known anonymous watchmen's ballads of the period that applaud libraries was sung for the Râgıb Paşa. Greeted thus as an urban landmark, the library is praised here in the simple language of the ballad for its excellent and peerless design and the charming colors of its ornaments. The fountains and the school are also mentioned, and a candy store among the shops in front of the library and its juices in various colors are celebrated in two of the nine quatrains. The second one reads "Its various juices / In crystal bowls each / They bestow delight when looked at / You shall contemplate them."[147] Although the result of a coincidence, this cheerful piece shows that the most monumental of the libraries, not unlike the models paraded in festivals, was once associated with colorful sugar confections in popular culture.

Râgıb Paşa's endowment deed is the premier among the library *waqfiyya*s that go beyond the highly standardized outline of the regulations in these legal documents and include important remarks about the founder, the institution and his objectives. In other words, the grand vizier

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[146] "Kitâb-ı âleme şirâze-bend-i intizâm oldu / Bedest-i nâsezâ dönmüştü evrâk-ı perîşâna." Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansarayi, *Mecmua-i Tevarih* (İstanbul, 1985), p. 294.
[147] "Gûne gûne şerbetleri / Billûr kâsede her biri / Bakdıkça safâ bahş ider / Eyle temâşâ anları." Müjgân Cumbur, ibid., p. 11.

wanted to have an expressive quality, somewhat echoing the prose essays in some of the sultanic mosques' *waqfiyya*s, in the foundation document of his library. After the comparison of the creation of the skies' and the universe to the fabrication of a scroll of wisdom and inscription of texts and exegeses on it in the section where God is praised, the *waqfiyya* points at two kinds of blessings that God bestows from His treasury "according to the person's condition." Men are either elevated in dignity with authoring scholarly books or made renowned through construction of sanctuaries for the sake of God.[148] This duality obviously alludes here to the unity of two blessings, knowledge and authorship and the construction of an eminent memorial for a noble cause, in Râgıb Paşa's personality and his monument. This statement can also be interpreted as a reflection of the assumed kinship between the library and sacred space. Later in the text is a more explicit self-congratulation. Râgıb Paşa was a Nizam al-Mulk, a counterpart of the eleventh-century Seljuk scholar-vizier, but a "Nizam al-Mulk of the sultanate of the virtues of learning" as well as the vizier of the Ottoman State.[149] In the *waqfiyya*'s words, devising elegant/wonderful (*turfe-esâlib*) solutions to problems was always engraved in the paşa's mind, and he built the library because he was preoccupied with the concern that the advancement efforts of the seekers of learning will face a decline as the headband of the fascicles of the book of Existence and Space will unfasten in the hands of impermanence and the regularity and connections of its sheets will be wasted in disasters.[150] This is an interesting Ottoman verbalization of the ideology of book collecting and public library foundation in the eighteenth century. It presents a definition of the library basically as a "memory space" aimed to stand as a safe repository of contemplations about the world. An affinity can be seen between Kâtip Çelebi's grand

[148] "Ragıp Paşa Kütüphanesi Vakfiyesi," p. 66.
[149] Ibid., p. 67.
[150] Ibid.

bibliographical enterprise in the previous century and this definition of the library.[151] Lebîb's lines were most probably inspired by this presentation of the paşa's motivation in the *waqfiyya*. The *waqfiyya* adds that the library was intended to express gratitude for the insights/exuberances (*füyûzât*) that God generously bestowed upon the paşa.[152]

In the passage of the *waqfiyya* where the endowment of the buildings and the attached estates are stated in the first person singular and according to the legal requirement, the library itself is referred to again with a loaded phrase which is unique to this document. Combining the powerful concept of *feyz* which denotes an overflowing experience of advancement in learning with the notion of a "nest," the paşa calls the building "a library, a nest of insight/exuberance" (*kütübhâne-i feyz-âşiyâne*).[153] While "exuberance" highlights the uplifting element, the selection of the "nest" analogy reflects the association of studying books with peaceful retreats even when it happens in a public library. The phrase captures the general image of a library as a superb small thing.

The Persian couplet inscribed above the door inside the main hall of the Râgıb Paşa is an ingenious celebration of the culture that developed around Ottoman public libraries. (fig. 4.53) It was most probably composed by the grand vizier himself. Utilizing the common techniques of personification and metaphor, it achieves an original effect:

> Like books we are, not uttering trivial words,
> Unless comes a friend with whom to converse, we do not open up.[154]

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[151] Roger Chartier makes a similar point about the aspirations of the early modern bibliographies and libraries in western Europe. See, R. Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe between the Fifteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, tr. Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford, Cal., 1994).
[152] Ibid.
[153] Ibid., p. 68.
[154] ماچون کتاب بیهوده کویا نمیشویم * تا همدمی بما نرسد وا نمیشویم

In the motif of "opening up," the couplet personifies the library, which speaks here in majestic plural, perhaps on behalf of all libraries. But with the help of polysemy, the expression also equates the library with the community of its frequenters. This community was an exclusive one, composed of people equipped with select qualities in their relationship to learning and who sought the company of worthy peers. This is an instance where the exceptional refinement of the social actors of the library culture and the value of knowledge itself are simultaneously emphasized. This secular celebration of the culture around libraries was constructed with reference to the friendly exchanges between erudite individuals in the old tradition of learned conversations, which were always essential to the transmission of knowledge but were substituted and regenerated remarkably by libraries with the rise of these institutions.

# CHAPTER 5

## PERCEPTIVITY OF MIND, ILLUMINATION OF EYES, AND OTHER REWARDS OF LIBRARIES

One of the oldest manuscript catalogues of the Hagia Sophia Library, which was probably composed circa 1740, has an anonymous but elegant preface in Turkish. (Fig. 5.1) It announces that the library was founded to make the community of the well-versed in explication (*erbâb-ı ifâde*) whose hearts were thirsty for sciences guided to take a share from the sweet water that flows from the life-giving spring of sciences.[1] The phrase *erbâb-ı ifâde* which here designates the intended audience of the library is a typical manifestation of the fundamental importance of fluent and sophisticated verbal expression in the Ottoman understanding of cultivation, study and erudition in the century of libraries. The text also compares the library structure, which was gracefully built and in a manner that settles in the heart (*dilnişîn*), to a fountain of the spring of eternal life and to a school of learned comprehension (*mekteb-i irfân*). These are clear puns that allude to the new lavish ablution fountain and the primary school built in the foregarden of the Hagia Sophia by Mahmud I around the same time as the library.[2] The characterization of the library as an *irfân* school precedes the use of the same phrase about the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library in that founder's biography written by his son, which was noted in Chapter 1.

The preface in one of the manuscript catalogues of the Nuruosmaniye Library, which was written between 1768 and 1770, is interesting with its evaluation of the nature and wisdom of libraries in general. This catalogue was prepared after an inspection was made by the librarians

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[1] *Ayasofya Fihrist* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Fihrist, 25/1, f. 1b.

[2] Ibid. Mahmud I also built a public kitchen for the poor within the compound of Hagia Sophia in the same years, in 1743. That the kitchen is not made an element of this pun may be either because the catalogue preface was written before the kitchen was built or because it was not seen appropriate to compare the sophisticted benefits of the library with sharing and distribution of food.

with the supervision of the trustees of the *waqf*, a paşa and the *şeyhülislam*. The preface written in Arabic and in rhymed prose was composed by the chief librarian of the Nuruosmaniye, Siyâhîzâde Ali Efendi. Using an economic analogy, the preface first calls books warehouses (مدخرات) of *ulemâ* and the noblest assets (اعز امتعة) of people equipped with Islamic *adab*. Then contents of books, the basic fields of knowledge, are enumerated. Interpretations of divine verses and hadiths were transmitted through books, and jurisprudential consensus was found with them. Sophisticated logic-dialectic was learned from books. The forms that geometricians dealt with were laid out in them. For this reason, sultans (though in reality not only sultans) gave dignity to the deed of bringing together books in buildings where nobles and commoners had access to them. These places were stations/bases (مواقف) where thinkers' intentions in addressing different issues and the sources of origins from which ideas arose were elucidated. In these words, the librarian gives a powerful definition of his ideal of libraries as the loci of advanced inquiries into the layers and procedures of scholarly endeavor. Pursuing advanced inquiries beyond the ordinary programs of madrasas and palace schools must have been a major facet of the common identity of libraries. The number that the library buildings reached by the time Siyâhîzâde penned the preface allowed him to call them a generic type of "station." He then calls them "wall niches of torches of various sciences and places of dawn of anticipated lights."[3]

The present chapter collects instances of different roles given to the idea of the library in Ottoman discourses on intellectual refinement of individuals and on collective advancement in learning in the eighteenth century. With this, it aims to depict the tools and important emphases of the language in which these agendas were articulated. The rewards of books, their intellectual

[3] *Nuruosmaniye Fihrist* MS, Nuruosmaniye Library: Nuruosmaniye Fihrist 2, f. 2b. The preface is dated here to between 1768 and 1770, because the text gives the name of the *şeyhülislam* who participated in the inspection as Osman Molla Efendi, and the only Ottoman *şeyhülislam* with the name Osman was Pîrizâde Osman Sâhib Efendi who held the post between these years.

worth and aesthetic qualities, and the virtue of making clever selections among them were essential constituents of Ottoman ideals of sophistication in this period.

**Eloquence as the Standard of Civilization**

Süleyman Penâh Efendi was the author of an enthusiastic social and political commentary in the form of a journal, which he completed in 1778. Penâh Efendi was a member of the group of high ranking bureaucrats called the "Secretaries of the Imperial Council" (*Hâcegân-ı Dîvan-ı Hümâyûn*), which included the chief secretaries of the financial, diplomatic and military offices and the managers of major state economic enterprises. He maintains in his journal that the effort to establish madrasas and libraries was hitherto largely confined to the capital city where they were now more numerous than necessary. He recommends that the benevolent direct their efforts towards establishing these institutions in other towns of the Protected Domains to make those places embellished (*arâste*) with sciences.[4] That a contemporary saw an intensification of libraries in the capital around that date is noteworthy in itself. But, Penâh Efendi's journal, which reflects the concerns of an energetic and patriotic Ottoman bureaucrat, provides further clues about the cultural code in which knowledge was valued during the period of the rapid proliferation of libraries. It survived in a single, perhaps autograph, copy.[5] It probably did not circulate much; nevertheless, it documents ideas available in the highest echelons of bureaucracy and voiced by the father of Yusuf Âgâh Efendi, the first Ottoman resident ambassador to London. With his fervent *mission civilizatrice* project and his forceful attack on conspicuous consumption as a major social ill, Penâh Efendi's treatise appears as a key to the elite perceptions of knowledge and *adab* in this period. His text reflects the significance of *adab* as a

[4] Süleyman Penâh Efendi, "Mora İhtilâli Tarihçesi veya Penâh Efendi Mecmuası," ed. Aziz Berker, *Tarih Vesikaları* II/7-12 (1942), p. 479. İsmail E. Erünsal, *Osmanlı Vakıf Kütüphaneleri* (Ankara, 2008), p. 259, f. 1382.
[5] Millet Kütüphanesi: Ali Emiri Efendi, 677/1737.

social ideal even within a discourse which points at technical and productivity leaps among its prime objectives and largely favors the central state, almost as a forerunner of the reforms of the next century.

Râmiz's dictionary of poets characterizes him, alluding to his sobriquet, as a "refuge/support [*penâh*] of cultivation" (*maârif-penâh*) and commanding beautiful expressions in verse and prose.[6] A primary stimulus for the composition of the journal was the Greek uprising in Morea (Peloponnese) 1770 that Penâh Efendi witnessed on site as a secretary during the Russian-Ottoman War of 1768-1774. After narrating the course of these events, the rest of the journal is devoted to lengthier sections on his views of the problems and possible solutions to state finances, foreign trade, production and towns, different branches of state administration and, not least, the various ways in which sciences and erudition would spur Ottoman rejuvenation. His treatise is both akin to old advice literature and an important example of reform proposals written by statesmen which grew in number in the eighteenth century.

Penâh Efendi articulates a concern about the region's state of savagery in which, he claims, the Albanians of Epirus and Morea lived. The Ottomans never planned to bring these Albanians to order, thus they remained a savage (*vahşî*) race, which lived isolated from the rest of the empire and was ignorant of commerce and arts. Near absence of contact with the Ottomans left them devoid of *adab* and rules of conduct;[7] they were not different from American tribes.[8] Interestingly, in Penâh Efendi's eyes, the Albanian language was a main impediment. Albanian was a brutal (*serd*) language which displayed rudeness even when a compliment was made. Albanians were living "devoid of the delight of effective/potent conversations" (*es-sohbet-*

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[6] *Râmiz ve* Âdab-ı Zurafâ'*sı*, ed. Sadık Erdem (Ankara, 1994), p. 42.
[7] Süleyman Penâh Efendi, *ibid.*, pp. 239-240.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

*i müessire lezzetinden mahrumlardır*) due to their distance from the Turkish language (*Türkî lisânı*).[9] A conspicuous sign of their civilizational defects was their inability to keep the subjects of conversations in mind and relate them an hour later.[10] Had all the peoples of the world been like them, geometry, astronomy, the compass, gunpowder and the multiplication of books with printing would remain unknown.[11] The author suggests the settlement of men and women competent in the arts in the Albanian regions to bring improvements,[12] but he underlines the project of linguistic transformation more as it was strongly linked to the natives' education (*terbiye*) and reform of their morals (*ahlâk*). An uneducated demeanor was predominant among them basically because they were unable to learn "perceptivity and learned comprehension" (*ferâset ve irfân*) in the refined circles of the Turkish language.[13] At this juncture, and with a twist surprising for his time, Penâh Efendi suggests the gradual imposition of Turkish on Albanians. Such a policy should not be considered a mere plaything/trifle (*mel'abe*).[14] The fact that refinement of mind in the direction of sharper perceptivity and comprehension thanks to learning and exposure to learned conversations is the foremost measure of civilization in Penâh Efendi's thinking is typical for the Ottoman eighteenth century.

Public education in the Ottoman center was another of Penâh Efendi's concerns. He proclaims his belief that rare technologies of the Globe would flourish in Istanbul if necessary protection was provided. He was an advocate especially of the promotion of geographical knowledge through the publication and dissemination of new books.[15] He suggests the publication of official regulations in print and in a language free of jargon by referring to

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 309.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 310.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 309.
[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 309-310.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 473-474.

newspapers (*havâdisnâmeler*), "playthings" (*mel'abeler*) that were used to educate commoners in the West.[16] Philosophical and intellectual cultivation had to be the main prerequisites in the selection of provincial governors who had to be competent in diverse fields.[17] In addition, the group of high-ranking secretaries of the central administration, *Hâcegân*, was as a fundamental factor of the conditions of the empire. It was essential for the *Hâcegân* to be knowledgable and virtuous, possessors of culture (*erbâb-ı maârif*) familiar with philosophical questions (*hikmet-âşinâ*)[18] since this group formed "the foundation of [all] states" everywhere.[19]

Macro-economy and especially import substitution objectives occupy a major place in Penâh Efendi's agenda. But his stormy criticism of growing luxury consumption was fueled by concerns that went beyond the state treasury and national wealth and to the danger of a widespread moral corruption, even of collapse. Thus, his passionate embrace of measures to develop the social foundations of erudition and his anxiety about conspicuous consumption form a principle binary of the system of his social commentary. In the same decade of the 1770s, the chronicler Şemdânîzâde not only expressed a similar concern about loss of wealth to foreigners due to importation of luxury textiles,[20] but also a clear enmity towards certain individuals who could quickly amass expensive foreign items, build houses that surpassed their social superiors, and made unabashed displays especially of attire.[21] Penâh Efendi wished to see the development of local industries that would compete with European porcelains and Indian textiles, but he also criticizes the spreading desire for these items as utter tastelessness and even stupidity. Fans of

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[16] *Ibid.*, p. 232.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 231.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 400.
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 473.
[20] Şem'danîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Müri't-Tevârih* II, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul, 1976), p. 70.
[21] Ibid., p.55; p. 61; p. 67. Tülay Artan used Penâh Efendi as one of her sources of the consumption culture in Istanbul. Tülay Artan, "18th-century Ottoman Princesses as Collectors: Chinese and European Porcelains in the Topkapı Palace Museum" *Ars Orientalis (Globalizing Cultures: Art and Mobility in the Eighteenth Century)* vol. 39 (2011): 113-146.

vastly expensive Indian cloth were apparently merely competing to make others see what they were wearing.[22] He locates this craze for flamboyance in clothes, so superfluous to common Ottoman dignity, to the previous "forty or fifty years."[23] What he thus points at is much of the eighteenth century, the period when the library trend was at its most intense. Grandees' servants were spending their accumulations fort he cloth craze. Superfluous expenses of this kind were paving the way for a profound social crisis: since the majority would never be able to afford these luxuries, this consumption would doubtlessly be confined to oppressors and thus "the world/people would tear the curtain of *adab* and there would remain nothing they would not perpetrate."[24] The dangers of flamboyance in consumption is the last issue Penâh Efendi discusses in the treatise, followed only by the suggestion to establish madrasas and libraries outside the capital, "as far as the Albanian regions" (*bilâd-ı Arnabudâna varınca*).[25]

**Distinctions Drawn Through Books**

A century before Penâh Efendi, Evliya Çelebi's *Book of Travels* presents interesting anecdotes in which the appreciation of books and libraries offer crucial markers of civilizational levels of social groups and peoples. His report of the battle between the forces of the Ottoman central government and the autonomous amir of Bitlis, Abdâl Han, and its aftermath in 1638 is a frequently cited source on the history of the region in the seventeenth century. This was the most learned dynasty in Kurdistan; Abdâl Han and his sons were intellectual men who impressed Evliya in this respect. He was made the superintendent of the amir's treasury after he lost the battle, and Evliya gives a partial inventory of the books that formed the amir's library, which he strongly admired. In addition to the illustrated and illuminated Islamic books and beautiful

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 478-479.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 475.
[24] "...âlem perde-i edebi yırtub itmeyecakları kalmaz." *Ibid.*, p. 475.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 479.

calligraphic works, he found several illustrated European printed books in the collection. He exclaims that it was a "unique spectacle" (*özge temâşâdır bu*) to contemplate them, and describes with wonder and acclamation the maps and especially the images in the books on botanics, anatomy and medicine. But the collection was soon auctioned off, and Evliya then describes his feeling between regret and terror in front of the scene where the beautiful books of all kinds were ruined in the hands of the populace of Bitlis. He calls those Kurds and Turks twice in a few lines "vermin" (*haşerât*) for they touched all the calligraphies and pictures and browsed all the pages of the books they were utterly unable to appreciate.[26]

Evliya's passage about his visit to the library in the St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna in 1665 as a member of an embassy corps illustrates this Ottoman gentleman's vision of the relative conditions of Muslims and the European Christians in matters of learning and books. The passage was clearly planned to carry a symbolic import. Evliya's portrayal of Vienna famously has an admiring tone. He praises the techniques of the surgeons enthusiastically, and celebrates European automata with a fabricated anecdote narrated a little before the description of the cathedral. The cathedral and especially its stained glass windows which made the church "an illumined mountain" (*bir münevver dağ*) were wonderful art works. The library of the church had numerous reputable books written in the languages of all the peoples of the world. It was a "magnificent library necessary to behold."[27] In no other land could a similar assemblage of rewarding books be found. In the Mosque of Sultan Faraj in Cairo and in the Fatih Mosque, in the Süleymaniye and in the Bayezid and Yeni Cami mosques in Istanbul there were books numbers of which only God knew, but this St Stephen's in Vienna had a more voluminous collection; it had numerous illustrated books in all the languages in the infidel script treating

[26] *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi* vol. IV (İstanbul, 1996), p. 155.
[27] *Ibid.* vol. 7, p. 103.

anatomy, geography and astronomy. Illustrated books were absent in the Ottoman equivalents however, since pictures were deemed sinful. The satisfaction of Evliya's senses of sight and smell inside the library was a reason for his delight. With the permission of the head priest he entered the library and as he contemplated it the beautiful fragrance perfumed his brain/senses (*dimâğım mu'attar etdi*).[28] At that point, he contrasts the physical preservation of this collection regularly cleaned by a team of workers with the conditions of a mosque library he saw in Alexandria. The books in the latter were damaged by rain that fell through the unrepaired roof and the mosque's congregation paid little attention.[29] The basic contention of this passage accords with other Ottoman intellectuals like Kâtip Çelebi's observations on the poverty of contemporary scientific production in Muslim world in comparison to the Christians of Western Europe.[30] Evliya's choice of libraries as a symbol of the two civilizations' enthusiasm in intellectual life can be viewed as a precursor of the Ottoman library movement of the following period. It indicates how libraries could be encoded with a measure of cultural vigour, and points at the Ottoman consciousness about the European advancement in this domain.

An encounter with an unrefined sovereign, however, lent itself to assertions of confidence about the sophistication of the Ottoman elite. The Persian political center was briefly controlled by Afghans in the 1720s, and in the report of his embassy to this court in 1728-29, Râşid Mehmed Efendi ridicules Afghan Shah Ashraf as he narrates how the shah expressed his wondering admiration about the ambassador's mannered speech and behaviour. Râşid, originally

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[28] *Ibid.*
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] See, Gottfried Hagen, "Afterword: Ottoman Understandings of the World in the Seventeenth Century" in Robert Dankoff, *An Ottoman Mentality: The World of Evliya Çelebi* (Leiden, 2006), pp. 215-256.

a madrasa professor, told the shah that he was actually just an inferior representative of the "community of the cultured" (*erbâb-ı maârif*) at the Ottoman center.[31]

In the report of his embassy to France in 1807, where he also narrates his observations about Austria and Poland where he passed through, Mehmed Emin Vahîd Efendi gives a detailed architectural description of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna as well as information about some Islamic books in the collection and interesting scientific tools in the library.[32] In his section on Warsaw, he emphasizes how the transfer of the great collection of the city's library to St Petersburg in the time of the former empress Catherine was recounted with sorrow by the people of the city.[33] Vahîd Efendi built a small library next to the Great Mosque in the town of Kütahya in Anatolia in 1811.

Sultan Mahmud I was exalted in Suyolcuzâde Mehmed Necîb Efendi's biographical dictionary of calligraphers as the most erudite Ottoman sovereign, three years before he built the first of his four public libraries. *Devhatü'l-Küttâb* (Grand Tree of Scribes), which Suyolcuzâde completed in 1737, asserts that, "as investigations would prove," many of the former sultans from the House of Osman possessed *irfân*, but Mahmud I was evidently beyond all his ancestors with his stronger equipment of *maârif*.[34] This latter concept, which is derived from the same root as *irfân* in Arabic and can be translated as "profundity" as well as "education" or "culture" or "cultivation," appears frequently in eighteenth-century sources on cultured persons and circles. Suyolcuzâde's dictionary documents the importance of cultured conversation in public life as

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[31] Râşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizâde İsmâil Âsım Efendi, *Târih-i Râşid ve Zeyli*, eds. Abdülkadir Özcan et al. (İstanbul, 2013), pp. 1260-1262.
[32] Mütercim Ahmed Âsım Efendi, *Âsım Efendi Tarihi*, vol. 1, ed. Ziya Yılmazer (İstanbul, 2015), p. 974. The whole text of Vahîd Efendi's embassy report was included in Âsım Efendi's chronicle. See, ibid., pp. 962-1029.
[33] Ibid., p. 986.
[34] Suyolcuzâde Necîb Efendi, *Devhatü'l-Küttab*, ed. Ayşe Peyman Yaman, unpublished thesis, Marmara University, 2003, p. 42.

many of his figures are promoted as attendees of the assemblies of the "culture-informed" (*maârif-âşinâyân*) or as an "ornament (*pîrâye*) of assemblies of adibs and the lucid-speaking."[35] He calls houses of certain individuals *irfân* schools (*mekteb-i irfân*),[36] because of the assemblies they hosted or perhaps the number of pupils they tutored in certain fields of study or in the arts. This usage of the phrase is likely to be older than the eighteenth century and hence older than the characterization of two libraries in contemporary sources, where it denotes a more individualized setting of learning.

Among the important biographical sources of the eighteenth century is a new invention, a series of dictionaries written about the grand viziers. The initial portion of this corpus was composed by the mudarris Osmanzâde Tâib Efendi around 1720. His *Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ* (Garden of Viziers) covers the grand viziers who had been in the office from the inception of the Ottoman State until 1703. Dilâverağazâde Ömer Vahîd Efendi, a secretary of the Imperial Council who was once appointed as the *reisülküttâb*, wrote the biographies in the first addendum to the dictionary, completed in 1748. This was followed by the addendum of another state functionary, Şehrîzâde Mehmed Said Efendi, whose life is little known, in the 1750s. Bureaucrats addenda until the late nineteenth century.[37] These statesmen's biographies stand as significant works of historical writing and political commentary, and they have survived in several manuscript copies in historic libraries. Şehrîzâde was in fact a prolific writer of history and advice literature and thus exemplifies the popularization of research and writing in these genres in the eighteenth century. These authors' interpretations of the viziers' political decisions and evaluations of their personal traits are far from standardized clichés and not necessarily always laudatory. They are

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 151.
[36] *Ibid.*, p. 188; p. 120.
[37] *Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ ve Zeylleri*, ed. Mehmet Arslan (İstanbul, 2013).

in fact frequently the contrary. Osmanzâde Tâib based his dictionary largely on his research in older historical sources, but Vahîd Efendi and Şehrîzâde were contemporary witnesses of the grand viziers they discussed. They seem to have aimed to minutely account for the character differences of these statesmen, as they chose calculated gradations of a rich variety of attributes. Evaluations about their learning and cultural competence have important roles in the descriptions of the eighteenth-century viziers. "Aristo-like apprehensive" (*Aristû-rü'yet*) Şehid Ali Paşa[38] and "Plato-like circumspect" (*Felâtûn-reviyyet*) Damad İbrahim Paşa, who favored the company of scholars and talented artists of poetry and prose, calligraphy and music,[39] are certainly Vahîd Efendi's heroes whom he celebrates most enthusiastically. Şehid Ali Paşa's predecessor Hâce İbrahim Paşa, however, was a person whose demeanor was strange and who spoke in the taste of commoners (*avâm-fîrîb*), but nevertheless a brave vizier who was victorious over the enemy.[40] According to Şehrîzâde, Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa had a philosopher's insight (*feylesof-fitnat*) and was exemplary/ideal in perceptivity (*ferâsette ehl-i ibret*),[41] whereas his successor İsmail Paşa was, by contrast, a grand tyrant and at the same time an "ignoramus type" (*kara câhil makûlesi*).[42]

Another unlettered vizier of the period, Seyyid Hasan Paşa, is a subject of derision in Şemdânîzâde's chronicle. He writes that this grand vizier of janissary upbringing was *ümmî*, alien to the practices of reading and writing, and hence he made vocabulary mistakes (*galat*) in speech so frequently that he was famously known as Galatat (*galat*'s plural) Hasan Paşa.[43] In his dictionary, Şehrîzâde writes of the same vizier that he was naive by disposition and a champion

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 174.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 180.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 206.
[42] *Ibid.*, p. 208.
[43] Şem'danîzâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, *Müri't-Tevârih* I, ed. M. Münir Aktepe (İstanbul, 1976), p. 125.

of fidelity, that he showed no hypocrisy and had no visible failing other than his ignorance.[44] This Hasan Paşa actually built a beautiful edifice in Istanbul consisting of a madrasa, sabil, fountain and a primary school in 1745. This compound is one of the most elegant educational facilities built by grand viziers of the eighteenth century, but it does not have a library in its program although it was built right in the middle of the acceleration of the library building trend in the capital. This absence is without doubt due to the paşa's distance from the habit of reading and writing. Obviously he did not have an interesting book collection of his own, and he did not purchase a group of books from the market with a budget much smaller than the one spent for the building to found a library either. Library foundation was in the prerogative of bibliophiles, and Hasan Paşa did not attempt to steal a role in this public gesture.

Ahmed Resmî Efendi, another secretary of the Imperial Council and an important eighteenth-century diplomat, participated in the proliferation of Ottoman biography writing in this century by penning an equivalent of *Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ* for the *reisülküttâb*s,[45] and a biographical dictionary for the aghas of the Topkapı Palace, in the 1740s and 1750s. The former dictionary is celebrated in Râmiz's entry for Ahmed Resmî in his dictionary of poets as an object of admiration of all the intellectuals (*magbût-ı dânişverân-ı âlem*).[46] Ahmed Resmî also made a translation of a geography of Europe which he probably obtained in Vienna during his embassy in 1757, wrote a report of his embassy to Prussia in 1759, presented a proposal to the grand vizierate about diplomatic relations in 1772, and in 1781 wrote a history and criticism of the Russian-Ottoman War of 1768-74.[47] He first planned to begin *Halîkatü'r-Rüesâ*

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[44] *Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ ve Zeylleri*, p. 221.
[45] Resmî writes in the introduction of the dictionary that he modelled his study after *Hadîkatü'l-Vüzerâ*. Ahmed Resmî, *Halîkatü'r-Rüesâ* MS, Süleymaniye Library, Reisülküttab Mustafa Efendi 639, 2a.
[46] *Râmiz ve* Âdab-ı Zurafâ'*sı*, p. 125.
[47] *Halîkatü'r-Rüesâ* was published in the nineteenth century, most of his other works in twentieth. See, Virginia H. Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace, 1700-1783* (Leiden and New York, 1995).

(Worthiness/Competence of the *Reis*es) with the earliest *reisülküttâb*s of the 1520s and culminate with his father-in-law, the library founder Mustafa Efendi who was twice the *reis* in the 1730s and 1740s. But Resmî later added an entry for Mustafa Efendi's successor Râgıb Paşa as well. Illustrating the importance of learning in the collective identity of the *reisülküttâb*s, the quintessential scribe-statesmen, Resmî introduces the dictionary as a project to record "personages [who were] symbols/stamps of cultivation" (*zevât-ı maârif-simât*).[48] According to this source, Mustafa Efendi not only had the power to compose poetry and prose in the "three languages" (Arabic, Persian, Turkish) but was also appreciated by the rhetoricians/literary figures (*bülegâ*) of Egypt and Syria as a Sahbân (a master of eloquence who lived in the time of Prophet Muhammad) of *Rûm* (Anatolia and the Balkans, or Turkish-speakers).[49] Râgıb Paşa spent most of his time studying books and his efforts and patronage were directed towards *maârif* and good morals.[50] An extensive addendum was written for this dictionary by another bureaucrat, Süleyman Fâik Efendi, in the early nineteenth century and they were published together in 1853. We encounter an interesting case of the disparagement of a whole ethnic group in the entry for Feyzi Süleyman Paşa, a *reisülküttâb* of the 1780s. This efendi-turned-pasha was of Georgian origin. The author of the addendum refers to his broad learning and notes the library he built in the central Anatolian town of Çorum (demolished in the 1920s) but also adds that men like him were actually absent among Georgians, since this people was brave and showed talent as horsemen and musketeers while their ignorance was "at a frightening level."[51]

Râmiz's biographical dictionary *Âdâb-ı Zurefâ* (*Adab* of the Refined) which he completed in 1784 stands like a climax of the growing eminence of the motifs of learning and

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[48] *Halîkatü'r-Rüesâ*, 2a.
[49] *Ibid.*, 48b.
[50] *Ibid.*, 58a.
[51] Ahmed Resmî, *Halîkatü'r-Rüesa* (İstanbul, 1269 [1853]), p. 122.

cultivation in Ottoman biographical writing in the eighteenth century. It is at the same time an important piece of the large corpus of poets' dictionaries of this century. While the seventeenth-century dictionaries were generally in the character of anthologies and gave limited biographical information, biographies once again increased substantially in the dictionaries of the eighteenth century, which were also devoted mostly to contemporaries.[52] Sâlim's and Safâyî's dictionaries from the 1720s and Râmiz's are the ones that present the most extensive factual information about individuals' lives. In the middle of particular facts and events, the virtue of possessing *maârif* or its attainment (*kesb-i maârif*) are highlighted in the majority of Râmiz's biographical narratives. Similarly, *dâniş* (knowledge) and *irfân* appear remarkably frequently, to an extent that most probably surpasses all the earlier Ottoman dictionaries of personalities and creates the effect of a procession of these terms in the text. A majority of Râmiz's 375 figures were also "famous" for their culture, knowledge or learned comprehension. Other figures, by contrast, failed to attract the attention of the public and remained underappreciated. A poet called Dersî was a "corner-occupier of the library of oblivion" (*kûşegîr-i kitabhâne-i humûl*) in Râmiz's words, despite his competence in *adab* sciences.[53] The image of rarely-consulted books in the library shelf might have been the inspiration behind Râmiz's metaphor. A member could be a "source of pride" for the whole group of the *Hâcegân* of the Imperial Council with his competence in *adab* fields and abstract questions.[54] Possession of a sizable personal library was another trait that was seen as worth mentioning in some sources. An older contemporary, another *şeyhülislam* and a namesake of the library-builder Feyzullah Efendi, Ebu Saîd Feyzullah Efendi is portrayed in Sâlim Efendi's dictionary as a scholar who prepared numerous detailed presentations (*istihzâr*) on different subjects with his close scrutiny of abundant books, which

[52] Mustafa İsen (ed.), *Şair Tezkireleri* (Ankara, 2009), pp. 13-14.
[53] Râmiz, ibid., p. 98.
[54] *Râmiz ve* Âdâb-ı Zurefâ'*sı*, p. 68.

made him a *mecmûa*, which is a term that means a collection/selection of writings of different lengths by the compiler him/herself or by others, sometimes in subjects around a theme, but often in various subjects. This elder Feyzullah Efendi owned plenty of books, and, in Sâlim's words, it went without saying how useful the notes he left with his pen in those volumes were.[55] The chronicler Âsım Efendi wrote in 1808 how the books in his own family mansion in Ayntab, most of which were "mementos" (*yâdigâr*) of his ancestors and which "without an exaggeration amounted to a library" were plundered in an uprising in 1790.[56] Râmiz highlights the abundance of books in the possession of a bureaucrat, none other than Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi, who had European books on architecture in his personal library of about 1500 books, as discussed in Chapter 4. According to Râmiz, Sıdkî Mustafa was famous among the *Hâcegân* for his knowledge and comprehension. A follower of the Prophet's dictum "Demand knowledge from cradle to grave," he worked to improve himself all his life. He owned books in abundance and had a powerful competence in poetry and prose.[57] We can assume that as the manager of shipyards he was anticipating an appointment to a vizier position; he might have envisaged building a public library with his collection after his promotion in rank.

### Cosmic Libraries and Human-Libraries

A person's intellectual competence could often be eulogized in this period by describing the individual as a library. Presumably promoted by the spread of library buildings, this metaphor must have been basically a derivative of the older assumption of a similitude between both man and the universe and the book. Common both in the Christian West and the Islamic realm, such metaphors basically depicted human beings and other creations of God as divinely

[55] Sâlim Efendi, *Tezkiretü's-Şuarâ*, ed. Adnan İnce (Ankara, 2005), p. 570.
[56] Mütercim Ahmed Âsım Efendi, *Âsım Efendi Tarihi*, vol. 1, ed. Ziya Yılmazer (İstanbul, 2015), p. 323.
[57] *Ibid.*, pp. 186-187.

penned books presented to people's gazes and reflections, in other words, to their reading.[58] In a number of Ottoman sources the library appears as a constituent of this metaphor, essentially in a variant of the role of the book. In others, however, obviously relying again on the facility of the analogy between man and book, which could already be free of cosmic references in earlier Islamic contexts,[59] the individual is likened to a library to applaud his erudition.

Following the convention of expressing an analogy between some of God's attributes and the virtues of the person or the deed celebrated in the text, the *waqfiyya* of the library that Sultan Ahmed III built next to his grand mother Turhan Sultan's mausoleum in 1725, praises God for constructing "this towering library hall of possibilities," that is the universe, with the perfection of His potency.[60] Numan Mâhir Bey, who was a bureaucrat of the Foreign Office and then Minister of *Waqf*s in the 1830s, similarly compared the sum of God's creations to a library. In a letter in his collection of epistles, which was published in 1845, two years after his death, he praises God as "the Librarian of Time and Earth" (*hâfız-ı kütübhâne-i zamân ve zemîn*).[61] Beylikçi Mehmed İzzet Bey was a secretary who served as a bureaucrat in the grand vizier's office and then as a diplomat. His biography found in the preface to his divan which was published in 1842 utilizes two different kinds of library metaphors by describing two figures who had been influential in his education. First he had been an attendant of the Nuruosmaniye's librarian Nusret Efendi, whose competence and rectitude were commonly acknowledged, but when the latter "delivered his divan of life to the library of God's compassion," İzzet Efendi followed his late mentor's will and began to attend the circle of the famous tutor of the period

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[58] Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge: from Gutenberg to Diderot* (Oxford, 2000); Annemarie Schimmel, "The Book of Life: Metaphors Connected with the Book in Islamic Literatures," in George N. Atiyeh (ed.), *Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East* (Albany, 1995), pp. 71-92.
[59] Schimmel, *ibid.*
[60] *Vâlide Kütübhânesi Vakfiyesi* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2742, 1b.
[61] Numan Mahir Bey, *Münşeât-ı Numan Mâhir Beyefendi* (İstanbul, 1261 [1845]), p. 124.

Neşet Süleyman Efendi who was a "catalogue book of the library of knowledge and comprehension."[62]

This Nusret Efendi is the subject of one of Kethüdâzâde Ârif Efendi's short narratives recorded by his pupils in the early nineteenth century. He is recalled in this source as one of the most famous instructors of Persian in Istanbul of the previous half century and as the librarian of the Nuruosmaniye. The librarian used to hold regular classes for children of grandees and he had the habit of seeking out these young gentlemen when they were not present in their mansions or seashore houses. Unlike other famous instructors of Persian of the time, he insisted on teaching the boy wherever he was found, whether on an excursion/panorama spot or the mansion where he was a guest. It is noted at the end of this small narrative that the famous Nusret Efendi Compilation about medicine was written by this Nusret Efendi.[63] Apparently widely used in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the compilation in question was printed first in 1860. Nusret Efendi claims in his introduction that he brought together medical prescriptions for many illnesses by studying the literature in "the three languages" and taking assistance from other people, including foreigners. It could be asked, he writes here, whether his effort was merely for the sake of exhibiting talent, but his objective was in fact basically to bypass physicians' parsimony in sharing their knowledge. He found it necessary to organize a compilation like this and "consign it to the World Library" (*vedî'a-yı kitabhâne-i âlem etmek*).[64] The expression of this librarian's project of popularizing knowledge is thus accompanied by a characterization of the entirety of the corpus of books in the world as a grand library. But the word he chose for the

[62] Mehmed İzzet Beylikçi, *Divan-ı İzzet Bey* (İstanbul, 1258 [1842]), pp. n.n.-1.
[63] Emin Efendi, *Menâkıb-ı Kethüdâzâde el-Hâc Mehmed Ârif Efendi* (İstanbul, 1305 [1889]), p. 93.
[64] *Tıbdan Nusret Efendi Risâlesi* (n.i., 1273 [1860]), pp. 2-4.

world, *âlem*, is also likely to intend "populace;" in other words, the librarian might have primarily underlined his work's easy accessibility.

The trope of calling an erudite person a library was frequent in the parlance of the prominent intellectual, chronicler, and once *şeyhülislam* Küçükçelebizâde İsmail Âsım Efendi.[65] One of the letters in the collection of epistles of this scholar who died in 1760 addresses a person from the *ulema*. It was written to wish the other scholar a quick recovery from illness. Âsım Efendi begins the letter by calling his addressee a "glittering candle of the library of refinement," and a number of lines below calls his body a "summary of the library of *adab*" (*hulâsa-yı kütübhâne-i âdâb*) in the invocation for its protection from maladies.[66]

Küçükçelebizâde had been appointed the state chronicler in 1723. In the chronicle where he narrates the events of the period between 1722 and 1729, he compares multiple figures whom he mentions with brief biographical information to libraries. He praises a scholar named Seyyid Ahmed Efendi, who was remembered as the tutor of the former grand vizier Köprülüzâde Numan Paşa, for his mastery of vocabulary and as an expert of theology and exegesis before calling his "chest of breast" (*sanduka-i sînesin*) "a library full of the beauties of sciences."[67] Similarly, a *qadi* who was promoted to a higher rank is portrayed as a person whose breast (*sînesi*) was "a library full of rare jewels of sciences."[68] In the case of *Şeyhülislam* Ebu İshak İsmail Efendi, the chronicler's library metaphor carries a building analogy. While the

[65] İsmail Âsım Efendi was the translator of Ghiyathaddin Naqqash's fifteenth-century China travelogue into Turkish with the title *Târih-i Nevâdir-i Çin-i Mâçin*, which must be the item seen in Sıdkî Mustafa Efendi's library, noted in Chapter 4.
[66] Küçükçelebizâde İsmail Âsım Efendi, *Münşeât-ı Âsım Efendi* (İstanbul, 1286 [1870]), pp. 244-245.
[67] Râşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizâde İsmâil Âsım Efendi, *ibid.*, p. 1459.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 1483.

*şeyhülislam*'s "treasury in breast" contained brilliant jewels of knowledge, his head was the "elevated dome of the library of wisdom/perfection" (*kubbe-i vâlâ-yı kitabhâne-i kemâl*).[69]

Therefore, there emerge in Küçükçelebizâde's writings a number of "human-libraries," or "walking libraries," as it were. This latter phrase might have been in use among Ottomans to designate polymaths in the eighteenth century. Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir Bey made such a reference in his dictionary of Ottoman authors written in the early twentieth century (published in 1926). He states that in the cultivation of the important eighteenth-century logician and mathematician Gelenbevî İsmail Efendi the debates held in the house of a scholar named Müftîzâde Mehmed Emin Efendi, who was commonly known as Walking Library (*ayaklı kütübhane*; lit. "library with feet"), made a substantial contribution.[70] Mehmed Tâhir's source for this information is unclear. On the other hand, in her monograph on the career of Ahmed Resmî Efendi, Virginia Aksan referred to a poem in praise of Râgıb Paşa found in a notebook in the Esad Efendi Library's collection, which has the Arabic heading that indicates that its poet, Ahmed Resmî, was known as a "walking library."[71] The original intent of the phrase seems to be close enough, but Aksan's is in fact a liberal translation, since the phrase in the heading is "walking qamus" (القاموس الماشى).[72] Qamus is an Arabic word that means the ocean, but it also immediately denotes the fourteenth-century Iranian scholar al-Firuzabadi's great dictionary *al-Qamus al-Muhit* (The Encircling Ocean). Alluding to the double meaning of the phrase, Râmiz calls Küçükçelebizâde "the Encircling Ocean (*kâmûsü'l-muhît*) of mastery and solidity in vocabulary of Arabic and technique of literature" and a corrector of jewels of eloquence and expression.[73] Another *qadi*

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 1438.
[70] Quoted in Osman Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi* vol. I (İstanbul, 1939), p. 115.
[71] Aksan, *ibid.*, p. 9.
[72] MS, Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi 3758, 34b.
[73] *Râmiz ve Âdâb-ı Zurefâ'sı*, p. 204.

was similarly "an embodiment (*âverde*) of the Encircling Ocean in *adab* sciences and vocabulary of Arabic."[74] Al-Firuzabadi's work, which existed in about a hundred manuscript copies in Istanbul's eighteenth-century libraries and was also translated into Turkish in an abridged form in the first decade of the nineteenth century,[75] includes entries for names of cities, mountains and historical and legendary figures as well. The equation of a "walking" man to an encyclopedic dictionary in the diplomat's epithet points at once to the central importance of linguistic abilities in the Ottoman definition of intellectual sophistication and at the esteem of encyclopedic erudition.

### Visiting Art in the Library

There were not only books in public library collections. In the catalogues of six eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century libraries in Istanbul, there are sections for muraqqas, that is, albums made up of calligraphic panels on cardboard. These sections are placed at the ends of the manuscript catalogues. The Hagia Sophia and the Nuruosmaniye libraries, Sultan Abdülhamid I's Hamidiye Library and the library opened by Âşir Efendi by merging his collection with his father Mustafa Efendi's in 1800 had muraqqas accessible to library-users.[76] The number of muraqqas in the early catalogue of the Hagia Sophia Library, which is referred to at the beginning of this chapter and in another one dated 1247/1835, is the same (35).[77] It is likely that, as in the case of books, these parts of the collections largely reflected the earliest endowments of the founders and perhaps a few later donations of other individuals. According to their printed catalogues from the 1880s, the Köprülü Library had a group of 18 muraqqas in the

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[74] *Ibid.*, p. 149.
[75] Mütercim Âsım Efendi, *El-Okyanusü'l-Basît fî Tercümet-i Kâmusü'l-Muhît* (İstanbul, 1304 [1888]).
[76] *Ayasofya Fihrist* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Fihrist, 25/1; *Âşir Efendi Fihrist* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Bağışlar 2720; *Hamidiye Fihrist* MS, Yazma Bağışlar 2727; *Nuruosmaniye Fihrist* MS, Nuruosmaniye Fihrist 1.
[77] *Ayasofya Fihrist* MS, Süleymaniye Library: Yazma Fihrist, 25/4.

major part of the collection endowed by Köprülü Hacı Ahmed Paşa in 1775,[78] and the Veliyyüddin Efendi Library had eight muraqqas.[79] In the other cases their numbers vary between 20 (Âşir Efendi), 37 (Hamidiye) and 46 (Nuruosmaniye). (Figs. 5.2-3) Therefore, libraries built by sultans had a principal role in bringing muraqqas, in their case selected from the Palace treasury, to public accessibility.

When it is a muraqqa made up of works of a single calligrapher, the catalogue entries give the name of the artist, and in some cases additional information about the content of the writings, such as whether they are a rendering of a Quran chapter or of the alphabet. In most of the other cases, they are registered as "various muraqqas." Ottomans saw it as appropriate to give place to this kind of writings in libraries next to codices and even legally endowed them as a part of the charitable deed. With their inclusion in publicized collections and the guidance the catalogues provided about the artists, they were beheld as objects of aesthetic appreciation, and undoubtedly served as tools of the transmission of artistic practice.

There seems to have been a significant association between libraries and the formal instruction of calligraphy. We find the appointment of public calligraphy instructors in three important eighteenth-century building compounds, which also included libraries in their programs. The *waqfiyya* of the Grand Vizier Damad İbrahim Paşa's madrasa and library complex specifies, in 1728, that a skillful calligrapher was employed to teach *ta'liq* writing to people who would be willing to learn it, and adds that these classes would be held in the lecture room of the madrasa.[80] A member of İbrahim Paşa's intellectual circle, Şerif Halil Paşa specified in the

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[78] *Köprülüzâde Mehmed Paşa'nın Kütübhânesinde Mahfuz Kütüb-i Mevcûdenin Defteridir* (İstanbul, 1301 [1883]). These muraqqas are now in the collection of the Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts. Ramazan Şeşen et al. (eds.), *Köprülü Kütüphanesi Yazmalar Kataloğu* v. 1 (İstanbul, 1986), p. 10.
[79] *Defter-i Kütübhâne-i Veliyüddîn* (İstanbul, 1304 [1886]).
[80] *Vaqfnama of Princess Fatima and Ibrahim Pasha* MS, Chester Beatty Library, Turkish Manuscripts 442, 9a.

*waqfiyya* of his Shumen Complex built in 1744 that an instructor was employed to teach calligraphy two days each week, in this case in the library.[81] The common function of libraries as spaces of manual copying is directly coupled in this library with transmission of the art of beautiful writing. The Nuruosmaniye Complex in Istanbul as well had a room reserved for calligraphy instruction and both the *waqfiyya*[82] and the late-eighteenth-century encyclopedia of Istanbul's mosques *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi* (Garden of Mosques; 1781) by Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî[83] mention the library and the calligraphy room of the Nuruosmaniye consecutively in their texts.

There are two main biographical dictionaries of calligraphers written in Turkish in the eighteenth century, Suyolcuzâde Mehmed Necib Efendi's and the prolific biography compiler Müstakîmzâde Süleyman Sa'deddin's. Both of them contain multiple references to the value of works of calligraphy as collection items, in addition to their insights about the social profile and the habits and sensibilities of this art's milieu. Suyolcuzâde sometimes praises calligraphers by calling their works "ornaments" of private libraries. In these cases, he uses "library" in the singular, reflecting one of the eighteenth-century Ottoman connotations of the word as the totality of books in several hands that form a meaningful whole. For him, the manuscript books copied by a certain madrasa professor, a native of "Istanbul, the dawn of *irfân* lights," were ornaments of the library of *ulema* and prominent thinkers (*zîver-i kitabhâne-i ulemâ ve fuhûl*).[84] Similarly, a shaikh of the Naqshbandiyya order, who was erudite in history, had left the books he

[81] Osman Keskioğlu, "Şumnulu Şerif Halil Paşa Vakfiyesi" *Vakıflar Dergisi* XIX (1985), p. 27.
[82] *Sultan III. Osman Vakfiyesi*, ed. Ali Öngül (Manisa, 2003), p. 10.
[83] Ayvansarâyî Hüseyin Efendi, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmî: İstanbul Camileri ve Diğer Dini-Sivil Yapılar*, ed. Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (İstanbul, 2001), p. 63.
[84] Suyolcuzâde, *ibid.*, pp. 327-328.

copied as "ornaments of the library of the appreciative people" (*zînet-i kitabhâne-i kadr-dânân*).[85]

We learn from Müstakîmzâde that the scribe of a former grand vizier's *waqf* administration whose name was Kösec Ahmed Efendi had "collected famous single panels and exercise sheets" of the seventeenth-century Ottoman calligrapher Hâfız Osman and he was "accustomed to" acquire other famous masters' works.[86] The chief eunuch of the palace, and the founder of two *waqf* libraries in Istanbul, Beşir Agha had enriched his collection of calligraphic panels and books with the "agreement and [or, in other cases] abhorence" of their previous owners.[87]

Artfully written books, panels and muraqqas had a considerable place in the formation of collections in private hands, but Müstakîmzâde's *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn* also provides important evidence for the function of the public libraries as repositories of works of calligraphy for practitioners and connoisseurs of this art. His dictionary helps to ascertain that public libraries served as main sites where calligraphic pieces were contemplated, studied and "visited" by artists and amateurs. This quasi-museal function was in all likelihood among the basic social roles of these public libraries in the eyes of Müstakîmzâde's contemporaries.

*Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn* makes references to artists' works that were preserved in particular public libraries of Istanbul in entries on nearly twenty different calligraphers. The majority of these calligraphers are Ottomans, but there are also a few pre-Ottoman artists. The libraries the author refers to as the sites where these artists' works could be found are all in Istanbul and they are in fact not many: the Şehid Ali Paşa, the Hagia Sophia and the Nuruosmaniye libraries. No

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 339.
[86] Müstakîmzâde, *ibid.*, p. 64.
[87] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

work in any mosque or madrasa library from before the eighteenth century is mentioned. The concentration of references in these three libraries can be an indication of an extraordinary place of the taste for calligraphy in the formation of these three collections, or it might have been that Müstakîmzâde's investigations were focused only on them. In any case, he directs the readers to these libraries to examine the specimens, and thus practically presents a kind of a chart to calligraphers and amateurs in Istanbul. For example, we learn that some muraqqas written by Yedikuleli Emîr Efendi, an instructor of calligraphy in the Palace in the period of Ahmed III, and were endowed in the Nuruosmaniye Library were well-known (*ma'rûfdur*) at the time.[88] Tophaneli Mahmud Efendi, a graduate of the Enderun, had written a Quran by emulating the copy of the holy book inscribed by Şeyh Hamdullah, which had been in the Imperial Treasury during Mahmud Efendi's studies in the palace school (in the first half of the seventeenth century) but was now endowed in the Hagia Sophia Library.[89] A pupil of Şeyh Hamdullah, Mahmud bin Ahmed of Kayseri, had a *Sahih Muslim* hadith compilation, a rare/precious (*nâdîde*) book with its illumination and binding, in the Şehid Ali Paşa Library.[90]

*Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn* presents frequent references to the practice of "visiting" (*ziyâret*) or viewing calligraphic pieces, although the site of the visit is usually not specified. For example, the author notes that he once visited a signed "succession certificate" penned by a Naqshbandi shaykh,[91] or he visited Quran copies and a divan of the Arab poet Ibn Farid by a calligrapher from Herat whose writing resembled earlier works (*evâil*) of Şeyh Hamdullah.[92] Some of this Herati artist's works were found in the Şehid Ali Paşa Library.[93] In yet another passage, which

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 250.
[89] *Ibid.*, p. 459.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 452.
[91] *Ibid.*, p. 523.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 294.
[93] *Ibid.*

reflects the purpose of artistic inquiry and examination behind these kinds of visits, he relates that an Istanbulite artisan, a string maker with the name Yahya bin İsmail, was capable of identifying calligraphic panels that he visited only once by registering their compositions and color of their papers in his mind for decades. He provided abundant assistance to Müstakîmzâde in the compilation of the *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn*.[94]

In one particular case, the work of a calligrapher is applauded through a recommendation made to readers to visit it in the public library where it was preserved. Mehmed Eflâtûn was an attendant of the official chronicler Râşid Efendi and had been in the latter's embassy to Iran. The reason for his sobriquet *Eflâtûn* (Plato) was that he was an amateur (*heveskâr*) of anatomy and medicine,[95] and this interest made him seclude himself in a cell of a medical madrasa and concentrate on beautiful writing later in his life. The copy of the divan of the Iranian poet Sâib which was from his hands and in the collection of the Nuruosmaniye Library, in Müstakîmzâde's words, "deserved visits of the community of cultivation-demonstrating character" (*şâyân-ı ziyâret-i ehl-i tab'-ı maârif-nümûddur*).[96]

But the vocabulary of "visiting" old and valuable books is not unique to Müstakîmzâde's uses of it. According to a passage in one of Mahmud I's daily activities registers, in late 1740, shortly after the Hagia Sophia Library was opened, the sultan once came to the site to listen to hadith recitations in the room specified for this and immediately afterwards moved to the library and made a visit (*ziyâret edib*) to the Quran copies supposedly scribed by caliphs Uthman and

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[94] *Ibid.*, p. 518.
[95] This seems to be due to the belief held in the Muslim intellectual tradition that most of the ancient knowledge in this field was thanks to Plato, and this in turn must have been derived from the influence of the medieval Arabic translation of Galen's synopsis of Plato's *Timeaus*. Both of the two surviving copies of this medieval translation are in Istanbul's manuscript libraries: Ayasofya 2410 and Esad Efendi 1933.
[96] *Ibid.*, p. 673.

Ali.[97] Another instance is found in an embassy account. In his report of his embassy to Spain that took place in 1787, the future state chronicler Vâsıf Efendi briefly narrates the Ottoman delegation's excursion to El Escorial (*Üskürya*) and dwells here basically on their visit to the collection of Islamic books that remained in the country from the time of the Muslim states and were preserved in the library of this monastery. They first studied the printed catalogue of the collection. The books of the people of Islam were kept in the upper floor of the library. In Vâsıf's words, "our books were paid a visit" (*kitâblarımız ziyâret olundu*) there. There were about ten Qurans in old writings (*eski hatt ile*). The books on law, philosophical theology and hadiths were countless. This encounter with the collection made them regretful with yearning and grief.[98]

Suyolcuzâde does not make references to any specific works to be found in libraries. This may be partly due to the half century that separates his study from Müstakîmzâde's during which two of the latter's favorite libraries, among many others, were built. But Müstakîmzâde is also more inclined to give concrete examples of artists' works. Although Mehmed Eflâtûn's is the only instance in *Tuhfe-i Hattâtîn* where directing attention to specific pieces located in libraries and the terminology of paying visits to calligraphic works coincide, there is sufficient reason to assume that aesthetically appreciated pieces of writing endowed in public libraries were ordinarily objects of contemplation and study visits. They were obviously studied and enjoyed in many private collections, and public libraries of the eighteenth century incorporated this function into their identities.

A number of manuscripts illustrated with miniature paintings found places in public libraries of the capital, transferred from private hands and the sultanic treasury. Confirming

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[97] Kadı Ömer Efendi, *I. Mahmut Rûznamesi*, Yavuz Oral, unpublished thesis, Istanbul University, 1966, pp. 36-37.
[98] *Mehmed Emin Edîb Efendi'nin Hayatı ve Târîh'i*, Ali Osman Çınar, unpublished thesis, Marmara University, 1999, pp. 26-27. For the whole text of Vâsıf Efendi's embassy report, which was included in Mehmed Emin Edîb Efendi's chronicle, see, ibid., pp. 18-30.

Evliya Çelebi's complaint about the absence of illustrated books in Istanbul's great mosque libraries during his time, all of the manuscripts with paintings found in the city's *waqf* collections are in the libraries established in the eighteenth century or the first half of the nineteenth.[99] In other words, the eighteenth century brought a novel character to publicly accessible collections in this respect with the appearance of illustrated works among the endowed books. There are a few examples in the Damad İbrahim Paşa (two) and the Hekimoğlu (two) libraries, but Sultan Mahmud I seems to have largely led this development with the illustrated manuscripts he transferred to the Hagia Sophia (seven) and the Fatih (ten) libraries.[100] Several later statesmen similarly included some illustrated works of literature, history, astronomy and animal and plant atlases in the collections they located in public libraries. They are not plentiful, however. Their total number in Istanbul's *waqf* libraries is not more than 57. But this was probably not an under-representation. Damad İbrahim Paşa had in his possession two more illustrated volumes and a few paintings in single panels besides muraqqas and panels of calligraphy at the time of his death.[101] Paintings certainly had their own admirers, but it is not easy to find traces of their reception in libraries by contemporaries. None of the libraries house a muraqqa comprised of paintings. Some of the Ottoman elites owned European prints, but they were not endowed.

In addition to the register of Mahmud I's calligraphy visit there, the section on the inauguration of the Hagia Sophia Library in the historian Subhi Mehmed Efendi's chronicle (1744) confirms that visual contemplation of valuable calligraphy could be among the chief objectives of the foundation of a library. There is a direct reference in this case to the satisfaction

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[99] See Nezihe Seyhan's complete catalogue: Nezihe Seyhan, "Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi'ndeki Minyatürlü Yazma Eserlerin Kataloğu," unpublished MA thesis, Boğaziçi University, 1991.

[100] There was a large pre-existing collection in the Fatih Mosque before the library structure was built in 1742, but all of the illustrated manuscripts carry endowment seals of Sultan Mahmud I. See Seyhan, *ibid.*

[101] Tülay Artan, "Problems Relating to the Social History Context of the Acquisition and Possession of Books as Part of Collections of Objets d'Art in the 18th Century," in François Deroche et. al. (eds.), *Art Turc / Turkish Art: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Geneve, 1999), p. 90.

of the beholders by their exposure to these works. The chronicler writes first that the library contained books on shari'a sciences, the "instrumental fields," which is to say grammar and vocabulary, and *adab* books. Then he adds remarks about the group of artifacts that were worthy of notice and enjoyment for their historical and calligraphic values and were apparently endowed for this very reason. These were again the two Qurans attributed to the early caliphs Uthman and Ali, three others inscribed by Hafız Osman Efendi, and two others by the famous thirteenth-century calligrapher Yaqut al-Musta'simi and Şeyh [Hamdullah]. They were placed in the library to "illuminate the eyes of the beholders" (*tenvîr-i uyûn-ı temâşâyiyân*) and relieve the hearts of the qualified men of knowledge and comprehension.[102]

**Meticulous Care in Selections**

Other non-verbal qualities made certain manuscripts particularly valued by collectors. The catalogue included in the Âtıf Efendi Library's original *waqfiyya*, which was discovered and studied by Fuat Sezgin in 1955, contains several references to such special features in individual entries. In some cases it is noted that the copy is an autograph. The fact that the copy of an older author's book is from the hands of a sixteenth-century scholar is also indicated. In a medieval convention, authors sometimes wrote authentication notices when a pupil copied one of their works and read it aloud (*kırâ'at*) to the author; there are multiple examples where the existence of this notice is recorded in the catalogue entries. Ibn Khaldun made corrections to a copy of his Muqaddimah preserved in Âtıf Efendi's collection, as the catalogue states.[103] The catalogue seems to be intended to arouse excitement in those who would browse it about the special character of some manuscripts primarily as objects, thanks to their association with important intellectuals in history.

[102] *Subhi Tarihi: Sami ve Şakir Tarihleri ile Birlikte*, ed. Mesut Aydıner (İstanbul, 2007), p. 620.
[103] Fuat Sezgin, "Âtıf Efendi Kütüphanesinin Vakfiyesi" *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* VI (1955): 132-139.

A range of other objectives motivated eighteenth-century Ottomans and gave shape to collections in public libraries or in private hands, from answering the demands of users to assembling a scholar's scattered corpus and filling the gaps of one's collection in certain subjects. Erünsal noted, with reference to diplomat-chronicler Vâsıf Efendi's history published in 1804, that the former *şeyhülislam* Veliyüddin Efendi's son Kazasker Mehmed Emin Efendi sought to enrich the collection in his father's *waqf* library.[104] This is mentioned in the passage of the chronicle about Veliyüddin Efendi's death shortly after the opening of his library in the year 1768. The passage also underlines that he filled his library with beautiful (*nefâyis*) books and that "crowds" frequented the place (*izdihâm*) thanks to the rare books (*kütüb-i nâdire*) it housed. Vâsıf Efendi points at two distinct motivations for Mehmed Emin Efendi's additions to his father's collection. He writes that in addition to purchasing "highly expensive" books to place in the library, he was also acquiring books that "students and other readers" looked for in the collection but could not find.[105] The latter documents the communication between users, librarians and the endowment trustee concerning the development of this popular library.

Ayvansarâyî's chronogram compilation (completed in 1786) gives details about Âtıf Efendi's son Vâhid Ömer Efendi's engagement to enlarge the collection of the library that his father built. Some of the entries in this compilation are in the style of short biographies of personages whose death dates were memorialized in verse. The entry for Âtıf Efendi gives the information that Vâhid Ömer Efendi, who was promoted to the post of *defterdâr* like his father, sought to supply the library with books that his father did not manage to collect. He had acquired

[104] Erünsal, *ibid.*, p. 242.
[105] Ahmed Vâsıf, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakâikü'l-Ahbâr* (İstanbul, 1219 [1804]), pp. 206-207.

all of the works penned by the former *şeyhülislam* Hakkı İsmail Efendi that had been dispersed into the hands of the people and placed them in the library.[106]

The term "selection" (*intihâb*) appears prominent in the historian Vâsıf's description of the grand vizier Râgıb Paşa's life-long project of forming his collection, among the other major terms of "collecting" (*cem'*) books and "summoning" (*celb*) them from farther places when necessary.[107] Çorlulu Ali Paşa's *waqfiyya* states that the assembly of books that he endowed to the library room in the madrasa he built in 1709 was formed from a "selection" he made from the books in his possession.[108] There is a note in Mahmud I's daily activities record that the group of books prepared for endowment in the library the sultan built next to the Fatih Mosque in 1742 was first presented to his sight and inspection (*müşâhede*) in a room in the palace.[109] It is little surprise to see that some public libraries of the period are likened in poetry to *mecmûa*s, which derives from the root *cem'*, "to collect," in Arabic. In one of the metaphorical uses, the chronicler Subhi's son, the professor of medicine Subhizâde Aziz Efendi, who is known for his full translation of the Dutch physician Herman Boerhave's *Aphorismi de Cognoscendis* into Turkish with his commentary, calls Sultan Mustafa III's library built next to the Bostancılar Corps's barracks in the outer garden of the Topkapı Palace in 1767 a "*mecmûa* made with meticulous selection" (*mecmûa-yı pür-intihâb*) in the chronogram he composed for the building.[110]

*Şeyhülislam* Yahya Tevfik Efendi insistently calls the Râgıb Paşa Library a *mecmûa* in consecutive couplets at the beginning of his chronogram. This esteemed *mecmûa* had a tailband that kept countless sciences, and the hobnails on the building's door were the rosette of the

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[106] Hâfız Hüseyin Ayvansarâyî, *Mecmuâ-i Tevarih*, eds. Fahri Ç. Derin and Vâhid Çabuk (İstanbul, 1985), p. 397.
[107] Ahmed Vâsıf, *ibid.*, p. 129.
[108] VGMA [Pious Endowments Administration Archive, Ankara] 188, f. 388.
[109] Kadı Ömer Efendi, *I. Mahmut Ruznamesi*, ed. Yavuz Oral, Istanbul University, 1966, p. 134.
[110] *Subhizade Aziz ve Divanı*, ed. Sadık Erdem (Isparta, 2001), p. 186.

*mecmûa*'s binding cover. Configured by the vizier, it was a *mecmûa* of extraordinary learned comprehension (*mecmûa-yı irfân-ı müstesnâ*).[111]

In the subsequent couplets Yahya Tevfik Efendi first calls this library a new pearl in the ebullient sea of cultivation, and then, a haven of learned comprehension all the "looms" of which produce gold-ornamented fabrics of knowledge.[112] We see the fabric metaphor used also in a letter Küçükçelebizâde İsmail Âsım Efendi wrote to Râgıb Paşa. It was written in the days when Râgıb Paşa was the governor of Aleppo, thus some time between 1755 and 1757. At the beginning of this letter, Küçükçelebizâde humbles himself by writing that his treasury of imagination was devoid of "eloquent expressions made of fabrics of pleasant textiles" (*nesîc-i hoş-kumaş ibârât-ı belîgâne*) that would be worthy of use when addressing Râgıb Paşa. The subsequent passages of the letter reveals that this phrase was also a pun that alluded to the presents Âsım Efendi had recently received from Râgıb Paşa. He expresses his thanks for the presents, a package of fine cloths, by describing how cheerfully he met each of the "fabrics of fresh design" and, keeping his attention away from their high prices, how he beheld their flowers that gave examples from rich gardens in spring.[113] Therefore, we have instances where knowledge, learned comprehension and proficiency in eloquent expression are described and praised as ornamented and pleasant textiles, only a short time before Penâh Efendi erected a dichotomy between the desire for each. Penâh Efendi was far from alone among his contemporaries in perceiving learned comprehension and eloquent expression as the most meaningful measure of civilization, while their virtues could be described in the very same period with the assistance of the metaphor of tactile delight. The frequency of the "drapery"

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[111] Nazmi Özerol, *Şeyhülislam Yahya Tevfik Efendi ve Türkçe Şiirleri*, unpublished thesis, İnönü University, Malatya, 2010, p. 210.
[112] *Bu bendergâh-ı irfânın olur her destgâhından / Nesîc-i zerkeşi'r-rakş minvâl-i fünûn peydâ. Ibid.*
[113] Küçükçelebizâde İsmail Âsım Efendi, *ibid.*, pp. 56-59.

(*kâlâ*, which could also mean "capital") attribute used for knowledge can be remembered from Chapter 1. As Shirine Hamadeh has shown, physical delights in general and those derived from textiles in particular were frequent metaphors used for architectural ornaments as well throughout the eighteenth century in Ottomans' criticism of buildings.[114]

In the next stage of their correspondence, Âsım Efendi notifies Râgıb Paşa that he has sent a number of books to him. He writes at the beginning of the latter letter that the Persian apothegm "Do not look for a companion better than a book" (همنشینی به ازکتاب مخواه) was in accordance with the situation (although it is not clear what the specific condition that led to the paşa's loneliness was). He then adds that the books he sent were useful ones with their extensive contents although they were not expensive things.[115] This apothegm might be a source of inpiration behind the original couplet inscribed above the entrance of the Râgıb Paşa Library the following decade that eulogizes companionship with books and between bibliophiles.

Yet another letter in the compilation delineates how Küçükçelebizâde wished to obtain a Persian divan he deemed very important but did not own. Its addressee is a certain Hasan Efendi from the *Hâcegân*. Although the divans of the majority of the master poets of Iran and Khorasan were present in the scholar's personal library he had not yet been able to purchase Selim-i Tehrani's divan or make a copy of it. His zeal for this divan was known to friends and acquaintances, and a secretary of the palace informed him upon seeing a copy, one in beautiful

[114] Nedîm, for example, called the walls of Admiral Mustafa Paşa's seashore house in 1725 "heart-attracting textiles." Quoted in Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle, 2008), p. 258.
[115] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

calligraphy and a clean binding, in another individual's waterside house. The scholar thus requested Hasan Efendi's mediation in the acquisition of this book if the owner agreed.[116]

Küçükçelebizâde endowed part of his collection to the madrasa that his father-in-law chief physician Ömer Efendi had built, to be preserved in a cabinet.[117] There were apparently cases where the objective of founding a public library was the chief motivation for a collecting endeavor. This might have become a relatively more common practice towards the end of the eighteenth century. Toderini recounts that he learned about a certain Ahmed Efendi from Izmir who was willing to found a library in his hometown for his compatriots and made a great expenditure for purchasing manuscripts for the sake of his project.[118] This is in accordance with the increase in provincial libraries founded by functionaries of the central government in their birth places for their compatriots in the second half of the century. Toderini's report must be correct, because a bureaucrat of the central government with the name Seyyid Hacı Ahmed Efendi, and originally from Izmir, is reported to have built a library next to the city's largest mosque some time in the late eighteenth century, before it was enriched with the book donation of a secretary of the provincial administration in 1217/1802.[119]

The remarkable space both Toderini and d'Ohsson devote to discussions of public libraries in their accounts of the cultural life in the Ottoman capital testify to their substantial roles as institutions of learning in the 1780s. d'Ohsson expresses the entwinement of the appetite for collecting books and donations to public libraries, both of which were now unexceptional. He writes that individuals' generosity was increasing the number of volumes in libraries every day. Bearing witness to the frequency of donations, he remarks that a man of law, a man of state and a

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[116] *Ibid.*, pp. 310-311.
[117] Erünsal, *ibid.*, p. 324.
[118] Abbé Giambattista Toderini, *De la litterature des Turcs*, v. 2 (Paris, 1789), pp. 32-33.
[119] Özer Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği* vol. 5 (Ankara, 1999), p. 376.

man of letters who owned a collection of books donated the whole or a part of it to a public library (*bibliotheque publique*) in order to gain the blessings of Muslims who use them. He adds that despite the high prices of books, every citizen (*tout citoyen*) strives to acquire a number of them. What directed the citizens' choices were religion and personal taste and "rarement par un esprit d'ostentation, pour en faire un vaine parade aux yeux de ses amis."[120] Maintaining his general point that restraint from ostentation prevailed in their custom, d'Ohsson claims here to his readers that it was thanks to their national morals that turning the endeavor of collecting books into a parade for the eyes of friends was rare among Ottomans.[121]

The *waqfiyya* text of Damad İbrahim Paşa's madrasa and library complex was penned by the chronicler Râşid Efendi who had also written Sultan Ahmed III's *waqfiyya*, which includes his library that he built in the Topkapı Palace the previous year.[122] İbrahim Paşa's *waqfiyya* contains a passage that refers to the sultan's library in the palace. The sultan's project is praised here as an initiative that "increased the market currency of talent and aptitude" (*tervîc-i bâzâr-ı kâbiliyet ve istidâd*) for study and learning.[123] The phrase is an interesting example of the rise of market analogies in artful expressions in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which was referred to in Chapter 1. The market analogy for the value of knowledge was not entirely new. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Ottoman Kurdish scholar and statesman İdris Bitlisî wrote at multiple points how he brought his "assets," the works he authored, to the views of others in the scholarly community who would "buy" them.[124] Still preceding Pierre Bourdieu by centuries, Damad İbrahim Paşa's *waqfiyya* refers this time to the marketability of the personality traits of

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[120] Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'Empire othoman* vol. 3 (Paris, 1787), p. 297.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Râşid Mehmed Efendi and Çelebizâde İsmâil Âsım Efendi, *ibid.*, p. 1297.
[123] *Vaqfnama of Princess Fatima and Ibrahim Pasha* MS, Chester Beatty Library, Turkish Manuscripts 442, 4a.
[124] I thank Vural Genç for bringing this fact to my attention. See his "Acem'den Rûm'a: İdris-i Bitlisî'nin Hayatı, Tarihçiliği ve Heşt Behişt'in II. Bayezid Kısmı (1481-1512)," unpublished PhD dissertation, Istanbul University, 2014.

inclination and talent for learning as a praiseworthy mission for a library. In other words, the latter talks about a market value of the aspiration to become an intellectual, not only a competitive market of knowledge amongst intellectuals. The statement thus seems to reflect the perception of an Ottoman cultural rejuvenation in the early eighteenth century and an expansion of the intellectual segment in society. The description of knowledge and erudition as precious jewels and treasuries were quite common in eighteenth-century discourses, as noted at multiple points in the present chapter, while books were preserved usually in proximity to luxury objects in mansions' and palaces' treasuries. Unfortunately we presently have little data about the crucial question of the changes in the average prices of books in this century. In his recent study on Ottoman bookshop owners, Erünsal states the difficulty of reaching reliable conclusions about this major question. Economic historians provided some data about purchasing power parities, but not all probate records give prices of each individual book, and two copies of the same book from the same year or in the same inheritance might have highly different prices apparently because of their physical qualities.[125] Therefore, it is not easy to capture how much the old status of books as luxury items was transformed in the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the noticable increase in the number of books in private and public collections. Rare books that were valued for their historical and artistic importance, thanks to their scribes or earlier owners, preserved identities akin to gems and porcelains in treasuries. But the intellectual contents of the writings independent of their physical forms were prized as other kinds of jewels (or textiles), and presumably to an unprecedented extent in the eighteenth century as a corollary of the proliferation of cultural capital rivalries. Penâh Efendi's dichotomy between luxury consumption as a potential source of social catastrophe and learning, debates and libraries as the path to

[125] Erünsal, *Osmanlılarda Sahaflık ve Sahaflar*, pp. 171-207.

pervasive civilized dignity was probably partly related to an increasing disassociation between the accessibility of books and the idea of luxury in the Age of Libraries.

# CONCLUSION

Chroniclers Hâkim and Vâsıf record the death of the Vice Treasurer (*şıkk-ı sâni*) Sâlih Efendi a few lines before the groundbreaking ceremony of the Râgıb Paşa Library as another important event of the same months of 1763.[1] This bureaucrat was a Râgıb-ı İsfahânî, who was in fact an eleventh-century philosopher, moralist, exegesis and syntax scholar, in the field of *muhâzarât* (advice and anecdotes) and a "second" Mebdî'-i Hemedânî in "casting expressions" (*sebk-i kelâmda*).[2] The latter must be none other than Badi' al-Zaman al-Hamadani who gave the earliest examples of the maqamat genre (novellas) in Arabic literature in the tenth century.[3] We learn from Vâsıf that Sâlih Efendi had "arranged an unusual *mecmû'a* on laughable affairs and impudence [cases]" (*uzhûke ve mucûna dâir bir mecmû'a-yı garîbe tertîb*) and organized it in chapters with rare stories and poems. He also produced manuscript copies of the History of Vassaf, a thirteenth-century Persian classic, and some other *adab* books.[4] The subjects of his compilation, perhaps partly written by himself, seems to be the reason behind the al-Hamadani comparison since this famed writer and the later wit literature often favored impudence stories as exciting and exemplary human tableaux. Besides reflecting the weight of literary competence in a person's public identity together with a consciousness of the rooted Islamic canon of learning as a basic framework of reference, Sâlih Efendi's obituary in Vâsıf's history brings an example of the value of compiling and arranging literary pieces as a way of active involvement with

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[1] Hâkim, *Vak'a-nüvîs Hâkim Efendi Tarihi (Metin ve Tahlil)*, Tahir Güngör, unpublished thesis, Marmara University, 2014, p. 997; Ahmed Vâsıf, *Mehâsinü'l-Âsâr ve Hakâikü'l-Ahbâr*, vol. I (Bulak, 1246), p. 129.
[2] Ahmed Vâsıf, ibid.
[3] Vâsıf's word *mebdî'* which means "originator" in Arabic must be a recasting of al-Hamadani's better-known epithet *badi' al-zaman* which in turn means "originality of the age." Al-Hamadani's *Maqamat* has four copies in Istanbul's eighteenth century public libraries, and there was one in Mustafa Paşa's personal library, the *İlmâbâd*: Topkapı Palace Museum Archive, D. 2211/1, f. 9b.
[4] Ahmed Vâsıf, ibid.

*adab*.[5] An occupant of offices in the same state department that Âtıf Efendi occupied about twenty years before, Sâlih Efendi did not open a library but arranged a collection of writings within a volume as his main memorial. It apparently had a tincture of irony about society, which is normally not a stated aim of encyclopedias and libraries, but it nevertheless shared with the contemporary Ottoman libraries the emphasis on literature, the program of compilation and the wish for perpetuation.

The growing production and popularity of *mecmûa*s with miscellaneous contents in Ottoman intellectual life from the seventeenth century onwards seems to have a paradigmatic relationship with the rise of libraries. Poetry anthologies formed by individuals and collections of letters constituted the majority of the *mecmûa*s of the earlier centuries which were also significantly fewer in number. While these types of connections continued to be produced, the miscellaneous *mecmûa*s of the later period display efforts to bring together prose texts, or often excerpts, of various fields of theology, *adab* fields and sciences as well as poetry. They mostly consisted of texts selected by compilers, but some of them could include new pieces or be entirely new creations. Most of them look like containers of the reading interests of their owner-copiers with disproportionate weights of scattered subjects, like the anonymous *mecmûa* on Abu Hanifa's jurisprudence and curious anecdotes about China which was written in 1754.[6] Others reflect some methodical organizations like the *mecmûa* by one judge Mehmed Esad, written probably in the eighteenth century and made of excerpts found under subject headings that include vocabulary and grammar, history, dreams, horses, and one on love, music and medicine

[5] Vâsıf himself was remembered in Âsım Efendi's chronicle, which was written in 1808, as a personality whose parables, anecdotes, wit stories "would amount to a library." Mütercim Ahmed Âsım Efendi, *Âsım Efendi Tarihi*, vol. 1, ed. Ziya Yılmazer (İstanbul, 2015), p. 529.

[6] Topkapı Palace Library, Y. 3966; *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, ed. Fehmi Edhem Karatay, vol. 2 (İstanbul, 1961), p. 364.

besides others on theological questions.[7] Many other *mecmûa*s focus on particular issues from mysticism to political and advice literature or poetry and grammar. *Mecmûa*s were obviously intended to preserve the material primarily for private use, but the anticipation of a broader audience is not unlikely in many cases. Several extant ones are signed by the compilers. Mehmed Esad's, like several others, implies an expectation of others' gazes. Cemal Kafadar introduced the *mecmûa* of a seventeenth-century Istanbulite, Eğrikapılı Cildî Çelebi, which includes passages from sixteenth-century history and geography works and anecdotal stories among other things and was planned to assist gentlemen in social gatherings as stated in its introduction.[8] Evliya Çelebi calls his work his *mecmûa* more than once. A *mecmûa* copied by Mustafa b. Şerif in 1734 has among its contents a review (*takrîz*) written by one Osman Efendi for Grand Vizier Şehid Ali Paşa's *mecmûa*.[9] Vâsıf knew Sâlih Efendi's *mecmûa* and its structure obviously thanks to a kind of publicity it attained.

Kafadar recently proposed the "Age of *Çelebi*s" or the "Age of *Çelebi*s and *Mecmûa*s" as a conceptualization for the broad disposition of the Ottoman seventeenth century which saw the emergence of a number of famous, and other less known, erudite *çelebi*s who brought a novel emphasis on subjects outside theology and whose works largely had the character of compilations.[10] The following "Age of Libraries" that lasted about one and a half centuries was in continuity with these features of the Age of *Çelebi*s and thus appears basically as an

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[7] Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, Turkish Manuscripts 448; *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts and Miniatures*, ed. V. Minorsky (Dublin, 1958) pp. 85-86.
[8] Cemal Kafadar, "Sohbete Çelebi, Çelebiye Mecmûa..." in Hatice Aynur et. al (eds.), *Mecmûa: Osmanlı Edebiyatının Kırkambarı* (İstanbul, 2012), pp. 43-52.
[9] Topkapı Palace Library, B. 396; *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu*, ed. Fehmi Edhem Karatay, vol. 2 (İstanbul, 1961), p. 309.
[10] Cemal Kafadar, "Osmanlı Dünyasında Kaynak Kullanımı Üzerine," *Evliya Çelebi'nin Yazılı Kaynakları, 17-18 Haziran 2010*. Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi-Türk Tarih Kurumu, İstanbul; Kafadar, ibid.

amplification of it in the institutional framework, architectural shells and the advanced level of public accessibility of libraries.

Jan Schmidt made the broad observation that Ottoman miscellaneous *mecmûa*s basically functioned as concise mini libraries that several individuals formed.[11] Snježana Buzov, on the other hand, pointed to the strong likelihood that libraries in general, purpose-built, madrasa and private, of the times served as important loci where texts and excerpts were found, studied and copied by *mecmûa* makers.[12] There is no doubt that the spread and growth of libraries significantly facilitated the compilation of *mecmûa*s. But the relationship between the two was probably not unidirectional. *Mecmûa*s are studied today mostly as sources that reveal the range and characteristics of individual reading tastes from Ottoman society. Although composed primarily of selections, they have almost "authored" appearances, enhanced in many cases with signatures, thematic stresses or defined organizations. A personal outlook or a "curated" quality is present in most of the endowed book collections as well in the eighteenth century. Employment of private library curators in several households, well reflects the purpose of carefully controlling the growth of collections in houses. Collections in purpose-built libraries have notable differences from each other even in terms of simple preponderances of subjects, though mostly within a broader framework of an encyclopedic coverage. Subjects like medicine, physics, mysticism and even theological fields, history and poetry have various, sometimes surprising, shares in some libraries while emphases within sections and presence of rare items caused further differences. During the stages of their formation in private hands and at the moment of their opening to the public, collections reflected their founders' interests and

[11] Jan Schmidt, "Bir Tür Olarak Osmanlı Mecmûalarının Artı Değeri," in Hatice Aynur et. al (eds.), *Mecmûa: Osmanlı Edebiyatının Kırkambarı* (İstanbul, 2012), p. 388.
[12] Snjezana Buzov, "Osmanlı'da Karışık İçerikli Mecmûalar: Bir Başka Arşiv," in Hatice Aynur et. al (eds.), *Mecmûa: Osmanlı Edebiyatının Kırkambarı* (İstanbul, 2012), p. 37.

especially their ability to appreciate in the world of books. References to rare books are specially formed series are frequent in texts related to libraries. Therefore, the *mecmûa* analogy used for more than one endowed library carries significance greater than passing literary usage. One of the arguments of the present thesis is that libraries memorialized in several edifices in this period served as settings where the founders' intellectual personalities were constituted and then exhibited in splendor. Their monumentality must have enhanced the attraction of the idea of constituting an individual identity in matters of learning.

Libraries also stood as demonstrations of their founders' intellectual refinement with the intention of answering a growing social demand for access to various books and for the facility of copying them. In other words, libraries served as settings of a particular kind of "publication," the presentation of books to wide attention. Their rapid proliferation as urban monuments manifests that they were expected to bring political credit to the founders and thus underlines an important aspect of the operation of the quest for important public positions in the Ottoman system in the eighteenth century. This resonates with Pierre Bourdieu's emphasis on the connection between power and cultural competence and on the roles that the status derived from learning plays in the stratification of societies. Ottoman library buildings, which spread as private charities, can thus be viewed as a notable example of the operation of cultural capital. They certainly contributed to the development among the Ottomans of the love for books as an "art of life" associated with power and power holders, which is an important factor Bourdieu underlines in the formation of "symbolic" capitals.[13] Ottomans had their own *bâzâr* analogy for the accumulation of knowledge and literary abilities and their presentation to others' appreciation. That the analogy was used before the eighteenth century as well purports that

[13] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production* (Cambridge, 1993); Pierre Bourdieu, "Capital symbolique at classes sociales," *L'Arc* 72 (1978): 13-19.

libraries were perceived as assertive enterprises in this *bâzâr*. The group of secretary-statesmen who had a prominent place in library foundations, exceeding *ulema* and rivaling sultans, was always defined as a cultured class, as a stronghold of reading and writing since early in the Islamic Middle Ages. But the criticisms directed toward conspicuous consumption as a vulgar strategy of distinction and the large consensus on a library's value for social legitimacy point to the imposition of the learning ideal on the propertied ignorant. The increase in the number of knowledgeable secretaries and of madrasa graduates did not result in a banalization of this talent; quite the opposite, it prepared a heyday for the scene of reading and writing.

However, the fact remains that in this heyday the printing press still had a very limited, even discontinuous, presence in Muslim Ottomans' book culture. It seems that with their dedication to copying, library spaces took the lead in the acceleration of book production in this period and printing had a secondary role. This was a predominantly manuscript culture where now ostentatious envelopes were built to house valuable manuscript assemblages. From this angle, these libraries give the impression of "flamboyant medieval" institutions, as it were, of the consumption of books. The most sophisticated public library movement developed in a manuscript culture (perhaps with the remote exception of ancient Rome), eighteenth-century Ottoman libraries occupy a peculiar place in world library history.

The growth of the Ottoman secretary class seems to have been a major factor of the marked direction towards encyclopedic coverage in library collections and the emphasis on *adab* fields as well as a factor behind the overall rise of the demand for books. Highly promoted in the libraries, cultivation in *adab*, literary and rhetorical skills, moral discourses and history, and a taste for calligraphy, which found a quasi-museal setting in the libraries, was defined long before the Ottomans as a form of "adorning" the self, a practice memorably distinguished in the tenth

century from "exalting" law and "useful" medicine.[14] It is possible to think of this strong interest in *adab* testified by the libraries as part of a more encompassing preoccupation with ornament in eighteenth-century Istanbul. The ascendance and expansion of the market for luxury goods, mainly imported porcelains, textiles and furnishing objects, was a conspicuous reality in the Ottoman capital. The fountain built in 1746 in suburban Beykoz by the Manager of the Customs Bureau İshak Ağa, a collaborator of Mehterzâde Ali Efendi in the rococo-embellished Hagia Sophia Public Kitchen project,[15] is a striking case of the tendency to monumentalize architectural ornament in the free-standing fountains of the century with a unique form that resembles arcades built in front of Ottoman mosques for centuries, but here with the absence of another edifice behind (fig. C.1). This interesting monument not only looks conceptually akin to the imaginary pavilions made of rococo ornaments seen in several plates published in Europe in the early eighteenth century, which helped the dissemination of this idiom (fig. C.2) but also implies a reflection on the operation of architectural ornament and the possibility of its autonomy. Dâyezâde Mustafa expressed his analysis of the ornamental facet in Selimiye's architecture in the same years when this fountain was built. Ottomans had access to images of Palladian architecture as well in the eighteenth century,[16] but they embraced rococo from among the European idioms they knew, most probably partly because it well accorded with a heyday of Ottoman sensitivity to and appetite for ornaments. Construction of the Âtıf Efendi Library which

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[14] See "Excursus" in the present study, footnote 41.

[15] *Vak'anüvis Subhî Mehmed Efendi: Subhî Tarihi, Sâmî ve Şâkir Tarihleri ile Birlikte* (İnceleme ve Karşılaştırmalı Metin), ed. Mesut Aydıner (İstanbul, 2007), p. 764.

[16] The English Palladian architect James Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture: Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments* (London, 1728), which was referred to in Chapter 1, and Giacomo Leoni's *The Architecture of A. Palladio* (London, 1721) are found in the Topkapı Palace Treasury Library and registered at H. 2610 and H. 2611 respectively. See, Gül İrepoğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine Kütüphanesindeki Batılı Kaynaklar Üzerine Düşünceler," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık* 1 (1986): 66-67. A copy of Palladio's own *The Four Books on Architecture* in English was sent from the Palace Treasury Library to the library of the School of Engineering in Istanbul in 1804: Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne: Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphânesi (1776-1826)* (İstanbul, 1995), p. 280.

Müstakîmzâde celebrated as crucial in the establishment of the trend in 1742 was a few years after the first adoption of rococo in Ottoman architecture and was simultaneous not only with the building of the Fatih Library but also with a librarian candidate's exclamation of "passion/urge for books," as noted in Chapter 1. Knowledge and intellectual competence served in this broad conjuncture of an urge for ornament the purpose of ornamenting one's self in a particular way. This was sometimes contrasted to and sometimes seen as complementary with corporeal ornaments, and as a more venerable occupation. Frequent textile analogies for erudition and eloquence support the impression that libraries were grand investments in ornament.

*Adab* study in the Islamic tradition was a combination of the investigation of the world and of the human condition with an emphatic taste for the playfulness and virtuosity of language. This correspondence between the visible rise of literature and history and the library-building trend suggests a noteworthy parallel with the milieu that Jacob Burckhardt described in *The Civilization of the Renaissance*. Burckhardt famously pointed to the power of humanism to represent the individual and general human nature as the true source of the power of conception in the Italian Renaissance than the rediscovery of antiquity and emphasized that it basically resided in the lives and thoughts of contemporaries more than the ancient literary sources they studied.[17] The *adab* sections in their libraries mark a peak of the sensibility towards and accessibility of humanistic fields in the cultural scene of the Ottoman capital while the series of independent library buildings fundamentally reflect a rivalry for advertising the founders' sophistication. Burckhardt underlined the importance of the ideal of the "many-sided man," which most strongly drew humanists, statesmen and merchants to varied interests in the Italian fifteenth century, notwithstanding the existence of men of encyclopedic knowledge in many

[17] Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, transl. by S. G. C. Middlemore (London and New York, 1990).

countries in the earlier Middle Ages.[18] Likewise, *hezarfen*s in the Ottoman seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the encyclopedic contents of most of the libraries mark another era when the celebration and pursuit of this Muslim and Christian medieval ideal was concentrated. Not unlike the European dilettante, adibs as well pursued in verse and prose literatures not only advice and political lessons but also an appreciation of form, lessons in rhetoric, and entertainment through these skills and through encounters with the unusual. Eloquence, beneficial to viziers, storytellers and all gentlemen, preserved its prime place among the stated aims of *adab* in the eighteenth century. The Age of Libraries, with its reinforcement of the polymathia ideal, its backing for individual compilations, which gave an important room for playful-ornamental pursuits, and certainly not least, its competitive complexion best concretized in the library buildings, calls to be seen as a Burckhardtian environment lived in Istanbul.

Consumption of books in general was no doubt easier in this period and more common than in earlier centuries including the sixteenth century, which once used to be, in a now-archaic historical interpretation, hailed as the Ottoman golden age. At the same time, libraries appear among the crystallizations of broader Ottoman efforts to rival earlier Islamic achievements. They had intellectual products that resemble Mamluk encyclopedism, which is a close precedent for the Ottoman Age of *Çelebi*s, had developed a Turkish poetry modeled after Arabic and Persian literatures since the sixteenth century,[19] and provided a long-term force for the study of theology and law, which generally retained a primary place in libraries as well. The library movement constituted a profound engagement with the Islamic corpus and facilitated its study. The collections contain abundant works by pre-Ottoman authors in every subject. This overarching

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[18] Ibid., pp. 101-102.

[19] Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham, 2005).

weight of the Islamic corpus could also be accompanied by an explicit reference to earlier Islam, to the Abbasid era as an overall milieu to be recovered in the poem that commemorated Mustafa Paşa's *'İlmâbâd.* However, eighteenth-century libraries not only point to a leap in the development of Ottoman learning, but also have an original place in Islamic history especially with the scale of publicity it brought to bookish culture and the remarkable attention with which these public rooms were treated as an object of architecture.

Masonry manifestations of the competition around books, Ottoman library buildings were designed in a surprisingly wide range of architectural formulas. Nearly ten distinct plan solutions were employed in about forty extant or demolished libraries in and outside Istanbul virtually all of which originated in the capital. Some plans were never repeated, even if they had first appeared in a famous library. Others, when they were taken as the model of later projects, were usually applied with some modifications – either in site planning or in proportions of the building or with certain additions – and such successive examples were often built with long time intervals between. Consequently, libraries stand as one of the least standardized building types in the history of Ottoman architecture in terms of plans and volumes. In this, they far surpass even free-standing fountains thanks to their higher number and spatial complexities, in a century when the taste for the novel and surprising was more manifest in details and decoration in other building types, including mosques. If the concentration of the building craft's power of creativity and originality reflects a prestige for the building type, the diversity of library buildings denotes a status at a high register. There is also no sub-period when any tendency towards standardization is observed in one and a half century of this library architecture, which indicates that an experimentalism due basically to the novelty of the function had but a limited role behind this variety. An important factor behind it might be individualistic tendencies of the

founders, since development of Ottoman libraries in independent buildings prepared a fruitful plane for particular accents, visual and spatial, in the competition around books.

One of the questions of the present study was whether there was a "library architecture paradigm" operative in the Ottomans' minds within this visual diversity. The answer proposed here is that Ottoman conceptions of library space revolved around two concurrent and highly effective pillars. First, libraries could be designed recognizably close to mosques in their plans, site plans and decorations throughout the period. This easier observation was corroborated during the research for the present thesis with the surprising BaytulMamur/Kaba analogy verbally expressed in a range of written sources about some libraries that went hand in hand with book depositories in cubic shapes placed at the center of reading rooms. This trend of building/seeing a graphic illustration of the holy sanctuary demands to be seen as an architectural symbolism of high import, it reflects the extent of the Ottoman inclination to perceive library space akin to sanctuaries and library experience as exalting.

The second pillar of the Ottomans' library building conception was small retreat pavilions and kiosks. Some indoor pavilions for reading and/or the storage of books evidently built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and called *köşk*s, may be called Ottoman "*ur*-libraries" architecturally. The smaller portable bookcases made in architectural forms in the same period and the indoor pavilions that also resembled architectural models paved the way for a determining presence of the "model paradigm" in the designs of the public libraries of the eighteenth century. Fragments of some known buildings could be copied in new projects, often near a library context, and later in the period, plans and contours of the entirety of older buildings, some discernable Ottoman or non-Ottoman edifices or generic types, were reproduced as masonry library halls, which essentially look like architectural models. This is another original

aspect of the Ottomans' management of library architecture. In fact, it is possible to evaluate these interesting engagements with the architecture of the past, together with the taste for quotations exemplified in other building types too, basically as playful gestures from the same nature with and correlated to the enjoyment of plays and surprises in *adab* works. The important place of architectural models in public festivals in the middle of various visual and verbal entertainments and sensory sources of pleasure, during their kinship with the *ur-* and then public library structures supports the impression that they were commonly associated with the *lu'biyât*, the playful modality. Meanwhile, cognizance of architecture secured a large niche in adibs' enjoyments and interests in this century as the series of written traces introduced in the present study, typically concentrated around members of the secretary class, indicate.

Masonry wings of mansions frequently housed books while small garden pavilions of the palatial architecture, the quintessential *köşk*s, could likewise be allocated to books and served as the examples of a series of libraries. Pavilion structures, indoor cabinets and most of all the group of libraries built adjacent to mosques and visually underlined thus the quality of being little reveal a sustained focus on the charm of the small in the Ottoman library tradition. This, in turn, manifests a common phenomenological association of library space with inward retreat and personal ceremony, apparently a main dynamic of the library architecture conception.

The sanctuary paradigm and the pavilion paradigm in Ottoman library architecture seem to correspond to two aims of reading, elevation of the spirit and personal leisure retreats. Alternatively, at the risk of simplification, they can be seen as corresponding to the religious sciences in the collections which have sublime purposes and the *adab* sections with their worldly and playful promises. But of course the visual marker of the BaytulMamur analogy was no other than one version, or product, of the indoor cabinet tradition; it was in effect a Kaba model.

Moreover, many libraries from the Ahmed III and the Hekimoğlu onwards were actually designed with combinations of the pavilion-model morphology and the BaytulMamur-mosque semblance. Similar to the coexistence of the two main clusters of pursuits through books, the truth of the Ottoman library architecture paradigm practically "oscillated" between its two pillars.

There is little doubt that the progress of libraries as a building type in Western Europe in the earlier centuries formed one layer of inspiration for the Ottomans' introduction and embrace of the type. But the western inspiration was clearly far surpassed by the local intellectual, social and architectural dynamics of the Ottoman seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The libraries' epoch was a period of attempt for advancement predominantly with the help of the cultural storehouse of Islamdom coupled with an admiration for the West. It can be assumed that the true European inspiration that echoed in Ottoman libraries and contributed to the Ottomans' motivation was the broader phenomenon of Western advance in the systematicity of publication, circulation, and accessibility of books, since an architecture for books was basically an advance in responses to these needs.

Etienne Louis Boullée wrote, "If there is one project that should please the Architect and at the same time, fire his genius, it is a Public Library,"[20] in his treatise-memoirs in 1785. Deriving from an old sensitivity for comprehensiveness developed around catalogues, bibliographies and collecting practices,[21] he also wrote in the same pages, "The building that is

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[20] Etienne Louis Boullée, *Mémoire sur les moyens de procurer a la bibliotheque du Roi les avantages que ce monument exigue* (Paris, 1785), translated as "Memorandum," in Helen Rosenau, *Boullée and Visionary Architecture* (London, 1976), pp. 103-104.

[21] Roger Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors and Libraries in Europe Between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Stanford, 1994).

most precious to a Nation is undoubtedly one which houses all acquired knowledge."[22] A salvaging agenda embedded in a program of comprehensiveness was certainly a point at which the Ottoman library movement most closely converged with its Western counterpart. This was an explicit reason for the commemoration of the Râgıb Paşa Library, as mentioned in Chapter 4, but evident in the Köprülü and many later libraries. Ottoman libraries served as outstanding centers of preservation of Islamic patrimony with their great numbers of rare and antique items and have also been prime centers of inquiry for modern students of various aspects of the history of the Middle East. The library built by Esad Efendi, the son of an Istanbul booksellers' guild master, the state chronicler (from 1825 on) and the initial director of the first Ottoman state newspaper (1831), between 1846-48 near Hagia Sophia housed in its collection one of the oldest extant copies of Rumi's divan[23] and the thirteenth-century Baghdad copy of the tenth-century Encyclopedia of the Brethren of Purity (*Rasa'il Ikhwan as-Safa*), which is famous today for the frontispiece that depicts its authors,[24] (fig. C.3) among several other centuries-old volumes and alongside more than 300 history books and more than 300 miscellaneous *mecmûa*s, a number far above the *mecmûa*s in other libraries. With its Tuscan Doric columns and the tympanum windows of its dome (fig. C.4), this notably rich site of history and memory that Esad Efendi built is in the same idiom with the Ottoman architect Stefan Kalfa's new Sublime Porte blocks (1844) and the State Archive Building that was built by the Swiss architect Gaspare Fossati during the same period as the library.

The demand for libraries from below was largely an Istanbul trend. Nearly all the libraries built in the provinces before the end of the eighteenth century were investments of

[22] Boullée, ibid., pp. 104-105.
[23] The Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Esad Efendi 2693.
[24] The Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, Esad Efendi 3638.

figures in the central elite in a town where they had a certain kind of personal attachment, whereas after the turn of the century local notable families extended the fashion much further. The patronage pattern behind the library architecture sponsored by the provincial notables remains outside the scope of the present study. But it is remarkable that while these two dynamics brought library buildings to several small towns as well as larger ones like Kayseri, Manisa and Sarajevo, there is a conspicuous absence of purpose-built libraries in many other important Ottoman towns. This high concentration of library buildings in Istanbul during the eighteenth century is due largely to the exceptional scale and complexity of its metropolitan society but is also no doubt related to the political returns of casting architecture for libraries.

There is a relative decline of library construction in Istanbul in the early nineteenth century. Sultan Selim III did not build a library in his name, but commissioned in 1802 an interesting architectural modification in the madrasa located in his father Mustafa III's mosque complex, the Laleli, with which a large book depository was built adjacent to the lecture room to house a collection endowed from the royal treasury. The "study space" (*mütalaâ mahalli*) mentioned in the sultanic decree with which the library was founded[25] must be none other than the lecture room. The standard Quranic verse placed in libraries is seen above its door in the section drawing made in the documentation of this madrasa-library by the Committee of Historic Preservation before its complete demolition following the 1917 fire that damaged its environs but the edifice and the book collection survived (figs. C.5-C.6). This case is obviously not among the assertive architectural formulas Ottomans applied in libraries. Mahmud II did not found a library in the capital either, instead he made a book endowment to the library built in Nicosia in 1829 by the governor of Cyprus adjacent to the apse/mihrab wall of the converted Venetian

[25] BOA [Prime Ministry Ottoman Archives, Istanbul], HAT 1485/41 (26 Zilkâde 1217 [1802]).

cathedral, the Selimiye Mosque, in order also to centralize the older *waqf* book collections placed in different institutions in the town.[26] On the other hand, in the 1820s two new library structures were built in Istanbul. One of them is the addition made by Hâlet Efendi in 1820 to the Mawlawi Lodge at the northern outskirt of Galata and is architecturally reminiscent of the Hekimoğlu Library of the earlier century with its loggia arcade and its main room in the upper storey of the structure and its place next to the compound's entrance (figs. C.7-C.8). The other is found in the dervish lodge rebuilt by a Halveti shaykh, Mehmed Abdürreşid Efendi who was known as Küçük Efendi, in 1825 near the southwestern portion of the city walls. With the elliptic plan of its ritual hall and the plasticity of its screen wall on the street side both the ground and cornice of which are undulating lines, this ensemble is generally evaluated as an important example of the Ottoman application of the Baroque.[27] This undulating façade may really be a second echo of Borromini's San Carlo alla Quattro Fontane in Ottoman architecture after the plan of its interior, though not the façade, was applied in the Nuruosmaniye Library.[28] The library in the Küçük Efendi Complex is a simple rectangular room with a vestibule, but located right behind the street façade and on its central axis, adjacent to the ritual hall. It thus fills the space between the two, accommodates the two axes and becomes a main constituent of the ensemble's plan (figs. C.9-C.10). The architecture in these two cases highlights the prestige of libraries and the Ottomans' attraction to them while their presence in sufi lodges indicates an important level of accessibility given the weight of religious confraternities as socialization forums. But the first half of the nineteenth century lagged behind the eighteenth century in the appearance of new library halls

[26] İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, *Kıbrıs Sultan İkinci Mahmut Kütüphanesi* (Ankara, 1964).
[27] Aptullah Kuran, "Türk Barok Mimarisinde Batı Anlamında Bir Teşebbüs: Küçük Efendi Manzumesi" *Belleten* 27 (1963): 467-76; Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971), pp. 414-416.
[28] The Arif Hikmet Efendi Sabil in Üsküdar (1858) features the same undulating line as its façade profile.

and Esad Efendi's monument not only brought a library back to the city center but also denoted the end of the Age of Libraries in the structure of learning in Istanbul.

The slowing down in the early nineteenth century and more the fact that the Tanzimat showed surprisingly little interest in promoting libraries and cultivating architecture for them pose significant questions. It can be assumed, first, that the demand for libraries in the capital approached saturation in the late eighteenth century. But it would be an important failure to forget the new framework shaped by the apparent end of the Ottoman economic growth in the 1770s and the decisive defeat against Russia in 1774, which produced disastrous financial and political results from which the Ottomans never truly recovered. These two conventionally underlined cornerstones of late Ottoman history remind us that the general prosperity in the Ottoman center and the capabilities of the elites to make cultural investments in particular were henceforth in worse constraints.

More interesting, however, is the impression that the relationship between the acceleration of printing activity in the second quarter of the nineteenth century and the decline of the library movement was more than indirect. Not only numerous histories, a genre which already had a large share among the books printed earlier since Müteferrika, but also several divans and collected prose writings, often old texts rather than contemporary and hitherto "published" only in libraries, were printed in Istanbul (supplemented by Turkish and Arabic books printed in Bulaq in Egypt, which also easily circulated in Istanbul) from the 1830s onward. This was the time when works of literature, and suddenly many of them, entered the scope of printing. Religious and moral treatises began to proliferate in print in the same decade

and soon were joined by folk stories. More scientific texts than before followed.[29] From this true print revolution in Ottoman history, the need felt for libraries to access books in various fields and genres diminished. This coincidence of the turning point in the effectiveness of the printing press with the end of the library trend strengthens the point asserted above that a first-order function of the eighteenth-century Ottoman libraries, a basic rationale of this manuscript library regime, was to serve as media of publication. The unusual scale of the publication agenda is a major aspect of the historical originality of this regime.

A major dimension of nineteenth-century Ottoman reforms was education. The series of new schools established for all levels of education, funded and run by the centralizing state, constituted a new sphere, which had significant impacts. Besides new schools of medicine, public administration and law, primary schools and a wave of secondary schools were founded in the capital and the provinces especially from the third quarter of the nineteenth century on where Western methods and curricula were given major roles.[30] But the Tanzimat, instead of bringing a new dynamism to library architecture, spent incomparably less energy on public libraries than on modern schools. Münif Paşa's project of founding a National Library (*Millet Kütübhânesi*) in an imposing building in Istanbul in 1871 did not materialize.[31] The Ottoman General Library (*Kütübhâne-i Umûmi-i Osmâni*; today Beyazıt State Library) was opened during the reign of Abdülhamid II in 1884, but the space allocated for this institution was the early-sixteenth-century public kitchen building of the Bayezid II Complex. The law that decreed the collection of all

[29] For the printing activities and publications of this period see, Alpay Kabacalı, *Başlangıcından Günümüze Türkiye'de Matbaa, Basın ve Yayın* (İstanbul, 2000); Jale Baysal, *Müteferrika'dan Birinci Meşrutiyet'e Kadar Osmanlı Türklerinin Bastıkları Kitaplar, 1729-1875* (İstanbul, 2010); Johann Strauss, "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 1-1 (January, 2003): 39-76; Johann Strauss, *The Egyptian Connection in 19th Century Ottoman Intellectual History* (Beirut, 2000), pp. 33-48.

[30] See, Selçuk Akşin Somel, The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908, Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline (Leiden, Boston, 2001).

[31] See, Müjgân Cunbur, "Münif Paşa Lâyıhası ve Değerlendirilmesi" *Ankara Üniversitesi D.T.C. Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi* II/2-3 (1964): 223-231.

material printed in the country in this library and the other two national libraries in Ankara and Izmir passed only in 1934. The scarcity of libraries despite the generally strong attention paid to education from Mahmud II and the Tanzimat reforms onwards highlights another facet of the nature of the pre-Tanzimat libraries. The new schooling system apparently contributed to the eclipse of the library trend, because the *waqf* libraries hitherto vigorously fulfilled a particular form of educational function for the elite cadres, as schools of autodidact learning. The autodidactic method had important shares in Ottoman learning certainly before and after the libraries' period as well, but the libraries mark an era when this method probably held a more profound role in the Ottomans' cultural world. The rise of libraries not only implies an expansion of the autodidactic method but also strongly points to a transformation in its basic structure where solitary and individual learning now secured considerable territory besides the older and conventional culture of social gatherings. Madrasas and nineteenth-century schools alike had largely task-oriented curricular systems. The Age of Libraries opened a wide room for pursuits of enjoyment in learning and for personal paths as an epochal quality.

# APPENDIX: Map showing the libraries built in Istanbul between the 1670s and 1850

The ground map is from A. I. Melling's *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Paris, 1819)


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Köprülü | before 1676 |
| 2 | Feyzullah Efendi | 1700 |
| 3 | Amcazâde Hüseyin Paşa | 1700 |
| 4 | Çorlulu Ali Paşa | 1709 |
| 5 | Şehid Ali Paşa (Vefa) | before 1715 |
| 6 | Şehid Ali Paşa (Yerebatan) | before 1715 |
| 7 | Ahmed III | 1719 |
| 8 | Damad İbrahim Paşa | 1720 |
| 9 | Ahmediye | 1722 |
| 10 | Yeni Cami | 1725 |
| 11 | Mustafa Paşa's *İlmâbâd** | 1728 |
| 12 | Mirzazâde Mehmed Efendi | 1731 |
| 13 | Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa | 1733 |
| 14 | Cârullah Efendi | 1734 |
| 15 | Beşir Ağa (Eyüp) | 1735 |
| 16 | Ayasofya | 1740 |
| 17 | Mustafa Efendi / Âşir Efendi | before 1741 |
| 18 | Âtıf Efendi | 1742 |
| 19 | Fatih | 1742 |
| 20 | Beşir Ağa (Yerebatan) | 1745 |
| 21 | Galata Palace | 1753 |
| 22 | Nuruosmaniye | 1755 |
| 23 | Râgıb Paşa | 1763 |
| 24 | Bostancılar | 1767 |
| 25 | Veliyüddin Efendi | 1768 |
| 26 | Murad Molla | 1775 |
| 27 | Hamidiye | 1780 |
| 28 | Selim Ağa | 1783 |
| 29 | Dülgerzâde | 1788 |
| 30 | Laleli | 1802 |
| 31 | Küçük Efendi | 1825 |
| 32 | Hâlet Efendi | 1820 |
| 33 | Pertev Paşa | 1836 |
| 34 | Esad Efendi | 1848 |

**İlmâbâd*'s location is not known.

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# ILLUSTRATIONS

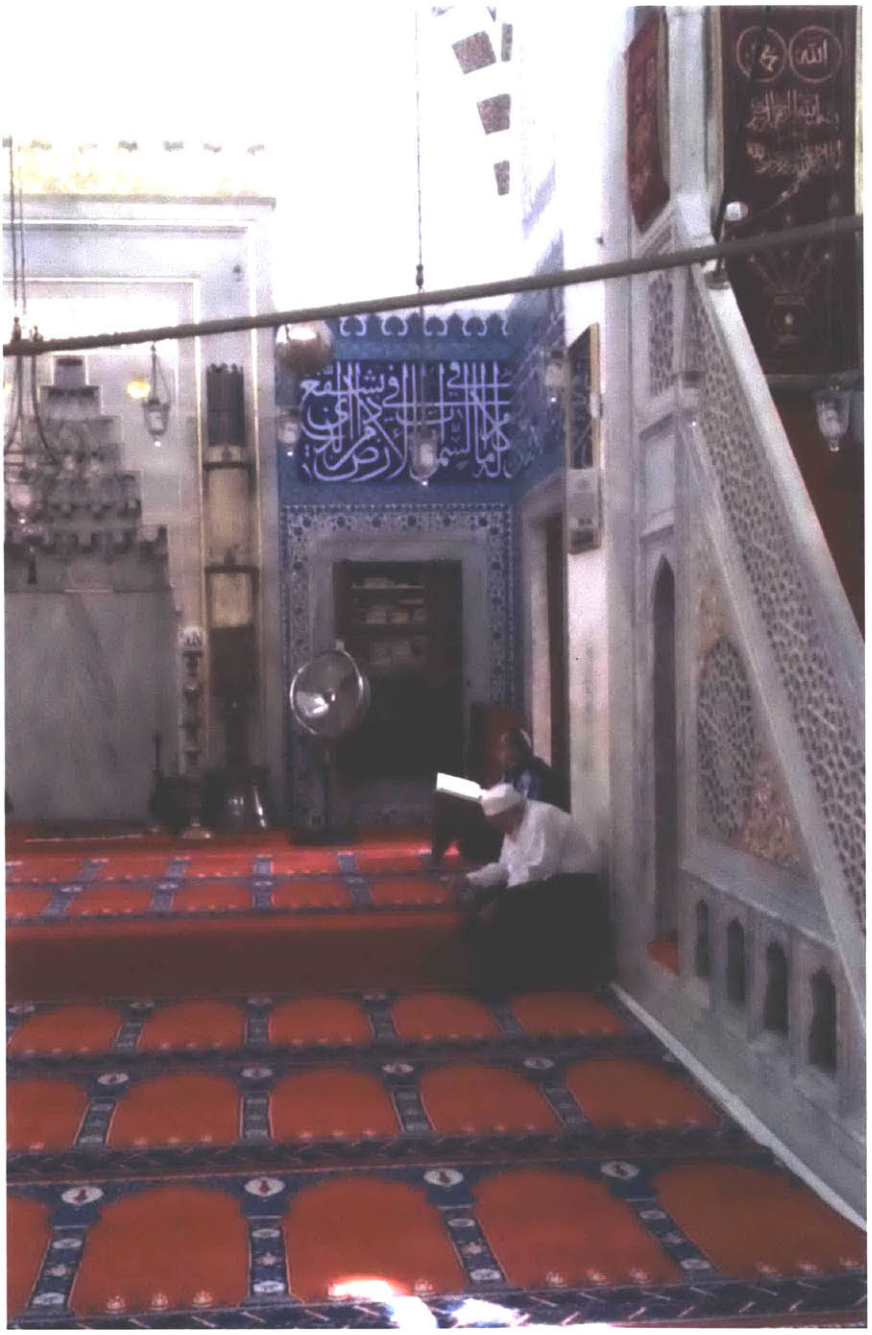

Fig. 1.1 One of the book niches in the Atik Valide Mosque, Üsküdar (1583).

Fig. 1.2 Library section of the Eyne Bey Madrasa, Bursa (before 1402).

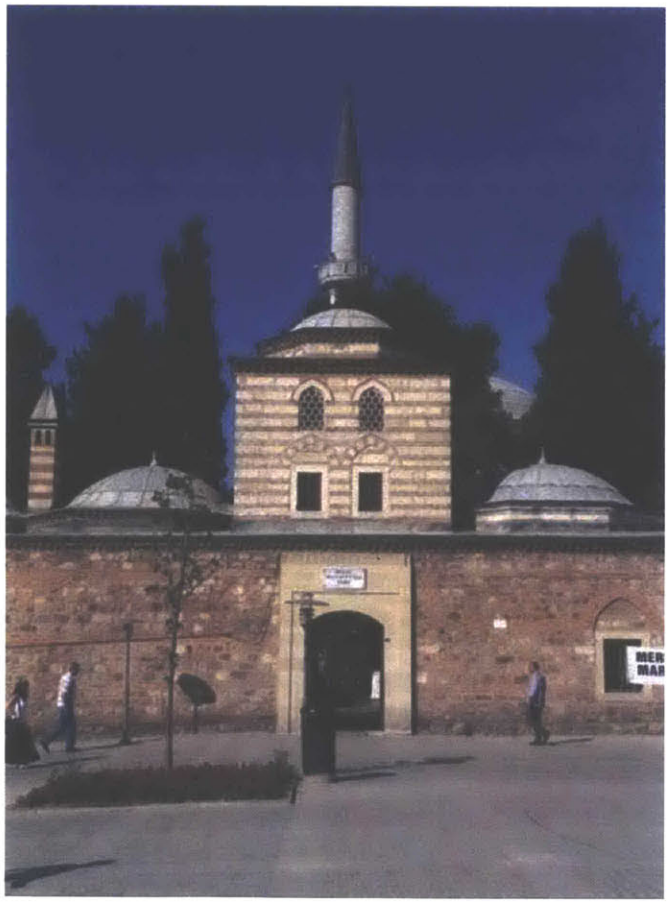

Fig. 1.3 Library room of the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Complex, Gebze (1524).

Fig. 1.4 Library room of the Çoban Mustafa Paşa Complex.

Fig. 1.5 Köprülü Library, Istanbul (before 1676) (from Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*).

Fig. 1.6 Feyzullah Efendi Madrasa, Istanbul (1700).

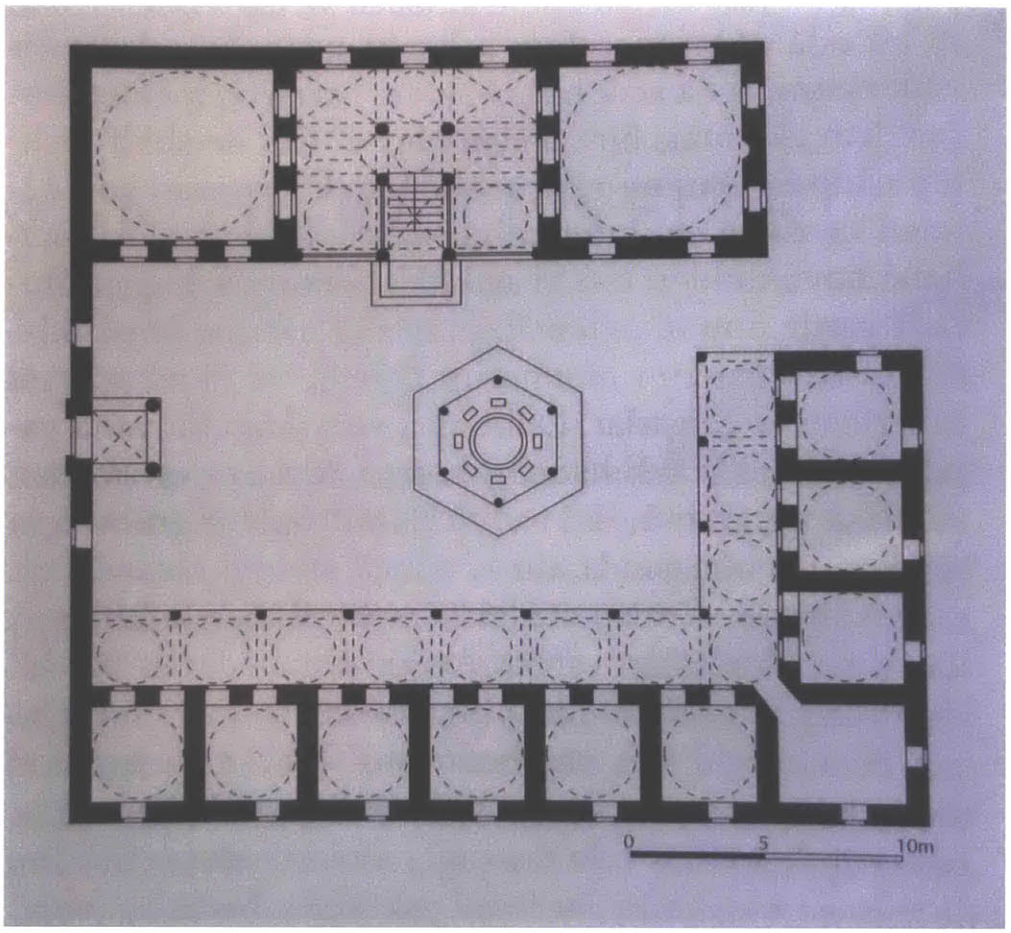


Fig. 1.7. Plan of the Feyzullah Efendi Madrasa (from Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*).

Fig. 1.8 Interior of the Feyzulah Efendi Library; five of the six niches on the walls.

Fig. 1.9 Feyzullah Efendi Madrasa from the exterior. The volume on the right is the library, the one on the left is the lecture hall. The lower section of the walls of the library have the niches inside.

Fig. 1.10 Loggia of the Feyzullah Efendi Madrasa between the library (left) and the lecture hall (right), as they are seen from the courtyard.

Fig. 1.11 Portico of the Yeni Cami (completed in 1663).

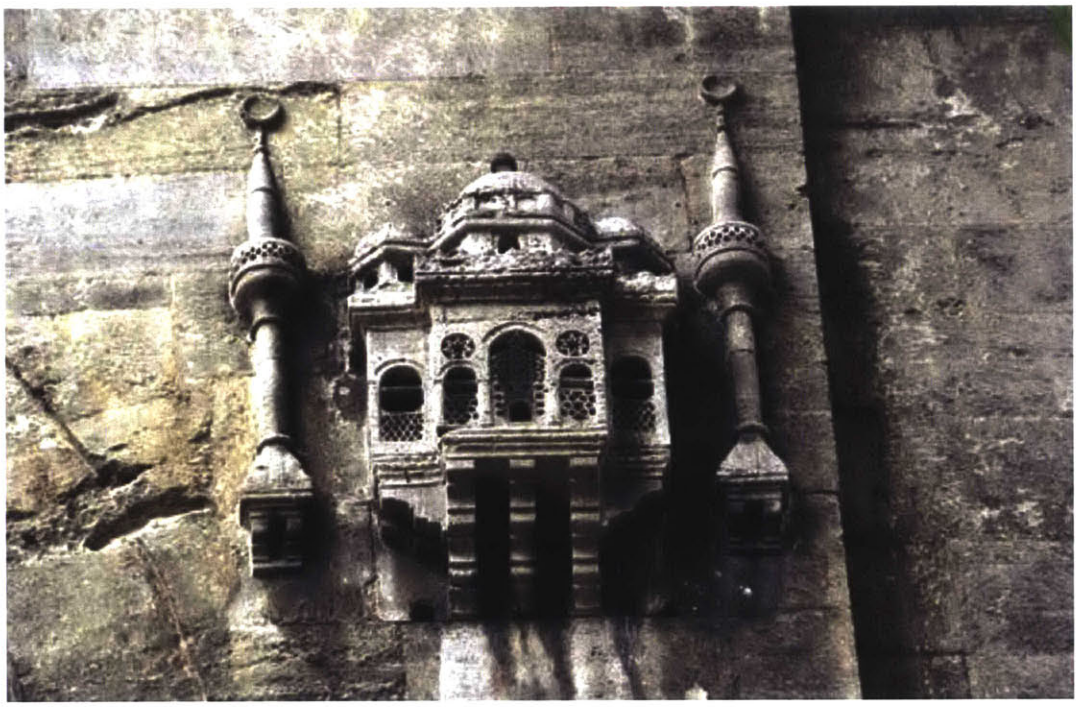

Fig. 1.12 Birdhouse on a wall of the Gülnuş Valide Sultan (Yeni Valide) Mosque, Üsküdar (1711).


Fig. 1.13 Inscription of the Feyzullah Efendi Library.

Fig. 1.14 Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Madrasa, Istanbul (1700). The library is the taller structure on the right.

Fig. 1.15 Library at the Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Madrasa (from Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*).

Fig. 1.16 Street façade of the Çorlulu Ali Paşa madrasa and *tekke* complex, Istanbul (1709).

Fig. 1.17 Library room of the Çorlulu Ali Paşa Madrasa (from Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*).

Fig. 1.18 Library room of the Ahmediye Madrasa, Üsküdar (1722).

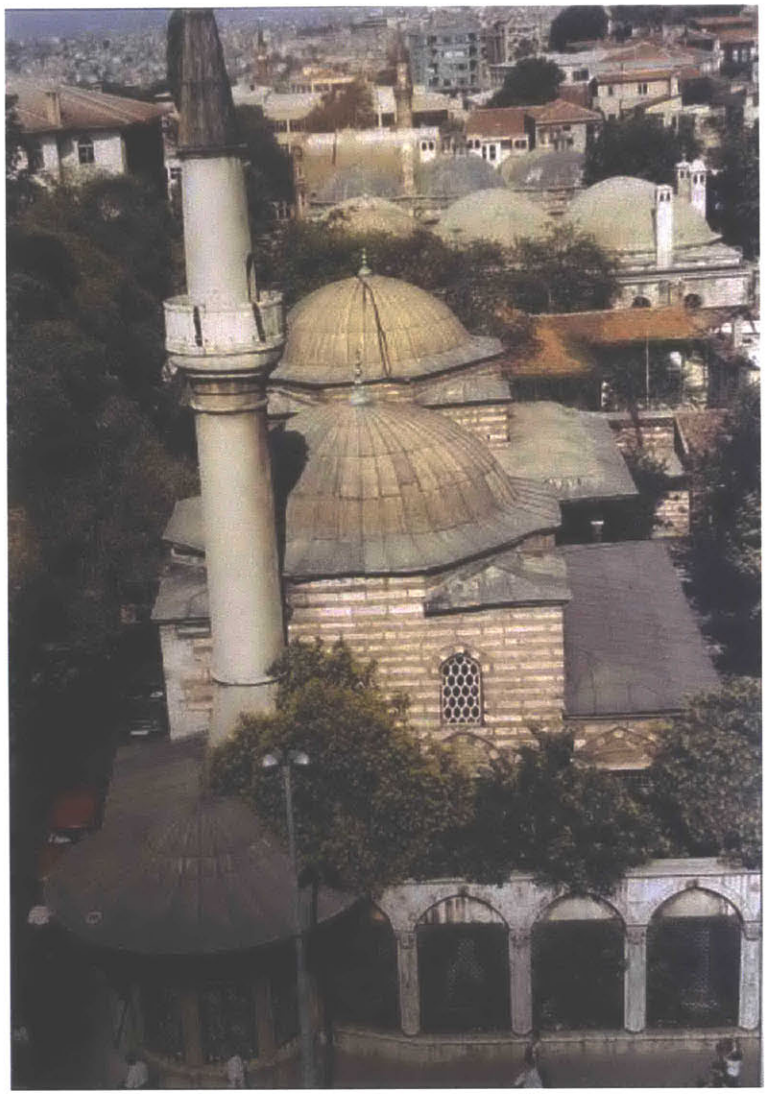

Fig. 1.19 Lecture room and the library room of the Damad İbrahim Paşa Madrasa, Istanbul (1720). The minaret was later added to the lecture room when it began to function also as a mosque. (from Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*).

Fig. 1.20 Library room of the Damad İbrahim Paşa Madrasa.

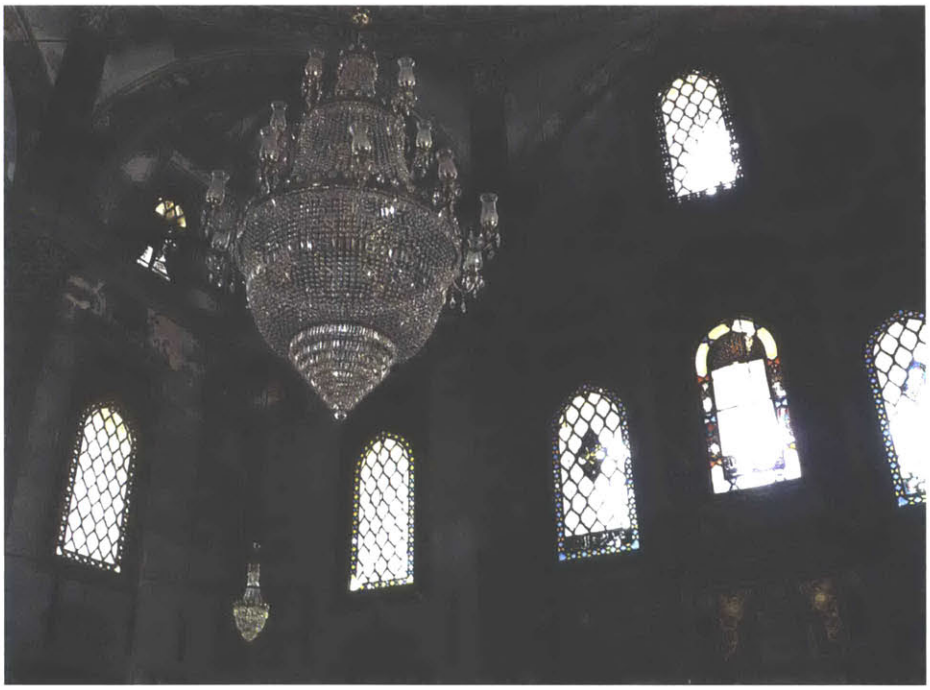

Fig. 1.21 Interior of the Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque in Shumen (1744).

Fig. 1.22 Mihrab niche in portico of the Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque.

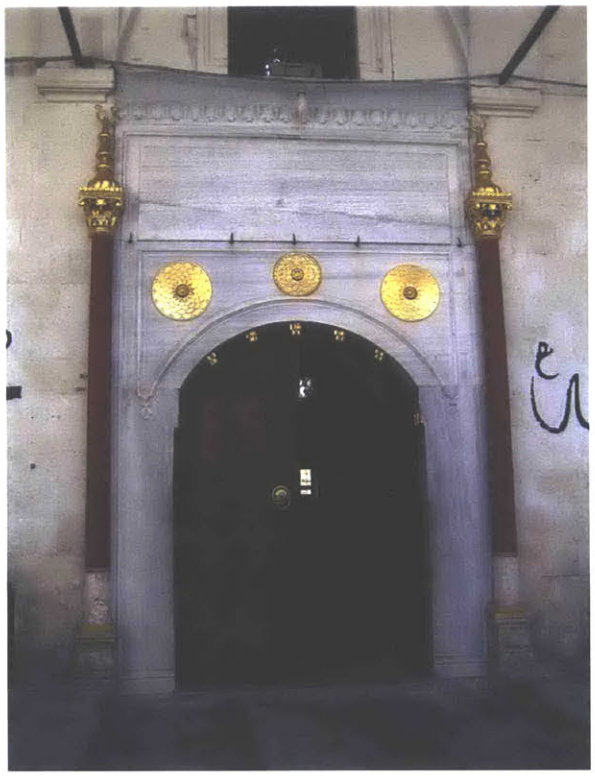

Fig. 1.23 Entrance to the Şerif Halil Paşa Mosque.

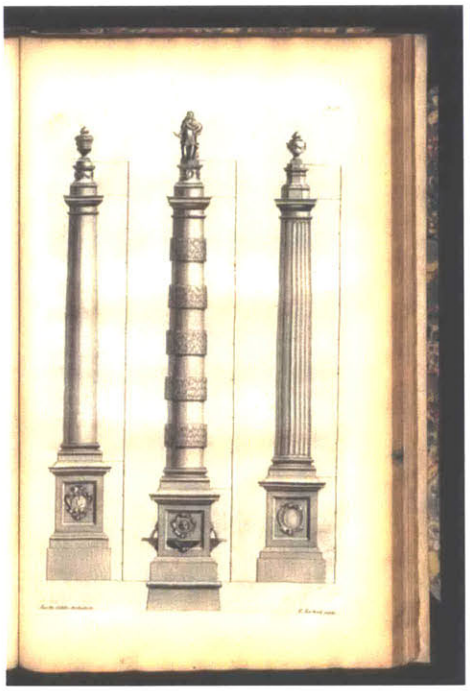

Fig. 1.24 Garden ornaments in James Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture: Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*; plate 87.

Fig. 1.25 Library in the Şerif Halil Paşa Complex in Shumen (1744).

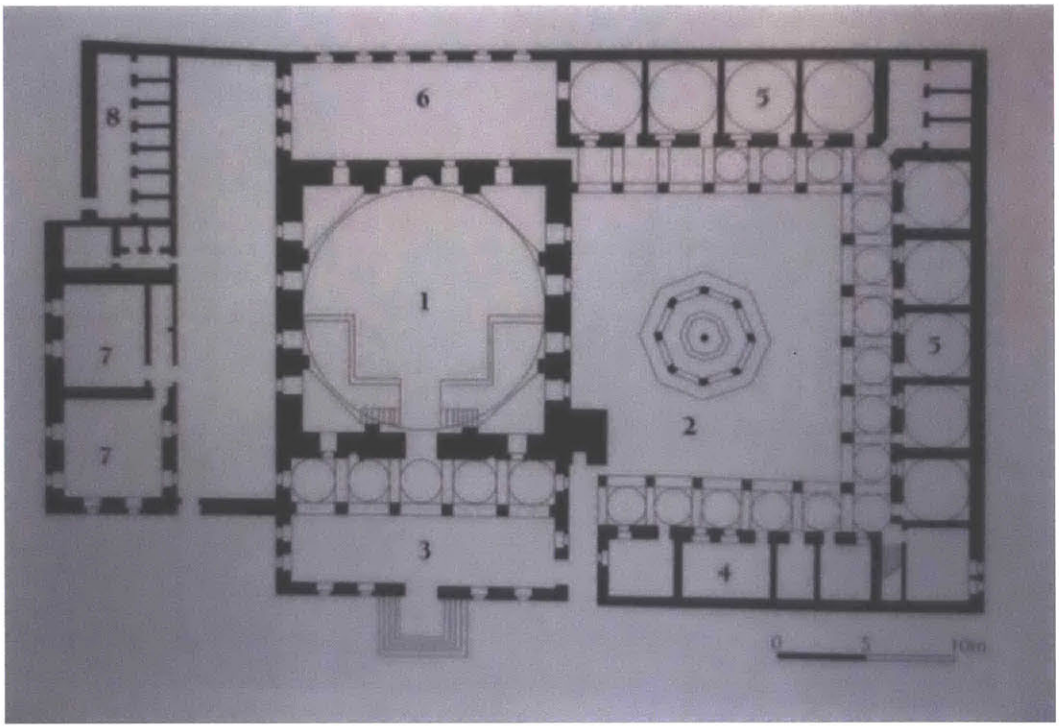


Fig. 1.26 Plan of the Şerif Halil Paşa Complex in Shumen. The library is numbered 4, the mosque 1, student rooms of the madrasa 5 (from Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*).

Fig. 1.27 View of the library from the courtyard of the madrasa in the Şerif Halil Paşa Complex.

Fig. 1.28 Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Complex, Istanbul (completed in 1734). The library (1733) is on the right.

Fig. 1.29 Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library (1733).

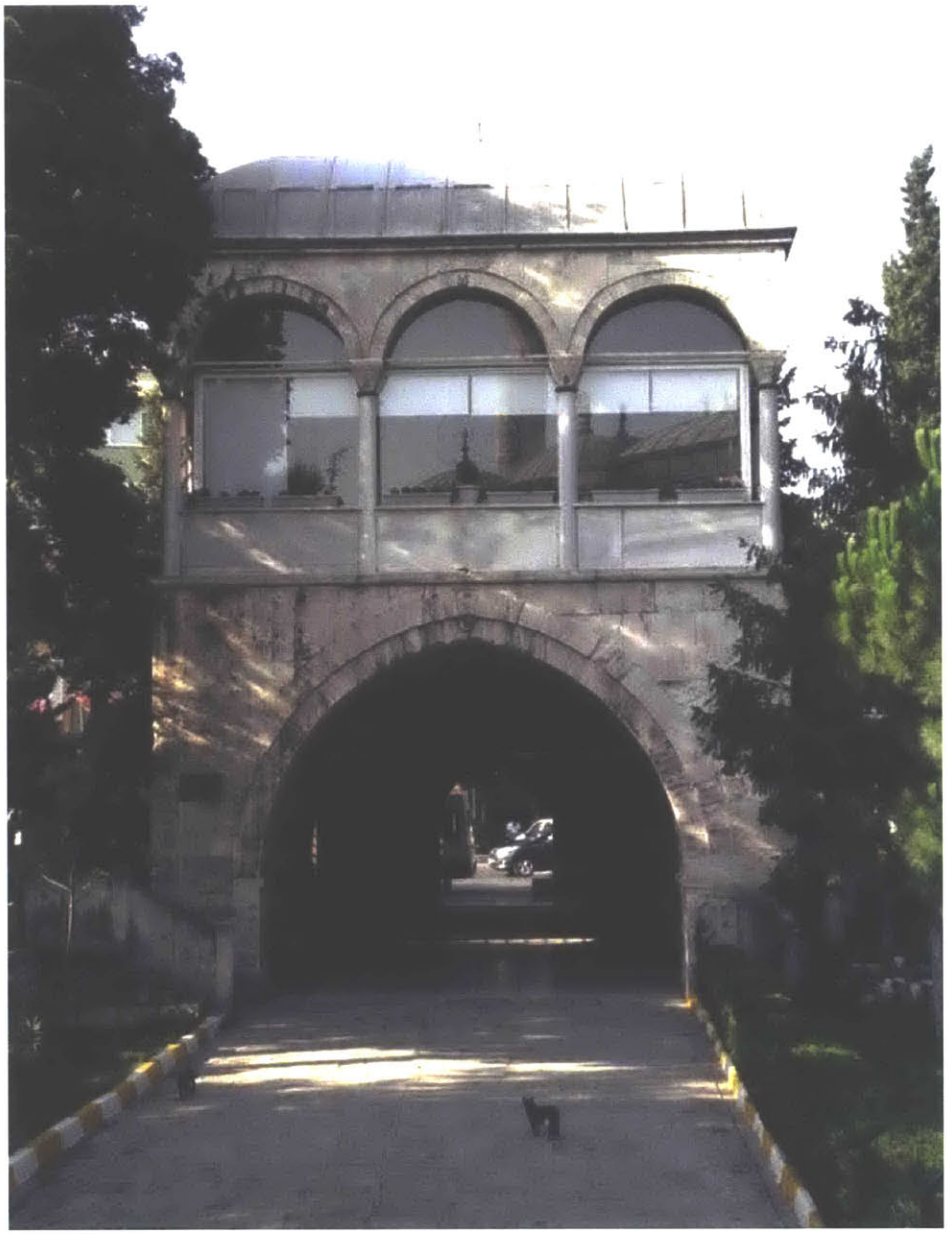

Fig. 1.30 Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library.

Fig. 1.31 Birdhouse on the façade of the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library.

Fig. 1.32 Inscription on the southern gate of the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa's palace-and-mosque compound.

Fig. 1.33 Imperial Gate of the Topkapı Palace in Thomas Allom's engraving (1840s).

Fig. 1.34 Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library (from Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*).

Fig. 1.35 Ali Qapu Palace, Isfahan.

Fig. 1.36 Lecture and hadith recitation room and the entrance to the Hagia Sophia Library (1739).

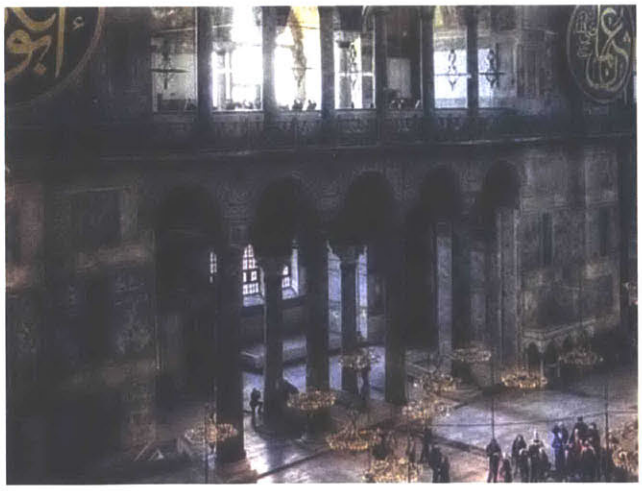

Fig. 1.37 Arcade between the nave and the aisle in Hagia Sophia.

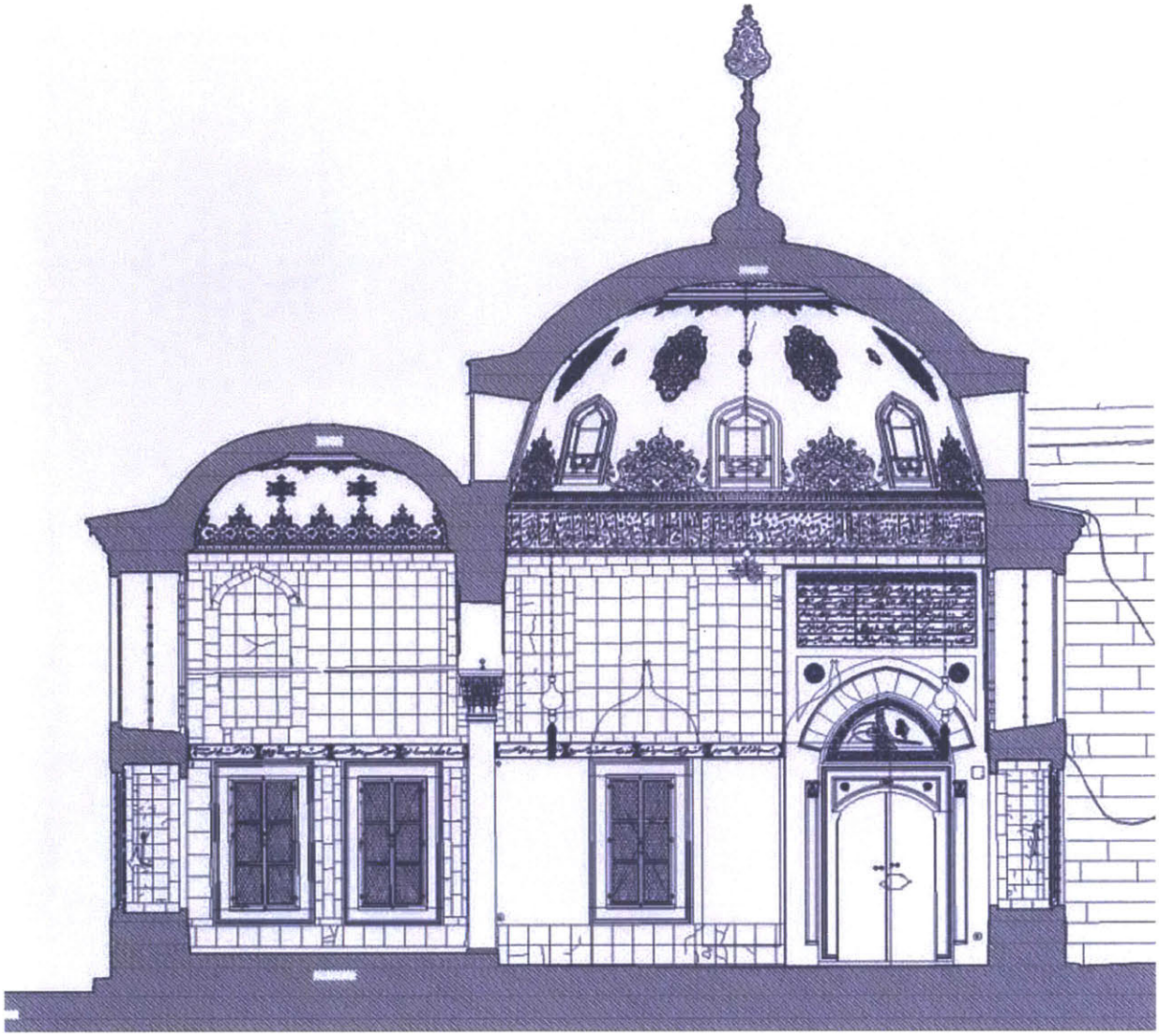

Fig. 1.38 Section of the Hagia Sophia Library (the restorator architect Canan İzgi's drawing).

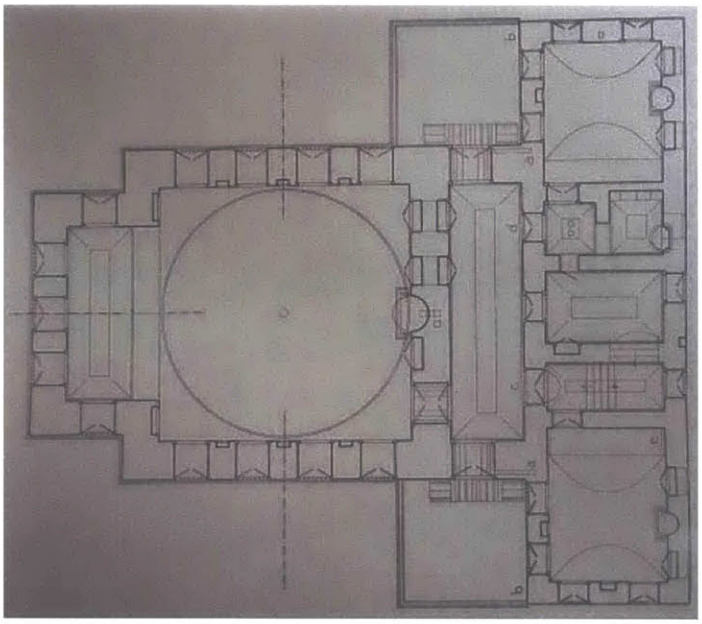

Fig. 1.39 The sultan's pavilion in the Davud Paşa Palace, near Istanbul (1596) (from Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*).

Fig. 1.40 Inscription on the drum of the dome of the Hagia Sophia Library (The Quran, XXXV/29-35).

Fig. 1.41 Librarians' houses at the Âtıf Efendi Library (1742).

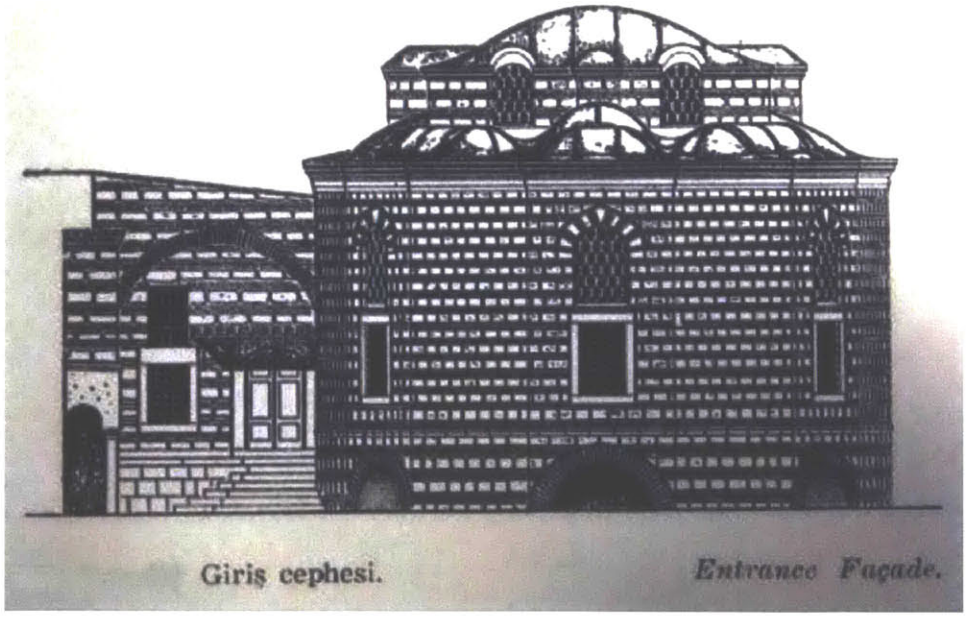


Fig. 1.42 Âtıf Efendi Library (from *Rölöve*, Istanbul Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, vol. 1).


Fig. 1.43 Inscription above the depository of the Âtıf Efendi Library (The Quran, XII/64).

Fig. 1.44 Entrance to the study hall of the Âtıf Efendi Library.

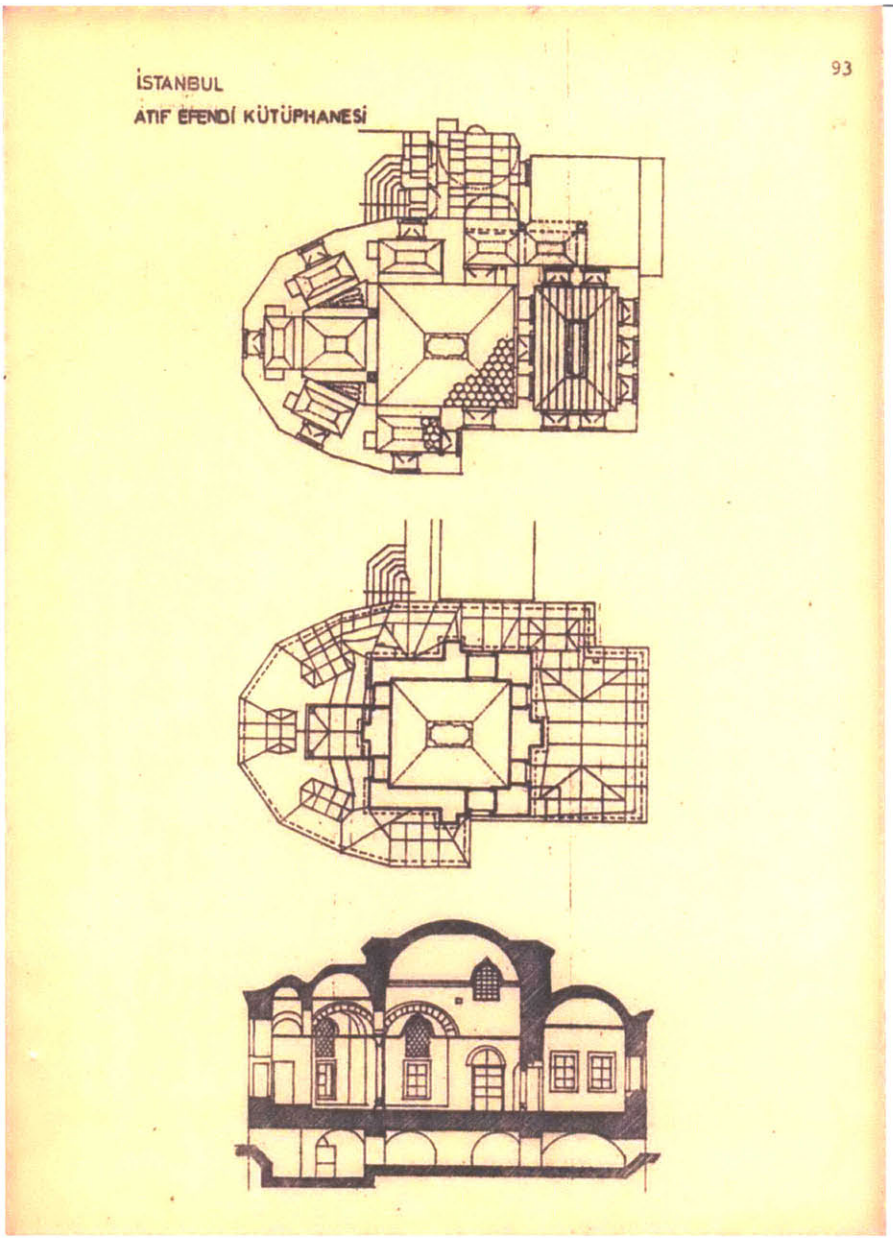


Fig. 1.45 Plan and section of the Âtıf Efendi Library (from *Rölöve*, Istanbul Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, v. 1).

Fig. 1.46 Interior of the Âtıf Efendi Library.

Fig. 1.47 An alcove in the Trinity College Library (completed in 1695).

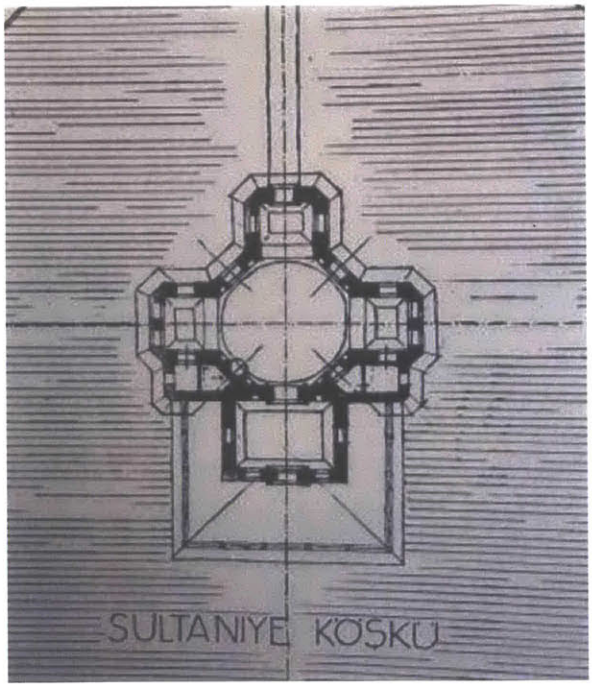


Fig. 1.48 Sultaniye Kiosk (1580s) (from Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri*).

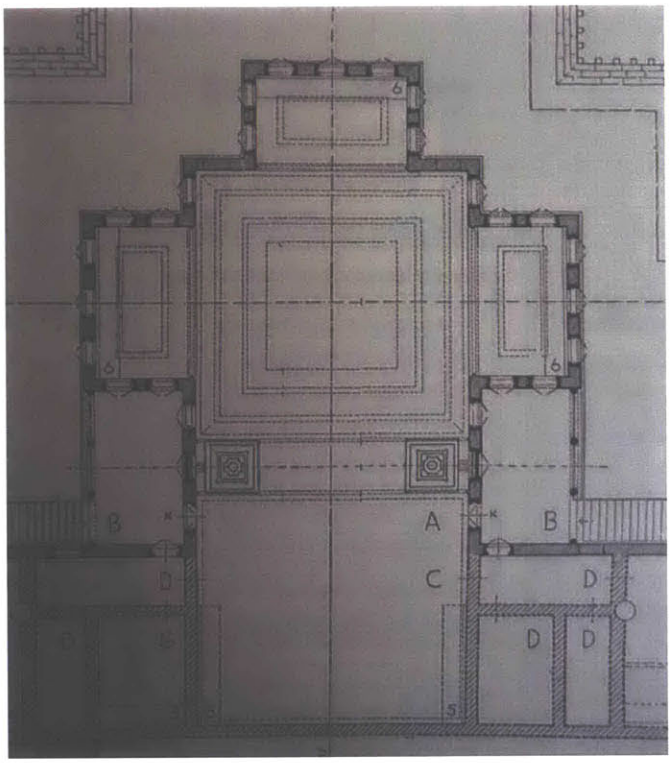


Fig. 1.49 Tiled Kiosk of the Beşiktaş Palace, Istanbul (1679) (from Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*).

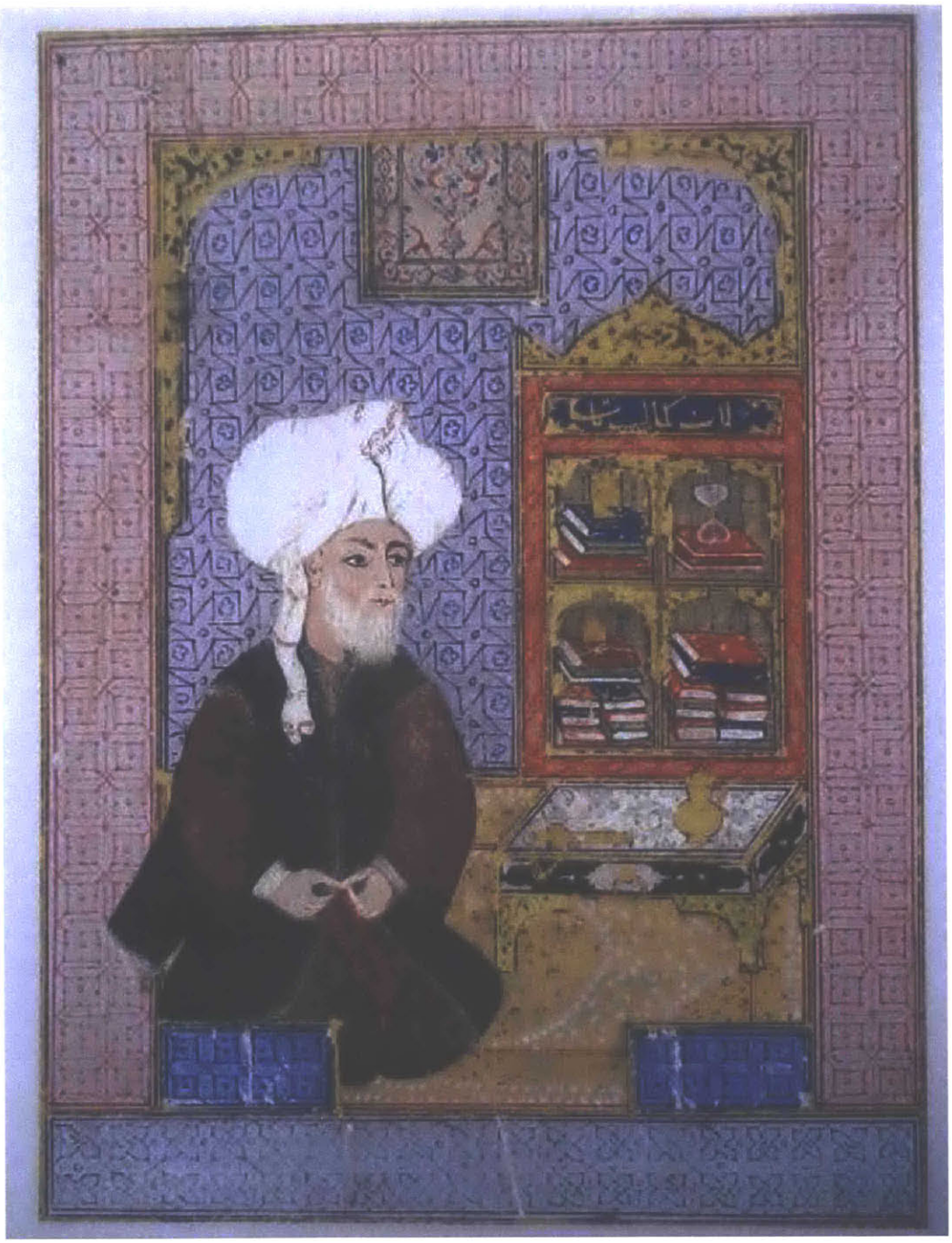

Fig. 2.1 Portrait of the sixteenth-century scholar Kemalpaşazâde, in Aşık Çelebi's *Meşâirü'ş-Şuarâ*.

Fig. 2.2 Stone room in Istanbul, early 18th century (from Eldem, *Türk Evi*).

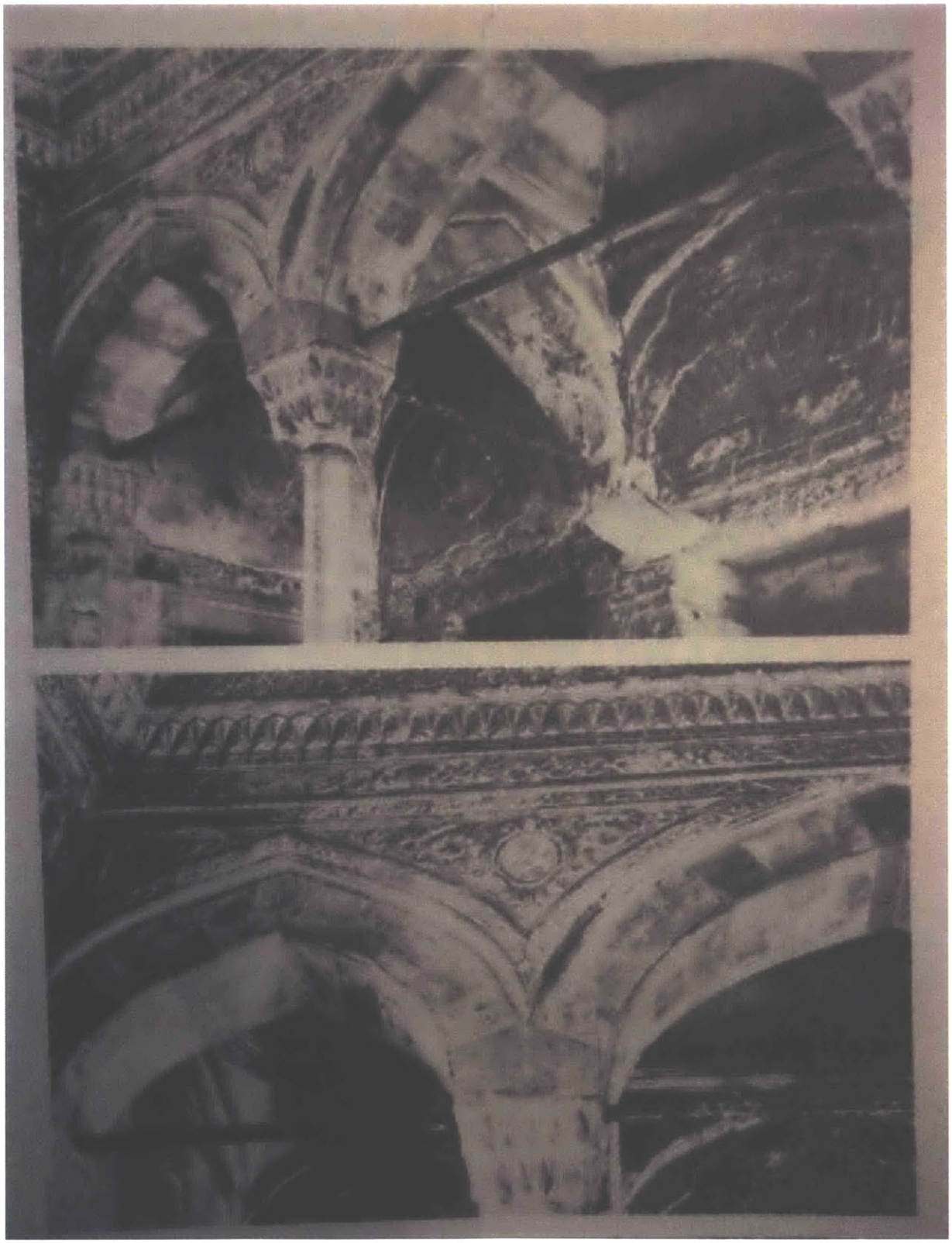

Fig. 2.3 Stone room in Istanbul, early 18th century. (from Eldem, *Türk Evi*).

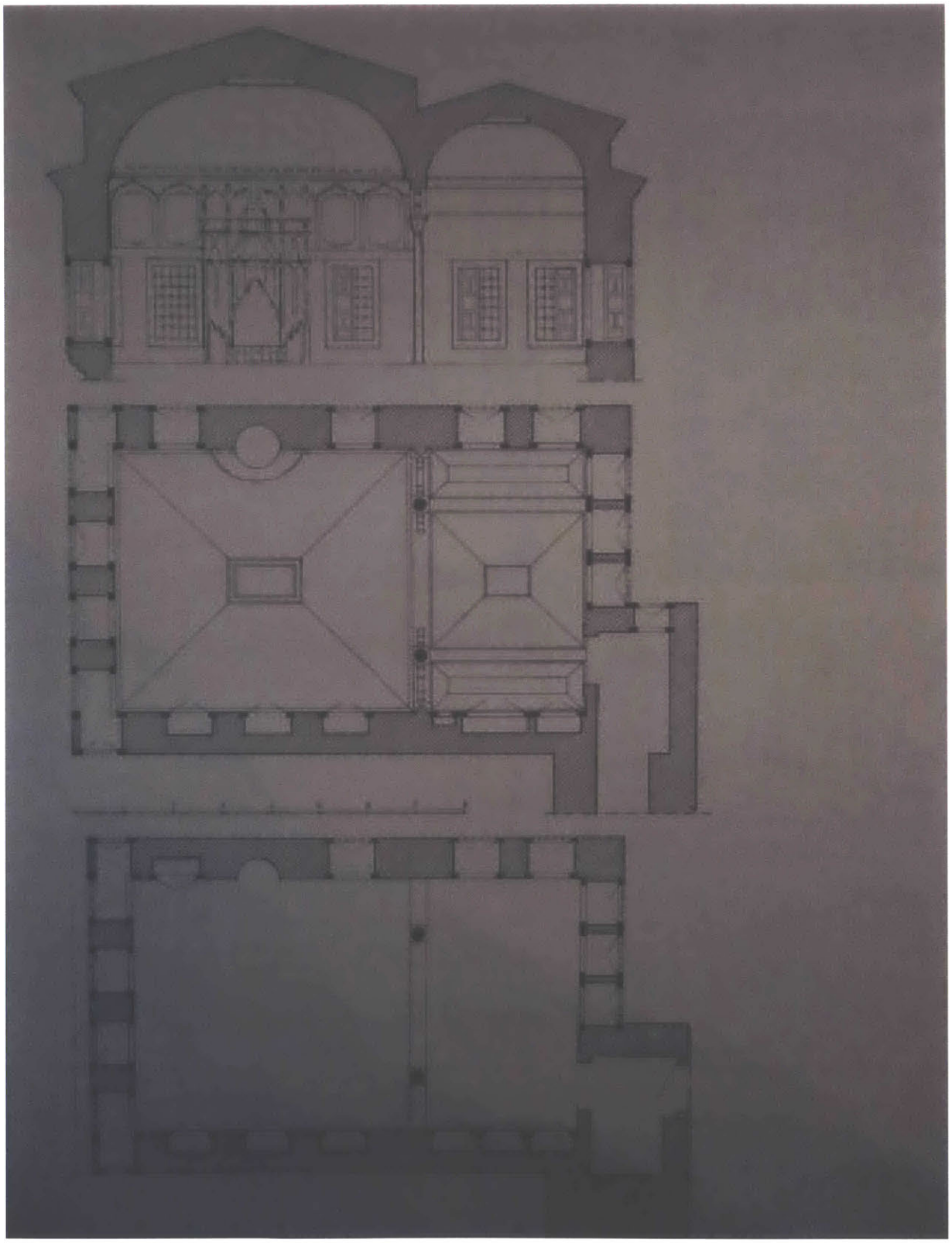

Fig. 2.4 Stone room in Istanbul, late 18th century. (from Eldem, *Türk Evi*).

Fig. 2.5 Şehid Ali Paşa Library at Yerebatan (before 1715) (Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no: 0724).

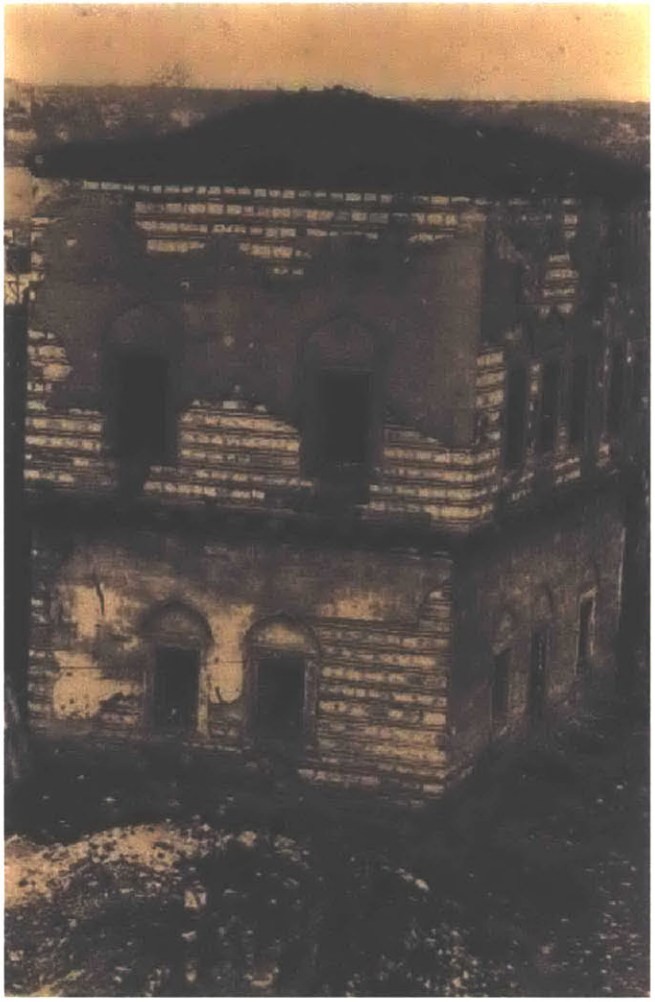

Fig. 2.6 Şehid Ali Paşa Library at Yerebatan (Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no: 0724).

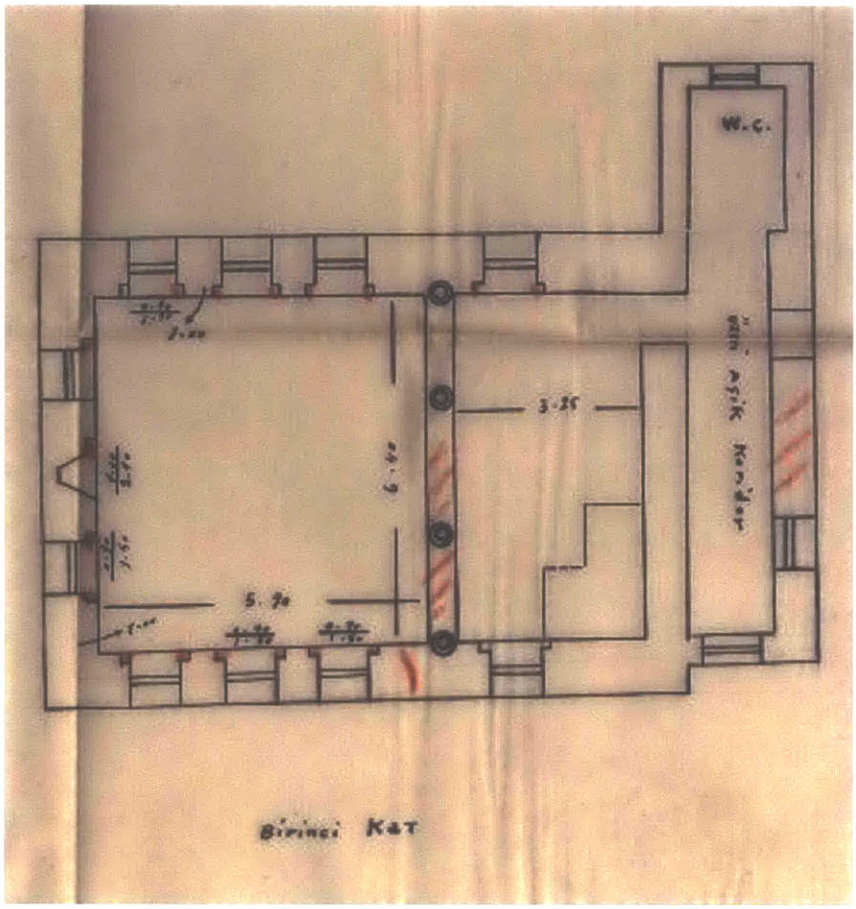


Fig. 2.7 Şehid Ali Paşa Library at Yerebatan, plan of the main hall (Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no: 0724).

Fig. 2.8 Şehid Ali Paşa Library at Yerebatan, the main hall (Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no: 0724).

Fig. 2.9 Şehid Ali Paşa Library at Yerebatan, entrance to the main hall (Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no: 0724).

Fig. 2.10 Şehid Ali Paşa Library at Vefa (before 1715).

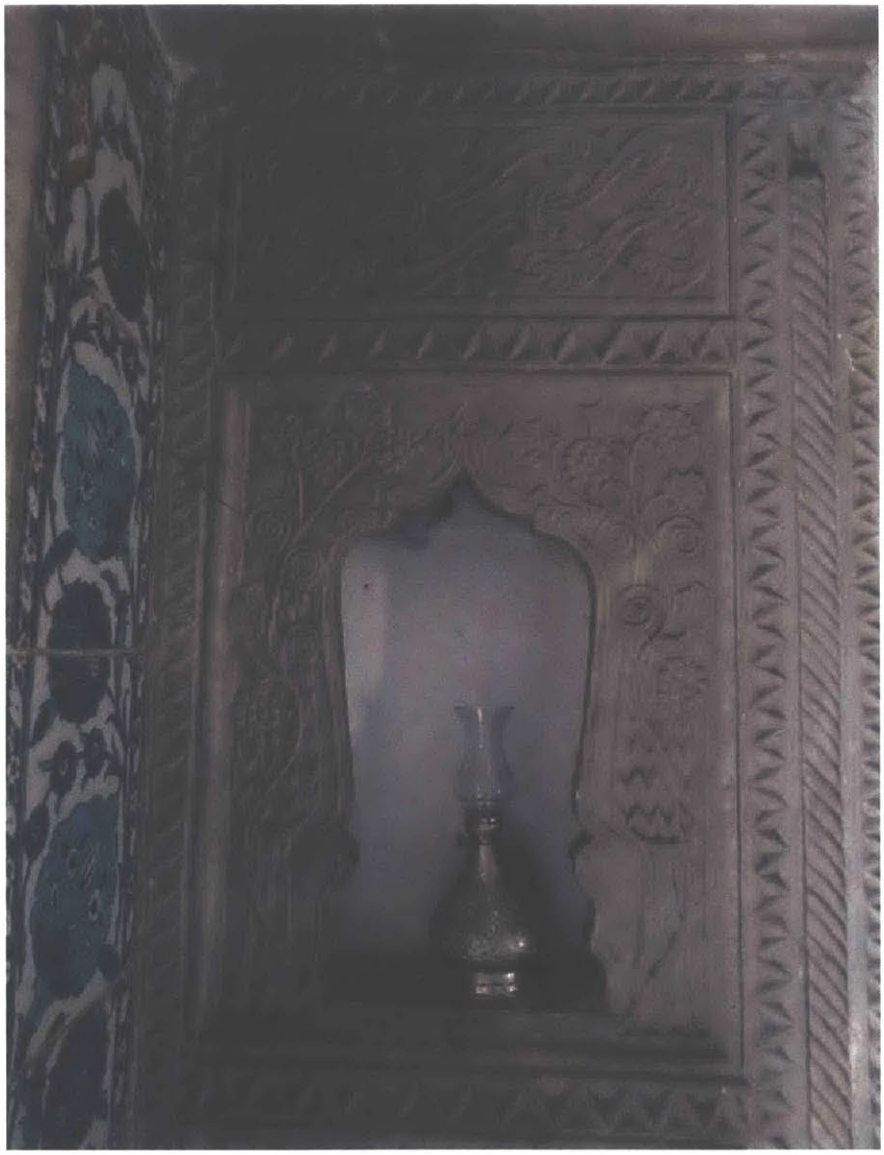

Fig. 2.11 Ceramic tiles and a niche inside the Şehid Ali Paşa Library at Vefa.

Fig. 2.12 Arcade inside the Şehid Ali Paşa Library at Vefa.

Fig. 2.13 Detail of the arcade in the Şehid Ali Paşa Library.

Fig. 2.14 Staircase added to the north of the Şehid Ali Paşa Library at Vefa (from Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*).

Fig. 2.15 Âşir Efendi Library, Istanbul (before 1741).


Fig. 2.16 Interior of the Abdülhamit I Library, Istanbul (1780) (from d'Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'empire ottoman*).

Fig. 2.17 Pertev Paşa Library, Üsküdar (1836).

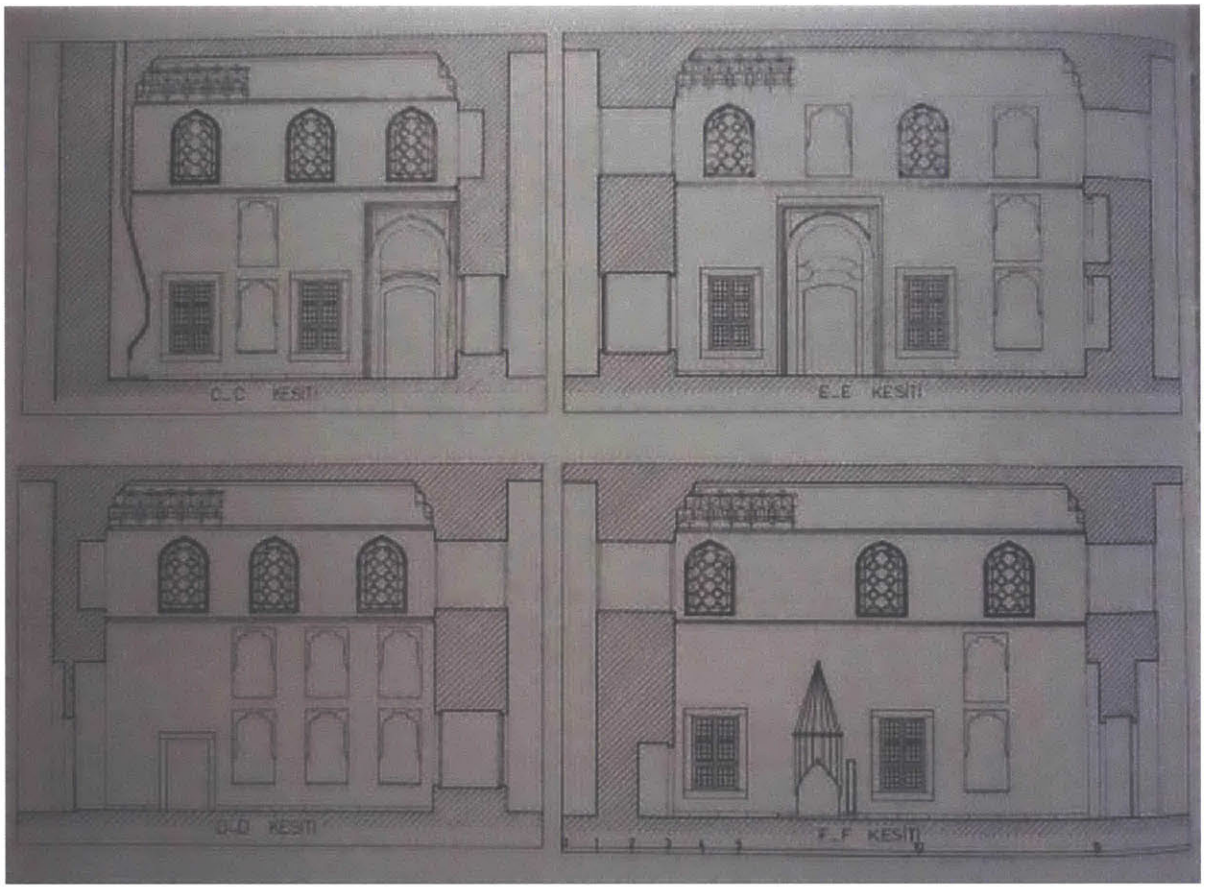


Fig. 2.18 Sections of the halls of the Inner Treasury (From Eldem and Akozan, *Topkapı Sarayı: Bir Mimari Araştırma*).

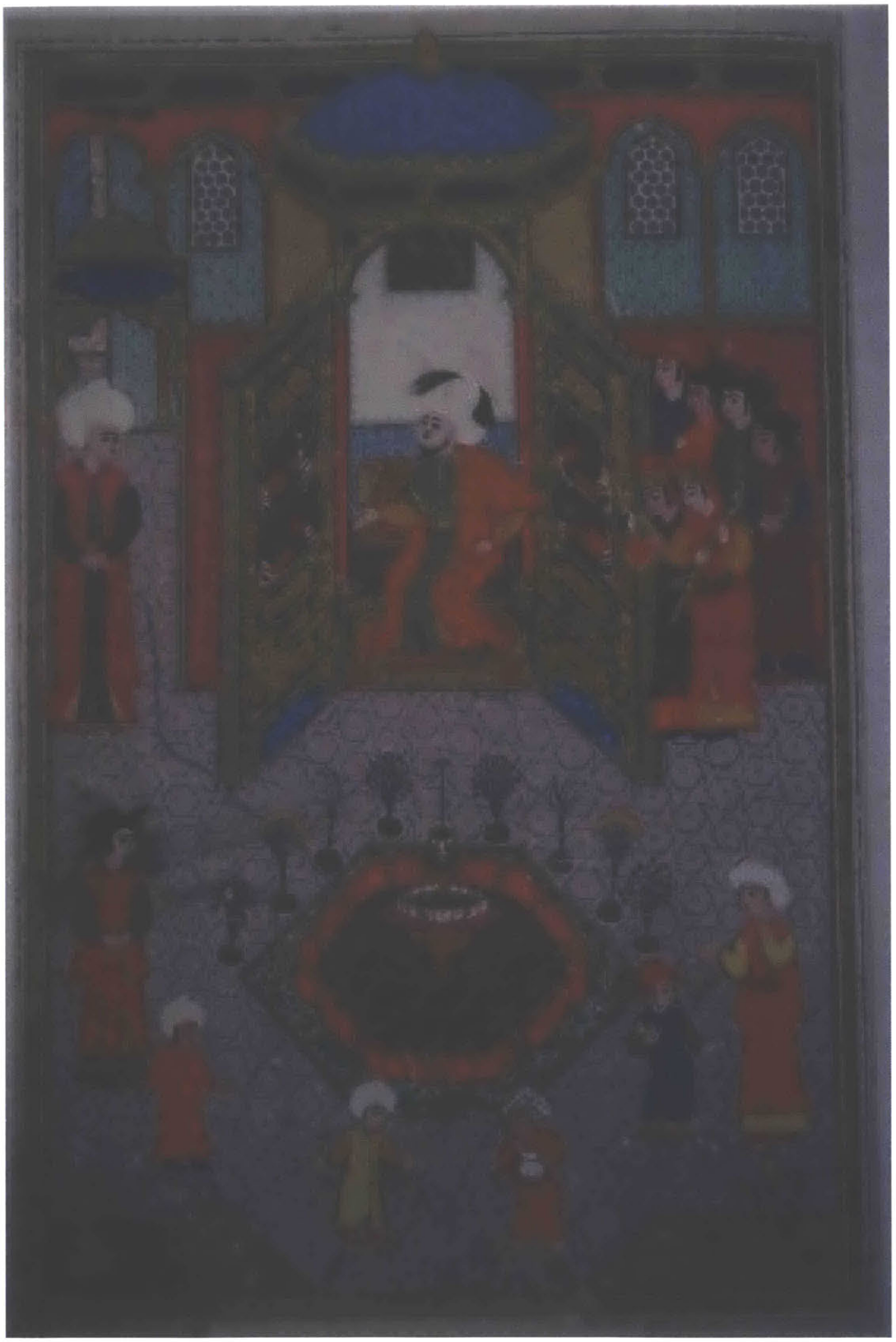

Fig. 2.19 Sultan Murad III in his private library (from Cennâbi's *Cevâhir el-Garâib*).

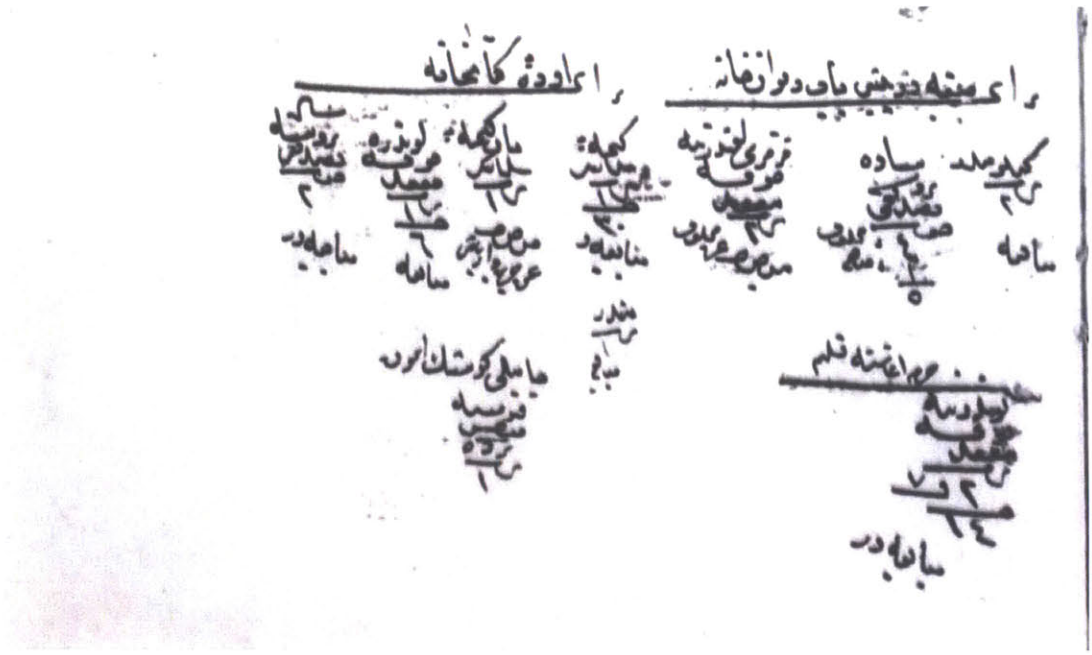

Fig. 20 Sections on the *divanhâne* and the library in the register of renovations made in the palace of Fatma Sultan in 1694. The left column is the library's, and the *camlı köşk* is at the bottom left. (BOA, KK 7120, f. 3).

Fig. 2.21 Sultan Ahmed III Library (1719).

Fig. 2.22 Interior of the Ahmed III Library (from Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*).

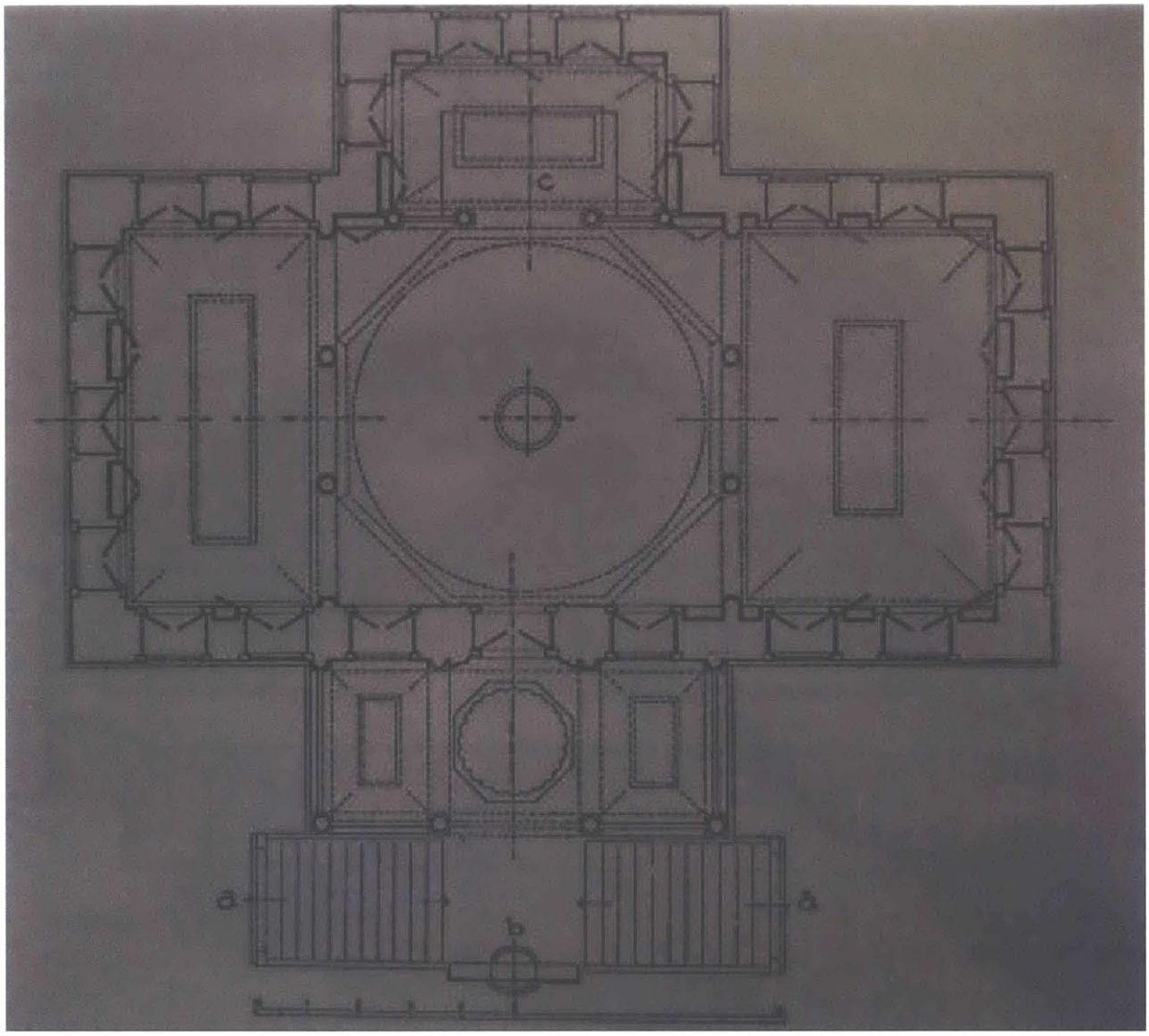


Fig. 2.23 Plan of the Sultan Ahmed III Library (from S. H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*).

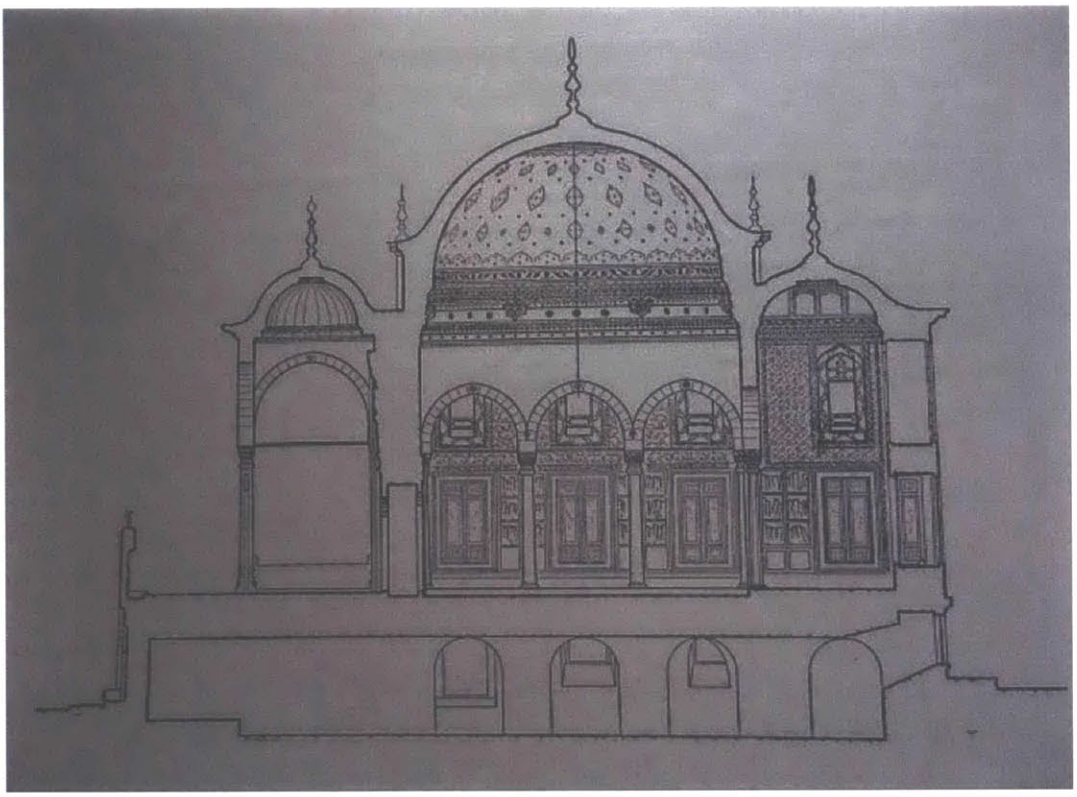

Fig. 2.24 Section of the Sultan Ahmed III Library (from S. H. Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*).

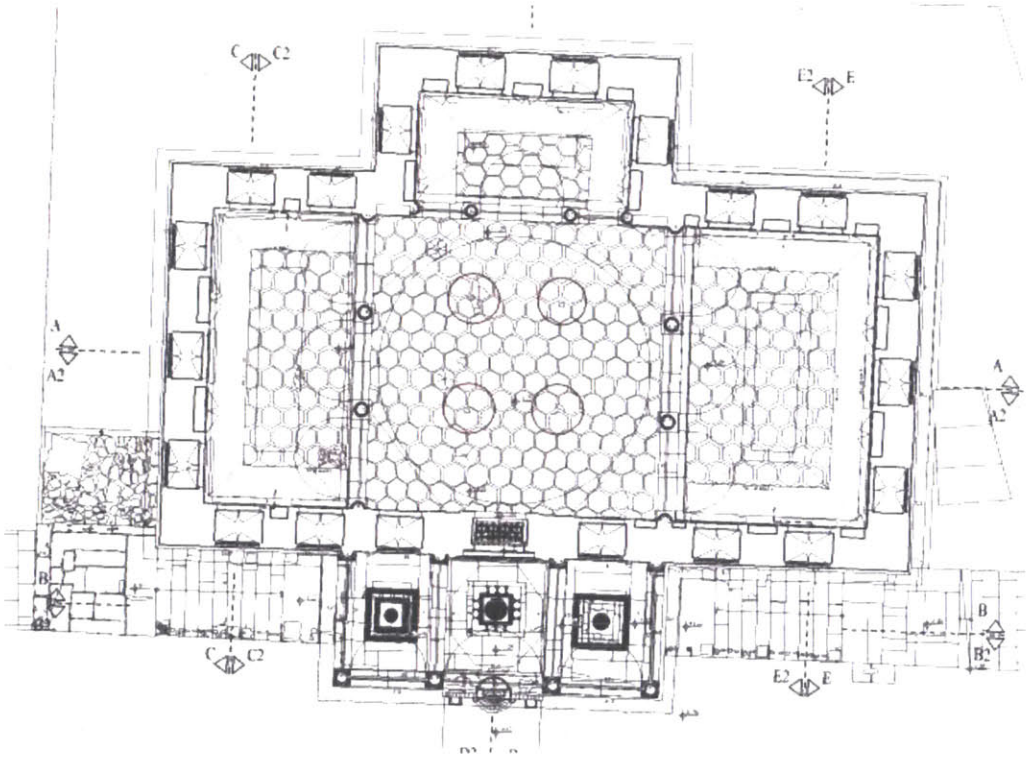

Fig. 2.25 Places of the feet of the original book depository in the Ahmed III Library (from the restoration report).

Fig. 2.26 Places of two feet of the orginal book depository in the Ahmed III Library (from the restoration report).

Fig. 2.27 Places of the two feet of the original book depository (from the restoration report).

Fig. 2.28 The library in the Baghdad Kiosk. Painting by Amadeo Preziosi, 1871.

Fig. 2.29 View of the Bostancılar Library from the outside, documented in 1936 (Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file: 0309).

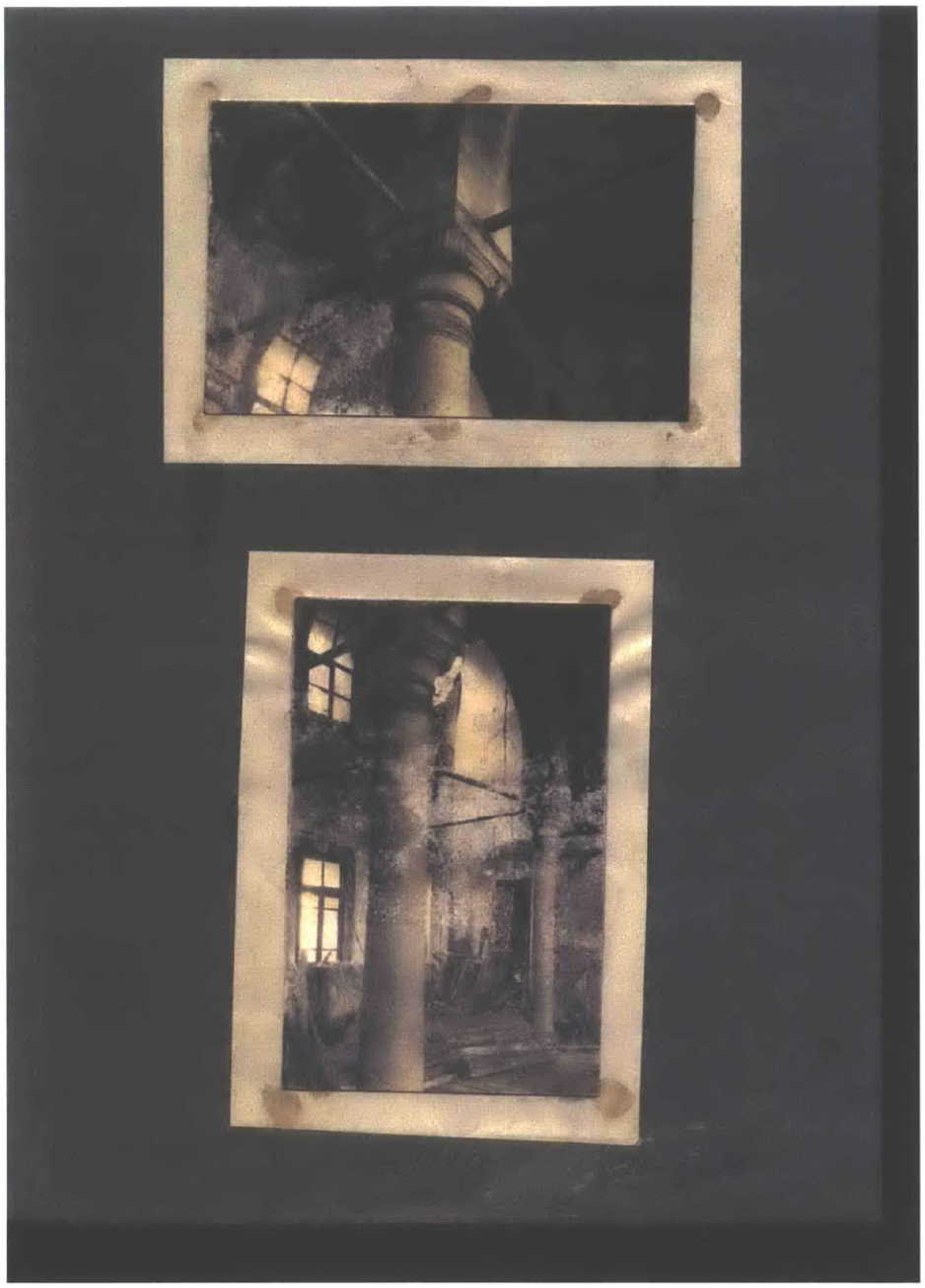

Fig. 2.30 Bostancılar Library, details from the interior, in 1936 (Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no: 0309).

Fig. 3.1 Book depository inside the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library (1733).

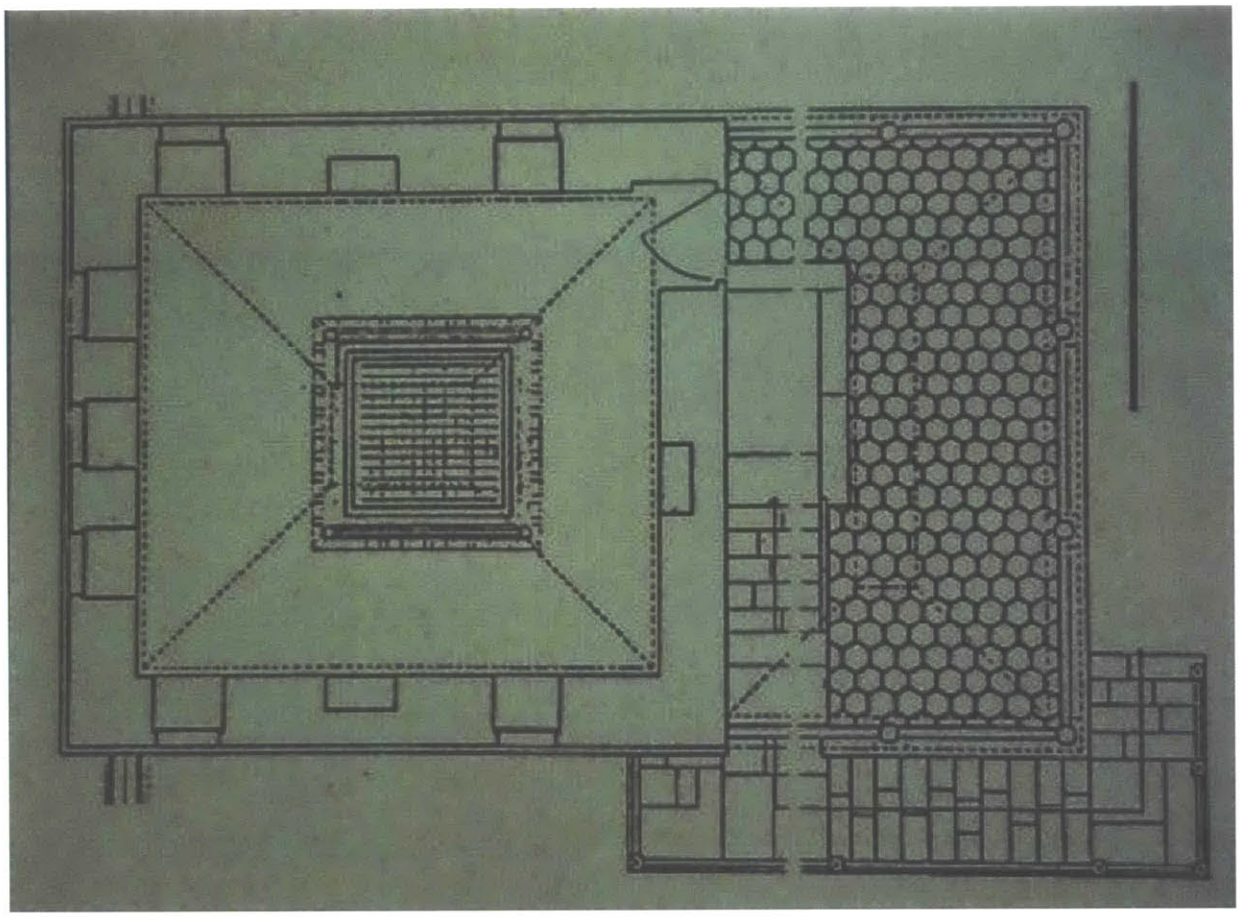

Fig. 3.2 Plan of the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library (Mimar Sinan University Department of Architecture Archive; from Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*).

Fig. 3.3 Ornaments painted on wood on the bottom surface of the book cabinet in the Hekimoğlu Ali Paşa Library.

Fig. 3.4 The door of the cabinet in the Hekimoğlu Library.

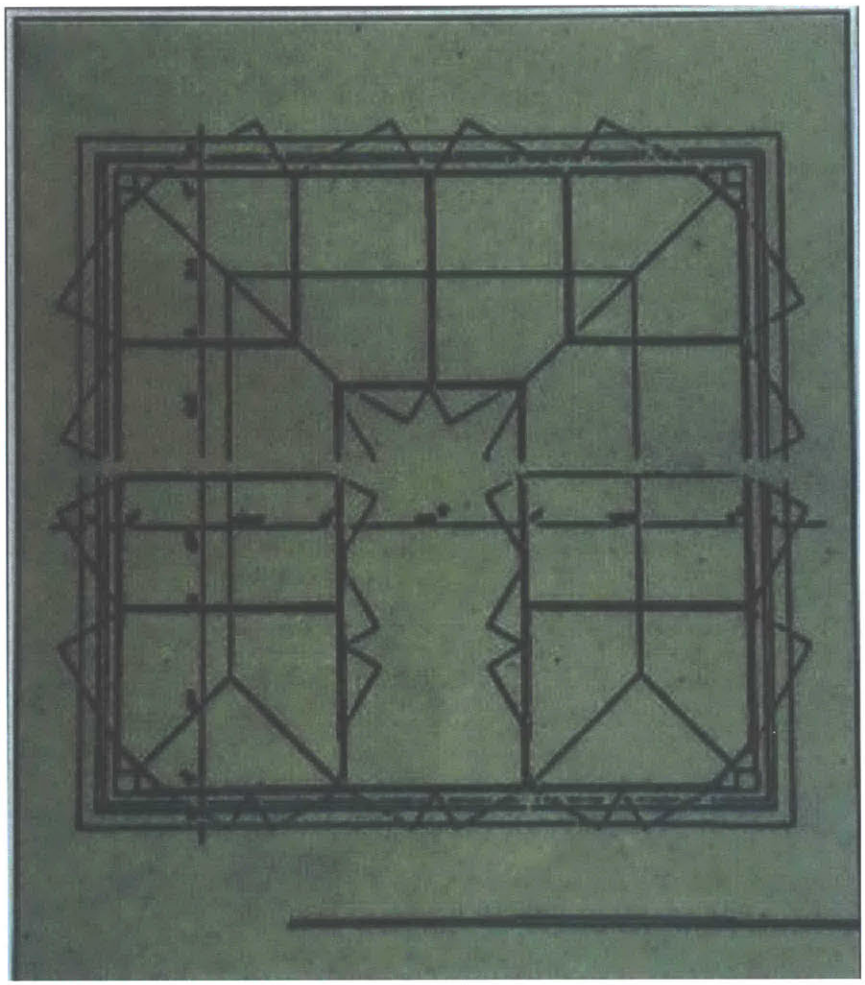

Fig. 3.5 Plan of the cabinet (Mimar Sinan University Department of Architecture Archive; from Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*).

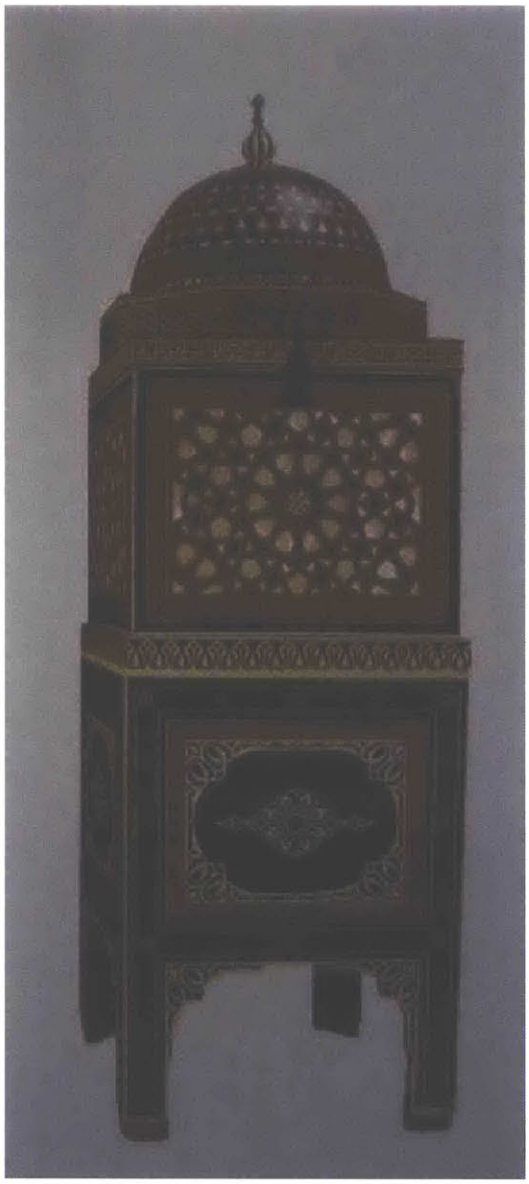

Fig. 3.6 A *mahfaza* from the second half of the 16th century (Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts).

Fig. 3.7 A *mahfaza* from the eighteenth century (Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts).

Fig. 3.8 Inscription of the chronogram of the Damad İbrahim Pasha Library (1720), composed by Ahmed 'İlmî.

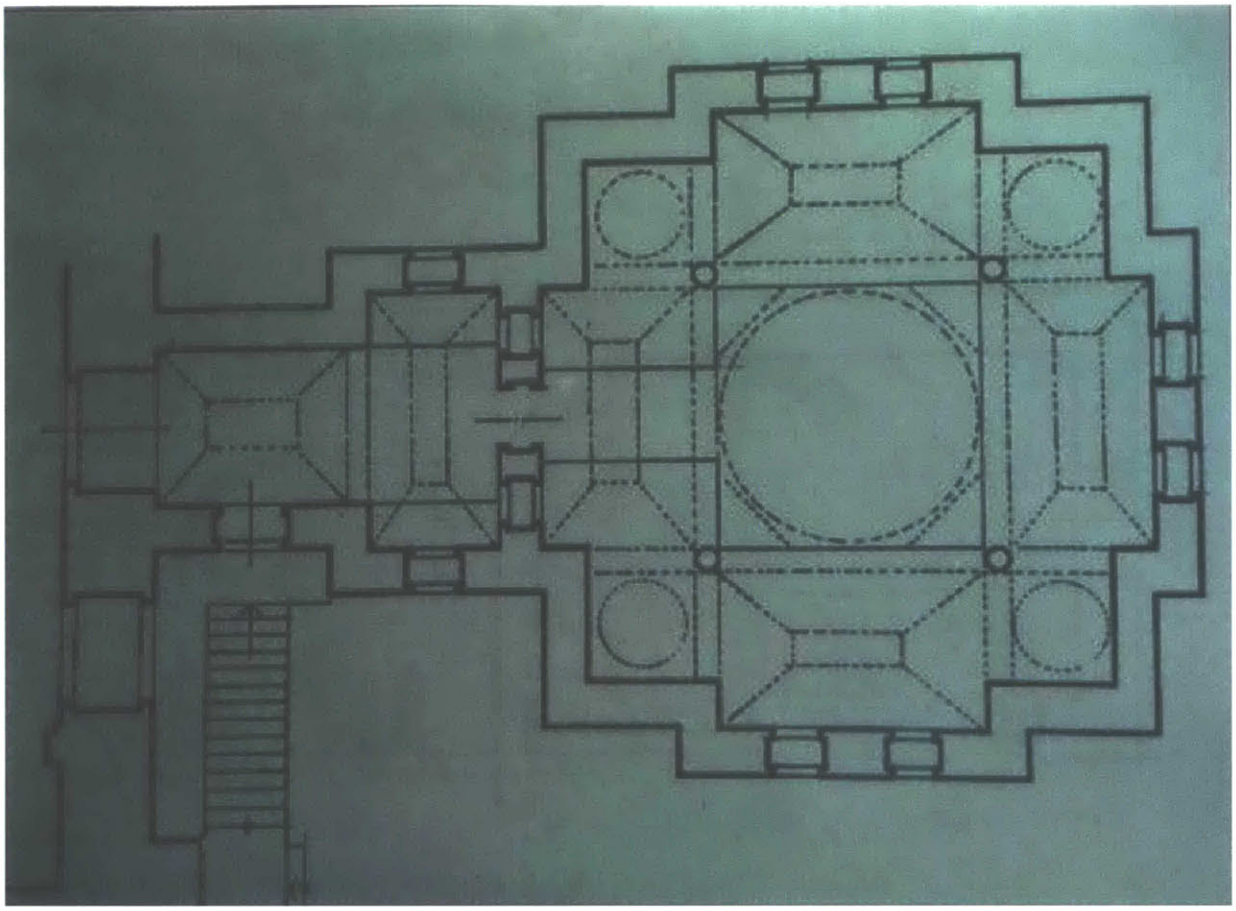

Fig. 3.9 Plan of the Fatih Library, Istanbul (1742) (from Behçet Ünsal, "Türk Vakfı İstanbul Kütüphanelerinin Mimârî Yöntemi").

Fig. 3.10 Interior of the Fatih Library (1742).

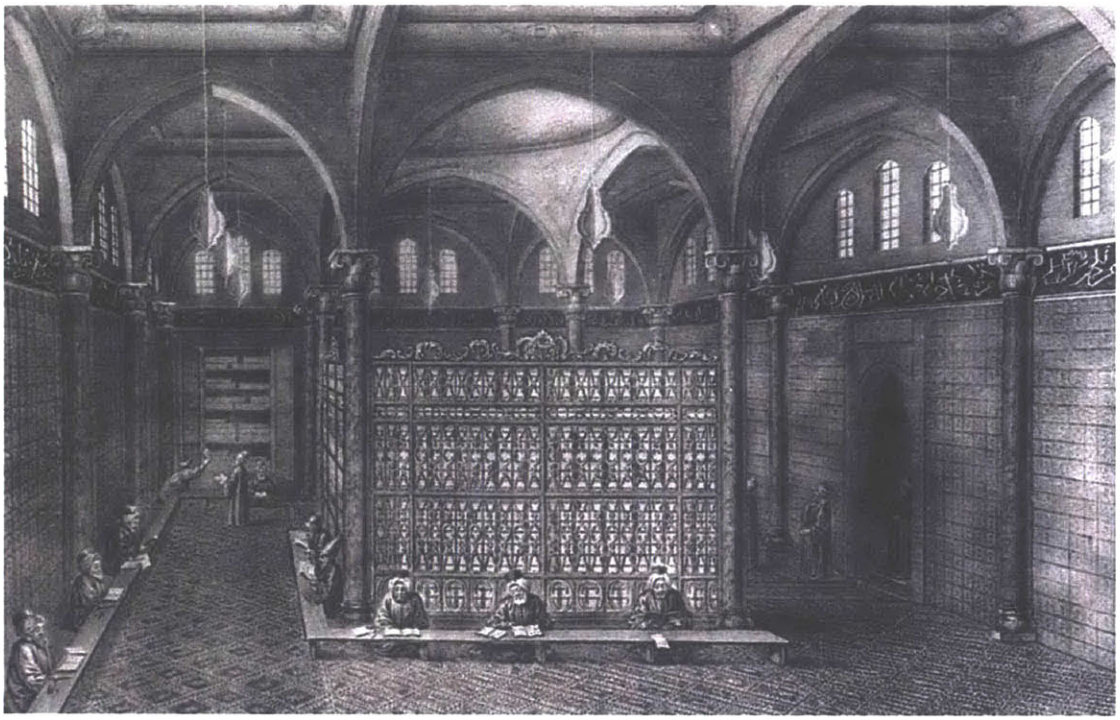

Fig. 3.11 Interior of the Râgıb Pasha Library (1763) (from d'Ohsson, *Tableau general de l'empire ottoman*).

Fig. 3.12 Râgıb Pasha Library, during the current restoration.

Fig. 3.13 Yeni Cami Library (1725), next to Hatice Turhan Sultan's mausoleum.

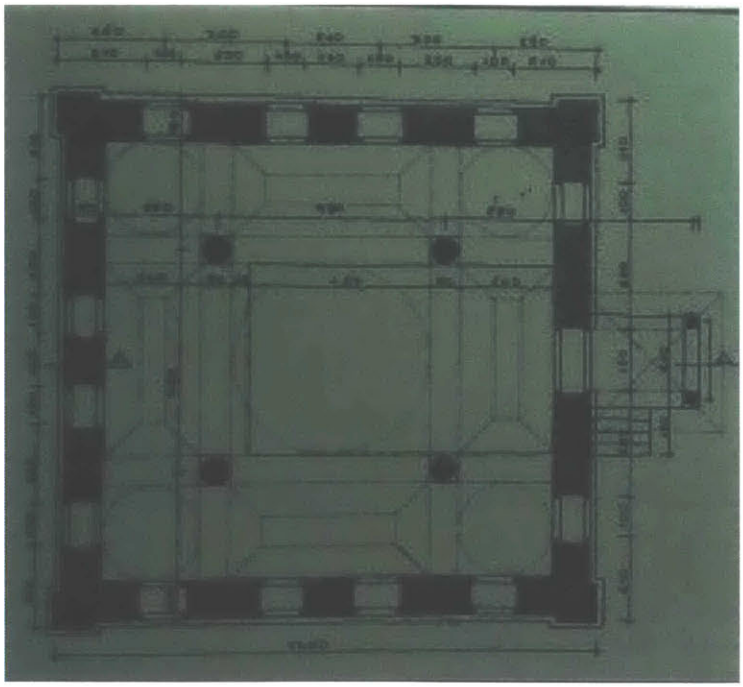

Fig. 3.14 Plan of the Murad Molla Library in Istanbul (1775) (from Muzaffer Gökman, *Murat Molla*).

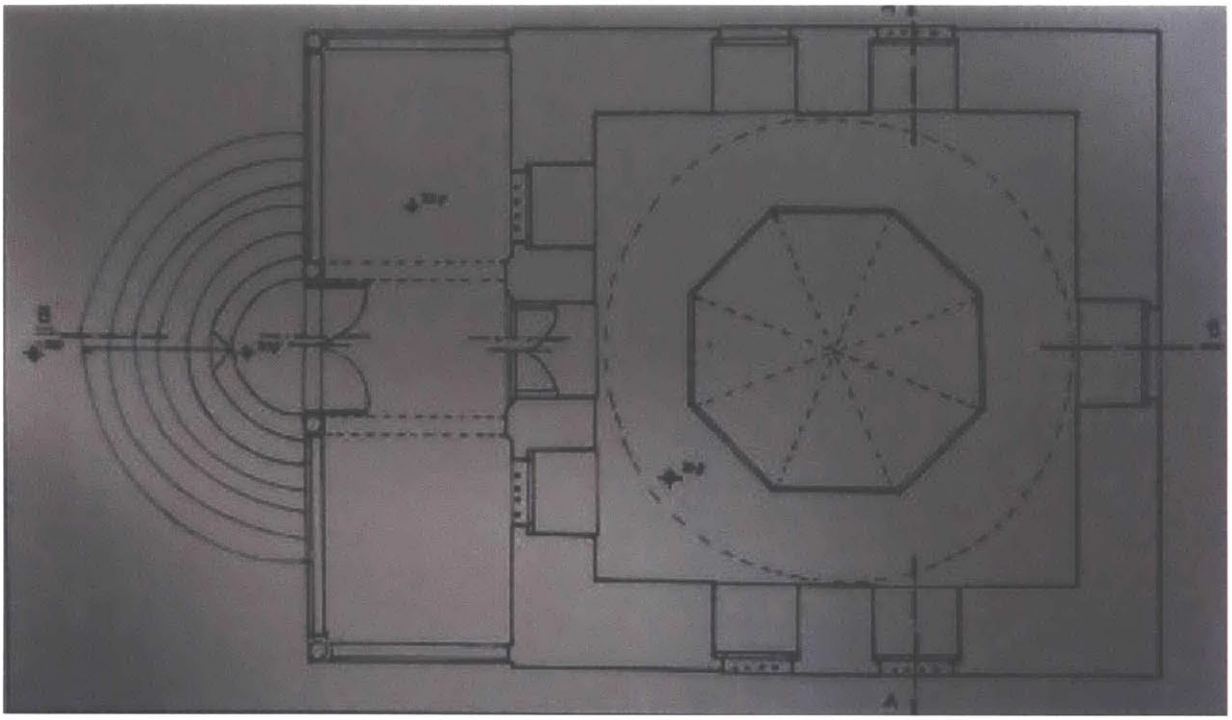

Fig. 3.15 Plan of the Necip Paşa Library in Tire (1826) (from Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*).

Fig. 3.16 Inscription of the chronogram of the Necip Paşa Library, composed by Mehmed Zühdî.

Fig. 3.17 Tile panel showing the Kaba and the Haram Mosque, not dated (Istanbul Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts).

Fig. 3.18 Tile panel showing the Kaba and Mecca in the Hekimoğlu Ali Pasha Library (1734).

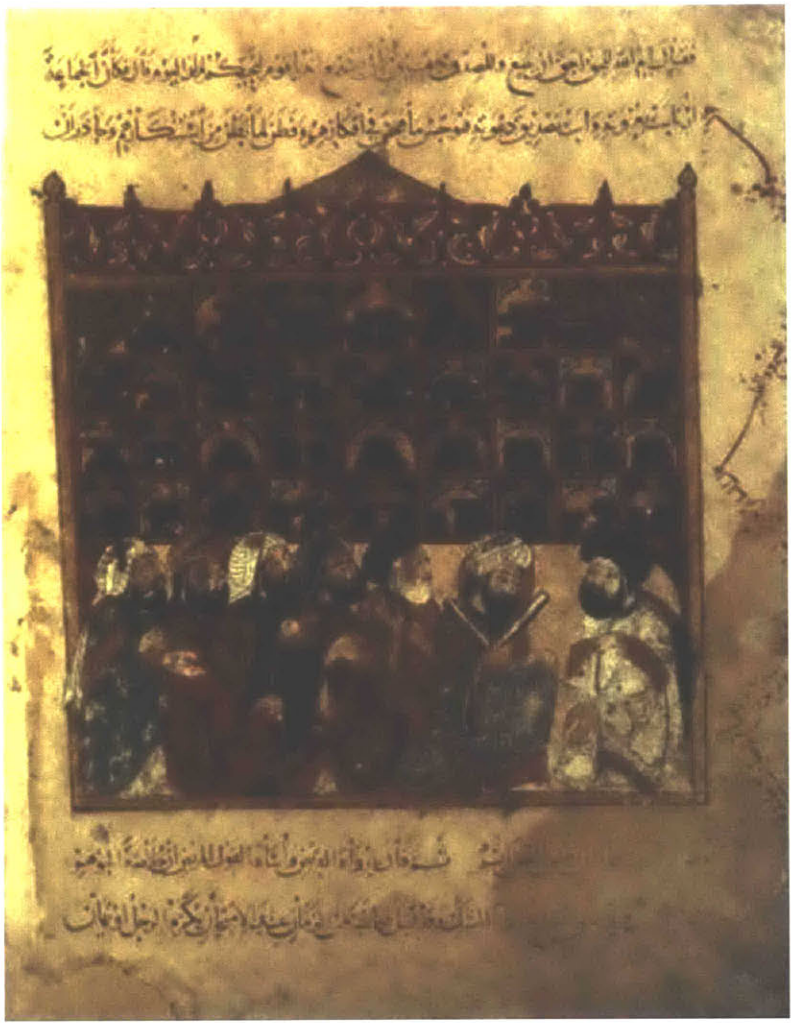

Fig. E.1 The library scene in *Maqamat al-Hariri*.

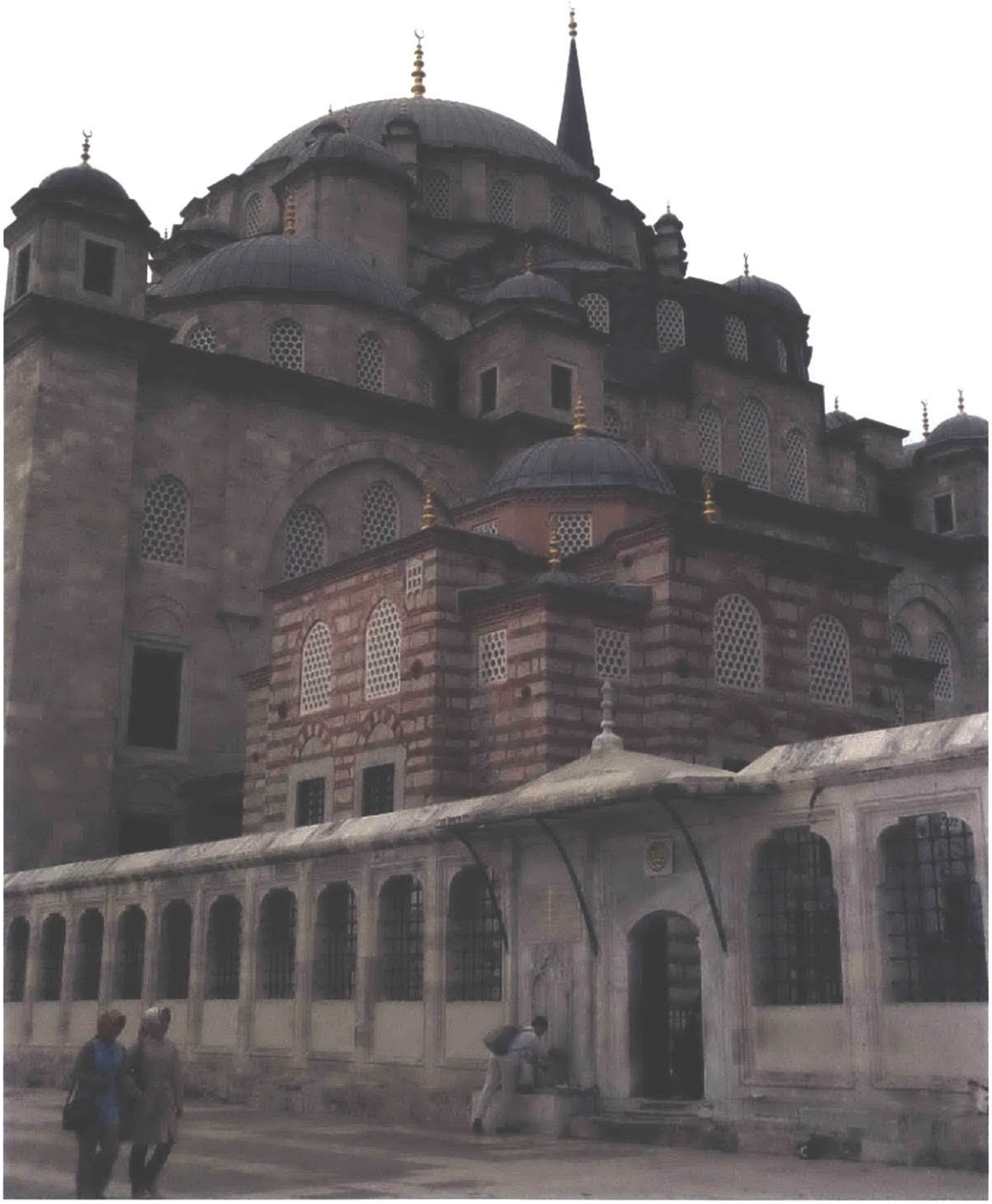

Fig. 4.1 Fatih Library (1742).

Fig. 4.2 Fatih Library.

Fig. 4.3 Fatih Library.

Fig. 4.4 South Church (*parekklesion*) of the Pammakaristos Monastery, Istanbul (1305).

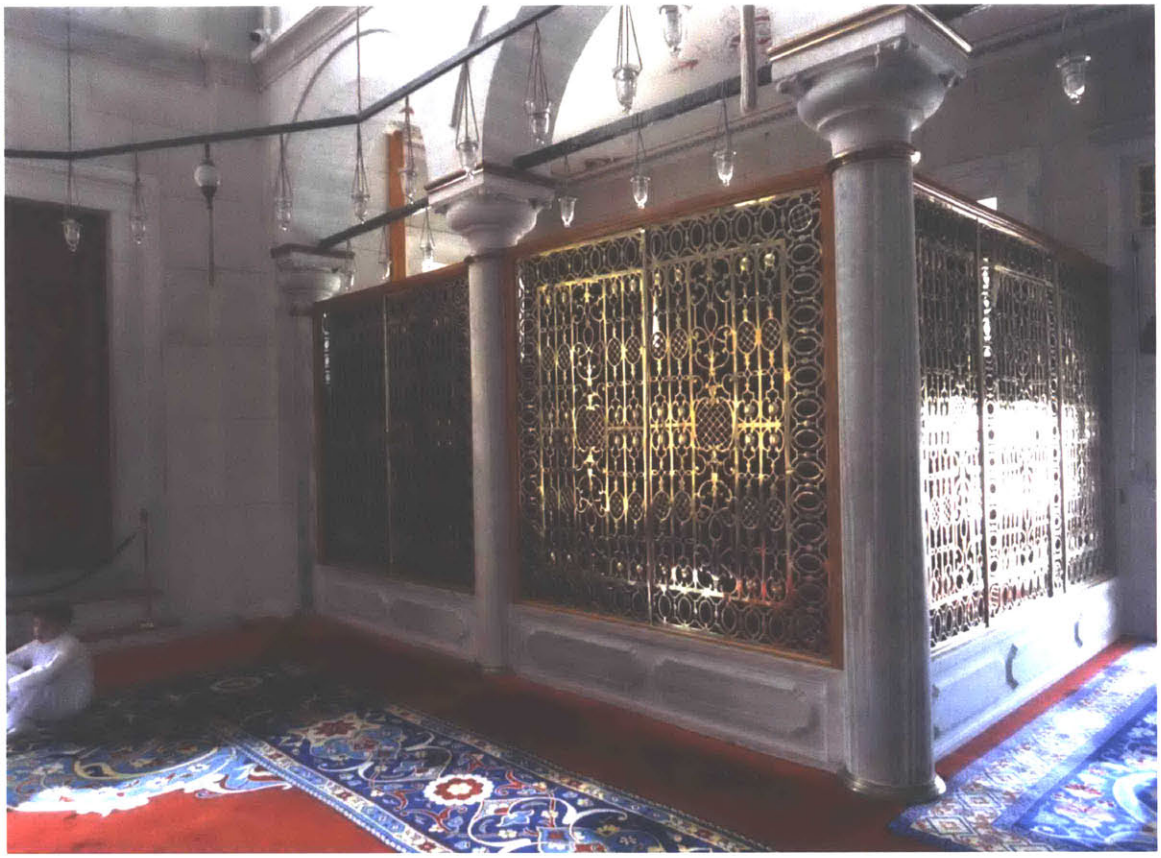

Fig. 4.5 Hadith lecture room inside the Fatih Mosque next to the entrance to the library.

Fig. 4.6 Column capital in the Fatih Library.

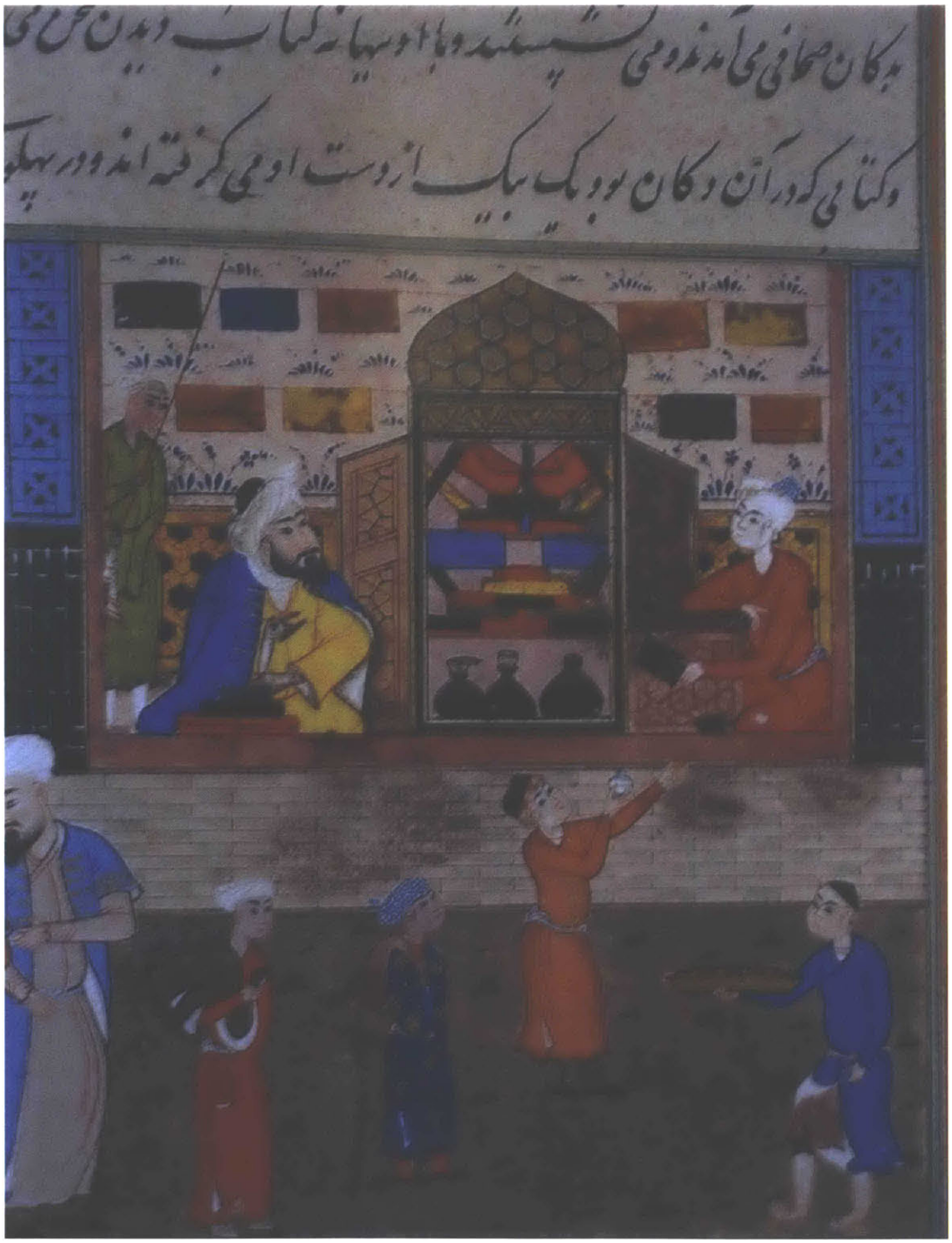

Fig. 4.7 A bookbinder and bookseller's shop in a miniature of a Shiraz manuscript produced circa 1580 (from Lâle Uluç, *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans and Ottoman Collectors*).

Fig. 4.8 The wooden depository in the Hagia Sophia Library (1740).

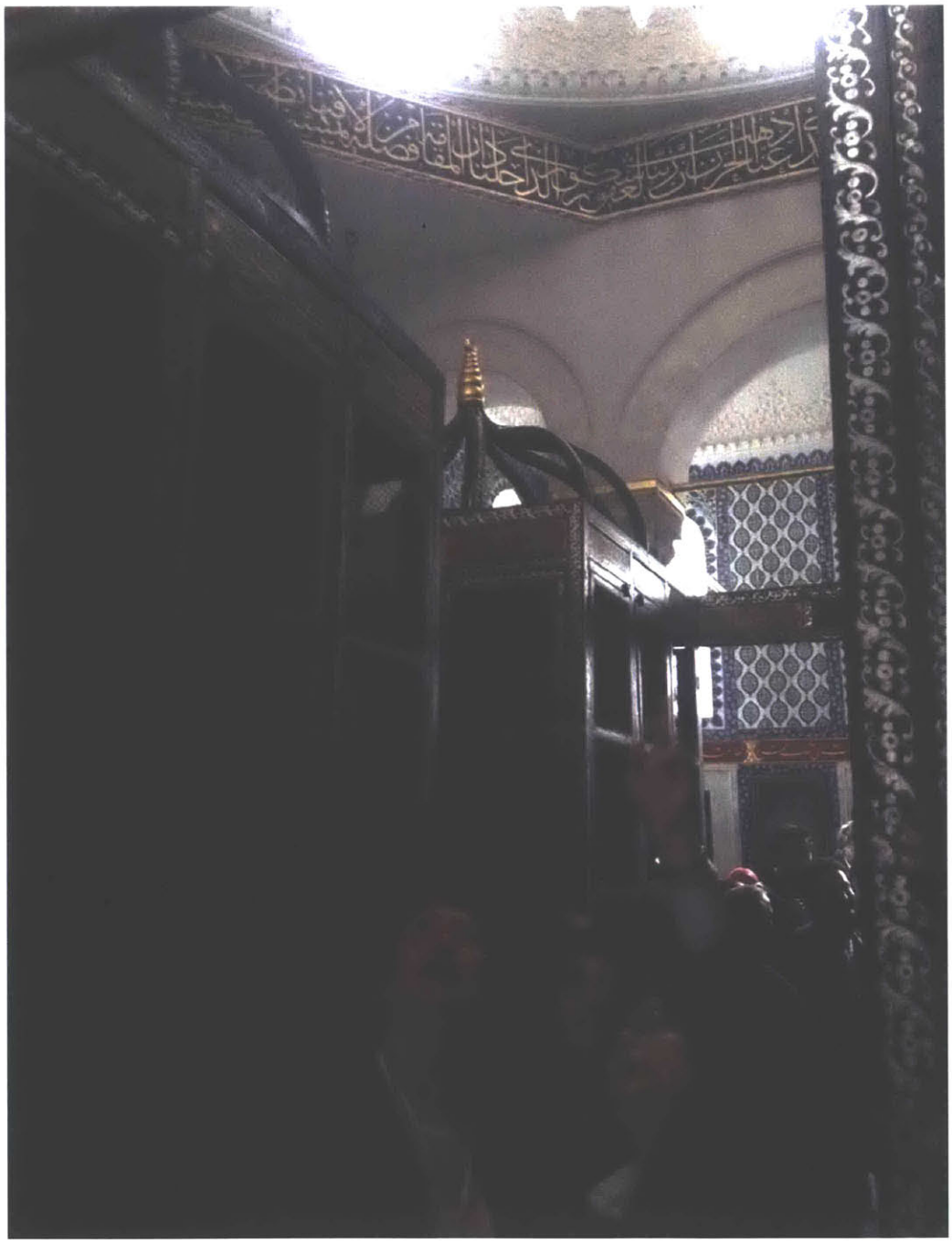

Fig. 4.9 Inside the wooden depository of the Hagia Sophia Library.

Fig. 4.10 A fifteenth-century sutra repository in Otsu, Japan (from James W. P. Campbell, *The Library: A World History*).

Fig. 4.11 Khora Monastery, Istanbul (1321).

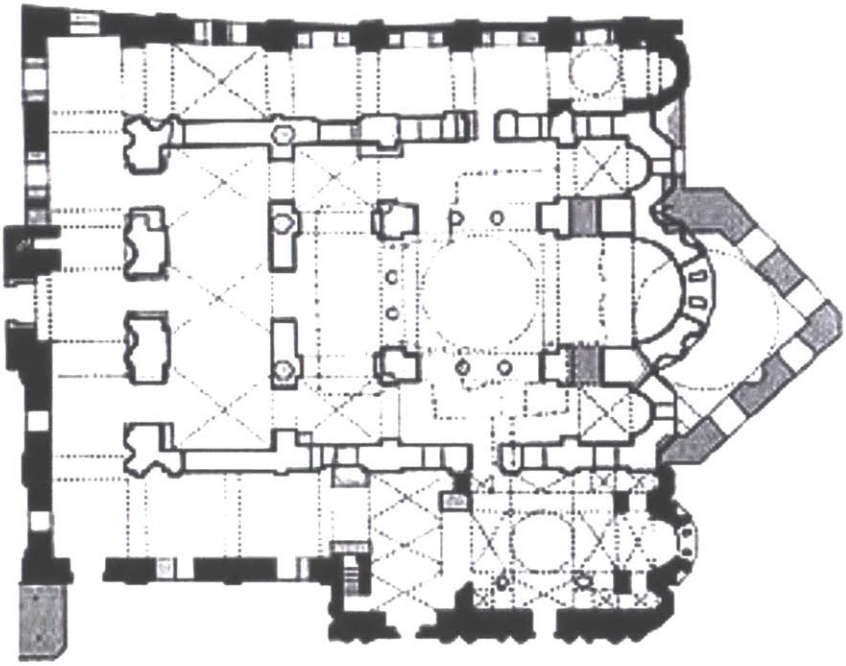

Fig. 4.12 Plan of the churches of the Pammakaristos Monastery, Istanbul.

Fig. 4.13 Detail of the gate of the Hagia Sophia Public Kitchen (1743).

Fig. 4.14 Entrance to the library in the Beşir Ağa Mosque, Istanbul, 1745.

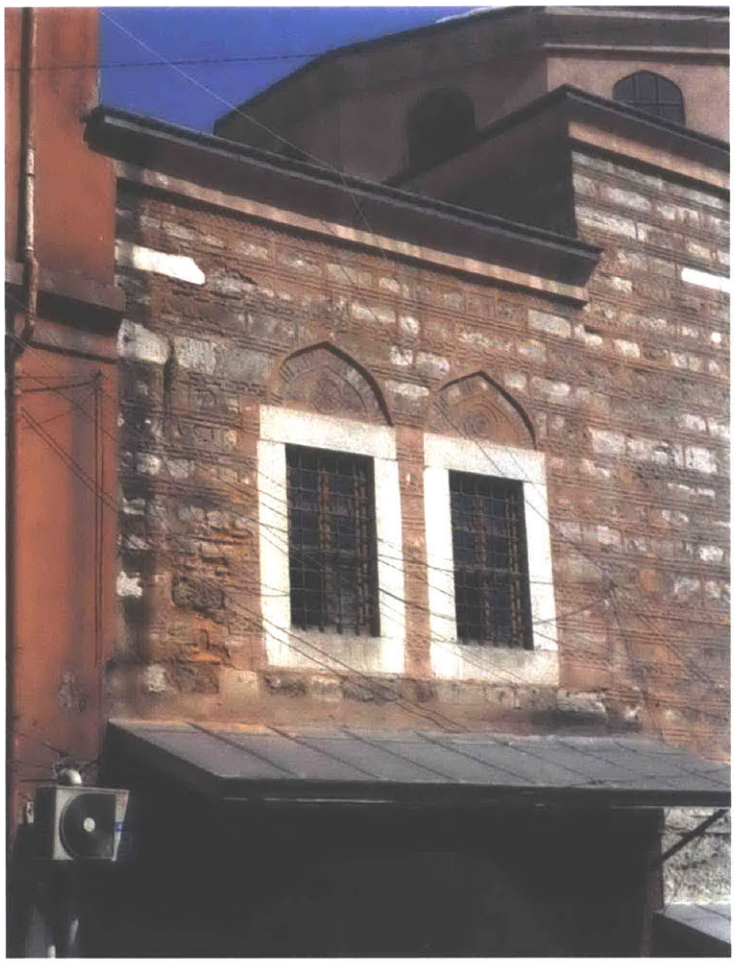

Fig. 4.15 Beşir Ağa Library.

Fig. 4.16 Veliyüddin Efendi Library, Istanbul (1768).

Fig. 4.17 Interior of the Veliyüddin Efendi Library.

Fig. 4. 18 The Bayezid Mosque and the Veliyüddin Efendi Library seen from the Bayezid Square.

Fig. 4.19 Yusuf Ağa Library in Konya (1795).

Fig. 4.20 Râşid Efendi Library in Kayseri (1796).

Fig. 4.21 Kapanoğlu Library in Izmir (1835).

Fig. 4.22 The masjid in the courtyard of the fifteenth-century Koza Han in Bursa.

Fig. 4.23 The Müsellim Mosque Library, Antalya (c. 1810).

Fig. 4.24 Karaosmanoğlu Hacı Eyüp Ağa Library in Manisa (1832).

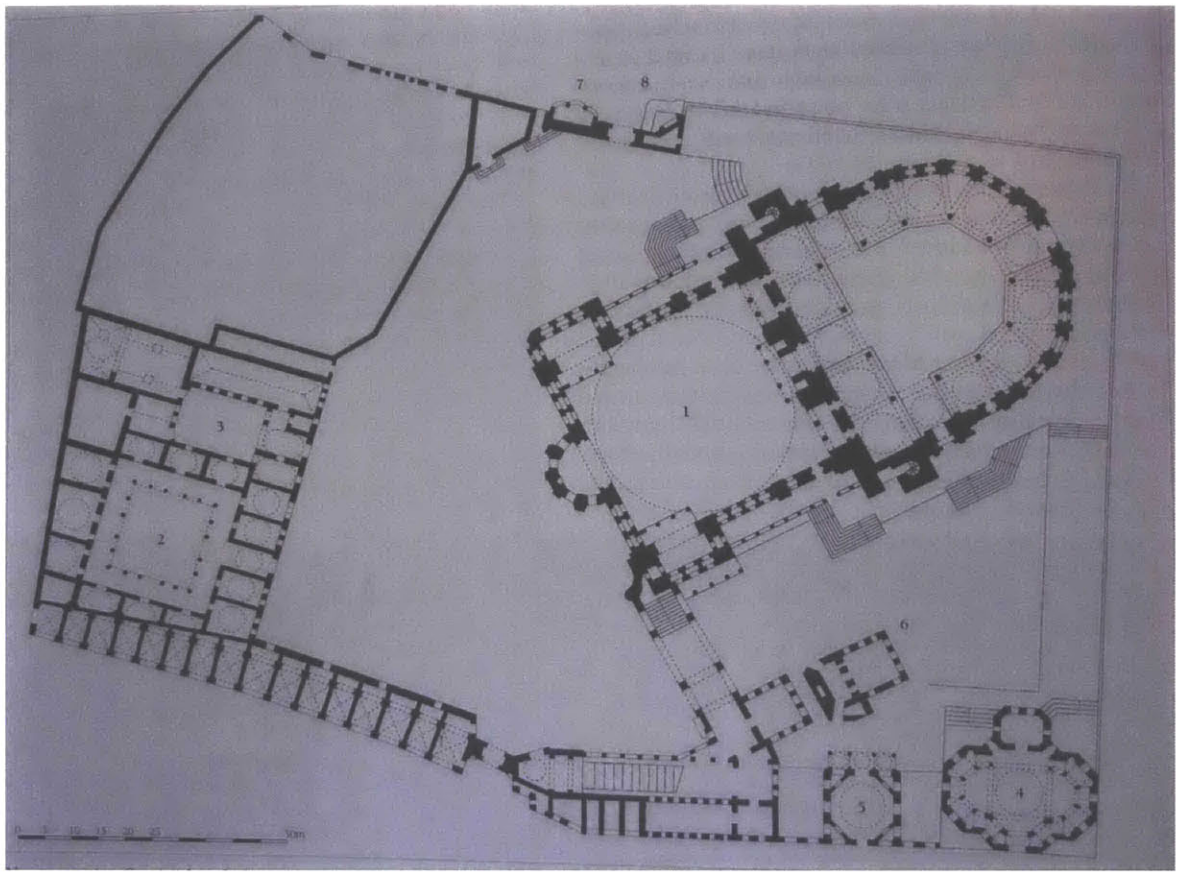


Fig. 4.25 Plan of the Nuruosmaniye Complex in Istanbul (1755). The library is numbered 4 (from Kuban, *Ottoman Architecture*).

Fig. 4.26 View of the Nuruosmaniye Library (1755) from the Street. The structure at the fore is the mausoleum.

Fig. 4.27 The north entrance of the Nuruosmaniye Library.

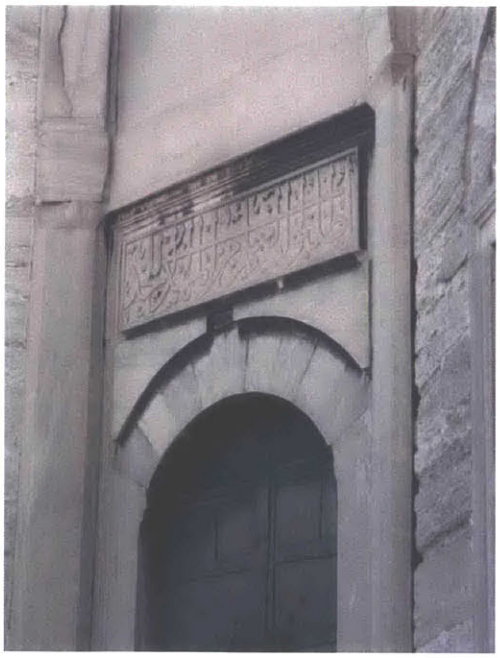

Fig. 4.28 The south entrance of the Nuruosmaniye Library.

Fig. 4.29 Interior of the Nuruosmaniye Library.

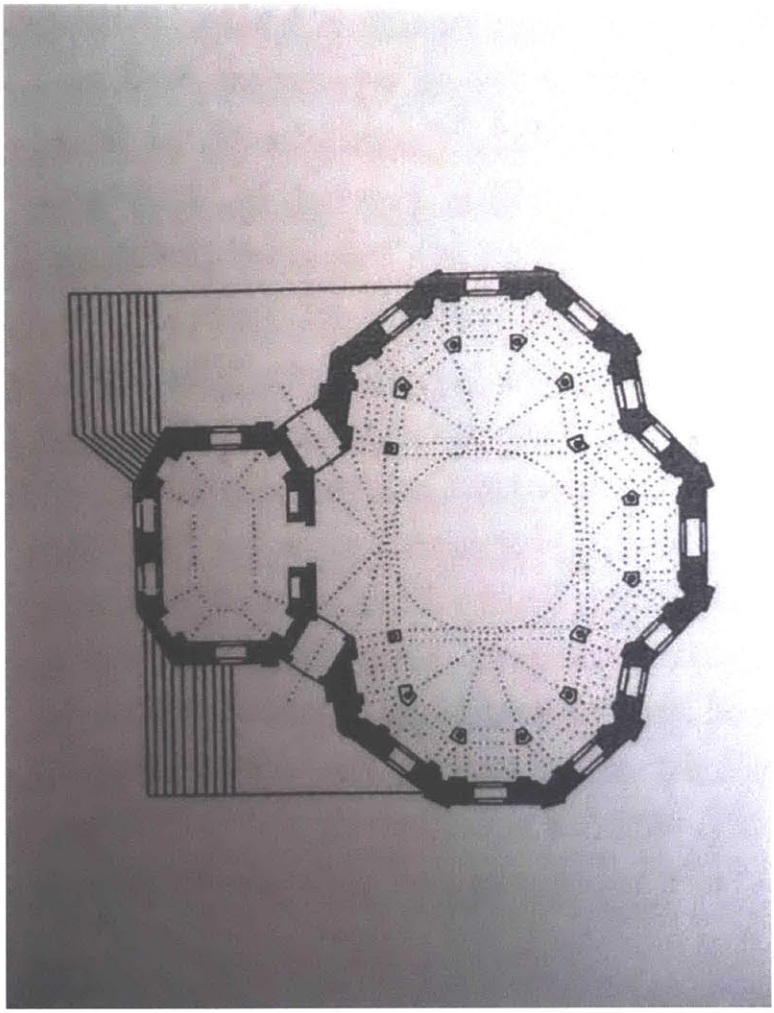

Fig. 4.30 Plan of the Nuruosmaniye Library.

Fig. 4.31 Inscription above the entrance to the depository in the Nuruosmaniye Library.

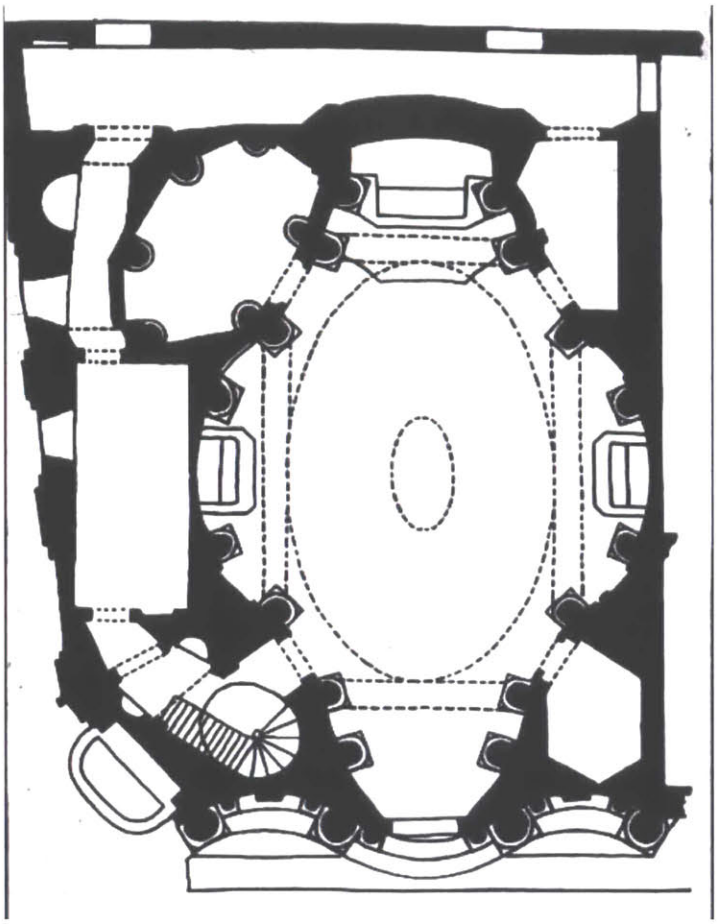

Fig. 4.32 Francesco Borromini, plan of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Rome (1641).

Fig. 4.33 View of the Nuruosmaniye Library.

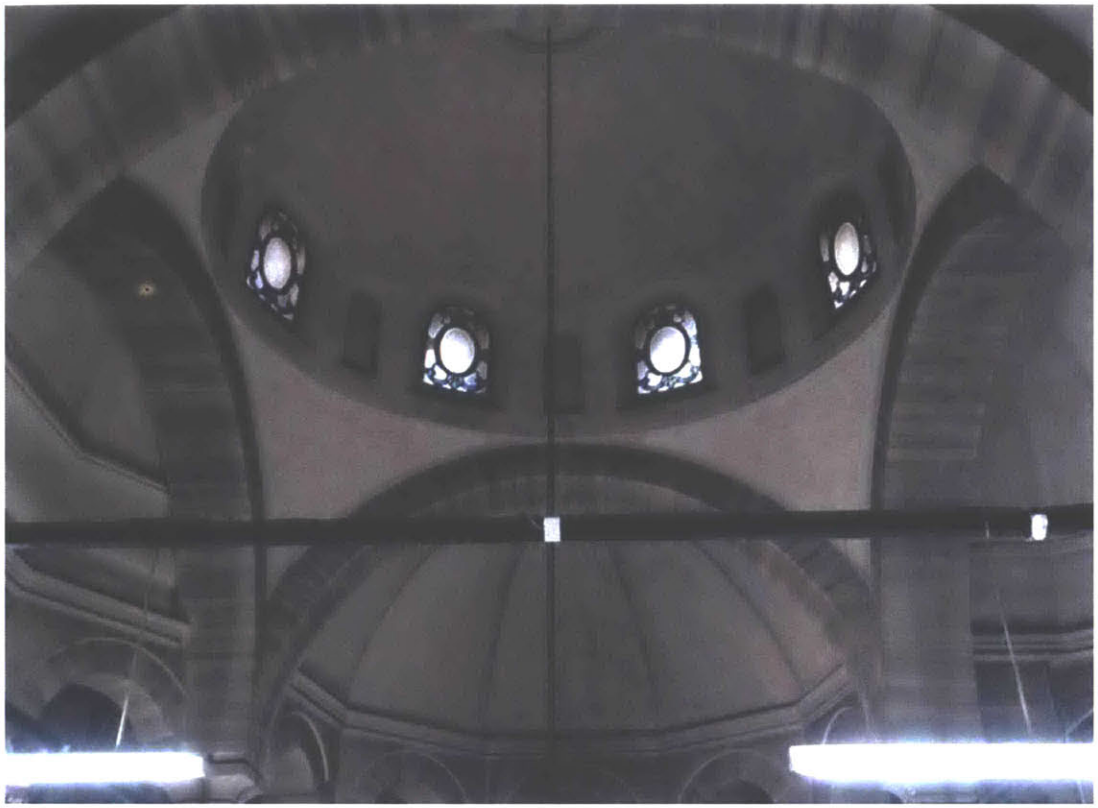

Fig. 4.34 The vaults of the Nuruosmaniye Library.

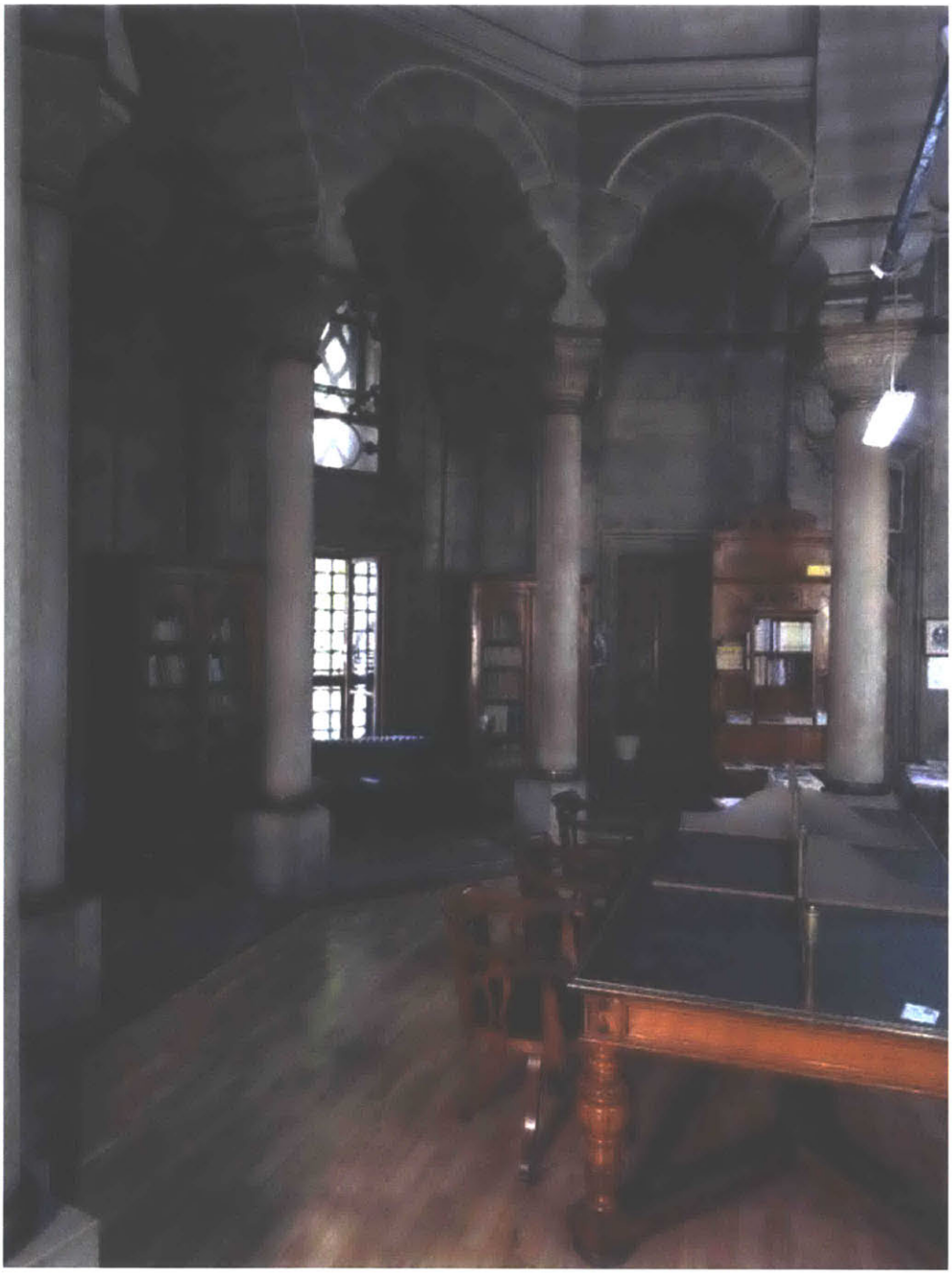

Fig. 4.35 The ambulatory arcade in the Nuruosmaniye Library.

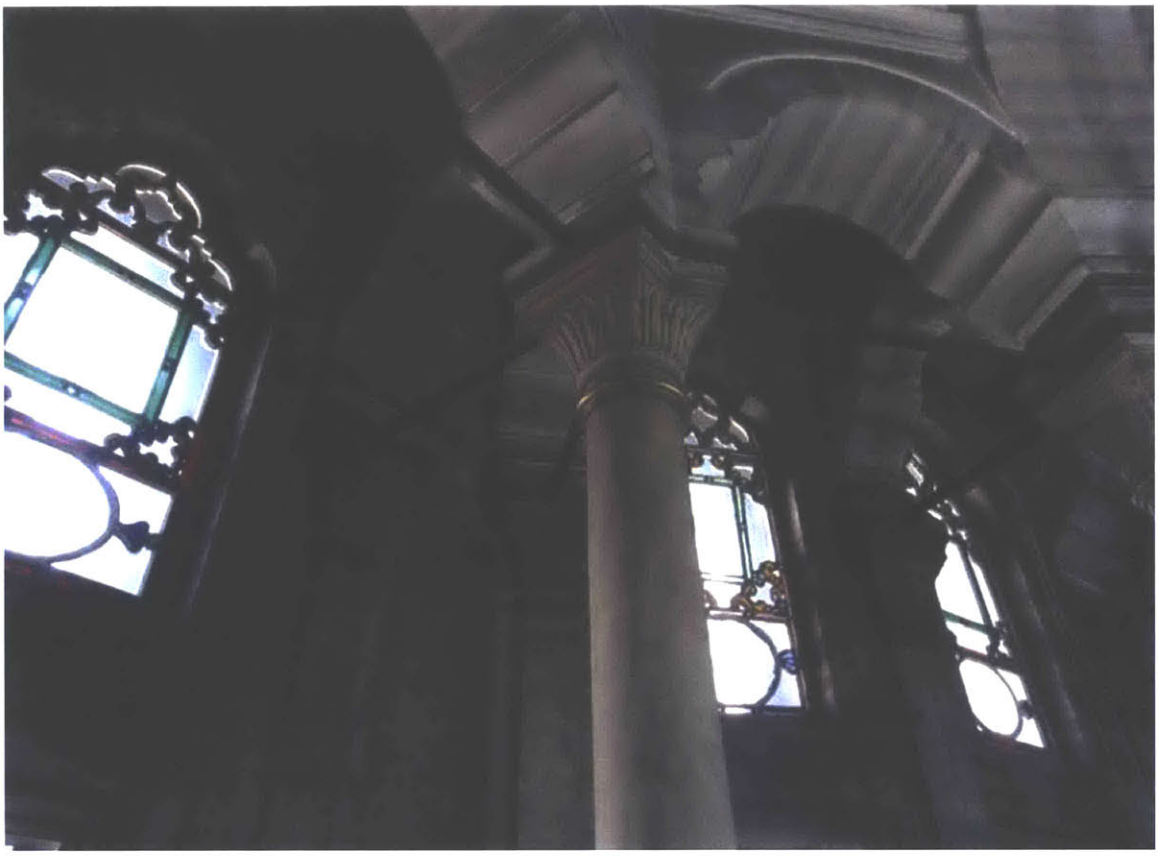

Fig. 4.36 Detail of the arcade in the Nuruosmaniye Library.

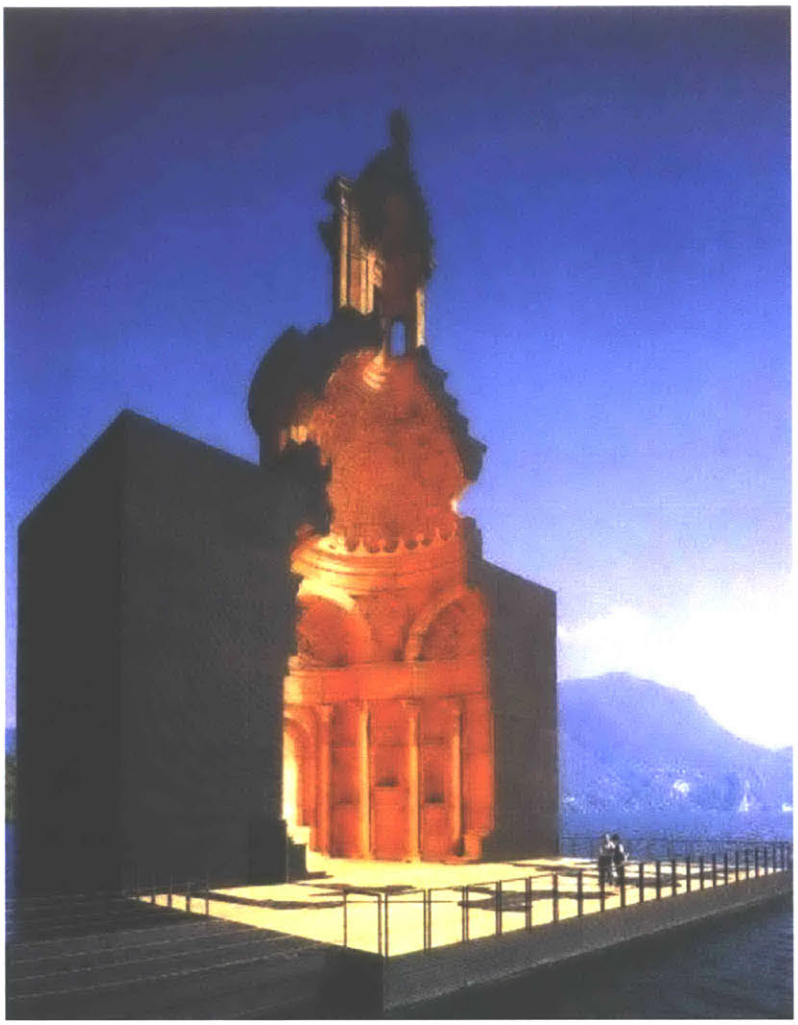

Fig. 4.37 Mario Botta, section model of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane exhibited in Lugano (1999-2003).

Fig. 4.38 Şehdi Osman Efendi Library (1760) and the Hünkar Mosque in Sarajevo.

Fig. 4.39 Model of the Süleymaniye in the 1582 Festival, in the *Sûrnâme-i Hümâyûn.*

Fig. 4.40 Levnî, detail of the scene of *nahıl*s and cardboard kiosk models in the 1720 Festival, in *Sûrnâme-i Vehbî*.

Fig 4.41 Birdhouse on a wall of the Ayazma Mosque, Üsküdar (1760). Is the wing on the left birds' library?

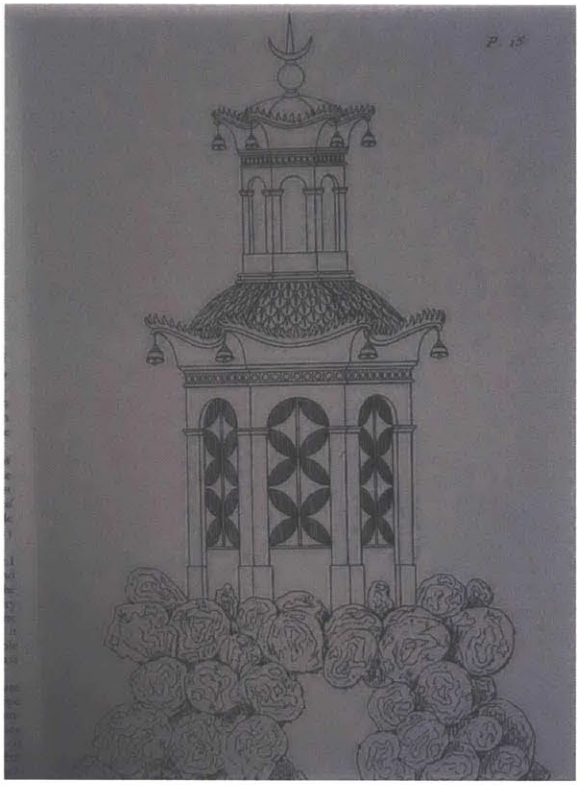

Fig. 4.42 Design for a cake in the shape of a Chinese pavilion, published in 1815 (from Mosser, "Paradox in the Garden...").

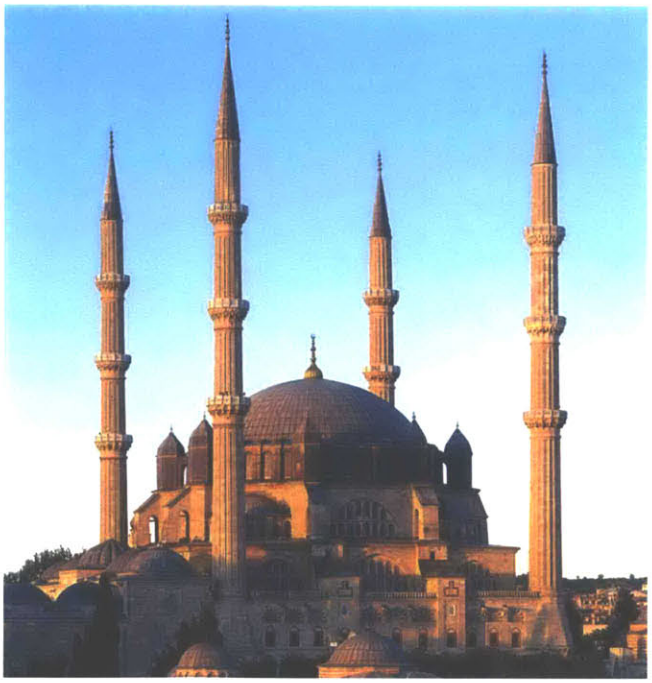

Fig. 4.43 Selimiye, Edirne (1574).

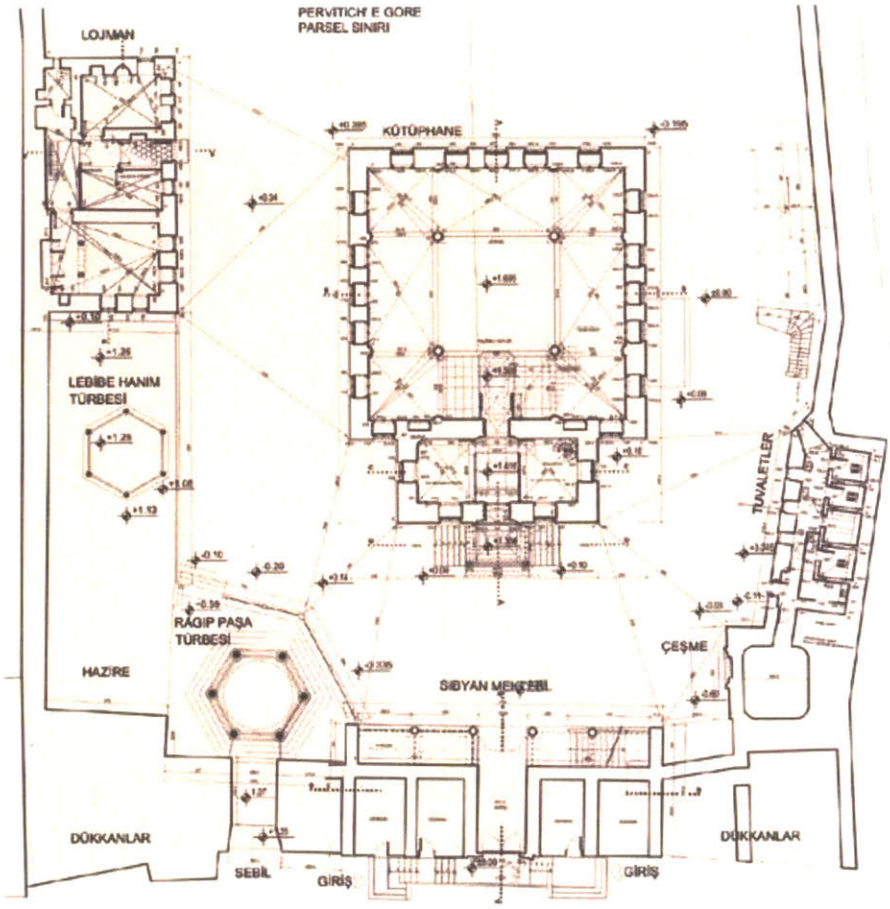


Fig. 4.44 Plan of the ensemble of the Râgıb Paşa Library (plan drawing of the İM Mimarlık restoration office).


Fig. 4.45 View of the primary school and the library.

Fig. 4.46 Tiles and the inscription band inside the Râgıb Paşa Library (from Soysal, *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*).

Fig. 4.47 Dutch tiles in the Râgıb Paşa Library.

Fig. 4.48 Wooden pendant in the Râgıb Paşa Library (from Nermin Kırdar Kalyoncu, "...Ahşap Avizeler").

Fig. 4.49 Wooden pendant in the Râgıb Paşa Library (from Nermin Kırdar Kalyoncu, "...Ahşap Avizeler").

Fig. 4.50 Hacı Selim Ağa Library (1782), the portico.

Fig. 4.51 View of the arch that separates the book depository inside the Hacı Selim Ağa Library.

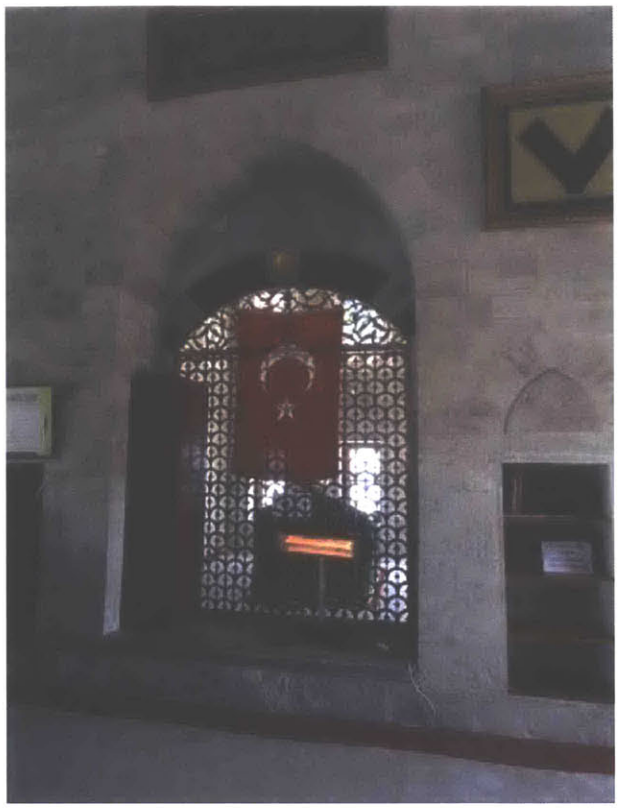

Fig. 4.52 View of the mausoleum from inside the Şemsi Paşa Mosque (1580).

Fig. 4.53 The Persian couplet above the entrance of the main hall of the Râgıb Paşa Library.

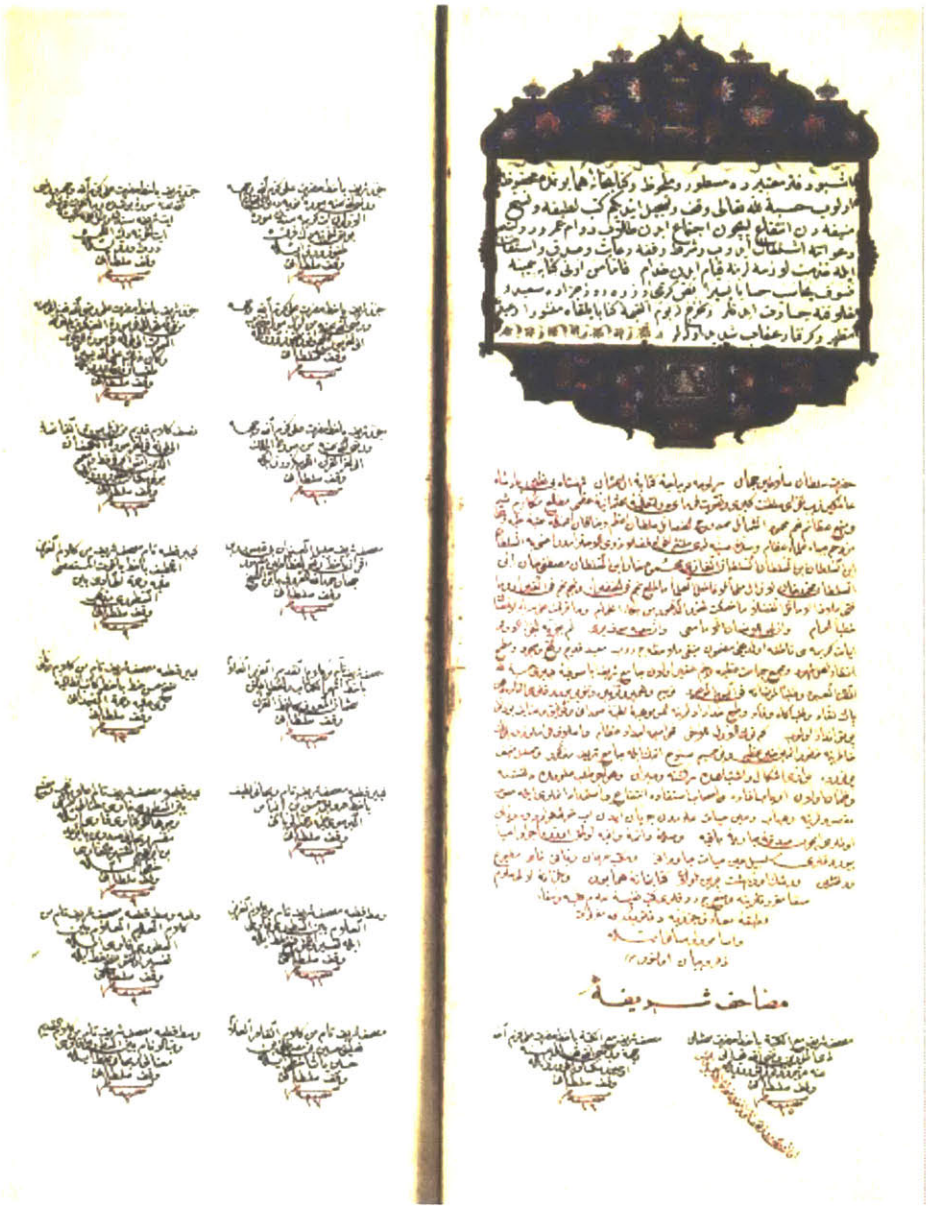

Fig. 5.1 Preface and the first pages of a catalogue of the Hagia Sophia Library (Süleymaniye: Yazma Fihrist 25, ff., 1a-1b).

Fig. 5.2 Muraqqa page (Hamidiye Murakka 37, f. 7).

Fig. 5.3 Muraqqa page (Hamidiye Murakka 37, f. 9).

Fig. C.1 İshak Ağa Fountain at Beykoz (1746).

Fig. C.2 Cabinet shutters in the Selim III Prayer Room in the Topkapı Palace (1790s) which feature forms apparently taken from European rococo prints that show imaginary structures (from İrez, "Topkapı Sarayı Harem Bölümündeki Rokoko Süslemenin Batılı Kaynakları").

Fig. C.3 Frontispiece of the *Rasa'il Ikhwan as-Safa* in the thirteenth-century copy at Esad Efendi 3638.

Fig. C.4 The exterior and the interior of the Esad Efendi Library (Istanbul; completed in 1848) in 1940. (Istanbul Committee of Historic Preservation Archive, file no: 13588) The library was evacuated and the collection was transported to the Süleymaniye Library in 1914.

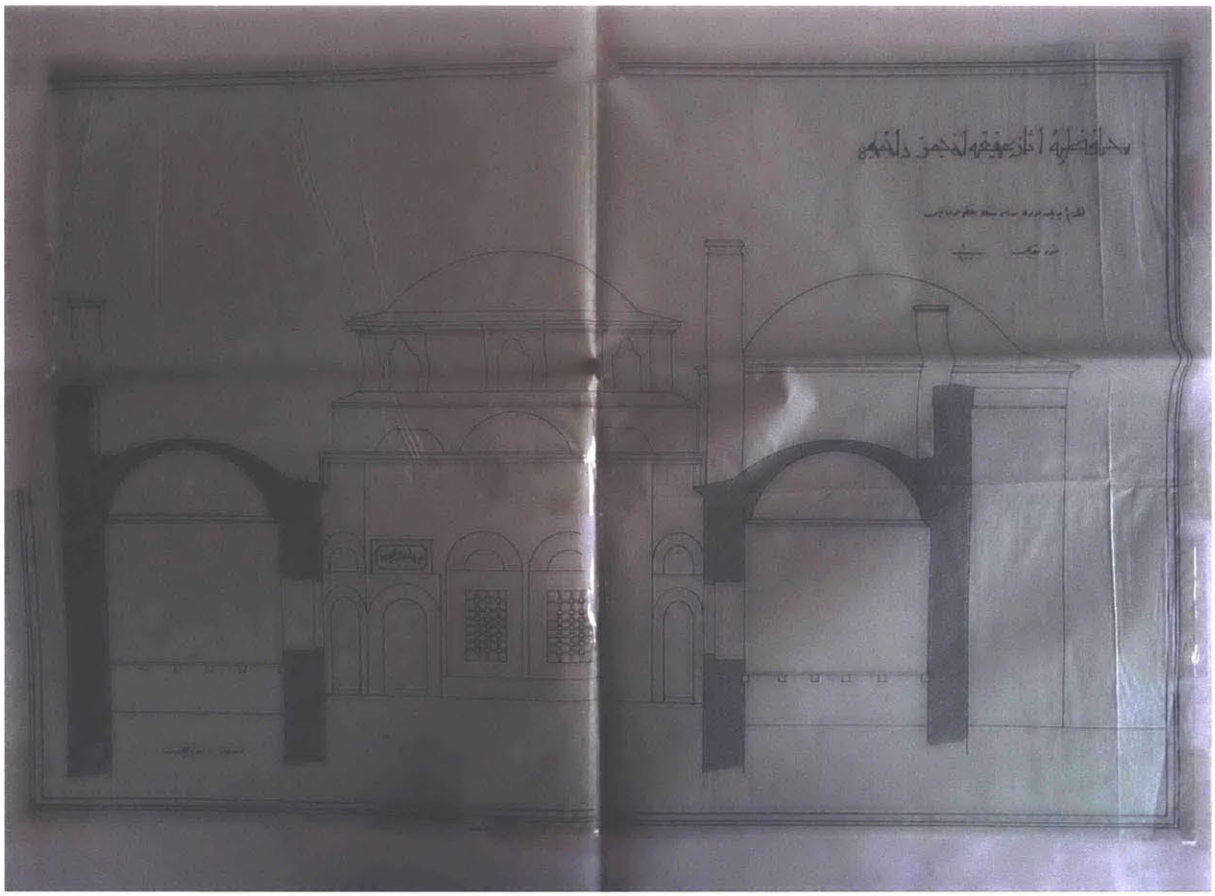

Fig. C.5 Section drawing of the Laleli Madrasa looking towards the lecture room-cum-library and the Quranic verse shown above its door and the book depository built in 1802 on the right.

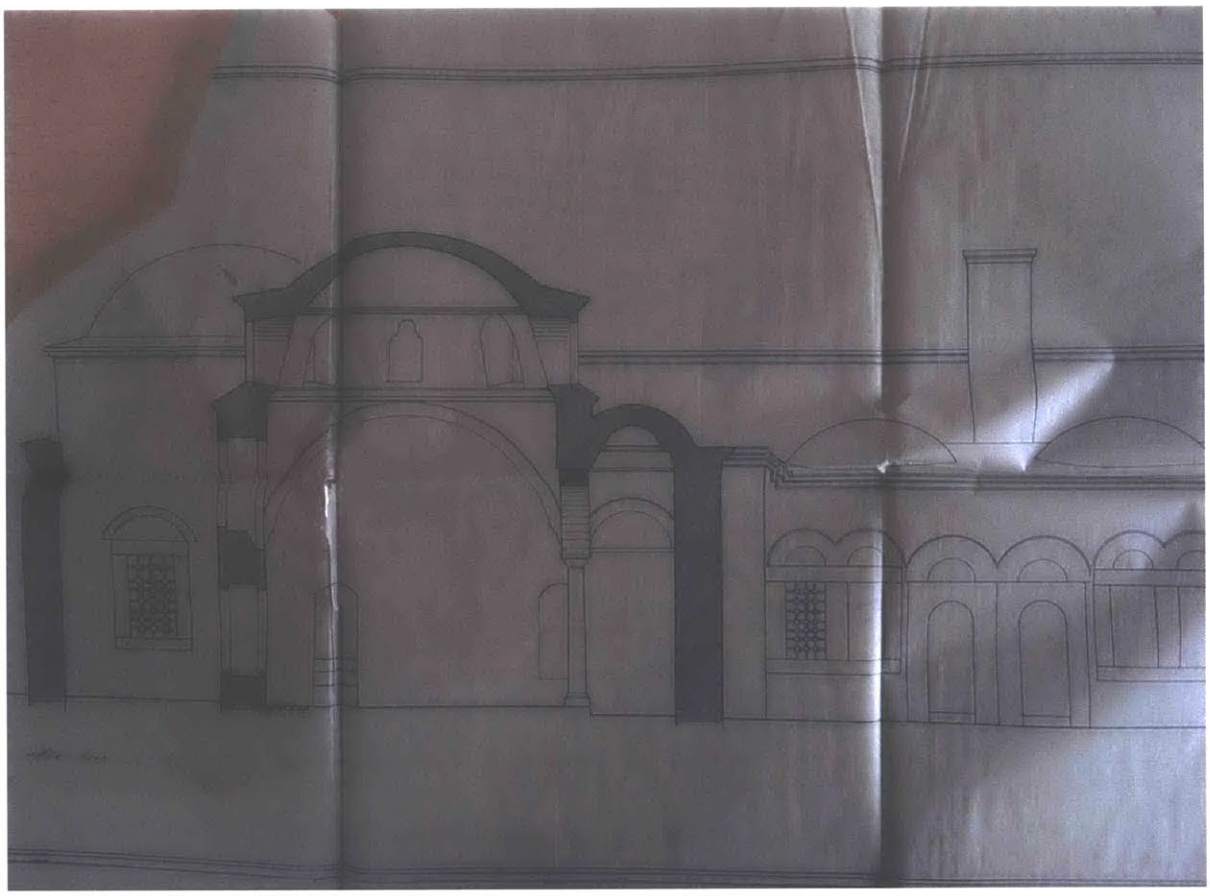

Fig. C.6 Section of the Laleli Madrasa through the lecture room. The depository and the doorway opened from the hall to it are seen at the background.

Fig. C.7 Hâlet Efendi Library (Istanbul; 1825) as seen from the street.

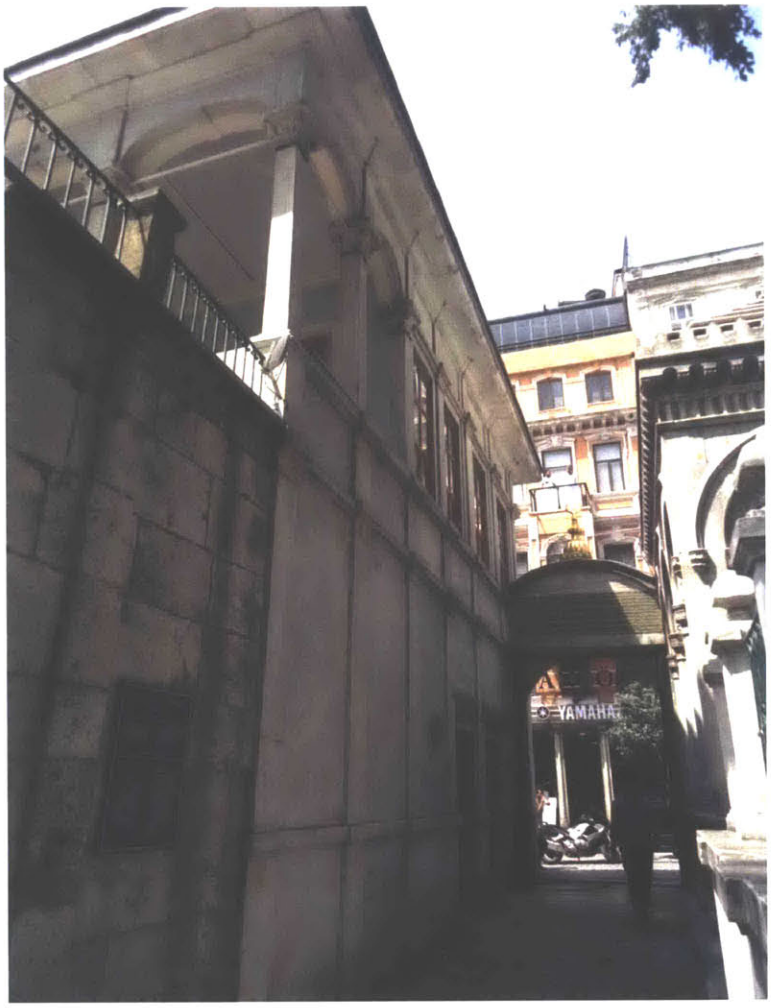


Fig. C.8 Hâlet Efendi Library, from the courtyard.

Fig. C.9 Façade of the Küçük Efendi Dervish Lodge, Istanbul (1825). The entrance to its library is seen at the back.

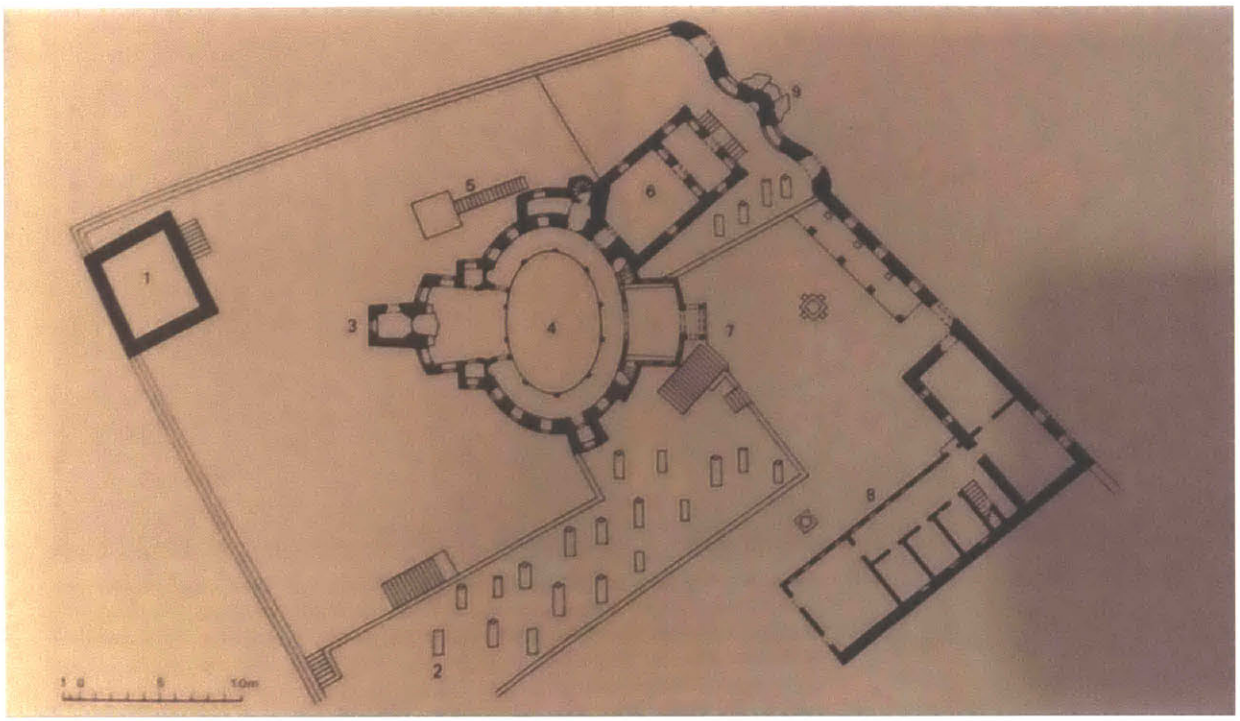

Fig. C.10 Plan of the Küçük Efendi Dervish Lodge (from Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*).