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Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the “Inevitable” Question of Westernization

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The conspicuous appearance, in 1793, of the princely pavilion of Neşatabad on the shores of the Bosphorus in Istanbul captured the attention of many contemporary observers (Figure 1). Commissioned by Selim III and designed by the German architect and Istanbul resident Antoine-Ignace Melling, Neşatabad was intended as an extension of the eighty-year-old waterfront palace of the ruler's sister, Hatice Sultan.¹ The following verse by Enderunlu Fazıl Bey was among hundreds of others composed by poets in celebration of the new structure:²

Come and enjoy the heavenly view from this [pavilion of]
Neşatabad,
From this building created deliberately with an innovative
design!
No colors on its walls; in its monochrome garment, it is simply
perfect
Compared to this new edifice, the older palace looks coarse
It is a pretty young beauty, full of harmony,
Whose symmetrical form is more delightful than a boy's grace-
ful stature
Its ornamented form is as though cast out of a mold
It is beyond the reach of the most talented master
[Its] architect [modeled] its plan on the pattern of the constel-
lation of stars
Never [before] has such a design been seen among the older
masters!

Neither its design nor its new colors and novel ornaments have ever been witnessed by either Mani or even Behzad.³

Conceived as an inscription to commemorate Neşatabad and honor its founding patron, Fazıl's ode sounds, above all, like a tribute to the building's novel aesthetics and the creative imagination that gave birth to it. Overflowing with praise for the pavilion's singular character, the poem alludes to its design “of new invention,” its unique proportions, the symmetrical layout of its façade, and its novel decorative repertoire. Fazıl also noted the immaculate white color of its walls, doubtless a reference to the building's marble revetment, which must have stood out among the dark-red wooden walls of contemporary princely palaces.⁴ Although he did not point specifically to the bulky central pediment, the Ionic capitals, or the garland motifs, his observations clearly convey Melling's distinctively new façade treatment of the familiar type of waterfront palace, one that had matured in the course of the eighteenth century.

Fazıl's poem may be regarded as one of the last manifestations of the Ottoman architectural discourse of the eighteenth century, one of whose central motifs was the celebration of novelty. In comparison with earlier periods, the constant recurrence of the notions of innovation, inventiveness, originality, and creativity in eighteenth-century Ottoman writings on architecture is striking. These references consist principally of building descriptions and

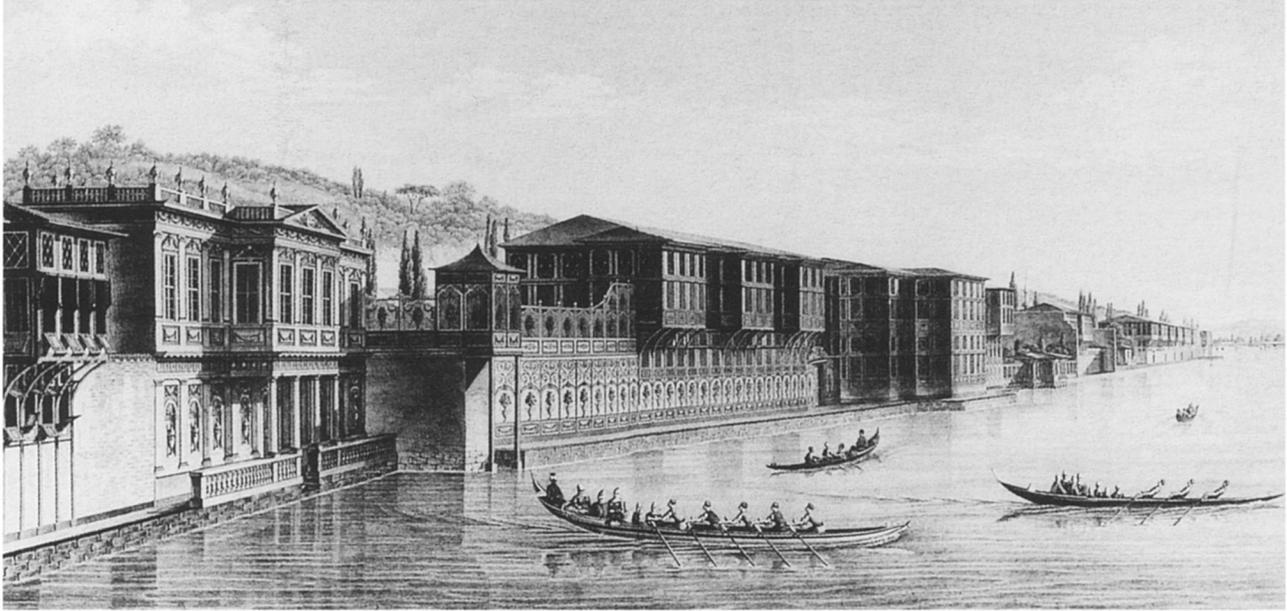


Figure 1 Antoine-Ignace Melling, engraving, ca. 1800s. The pavilion of Neşatabad is in the foreground, and next to it is the main palace of Hatice Sultan at Defterdar Burnu, Istanbul.

accounts of architectural achievements recorded by historians and chroniclers, as well as court poets who created rhymed building chronograms, a genre largely overlooked today that gained in popularity from the turn of the eighteenth century onward.⁵ Like Fazıl's ode to Neşatabad, rhymed chronograms were composed in celebration of architectural events and often appeared as inscriptions on the buildings they celebrated. Besides serving as documentation of a largely lost architectural world, they offer rare insights into the understanding and reception of architecture at the time, a subject that has not been sufficiently addressed in Ottoman architectural history and in the field of Islamic art in general.

Although Ottoman writings on the subject of novelty did not amount to the kind of philosophical debate that emerged in contemporary Europe,⁶ they constituted, in their own way, a distinctive form of discourse during a period when novelty and originality were invoked as measures of architectural appreciation. In poetry and prose alike, terms and idioms like *nev* (new), *cedid* (new), *nev-icad* (new invention), *taze* (fresh), *ibtirā'* (invention), *hayāl* (imagination), *bedī'* and *ibdā'* (original, to create from scratch), and vaguer allusions to novelty such as *hüsn-ü diğər* (a different sort of beauty) and *üslub-i ferid* (a unique style), were all repeatedly used in connection with a building's overall form, façades, plan, layout, and design. They also appeared in relation to specific elements including pillars, cornices, windows, colors, other dec-

orative features, and style (*tarz, üslub*), the latter occasionally contrasted with the "old or ancient style" (*tarz-ı mütaqaddimîn*) of earlier monuments.⁷

To a large extent, the Ottomans' emphasis on novelty mirrored the rapidly changing landscape of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. By all accounts, this had been an extraordinary moment in the architectural culture of the city. In the hundred years that followed the decisive return of the court of Ahmed III to the capital in the summer of 1703,⁸ new forms, expressions, colors, designs, and aesthetics continually appeared. An unusually ornate and flamboyant decorative vocabulary took shape, incorporating new and familiar elements and drawing on earlier Ottoman repertoires and foreign visual cultures. For the first time, architecture flourished outside the confines of the classical imperial canon that had been formulated around the middle of the sixteenth century, during the period of state centralization and imperial expansion under Sultan Süleyman.⁹

While the Ottomans' insistence on conveying visual expressions of novelty in their writings was a reflection of these developments, it also reflected a new attitude toward change, novelty, and a long-established architectural tradition. This was a significant turning point in the Ottomans' interpretation of their built environment, and one that has not been given its due in modern scholarship. While a recent surge of interest in the artistic and architectural production of the eighteenth century has rescued this period

from its earlier characterization as an era of decline, the emphasis placed on the influence of European culture and aesthetics and on the role of the Ottomans' westernizing aspirations in informing architectural change has considerably eclipsed the extensive and multifarious nature of the century's developments. Because Ottoman westernization remains the dominant rhetoric in interpretations of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, any assessment of Ottoman architecture in the postclassical and the late period must address the question. While in the context of the nineteenth century this concept is identified with the state-led modernizing reforms that started under Mahmud II,¹⁰ in the eighteenth century, westernization, understood as the chief vehicle of architectural and cultural change, is more broadly circumscribed in the rise of European military supremacy vis-à-vis the Ottomans after the latter's defeat at Vienna in 1683. It has even been argued, in keeping with the largely dated paradigm of the "rise and decline" of the empire, that it was the "faltering of [Ottoman] self-confidence"¹¹ that lay at the crux of the new westernizing outlook, which was to shape the architectural and, indeed, the cultural horizon for the next two hundred years.

In the dominant narrative of Ottoman history, the eighteenth century inaugurates a new era of peace and diplomacy with Europe, whose military superiority was at this point widely acknowledged. It is against this backdrop that the image of Istanbul emerges, its architectural culture transformed by the energy of a ruling elite engaged in the cultivation of a new interest in European culture. The increasing incorporation of western aesthetics in the Ottoman vocabulary is thus commonly understood as one of myriad symptoms of an overarching cultural aspiration. By and large, architecture is seldom invoked except as a response or a reaction to the West.¹²

In seeking to redress the scholarly tendency to regard eighteenth-century innovation as synonymous with westernization, I do not mean to suggest that the Ottomans' changing attitude toward Europe was inconsequential to some of the developments that occurred in the capital. There is no doubt that the intensification of diplomatic exchange with European powers brought about greater exposure to western artistic knowledge and techniques, literary ideas, sartorial fashions, and material culture.¹³ In architecture, certain Neoclassical, Baroque, and Rococo elements gradually permeated the architecture of Istanbul, especially from the 1750s on. Toward the close of the century, it became a commonplace for the court entourage to commission their private residences from European architects.

However, these trends were not necessarily indicative of a sudden inclination toward westernization, in the

charged sense of a deliberate emulation of western ways. In fact, they were hardly exceptional to the history of Ottoman architecture.¹⁴ To regard the eighteenth century as a turning point in Ottoman interaction with Europe is to ignore over two centuries of virtually continuous cultural and artistic contact. It is also to accept the fallacy of a fundamental polarity between the two geocultural entities, whereby cultural encounter can occur only in situations of unequal power and in the form of "influence," "without a choice by the allegedly passive receiver."¹⁵

While there is no doubt that in the eighteenth century western details infiltrated the architectural idiom of Istanbul more pervasively than they had before, it is crucial to reevaluate the significance of this current against visual and architectural evidence, and against the two often diverging discourses that emerged among contemporary European and Ottoman observers of change. Modern scholars' characterization of change in the eighteenth century as the beginning of a long and unilinear march toward westernization reflects only one facet of two centuries of reformulation of Ottoman architectural and indeed, sovereign, identity. While this search for a new image was, in part, a response to the military blow the empire had just suffered at the hands of European powers, it also answered to the pressure of internal transformations. By the eighteenth century, the system of hierarchies that had exemplified the Ottoman world order was eroding. While many contemporary critics saw these changes as signs of the breakdown of social order and the decline of the empire, they can also be viewed as symptomatic of what, in the distant context of Europe, is now known as the early modern period.¹⁶ Greater mobility among social and professional groups led to new social and financial aspirations, increasing material wealth, changing habits of consumption and of recreational and cultural practices, and the wearing out of stable marks of distinction. These patterns became integral to the social landscape of the city and began to crystallize in its physical fabric.

This climate of change was accompanied by a wider receptiveness to novelty that was equally inclusive of western and eastern, and early and classical Ottoman traditions. A new architectural idiom, profoundly hybrid in aesthetics and outlook, grew out of the dynamic that was played out in Istanbul between an urban society in flux and a state anxious to reassert its presence in the capital and revamp the image of sovereignty. Eighteenth-century developments did not constitute a sharp break with the past. Rather, they matured in the context of emerging practices and aspirations that started consolidating in the fabric of the city. Nor were they halted by the modernizing reforms of the following cen-



Figure 2 Mehmed Fatih's Middle Gate at the Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, second half of the fifteenth century

tury. To a certain extent, they informed the course of later change.

Returning to Fazıl's depiction of the pavilion, it is curious that for all his expressed admiration for the building's innovativeness, the poet's verse does not describe what seems to a modern eye to be its most flagrant characteristic, namely, the western decorative style. Fazıl's allusion to Mani and Behzad (a traditional trope in Ottoman poetry) may be read as a discreet reference to this feature: "Neither its design nor its new colors and novel ornaments/have ever been witnessed by either Mani or even Behzad." In this context, invocation of these two archetypal artists of the "eastern" Persian tradition could be interpreted as the poet's defiant championing of the western novelty of Neşatabad, perhaps even suggesting that by its sheer inventiveness western art had outdone its eastern counterpart.

However, it should be noted that Fazıl makes no direct reference to the pavilion's European flavor, unlike fifteenth-century commentators such as Tursun Beg or Kemalpaşazade. In their observations of the Topkapı Palace, for example, both historians identified Mehmed Fatih's gate towers, which were modeled after the Byzantine gate of Sta. Barbara and may have involved some European artists, as "European towers" (*frenḡi-burḡūz*) (Figure 2).¹⁷ It seems inappropriate to conclude that Fazıl's failure to overtly recognize western elements stemmed from insufficient visual cognition or from the lack of a priori knowledge that would allow him to perceive such stylistic references. The very title of his ode, "Chronogram on the New Pavilion Which Is a European Construction, in the Felicitous Waterfront Res-

idence of Neşatabad,"¹⁸ testifies to his awareness of the fact that the pavilion was designed by a European architect. One could argue that regardless of how well-informed he was, Fazıl may have deemed any verbalization of things western conceptually or ideologically outside the canon of the court poetic tradition. He once temporarily held similarly conservative views on the representation of women in court poetry.¹⁹ However, this argument is countered by the elaborate descriptions of European men and women in his two narrative poems "Hübännâme" and "Zenännâme" (The book of men and The book of women), and in any case, terms like *Frenḡistân* (for Europe) and other western references had been introduced in court poetry more than half a century earlier.²⁰

What is perhaps most frustrating about Fazıl's choice not to acknowledge the origin of the features of Neşatabad he so appreciated is that it upsets our modern expectations that by virtue of their nature as western, hence foreign, these features would have been clearly distinguishable from the rest. But it is important to recall here that western aesthetics had long been part of the architectural landscape of Istanbul.²¹ Moreover, the religious and ethnic diversity of the empire (unlike the homogeneity of European societies) meant that men and women in the capital did not have to relate to things European through a process of cultural othering. (Hardly ever did the spectacle of westerners in Istanbul provoke the mixture of awe and curiosity that Ottoman [and Persian] ambassadors evoked in westerners.) That Fazıl's architectural universe was not neatly divided between an East and a West should not be surprising. It was, after all,

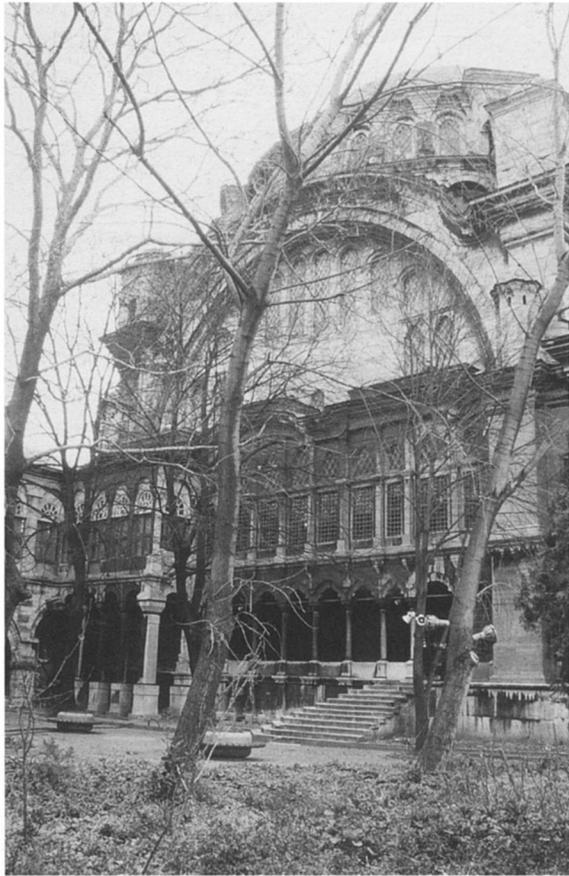


Figure 3 The Nurosmaniye Mosque, Istanbul, 1749–55



Figure 4 A portal of the Nurosmaniye Mosque

the same poet who once declared, in “*Hübännâme*,” that “Now, the most beautiful of all/the cities of the continent of Europe/Is the one [and only], the noble city of Istanbul.”²²

The elusive treatment of western formal and decorative elements is not peculiar to Fazıl’s poem about Neşatabad. Historical accounts of the imperial mosque of Nurosmaniye are remarkable in this respect. Founded by Mahmud I in 1749 and completed by his successor Osman III, in 1755,²³ the Nurosmaniye was the first Ottoman religious building to exhibit a panoply of western, particularly, French Baroque and Neoclassical, details like scrolls, shells, cable and round moldings, undulating and heavily molded cornices, concave and convex façades, round arches, engaged pillars, and fluted capitals (Figures 3, 4). In addition to incorporating such elements, it was also the first mosque in Istanbul to introduce generously fenestrated and relatively transparent façades, a horseshoe-shaped courtyard, and an imposing royal ramp and loggia (Figure 5), the epitome of an idea developed at the beginning of the seventeenth century at the mosque of Ahmed I (1609–17).²⁴

While all Ottoman observers addressed, in greater or less detail, the innovative character of the mosque, their accounts and descriptions seem incommensurate with the image of the mosque conveyed by modern historians as the archetypal illustration of the westernizing inclinations of the Ottoman ruling elite.²⁵ Eighteenth-century commentators remarked on the new style of the Nurosmaniye, pointing to the many features they recognized as novel to the mosque idiom of their city: the engaged pillars, whose capitals merged with a molded cornice, the excessive number of windows, their round and multilobed arches, the imperial ramp and lodge, and the somewhat Baroque fountain at the outer gate of the complex (Figure 6).

In his *Tārīḫ-i Cāmi‘-i Şerīf-i Nūr-i ‘Osmānī* (History of the mosque of Nurosmaniye), Ahmed Efendi, assistant comptroller of the mosque’s construction, referred to the building as “the honorable mosque in the new style” (*cāmi‘-i şerīf-i nev-ıtarz*) and characterized its profusely ornamented fountain-sebil as “a skillfully crafted fountain of unique beauty.”²⁶ Later in the century, the Armenian chronicler Inci-



Figure 5 The imperial ramp and loggia at the Nurosmaniye Mosque



Figure 6 Fountain-sebil of the Nurosmaniye Mosque, 1755

cyan praised the style of the Nurosmaniye as superior to that of all the other mosques in Istanbul. He mentioned its windows, its marble pillars, columns, and capitals as its most appealing features.²⁷ In a brief entry on the mosque in his *Ḥadiqat ul-Cevāmi‘* (The garden of the mosques), Ayvansarayi pointed to its grandiose ramp and loggia (*bünkār mahfili*), construing it correctly as a symbol of royalty.²⁸

The Ottomans' reluctance to single out features of western origin becomes all the more interesting when compared to the accounts of their European counterparts. Full of praise for Mahmud I for his "good taste in architecture," James Dallaway, an English visitor who traveled to Istanbul some thirty years after the mosque was completed, explained that the founder of the Nurosmaniye had "procured designs of the most celebrated European churches, [and] wished to have adopted the plan of one of them [as a model for his mosque], but was dissuaded by the ulemāh [the learned and religious elite]."²⁹ This curious tale was recounted in more detail by the Reverend Robert Walsh, a compatriot of Dallaway who visited the city in the nineteenth century: "In order to make [the Nurosmaniye] more splendid than that of any of his predecessors, Mahmud I sent architects to collect the models of the Christian cathedrals in Europe, that his mosque might be constructed from the perfections of them all. This heterodox intention, however, was opposed by the Ulemah, who denounced it as a desecration of a temple dedicated to the Prophet; and while he hesitated in his plans, and before he had matured the

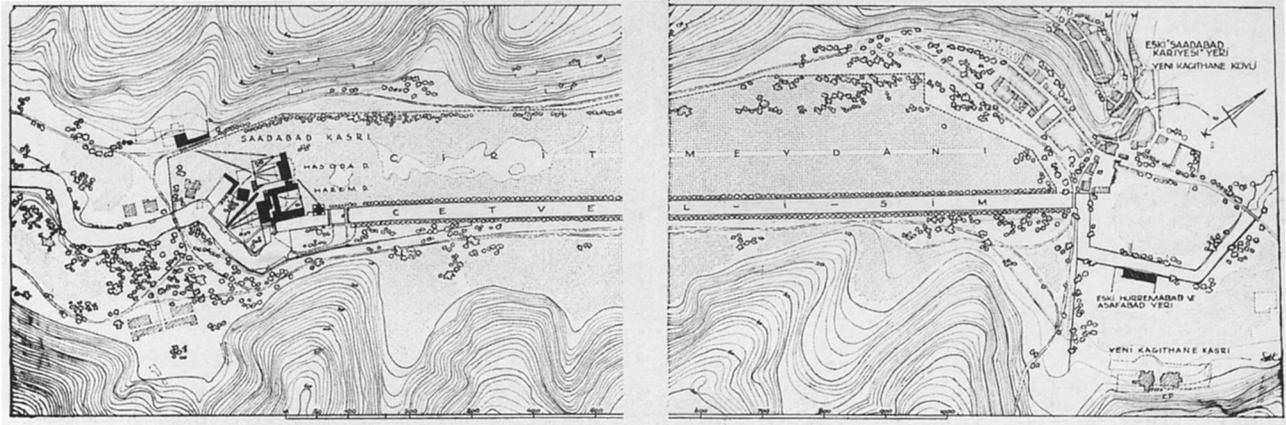


Figure 7 Sedat Hakkı Eldem, plan of Sa'adabad, Istanbul, 1720–21

whole design, death overtook him, and he left the mosque unfinished.”³⁰

Whether or not the travelers fabricated the story in its entirety, or based their accounts on hearsay about the unusual character or the new style of the mosque, is a question that is impossible to resolve at this point. But it is odd that not even a hint of such intentions on the part of Mahmud I should be dropped by the usually well informed court chroniclers, or by Ayvansarayi in his meticulous and encyclopedic chronicle of the mosques of Istanbul. This silence is all the more perplexing in the case of Ahmed Efendi, who by virtue of his job and his obvious interest in the mosque's history (testified to by his initiative in recording it in writing) should have been, in all likelihood, aware of such a significant fact. If we suppose that all these commentators thought it better to hush the ruler's presumably heterodox intentions, other conservative and more acerbic critics, like the self-appointed historian Şemdanizade, should have been delighted to expose a purported act of profanity. Given the ease with which he unleashed his sharp tongue against all echelons of society, on issues ranging from women's unseemly décolletés to the debauchery of one of the most influential men of his time, Grand-Vizier Nevşehirli Ibrahim Pasha, the cursory remarks he offered on the Nurosmaniye and its patron seem surprising, if not incongruous.³¹

The discrepancy between Ottoman and European reports is interesting not only because it calls into question the ultimate motives of the building patron, but also because it casts doubt on the conspicuousness of western stylistic references and their significance to the mosque's unmistakably new idiom. Compared with the commentaries of European travelers, the Ottomans' accounts reflected a horizon of innovations beyond western details, including

such notable features as the horseshoe-shaped court, the monumental royal ramp, and the abundant fenestration. While they recognized western imports as part of the new vocabulary, the role of westernization as an avowed stylistic or cultural aspiration seems to have been, to their eyes, rather inconsequential.

Speculations similar to those offered by European observers in connection with the Nurosmaniye have surrounded the innovations of the imperial palace of Sa'adabad, built in Istanbul for Ahmed III by his grand-vizier, Nevşehirli, and in modern historiography another celebrated monument of the Ottomans' western ideals. Written and visual representations of the palace precinct, summarized in the reconstruction plans of the notable early-twentieth-century Turkish architect Sedat Hakkı Eldem (Figure 7), show that its central area comprised the imperial palace, which consisted of a harem, a *selamlık* (the male quarters), a mosque, a garden pavilion, a small fountain, and a large pool that was fed from the nearby Kağıthane stream by means of a canal and a complex system of conduits, dykes, and cascades (Figures 8, 9). To the south and northeast of the main palace, 170 residences and gardens for state officials, “built in a hitherto unseen style [*tarzları nâ-dîde*] and according to a beautiful and admirable layout [*tarhları maṭbū' u pesendide*]” were erected on either side of the canal and the river.³²

According to numerous European travelers and residents, Sa'adabad was supposedly modeled after a contemporary French palace, a set of whose plans had been brought back from France by Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, Ottoman ambassador to the court of Louis XV, in October 1721, that is, nine months before the construction of Sa'adabad began. The Marquis de Bonnac, French ambassador at the Ottoman court at the time, and a number of later European

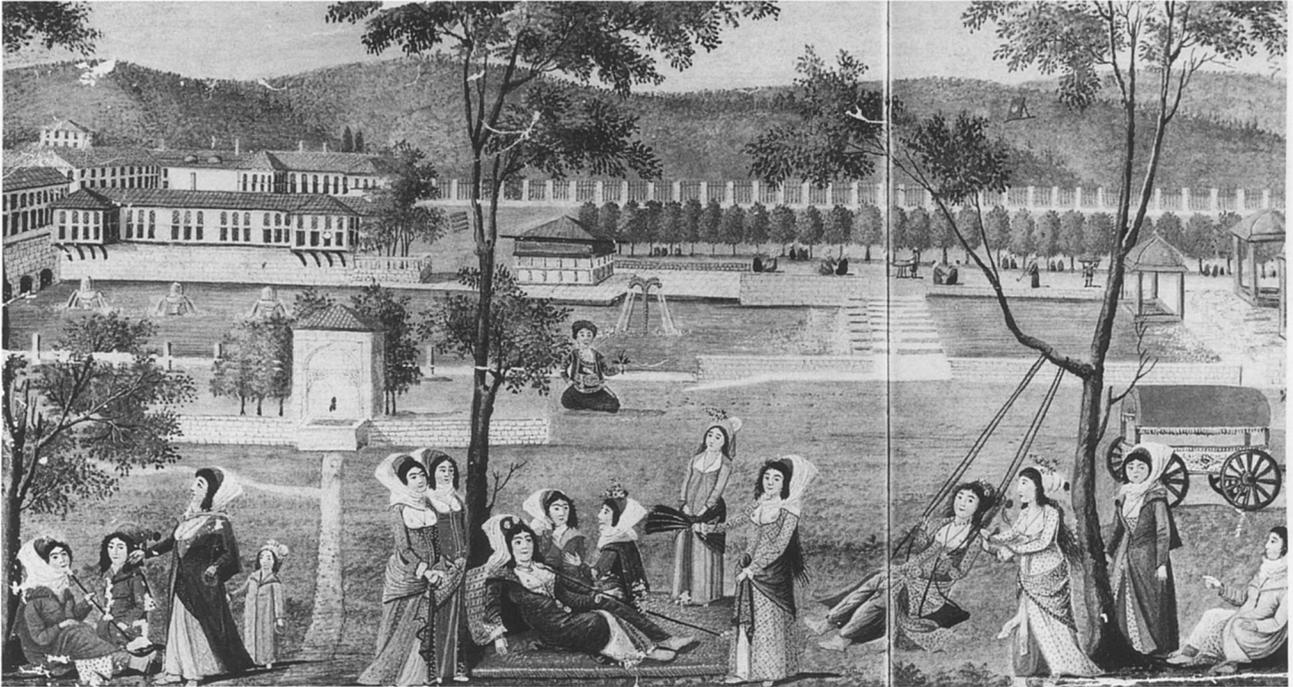


Figure 8 Anonymous painted illustration of the garden of Sa'dabad at Kağıthane, Istanbul, ca. 1720s

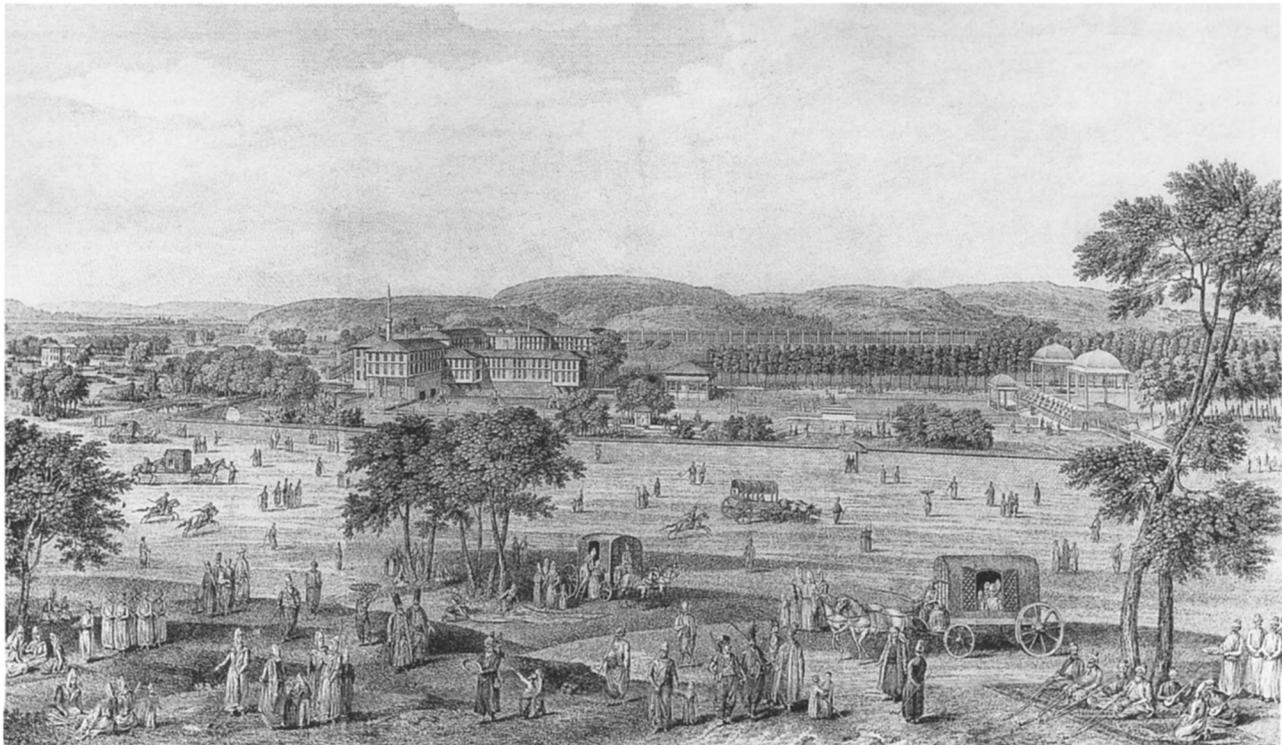


Figure 9 L'Espinasse, engraving showing the palace of Sa'dabad and the garden of Kağıthane, ca. 1770s

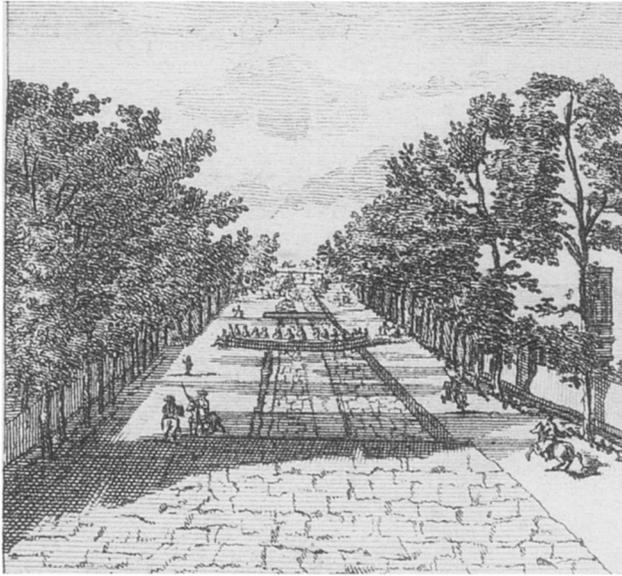


Figure 10 Cornelius DeBryn, engraving showing the Chaharbagh, Isfahan, ca. 1700s

travelers, including Dallaway, Rev. Walsh, the Baron de Tott, Charles Pertusier, and the Comtesse de Ferté-Meun, offered, each in turn, a French model for the palace, whether Versailles, Fontainebleau, or Marly.³³

Despite the lack of consensus on the specific source of inspiration, in the absence of more revealing evidence we cannot completely discredit their accounts; nor can we exclude the possibility that some of the architectural and landscape features of the palace may have been inspired by a French precedent. We could certainly establish a correspondence, for instance, between the one-kilometer-long canal at Sa‘dabad and another, equally long and twice as imposing, at Fontainebleau. We could also suggest that Küçük Çelebizade’s reference to the “hitherto unseen style” of the residences and gardens of state officials may have been an allusion to a new western style.³⁴ But given the lack of visual evidence and the scarcity of written descriptions of the canal and river sections of the palatial precinct (which were destroyed some ten years after they were built, in 1730, in the wake of the Patrona Halil revolt), the suggestion cannot be substantiated at this point.

What is certain is that neither in design nor in style, size, or scale can any of the proposed models compare with the central, better documented part of the palace. Nor can the view advanced by some European observers and recent scholars that Sa‘dabad’s waterworks (see Figure 8) were based on drawings of the cascades at Marly be verified.³⁵ At best, the feature could have been inspired by the lengthy

but vague description of the French palace and garden Yirmisekiz supplied in his embassy report to the court on his return from France or, more generally, by his enthusiastic depictions of the sophisticated *jeux d’eaux* he had observed at every French garden he visited.³⁶ For it is only much later that visual documentation of Marly became available to the Ottomans, in the form of a book titled *Architecture française*, published in 1738, more than fifteen years after Sa‘dabad was completed.³⁷

In any case, neither poets nor court historians, who devoted more space in their writings to Sa‘dabad than to any other building of their time, offer any clue that the planning of the imperial palace may have been informed by a western model or that it may have been related in some way to the architectural knowledge Yirmisekiz brought from his embassy to France. Rather, it was in the “East” that Ottoman observers sought to identify architectural models for the palace. I am not referring to symbolic allusions to legendary monuments of the eastern world, such as the famed pavilion of Havernak (an old trope of Ottoman literature) but to real architectural achievements that were invoked by poets and chroniclers to better illustrate the challenge confronted by their own accomplishments.

Consider, for instance, this vengeful-sounding deprecation of Isfahan’s Chaharbagh (1596), the famed public promenade built by the Safavid Shah Abbas I in his new capital, Isfahan (Figure 10)³⁸: “With blots and scores, it scarred Isfahan’s Chaharbagh/Sa‘dabad has now become a garden upon a hill, my love.”³⁹ The verse, written by the court poet Nedim, was evidently meant to exalt the beauty of his beloved garden of Sa‘dabad, and to affirm its glaring superiority to the Chaharbagh promenade. Composed in 1722, at a time when the Safavid capital was badly struggling against an Afghan occupation, Nedim’s poem was, without any doubt, a reference to the bygone glory of Isfahan. Yet at the same time, it also testified to the continuing significance, in Ottoman architectural consciousness, of Shah Abbas’s magnificent achievement. It is in the same vindictive spirit that Nedim described, a few years later, the Ottoman palatial garden of Şevkabad, built around 1728 by Saliha Sultan, the mother of Mahmud I, in Beylerbeyi⁴⁰ as a smashing triumph over a contemporary Safavid masterpiece, the palace garden of Ferahabad, which was constructed in 1700 by Shah Husayn in Isfahan: “How wonderful! How wonderful, may it be blessed!/Every one of its shaded avenues is a sinecure for gay life and pleasure/ From envy of its abundant pure breeze,/Isfahan’s Ferāḥābād crumbled in ruins.”⁴¹

Similar analogies between Ottoman and Safavid monuments appear in chroniclers’ accounts of architectural

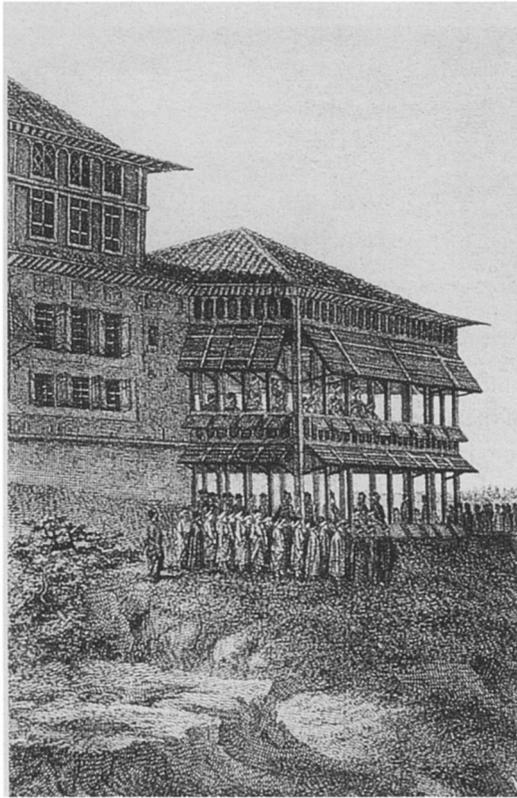


Figure 11 L'Espinasse, engraving showing Mahmud I's pavilion of Bayıldım at the Beşiktaş Palace, Istanbul, ca. 1770s

events. In his account of Mahmud I's renovation of the Arab İskelesi Mosque in Istanbul, in 1748, the historian Şemdanizade alluded to a new imperial pavilion at the nearby palace of Beşiktaş, identifying it as *çebel sütün* (forty, or many, pillars): "Following the construction of the *cehel sütün*, a mosque located in the [nearby quarter of] Arab İskelesi was enlarged and [re]built."⁴² The pavilion, erected by Mahmud I and known as İftariye Köşkü or Bayıldım, was a two-story building fronted by a porch with twenty-two pillars and a large reflecting pool (Figure 11). Şemdanizade may have used the term *çebel sütün* as a loose reference to the pavilion's many pillars. But he may also have meant to allude to his perception (or knowledge) of a visual analogy between Mahmud I's Bayıldım and the Safavid pavilion of Chihil Sutun, which had been constructed in the middle of the seventeenth century by Shah Abbas II around Abbas I's famous Meydan-i Shah in Isfahan. The Chihil Sutun was fronted by eighteen pillars, which were reflected in a large pool, and it had been freshly restored by Shah Husayn at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Figure 12).⁴³

It may be far-fetched to intimate from these allusions alone that in the mind of Mahmud I the pavilion of İftariye



Figure 12 Shah Abbas II's pavilion of Chihil Sutun, Isfahan, 1647

was meant to outdo Abbas II's Chihil Sutun (at least by four pillars) or that the Chaharbagh served as a model in Ahmed III and Nevşehirli's conceptions of Sa' dabad. We must nonetheless bear in mind that such monuments of the Persian world were known to the Ottomans, at least to those close to palace culture, not only through Persian poems and histories, but also from accounts of Safavid, Ottoman, and European diplomats, travelers, and merchants. In their reports of diplomatic visits by Persian envoys, Ottoman court chroniclers often recorded oral exchanges on the architecture and overall beauty of the two imperial capitals. The conversations were part of an entertainment ceremonial in which the two parties also exchanged poetic, musical, and calligraphic skills through various displays of talent seemingly highly competitive in spirit. In the context of these cultural contests, the Chaharbagh of Shah Abbas enjoyed particular prominence. As early as 1699, the Ottoman envoy to the Safavid court, Mehmed Pasha, mentioned the promenade in his report to the Ottoman court, describing it as "a place of fame."⁴⁴ Six years later, the Ottoman grand-vizier Dizdarzade Ahmed Pasha, anxious to demonstrate the splendor of his city to Murtaza Kulu Han, the Persian ambassador on a mission in Istanbul, launched a conversation by declaring "[You] might have a garden called Chaharbagh in your city of Isfahan, [but] we too [in Istanbul] have a heavenly pleasure [garden]."⁴⁵

The fact that the century-old promenade was so alive in eighteenth-century Ottoman minds may suggest that poets' repeated allusions to it in relation to Sa' dabad was not fortuitous, and that in the eyes of contemporary viewers the Ottoman palace did evoke connections with its

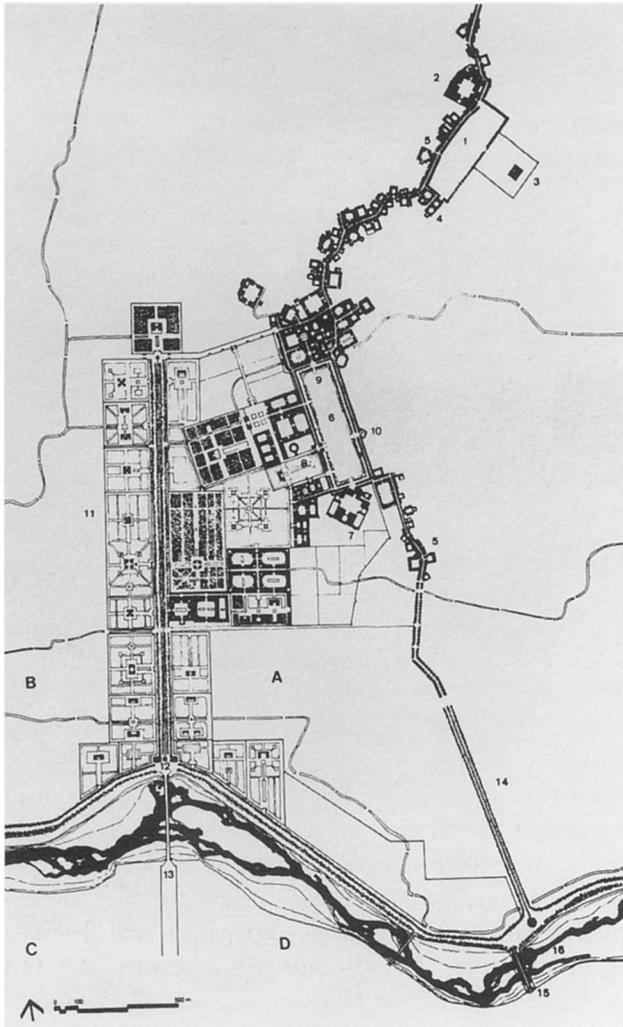


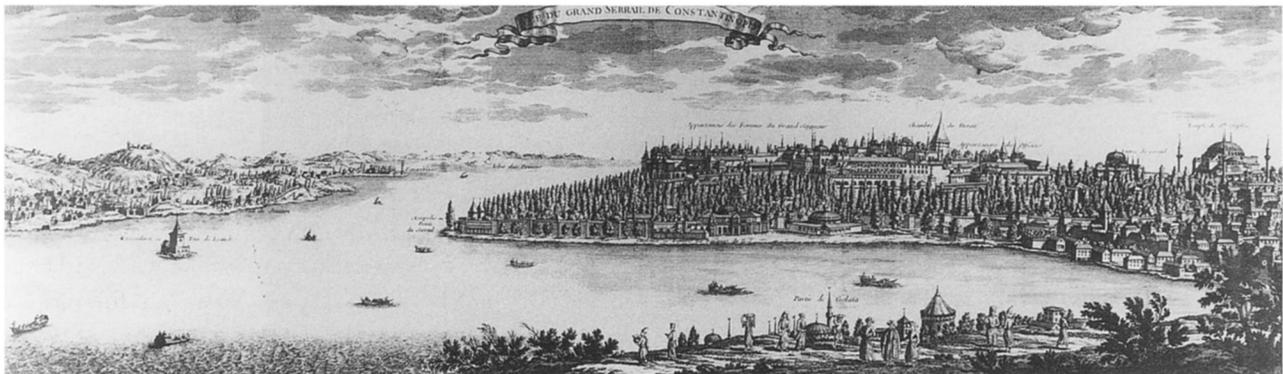
Figure 13 Plan of Isfahan showing the Chaharbagh promenade, Isfahan

assigned Persian counterpart. Indeed, it is difficult to discount the “conceptual,” if not formal, link between, on the one hand, Isfahan’s Chaharbagh, a long avenue bisected by a canal and bordering the royal precinct and the gardens and residences of Safavid court dignitaries (Figure 13; see Figure 10) and, on the other hand, the stretch of residences of Ottoman grandees at Sa‘dabad, located on both sides of the canal farther down the Kağithane stream (see Figure 7). Neither in concept nor in planning did Sa‘dabad have a precedent in Ottoman imperial palatine architecture.

Equally relevant in this regard is the absence of a solid enclosure around the imperial compound of Sa‘dabad. Unlike its sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century prototypes secluded behind walls of cypresses and masonry, such as Süleyman’s suburban palaces at Beykoz and Üsküdar, Sa‘dabad was only partly enclosed by wooden screens and a pierced masonry wall (see Figures 8, 9). Its visual exposure to the surrounding public grounds, notably the adjacent promenade of Kağithane, was noted by contemporary observers.⁴⁶ Unprecedented in the Ottoman palatial tradition, this setting echoed rather the visual relation between the Chaharbagh and the palatial gardens alongside it. Fenced off by lattice screens, the private gardens were partially visible from the public promenade (see Figure 10).⁴⁷

Such a connection would be particularly significant, as it bears not only on the planning of Sa‘dabad but, more generally, on the development of imperial and grandees’ palaces, pavilions, and gardens in the eighteenth century. For unlike earlier suburban palaces, which were situated inland and surrounded by walled gardens, or the imperial palace of Topkapı, which was perched on its peninsula and isolated from the rest of the city behind fortification walls (Figure 14), eighteenth-century palaces and pavilions were

Figure 14 Guillaume Joseph Grelot, engraving, ca. 1672. Detail from a panoramic view showing the Topkapı Palace, Istanbul



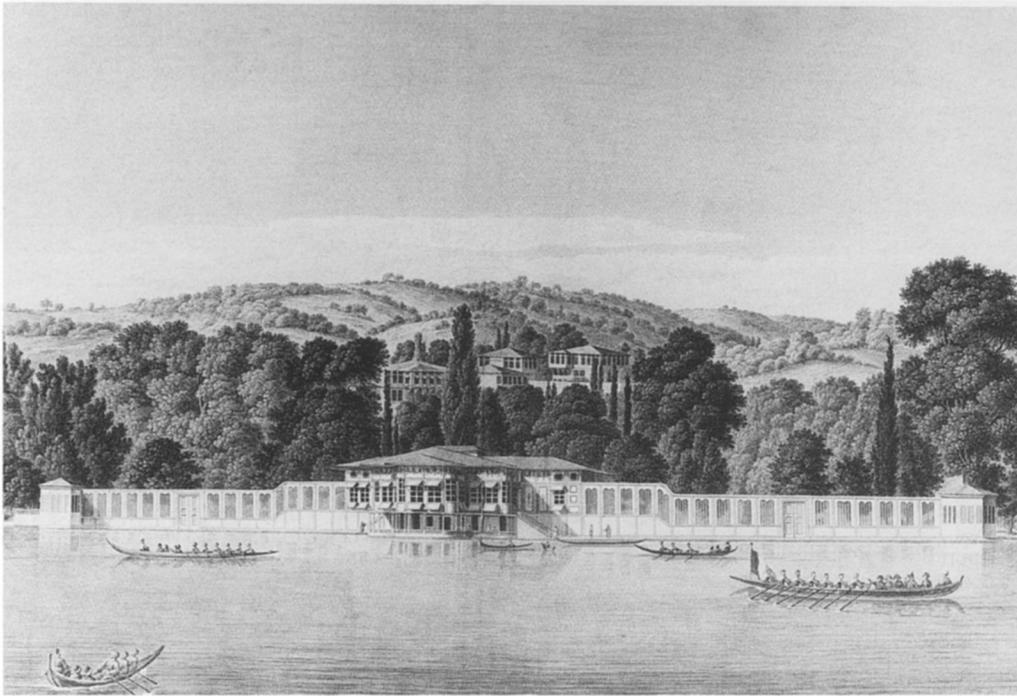


Figure 15 Antoine-Ignace Melling, engraving showing the pavillion of Bebek, Istanbul, ca. 1800s

built mostly along the open shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn. Their generous fenestration, their airy wooden structures, and the lightness of their garden enclosures lent them a remarkable transparency that was clearly conveyed in contemporary pictorial representations (Figure 15; see Figure 1).⁴⁸ Their partial exposure to public view comes across wonderfully in two painted garden scenes from the 1720s: in the first, two peeping toms sneak a look at a group of women entertaining themselves in the garden, and in the second an exhibitionist exposes himself through the fence of a private garden (Figures 16, 17).

We must also note the curious kinship of the newly acquired names of Ottoman imperial and grandees' palaces and gardens with those of the Safavid, like Sa'd-abad with Sa'adet-abad, one of Shah Abbas's private gardens in Isfahan, both meaning the Abode of Happiness. In an entry in his personal diary dated 10 August 1722, the bureaucrat Mustafa Efendi reported that in the wake of the construction of Ahmed III's palace the place previously known as Kağthane was increasingly referred to as Sa'dabad.⁴⁹ These eponymous associations with Safavid monuments and, more generally, the trend of ascribing garden palaces of the imperial and ruling elite with poetic names in the manner of their Persian counterparts, as with Feyzabad, Hurremabad, and Neşatabad, dated only to the reign of Ahmed III (r. 1703–30). With a handful of exceptions like the Kule Bahçesi, a waterfront garden built in Çengelköy by Sultan

Süleyman, and the palace of Tokat, erected by Mehmed Fatih in Beykoz and so named in commemoration of the conqueror's victory over the citadel of Tokat, imperial palatial gardens were, until the beginning of the eighteenth century, plainly called *baş bāğçe* (imperial garden) and identified by their location. The fifteenth-century garden of Tokat, we learn from the poet Nevres, was renamed Hümâyünabad (the Imperial Abode) only upon its restoration by Mahmud I: "Cruel fortune had made it such ruins/That the architect had to envision [even] its minutest details/By making the necessary restorations, he built it such/That the mind of the creator gave it the name of Hümâyünâbâd."⁵⁰

Limited as the evidence may be, it suggests that the emblematic power of Safavid Persia as a model to measure up to strongly resonated in eighteenth-century Ottoman consciousness. The same could be argued in connection with the development of a new Ottoman imperial image and the increasingly public nature of court ceremonial that paralleled the formal evolution of imperial palaces and gardens. Indeed, in contrast with the ideal of the ruler's seclusion and invisibility, which had governed Ottoman court etiquette since its codification in the second half of the fifteenth century, the new imperial image thrived on visibility and public display.⁵¹ Surely, the change in behavioral code was first and foremost a response to the social and political environment of the time, a reflection of the state's anxiety to reaffirm its legit-



Figure 16 Painted illustration of a garden scene, ca. 1720s

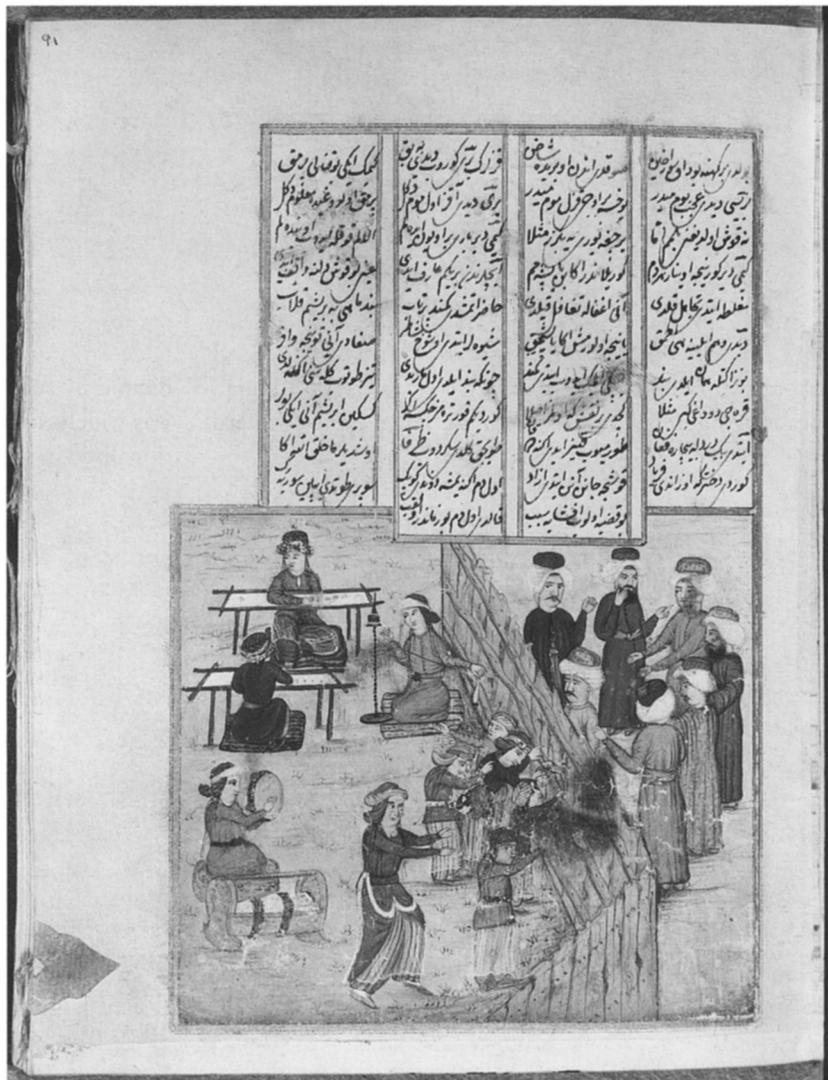


Figure 17 Scene of a private garden portraying the adventures of an exhibitionist, ca. 1720s?

imacy in the wake of defeat and reassert its physical presence in the capital city. As the veiled symbolism of traditional forms of imperial representation no longer seemed suitable, it is not surprising that models for the new imperial image were sought in other imperial traditions. And while it has been suggested that this shift reflected an attempt to emulate the image of contemporary French kings,⁵² we could also argue that the change may have been inspired by the famed public image that the Safavid Shah had cultivated for himself more than a century earlier.⁵³ Other evidence points to an active interest in the universe of this charismatic figure and once-powerful rival to the Ottoman empire. For the first time, in the 1720s, an Ottoman translation of the most important history of the reign of Shah Abbas, *Tārīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, written by one of his chief secretaries, Iskander

Beg Munshi, was requested. That it was commissioned by Neveşehirli Ibrahim Pasha, the grand-vizier reputed for his interest in western culture, is all the more significant.⁵⁴

While the idiomatic link between Ottoman and Safavid architectural cultures established by the sources may have been, ultimately, more symbolic than stylistic or iconographic, it clearly indicates that architectural exemplars of Safavid Persia must have been alive in the Ottoman architectural and literary discourse, until at least around the middle of the century. Gradually, after the disastrous Ottoman campaign in Persia in 1730 and the rapid downfall of the Safavid dynasty, vivid architectural images such as those we encountered in the poetry of Nedim, or in Şemdanizade's history, began to lose both their interest and immediacy. In the latter part of the century, while Isfahan (and Mani and Behzad) maintained their symbolic role of witnesses to the

architectural magnificence of the Ottomans, specific architectural connections to Persia slowly disappeared.

The discussion of the predominance of the Persian model is not intended to suggest an East-West polarity. But in view of the tendency in scholarship to overplay the role of westernization in interpretations of change in this period, it is important to bear in mind that innovations existed within a much broader discourse, in which Persia, for example, remained a potent challenge to, as well as a cultural universe in continuous contact with, the Ottoman empire.⁵⁵ The same can be said about the Mughal world, whose aesthetics and decorative styles and techniques penetrated the Ottoman vocabulary more than ever before.⁵⁶ As stated earlier, western imports were one element in a wide search for a new and independent aesthetic that drew as much on Safavid Persian, Mughal Indian, and Ottoman preclassical and classical visual repertoires. By their appropriation and integration in this stylistically uncommitted visual environment, they defied any attempt by observers to single them out, let alone invest them with a particular cultural signification.

With this in mind, it is important to reconsider our understanding of the concept of “influence,” which is often assumed by art and architectural historians to be hegemonic and unidirectional, especially in contexts characterized by an imbalance of power. Suffice it to recall here the trend of turqueries that swept the spheres of architecture, landscape, painting, and sartorial fashion in eighteenth-century Europe, which was largely construed as a fad for exotic stuff that expressed an urge to reassess the parameters of the seventeenth-century classical ideal.⁵⁷ While it may be too soon (and ultimately, impossible) to argue for a comparable Ottoman inclination for the exotic, there is little doubt that the sensibility for novelty and originality was shared by Ottomans and Europeans. Notwithstanding the specifics of each of the two cultural and intellectual milieus, one cannot but wonder what makes a cartouche on a fountain in Istanbul an index of westernization, and a Turkish pavilion in Vienna merely an Oriental folly.

If the architectural idiom of the eighteenth century was far more hybrid than the notion of westernization implies, it was also a vocabulary in which novelty was sought independently or regardless of stylistic genealogies. In this respect, the aesthetic judgments of Ottoman contemporaries closely mirrored the built environment of their time. They bespeak a notion of architectural beauty and excellence that upheld innovation, not a particular aesthetic inclination, as its operative criterion. This bears not only on the nature of architectural change during the period under discussion, but also on a more general transformation in the nature of Ottoman cultural sensibility. The high regard for innovation as an essentially hybrid appropriation and rein-

terpretation of various new and familiar idioms can be noted in other cultural spheres, including painting, clothing fashion, court music, and poetry. As in architecture, some of the novelties that were introduced in court poetry in the eighteenth century, such as folk forms and genres and colloquial idioms, were not entirely new to the Ottoman tradition. Earlier attempts at breaking away from the classical canon, however, as with the movement known as *türk-i basit* (simple Turkish) adopted by some late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century poets, met with negative reception. By contrast, experimentation with new themes, genres, and diction by such court poets as Nedim or Enderunlu Fazıl was widely acclaimed. More important, it became institutionalized in the mainstream culture. Novelty and originality became subjects of an open debate among court poets throughout the eighteenth century.⁵⁸

While the innovations that occurred within the realm of architecture were remarkable, what really distinguished this era was that architecture, like painting, music, and poetry, reflected a changing disposition toward tradition and innovation, and this new disposition ensured the survival and appreciation of attempts to redefine Ottoman architectural identity beyond the classical idiom. We can better appreciate this development by looking at the way the notion of novelty was construed in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: as the emulation and refinement of admired models. As Gülru Necipoğlu has demonstrated, while Sinan, the chief architect at the court of Süleyman, represented himself as an innovator, his buildings remained “self-referential exercises within the confines of the canonical imperial idiom which he codified,”⁵⁹ and it is in relation to the parameters of this canon that his innovations, or refinements, were assessed and appreciated by his contemporaries. By the eighteenth century, the concept of refinement (*nezâket*) had vanished from the architectural discourse. Along with it, deferential allusions to classical monuments of the glorious past and to the idiom to which they subscribed slowly disappeared.⁶⁰

To a certain extent, this aesthetic and cultural opening was occasioned by a wider exposure to foreign ideas and material culture. But the greater receptiveness to innovation grew primarily out of a long process of transformation in the Ottoman social order that had begun to crystallize in the architectural and cultural landscape of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. New arenas for the dissemination of culture—notably painting and poetry—emerged, targeting new groups and tastes. With the growing involvement of men and women across the social spectrum in the sphere of patronage, a broader and more diverse range of tastes, practices, and aspirations gradually infused Ottoman architec-

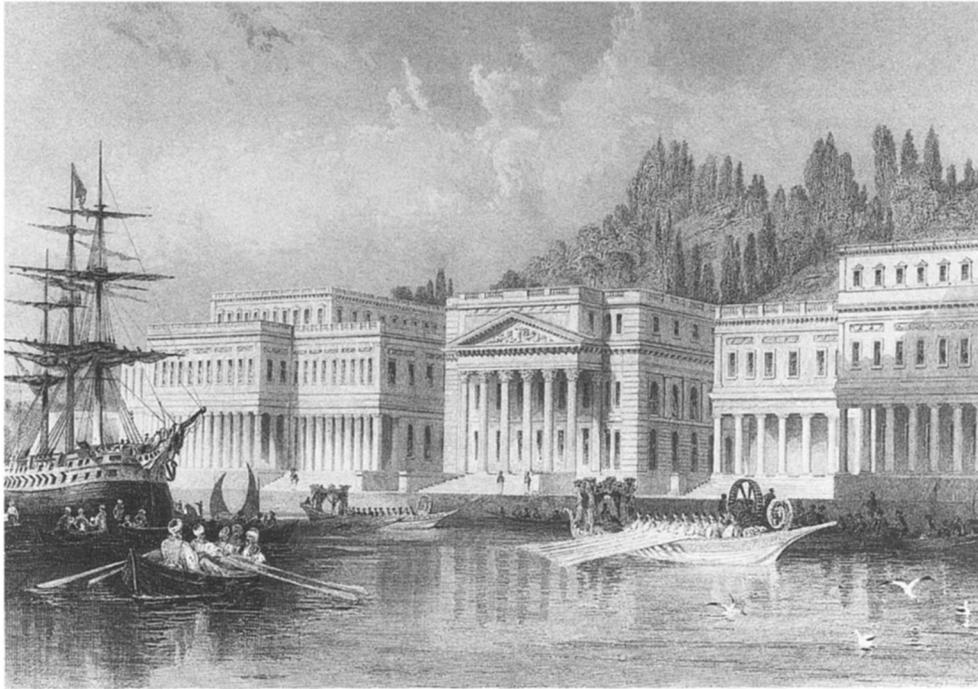


Figure 18 Thomas Allom, engraving depicting Mahmud II's new Çırağan Palace, Istanbul, ca. 1840s

tural culture.⁶¹ In this environment, in which the size and lavishness of a building and the practice of architectural patronage became viable manifestations of social distinction for more than a few men in the ruling elite, the imperial state attempted to reassert itself, and new modes of representation and a display-conscious image of Ottoman sovereignty were sought. This climate of social change bred the wider receptivity toward innovation and the hybrid aesthetic sensibility that characterized architecture at the time.

The question that remains concerns the extent to which these changes can alter our understanding of the concept of “early modern period” as pertinent only to Europe and, to quote Craig Clunas, “as the inevitable, if implicit, prelude to modernity proper.”⁶² To invoke the concept in the Ottoman context is not only to suggest that changing attitudes, tastes, and practices resonated with some of the transformations that unfolded in contemporary European cities. It is also to stress that the changes were not thwarted by the lack of the advent of modernity, nor were they completely superseded by the modernizing programs of the following century.

It becomes evident as we reassess the period that the architectural legacy of the eighteenth century survived through most of the following century, and that many transformations that have commonly been ascribed to later processes of change and modernization are in fact anchored in earlier developments. The nineteenth-century waterfront palaces that lined the shores of Istanbul have long been seen

as influenced by European palatial architecture, mainly on account of their façades displaying Neoclassical features or overwhelming assortments of Ottoman and French Rococo details (Figures 18, 19).⁶³ But it is important to point out that formally, spatially, and conceptually—by their setting, their ample fenestration, their openness, and their emphasis on the view—these palaces were a product of the Ottoman palatial idiom as it had been reformulated in the eighteenth century. In plan, too, they remained unchanged until the end of the nineteenth century, with rooms that were arranged on either side of a large central hall and looked out to the waterfront.

Greater efforts toward redrawing the boundaries between the two centuries might help us reconsider whether, as is generally perceived, westernization was the only form of continuity between them. The evidence so far points in another direction. As has recently been shown, by the 1860s and 1870s the Ottomans consciously and manifestly harked back to the rich hybridity of the decorative vocabulary of the eighteenth century in their quest for a new architectural identity.⁶⁴ It is clear that some of the developments that unfolded in the decades of architectural modernization and westernization under Mahmud II and Abdülmecid, from the 1820s to the 1860s, were rooted in changes that cannot be squarely identified with western influences but rather grew for the most part out of their own social climate. While considerable work has been done by social historians in recent years to uncover

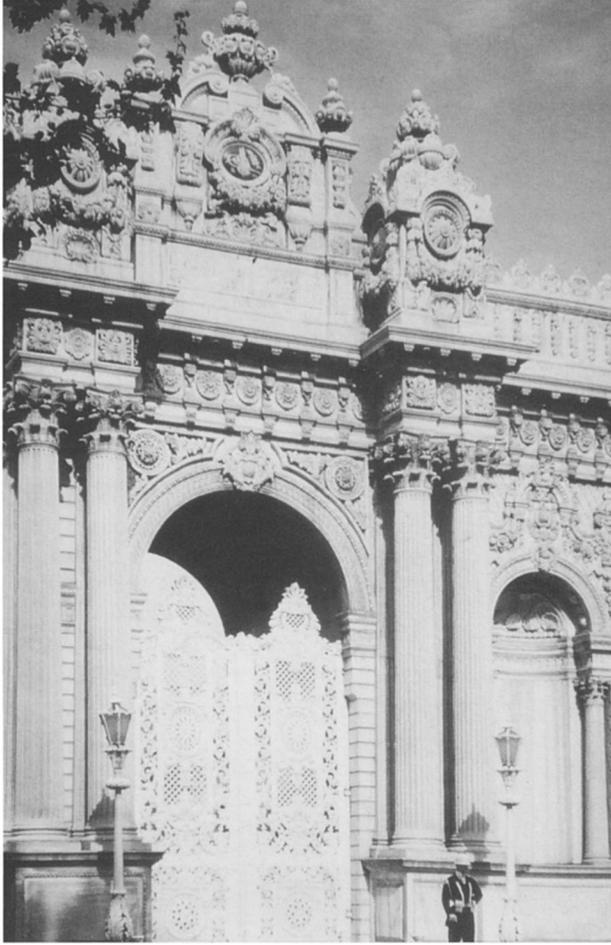


Figure 19 Gate of the palace of Dolmabahçe, Istanbul, 1851–55

patterns that echo, in many ways, what in European historiography has been characterized as a process within early modernity, architectural history lags behind. With parallel developments surfacing in various spheres of nonwestern cultures,⁶⁵ comparative studies with eighteenth-century Japan, Ming China, or Russia, for example, are likely to yield new perspectives on the nature and significance of change during this time, as they might also lead us eventually to redefine the notion of “early modern period” beyond the western context.

Notes

I extend special thanks to Peter Parshall, whose insightful comments on an early version of this paper gave it shape as an article. For quotations from chronograms and for publication dates given in the Muslim calendar, I have provided the A.H. (*anno begirae*) dates of the Muslim calendar with corresponding C.E. dates in parentheses. All translations of Turkish verse are mine.

1. On the palace of Hatice Sultan, see Antoine-Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore; d'après les dessins de M. Melling avec un texte rédigé par M. Lacretelle* (Paris, 1819), 27; Tülay Artan, “Hatice Sultan Sahilsarayı” (The palaces of Hatice Sultan), *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Istanbul; hereafter *DBİA*) (Istanbul, 1994), 4: 19–20; on Melling’s building activity in Istanbul, see Cornelis Boschma and Jacques Perot, *Antoine-Ignace Melling* (Paris, 1991); Jacques Perot, “Un Artiste lorrain à la cour de Selim III. Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763–1831),” *Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de l’Art Français* (1987), 125–50; Necla Arslan, “Melling,” *DBİA* 5: 387–88; and Jacques Perot, Frédéric Hitzel, and Robert Anhegger, *Hatice Sultan ile Melling Kalfa Mektupları* (The correspondence of Hatice Sultan and Melling), trans. Ela Güntekin (Ankara, 2001).

2. Fazıl himself wrote seven odes to Neşatabad. See *Divân-ı Fâzıl Enderûn* (Anthology of poems by Fazıl Enderun), MS Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi (Topkapı Palace Museum Library; hereafter TSMK), H. 906, fols. 66a–68a; H. 893, fols. 89a–b.

3. Gel temâşâ-yı cinân et bu Neşâtâbâd’dan
Bâ huşûş ihdâs olan bu tarh-ı nev-icâddan
Bî televvun haqq bu kim ol câme-i yekreng ile
Eski taqvîmî kabâ gördük bu nev bünyâddan
Sâde-rû bir dil-rubâdır kim tenâsub üzredir
Hey’et-i mevzûni hoşdur kâmet-i şimşâd’dan . . .
Geldi tarh etti âniñ şekline bu icâdi kim
Resmini görmüş değil üstâdlar ecâddan
Resmi dursun ânda elvân-ı cedîd ü naqş-ı nev
Hiç ne Mânî’den görülmüşdür ne hüd Behzâd’dan.”

“Târîh berâ-yı kaşr-ı cedîd-i fireng-teşyîddir der sâhilhâne-i Neşâtâbâd ma ‘mür-bâd” (Chronogram on the new pavilion which is a European construction, in the felicitous waterfront residence of Neşatabad), dated 1210 (1795), *Divân-ı Fâzıl Enderûn*, MS TSMK, H. 906, fols. 67b–68a.

4. On the paint colors of buildings and their social and religious significance, see, for example, *Târîh-i İsmâ’îl ‘Âsım Efendi eş-Şebîr bi Küçük Çelebi-zâde* (History of Ismail Asım known as Küçük Çelebi-zade), in *Târîh-i Râşid* (Raşid’s History), vol. 6 (Istanbul, 1282 [1865]), 53–54; Fazıl Işıközlü, ed., “Başbakanlık Arşivinde yeni bulunmuş olan ve Sadreddin Zâde Telhîsî Mustafa Efendi tarafından tutulduğu anlaşılan H. 1123 (1711)–1184 (1735) yıllarına ait bir Ceride (Jurnal) ve Eklentisi” (The journal of Sadreddin Zade Telhîsî Mustafa Efendi between the years 1711 and 1735, found in the Prime Ministry Archives), *VII. Türk Tarih Kongresi II* (Proceedings of the Seventh Congress of Turkish History) (Ankara, 1973), 525; Thomas Allom and Robert Walsh, *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor: Illustrated in a Series of Drawings from Nature by Thomas Allom with: a Historical Account of Constantinople by the Rev. Robert Walsh, LL.D., Chaplain to the British Embassy at the Ottoman Porte*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1838), 1: 65; Antonio Baratta, *Costantinopoli, effigiata e descritta con una notizia su le celebri sette chiese dell’Asia Minore ed altri siti osservabili del Levante* (Turin, 1840), 548; Guillaume Antoine Olivier, *Voyage dans l’empire ottoman, l’Égypte et la Perse* (Paris, 1799), 109; Charles Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1815), 2: 94–95; and Ahmet Refik, *Hicri On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı 1100–1200* (Life in Istanbul in A.H. 12th century, from A.H. 1100 to 1200) (Istanbul, 1988), 66–67, 158.

5. On rhymed chronograms, see İsmail Yakit, *Ebced Hesabı ve Tarih Düşürme* (Alphabet numerals and chronograms) (Istanbul, 1992); and Ahmet Zeki Vehidi Togan, *Tarihî Usul* (The rules of chronograms) (Istanbul, 1950).

6. In eighteenth-century Europe, novelty and originality were beginning to be viewed as positive qualities and entered the aesthetic discourse. See Luc Ferry, *Homo Aestheticus: The Invention of Taste in the Democratic Age*,

trans. Robert de Loaiza (Chicago and London, 1993); *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28, no. 1 (winter 1998) (issue editors, Neil de Marchi and Hans von Miegroet), which is entirely devoted to the subject of novelty in early modern European visual culture, literature, consumption, economics, morality, and legal discourse; and Roland Mortier, *L'Originalité. Une Nouvelle Catégorie esthétique au siècle des lumières. Histoire des idées et critique littéraire* 207 (Geneva, 1982).

7. Such references abound in the accounts of contemporary chroniclers and in poets' building chronograms. They are examined in more detail in my dissertation, Shirine Hamadeh, "The City's Pleasures: Architectural Sensibility in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul" (Ph.D. diss., M.I.T., 1999), 264–69.

8. For much of the latter half of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman court was involved in war campaigns and resided mainly in the city of Edirne, in Thrace.

9. Some of the architectural developments of this period are explored in Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus" (Ph.D. diss., M.I.T., 1988); and Hamadeh, "City's Pleasures," chs. 1, 3. On the decorative vocabulary of the period, see Ülkü Bates, "Eighteenth-Century Fountains of Istanbul," *Ninth International Congress of Turkish Art (23–27 September 1991)*, vol. 1, 294–95; and Shirine Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002), 123–48.

10. Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London, 1971), 409–27; Doğan Kuban, *Dünya Kenti İstanbul/Istanbul World City* (Ankara, 1997), 346–80; Oktay Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi* (Ottoman architecture) (Istanbul, 1986); Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar* (Kiosks and pavilions) (Istanbul, 1977).

11. Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, 1982), 239.

12. See Ayda Arel, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* (The development of westernization in the architecture of eighteenth-century Istanbul) (Istanbul, 1975); Ülkü Bates, "The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture," in Abraham Asher et al., eds., *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern* (New York, 1979), 167–81; Bates, "Eighteenth-Century Fountains of Istanbul," 294–95; Serim Denel, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım ve Dış Mekanlarda Değişim Nedenleri* (The concept of westernization in Istanbul) (Ankara, 1982); Emel Esin, "Le Mağbûbiye. Un Palais ottoman alla franca," *Varna Turcica* 3 (1986), 73–86; Semavi Eyice, "XVIII Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı ve Türk Mimarisinde Avrupa Neo-Klassik Üslubu" (Turkish art in the eighteenth century and the western neoclassical style in Turkish architecture), *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* (Art history annual) 9–10 (1980), 163–89; Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi Hakkında Bir Deneme* (Essay on Turkish baroque architecture) (Istanbul, 1954); Kuban, "Influences de l'art européen sur l'architecture ottomane au XVIIIe siècle," *Palladio* 5 (1955), 149–57; and Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the Eighteenth Century," *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789, Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, vol. 10 (Vienna, 1983), 153–78.

13. Western-style reforms were sought in the spheres of education and the military, mostly in piecemeal fashion until the 1790s and more radically and with considerable help from European experts in the reign of Selim III (r. 1789–1808). For an overview of the nature of military, trade, and diplomatic reforms, see Edhem Eldem, *French Trade in Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (London, Boston, and Cologne, 1999); Suraiya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590–1699," in Suraiya Faroqhi, Bruce McGowan, Donald Quataert, and Şevket Pamuk, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2, 1600–1914 (Cambridge, England, 1994), 413–31, 441–42; Robert Mantran, "L'État ottoman au XVIIIe siècle. La Pression européenne," in Robert Mantran, ed., *Histoire de l'empire ottoman* (Paris, 1989), 267–73; Bruce McGowan, "The Age of the Ayans, 1699–1812," in

Faroqhi et al., *An Economic and Social History*, 2: 639–758; Thomas Naff, "Ottoman Diplomatic Relations with Europe in the Eighteenth Century: Patterns and Trends," in Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, eds., *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History* (Chicago, 1977), 88–107; Naff, "Reform and the Conduct of Ottoman Diplomacy in the Reign of Selim III, 1789–1807," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 83 (1963), 295–315; Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (Ottoman ambassadors and embassies) (Ankara, 1987); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi. Karlofça Anlaşmasından XVIII. Yüzyılın Sonlarına Kadar* (Ottoman history from the Karlofça Treaty to the end of the eighteenth century) (Ankara, 1978), 1–95. Numerous translations of European works, especially in the fields of geography, science, and technology, were published on the new Ottoman printing press of İbrahim Müteferrika, which he started in 1720. See Adnan-Adıvar, *La Science chez les turcs ottomans* (Paris, 1939); and Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal, 1964). The acquisition of European goods became more widespread among the middle- and low-income segments of the population both in the capital and the outlying provinces. See the articles by Donald Quataert, Suraiya Faroqhi, and Charlotte Jirousek in Donald Quataert, ed., *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922* (New York, 2000), 1–13, 15–44, and 201–41, respectively; and Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York and Oxford, 1996), 97–100.

14. Surely the trends were more in vogue in the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century, but despite our limited knowledge of the post-Süleymanic culture, evidence points to the continuity of Ottoman interest in various spheres of European culture and technology. On Ottoman-European artistic and cultural interaction, see Esin Atlı, "Ahmet Nakşi. An Eclectic Painter of the Early 17th Century," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art* (Budapest, 1978), 103–21; Cemal Kafadar, "The Ottomans and Europe," in Thomas Brady, Jr., Heiko Oberman, and James Tracy, eds., *Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation. I: Structures and Assertions* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1994), 589–635; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, "The Ottoman Capital in the Making: The Reconstruction of Constantinople in the Fifteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996); Rhoads Murphy, "The Ottoman Attitude towards the Adoption of Foreign Technology: The Role of the Efrenci Technicians in Civil and Military Applications," in Jean-Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Paul Dumont, eds., *Contributions à l'histoire économique et sociale de l'empire ottoman* (Paris, 1983), esp. 288–96; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 71 (Sept. 1989), 401–27; Necipoğlu, "The Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in Robert Mark and Ahmet Cakmak, eds., *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (Cambridge, England, 1992), 195–225; Donald Quataert, introduction to Quataert, *Consumption Studies*, 1–13; and Günsel Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginnings of Western Trends," in Selman Pinar, ed., *A History of Turkish Painting* (Istanbul, 1987), 49–51.

15. Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995), 24. Roger Chartier's and Carlo Ginzburg's alternative paradigms of "appropriation" and "circularity," respectively, are extremely useful here, as they productively circumvent polarities and help rethink the notion of unilateral influence. See Roger Chartier, "Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France," in Steven Kaplan, ed., *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century* (Berlin, New York, and Amsterdam, 1984), 229–53; Carlo Ginzburg's second preface to *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne

C. Tedeschi (New York, 1989); and esp. Ginzburg, "Titian, Ovid, and Sixteenth-Century Codes for Erotic Illustration," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore, 1986), 77–95.

16. For recent studies on the Ottoman "literature of decline," see Walter Livingston Wright, introduction to *Ottoman Statecraft: The Book of Counsel for Vezirs and Governors—Naşa'ih ül-vüzera ve'l ümera of Sarı Mehmed Paşa, the Defterdâr*, ed. Walter Livingston Wright (Princeton, 1935), 1–55; Pal Fodor, "State and Society, Crisis and Reform, in the 15th–17th Century Ottoman Mirror for Princes," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 40 (1986), 217–40; A. Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Asian History* 22 (1988), 52–77; Bernard Lewis, "Some Reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire," *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958), 111–27. For a revisionist interpretation of Ottoman decline consciousness and social transformations in the postclassical period, see Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700–1783* (New York, Leiden, and Cologne, 1995); Faroqi, "Crises and Change," 413–636; Norman Itzkowitz, "Men and Ideas in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," in Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, eds., *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History* (Chicago, 1977), 15–26; Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Realities," *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962), 73–94; Cemal Kafadar, "The Myth of the Golden Age: Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Süleymânic Era," in Halil Inalcik and Cemal Kafadar, eds., *Süleyman the Second and His Time* (Istanbul, 1993), 37–48; Kafadar, "The Ottomans and Europe," 613–15; Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700–1922* (Cambridge, England, 2000), 37–53; Ariel Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited: 'Privatization' and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Politics and Society* 21 (1993), 393–423; and Madeline Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Post-Classical Age (1600–1800)* (Minneapolis, 1988).

17. Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1991), 14.

18. "Tarih berâ-yı kaşır-ı cedid-i fireng-teşyiddir der şâhilhâne-i Neşâtâbâd ma'mûr-bâd." *Divân-ı Fâzıl Enderûn*, MS TSMK, H. 906, fol. 67b.

19. *Hübânâme ve Zenânâme*, MS İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi (Istanbul University Library; hereafter İÜK), Ty 5502, fol. 76. Such contentions were also expressed by the late-eighteenth-century poet Sümbülzade Vehbi. See Jan Schmidt, "Sümbülzade Vehbi's Şevkengiz," *Turcica* 25 (1993), 13.

20. See the poetry of Nedim and Seyyid Vehbi: Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, ed., *Nedim Divanı* (Anthology of poems by Nedim) (Istanbul, 1972), XIX; and Kemal Sılay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, Turkish Studies series 13 (Bloomington, 1994), 60–61, 72, 110–11.

21. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*; Necipoğlu, "Life of an Imperial Monument"; and Kafescioğlu, "Ottoman Capital."

22. "Cümleniñ eltafi şimdi ammâ/Semt-i iklim-i bilâd-ı Urpâ/Andadır şehri Sitambul-i şerif." *Hübânâme* (Book of men) (Istanbul, 1253 [1837–38]), 26. I am grateful to Cemal Kafadar, who recalled these lines and drew them to my attention, and to Selim Kuru, who helped me find the reference in the first printed edition of the *Hübânâme*.

23. The Nurosmaniye Mosque was part of a larger complex that included a madrasa, a soup kitchen, a fountain-sebil, a library, a mausoleum, and shops. See Doğan Kuban, "Nurosmaniye Külliyesi - Kütüphanesi" (The Nurosmaniye complex: The library), *DBİA* 6: 100–104; Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History* (Istanbul, 1998), 149–51; and Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 384–87 (see n. 10).

24. See Aptullah Kuran, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Architecture," in Naff and Owen, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History*, 313 (see n. 16). On their royal symbolism, see Howard Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's

Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," in Irene Bierman, Rifaat Abou el-Haj, and Donald Preziosi, eds., *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order* (New York, 1991), 212–17.

25. See, for example, Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 383; Denel, *Batıllaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım*, 28 (see n. 12); Günsel Renda, *Batıllaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700–1850* (Turkish painting in the period of westernization, 1700–1850) (Ankara, 1977), 19 n. 13; Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences," 158 (see n. 12); Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," 59 (see n. 9); Bates, "European Influence," 178 (see n. 12); Kuban, *Istanbul*, 351 (see n. 10).

26. "Muşanna'-kâr ü nâ-dîde bir çeşme-sâr." *Tarih-i Câmi'-i Şerif-i Nür-i 'Osmani*, repr. with original pagination in Pia Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nuru-osmaniye in Istanbul. Beiträge zur Baugeschichte nach osmanischen Quellen*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 130 (Berlin, 1986), 14, 26. This account was first published in *Tarih-i 'Osmani Encümeni Mecmû'ası* (Journal of the Commission of Ottoman History) (Istanbul?, 1918), 3–51.

27. P. G. İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul* (Istanbul in the eighteenth century), ed. and trans. Hrand D. Andreasyan (Istanbul, 1976), 50.

28. Hâfiz Hüseyin Ayrınsarayî, *Hadikat ul-Cevami'* (The garden of the mosques), 2 vols. (1281 [1864]), 2: 22–23.

29. James Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern, with Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago* (London, 1797), 62.

30. Allom and Walsh, *Scenery of the Seven Churches*, 2: 12 (see n. 4).

31. Munir Aktepe, ed., *Şem' dâni-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi: Mür'it-Tevârib* (Şemdanizade's history: The passing of times), 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1976/1980), 1: 31. Some suggestive examples of his critical style appear in 1: 3–4, 26, 97, 165–69 passim, 179; and 2: 12.

32. "Çehel sütûn binâsından sonra. . . Arab-iskelesi'nde vâki' câmi tevsi' ve binâ olundu." *Tarih-i İsmâ'il 'Aşım Efendi*, 42 (see n. 4). Lengthy descriptions of the palace are offered in *Tarih-i Râşid*, 5 vols. (Istanbul, 1867), 5: 443–49; and *Tarih-i İsmâ'il 'Aşım Efendi*, 41–45; see also the informative, albeit brief depictions by İncicyan, *18. Asırda İstanbul*, 95; Gölpınarlı, *Nedim Divanı*, 52–53 (see n. 20); and the monograph by Sedat Hakkı Eldem, *Sa'dabad* (Istanbul, 1977), which brings together a vast number of visual and textual sources of documentation on the palace.

33. Marquis de Bonnac, *Mémoire sur l'ambassade de France à Constantinople* (Paris, 1894), 84–85; Dallaway, *Constantinople Ancient and Modern*, 118; Allom and Walsh, *Scenery of the Seven Churches*, 1: 58; Baron de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les turcs et les tartares*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1785), 2: 4 (the reference to a French model could be an editorial note from 1785); Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques*, 1: 337 (see n. 4); Ferté-Meun, *Lettres sur le Bosphore* (Paris, 1821), 62–63. These accounts are often cited in modern scholarship; see Eyice, "XVIII Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı," 168 (see n. 12); Denel, *Batıllaşma Sürecinde İstanbul'da Tasarım*, 19; Esin, "Le Mağbûbiye," 74 (see n. 12); and Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences," 157–58, 168 n. 6.

34. "Çarbâğ ismiyle şöret-şi'âr olan mağalle," *Tarih-i İsmâ'il 'Aşım Efendi*, 42.

35. This suggestion has been repeated by several architectural historians; see n. 33 and Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 6. Visual representations of Louis XIV's palace, gardens, and cascades at Marly (1679–85) are included in Bernt H. Dams and Andrew Zega, *Pleasure Pavilions and Follies in the Gardens of the Ancien Régime* (Paris and New York, 1995), 56; and Eleanor P. Delorme, *Garden Pavilions and the 18th Century French Court* (Suffolk, England, 1996), 61.

36. His account was recorded by the court chronicler Râşid in *Tarih-i Râşid*, 5: 372–98. It was published in 1757 in *Relation de l'ambassade de Mehemet Efendi à la cour de France en 1721 écrite par lui-même et traduite par Julien Galland*, trans. Julien Galland (Constantinople and Paris, 1757), rendered

in modern Turkish in Şevket Rado, *Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi'nin Fransa Seyahatnamesi* (Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi's embassy to France) (Istanbul, 1970), reissued as Mehmet Efendi, *Le Paradis des infidels. Un Ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence, 1715–1723*, ed. and trans. Gilles Veinstein (Paris, 1981), and was the subject of a study by Fatma Müge Göçek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York and Oxford, 1987).

37. *Architecture française* (Paris, 1738). This book, a collection of plans and drawings by Jules Hardouin Mansart of, among other projects, the palaces of Chantilly, Marly, Meudon, and Versailles, is now located at the Topkapı Museum Library, H. 2607. See Gül İrepeoğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine Kütüphanesindeki Batılı Kaynaklar Üzerine Düşünceler" (Thoughts on western documents in the Topkapı Palace Museum Treasury Library) *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllığı* (Topkapı Palace Museum annual) 1 (1986), 68. Marly, built by Mansart in 1679–85, was initially conceived by Louis XIV as a pleasure retreat after Versailles became the seat of his government in 1682. It followed a fate similar to that of Sa'dabad, as it was eventually looted and destroyed during the French Revolution.

38. On the Chaharbagh, see Mahvash Alemi, "The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models," in Attilio Petruccioli, ed., *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture, Supplements to Muqarnas (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1997), 72–96; and Alemi, "Il giardino persiano. Tipi e modelli," in Petruccioli, ed., *Il giardino islamico. Architettura, natura, paesaggio* (Milan, 1994), 39–62.

39. "Çarbâğ-ı İsfahâni eylemiştir dâğ dâğ/Oldu Sa' dâbâd şimdi sevdiğim dâğ üstü bâğ." "Şarkı" (Song), in Halil Nihad, ed., *Nedim'in Divânı* (Anthology of poems by Nedim) (Istanbul, 1338–40 [1919–21]), 193.

40. M. Tâyyib Gölbilgin, "Tarihte Boğaziçi" (The Bosphorus in history), *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (Encyclopedia of Islam) 2: 689.

41. "Hâbbeza hâbbeza mübârek-bâd/Her hıyâbanı müft-i 'aış u tarab/Her bün-i naħlî naħd-ı vaķt-ı murâd/Reşk-i feyz-i nesim-i şâfından/Ferâhâbâd-ı İşfahân berbâd." "Der vaşf-ı Şevkâbâd" (Description of Şevkâbad) (n.d.), in Nihad, *Nedim'in Divânı*, 127–28; and Gölpınarlı, *Nedim Divanı*, 138.

42. *Mür'it-Tevarih*, 1: 133, 143 (see n. 31). In an anecdote related to the name of this pavilion, a group of women exclaimed on seeing it, "Bayıldım!" (I was enraptured), *ibid.*, 1: 144. On the expansion of the palace of Beşiktaş in the first half of the century, see Eldem, *Koşklar ve Kasırlar*, 2: 124–50, 212–22 (see n. 10); Necla Arslan, "Beşiktaş Sarayı" (The Beşiktaş Palace), *Ninth International Congress of Turkish Art*, 1: 185–96 (see n. 9); Tülay Artan, "Beşiktaş," *DBİA*, 2: 161–63; Çelik Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace and Its Environs* (Istanbul, 1990), 6–43. On the mosque of Arab İskelesi and its restoration by Mahmud I, see Ayyvânsarayî, *Hadiķat ul-Cevâmi'*, 2: 94–98 (see n. 28).

43. A description of the Chihil Sutun is offered by the French traveler Jean Chardin, *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, Louis Langlès, ed., 10 vols. (Paris, 1811), 5: 468–500; see also Giuseppe Zander, ed., *Travaux de restauration de monuments historiques en Iran* (Rome, 1968), 291–382; Donald Newton Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions* (Washington, D.C., 1979), 39–53 *passim*; and Heinz Gaube, *Iranian Cities* (New York, 1979), 82–96.

44. Abdülkadir Özcan, ed., *Anonim Osmanlı Tarihi (1099–1116/1688–1704)* (Anonymous Ottoman history, 1688–1704) (Ankara, 2000), 141 (facs., fol. 154a). I thank Ariel Salzmänn for bringing this reference to my attention.

45. "Sizin belde-i İşfahân'da Çarbâğ nâm gülrârimız var ise bizim daħi hişâr gibi cây-ı behcet-âsâmız vardır." *Tarih-i Râşid*, 3: 186 (see n. 32). It is difficult to determine which garden is alluded to here. The term *hişâr* in "hişâr gibi cây-ı behcet-âsâm" means both "heaven/a garden like heaven" and "enclosed/fortress-like." The reference could be to any enclosed suburban garden from earlier periods or, specifically, to the only Chahar-bagh

(quadripartite enclosed garden) in Istanbul, namely, the Karabali garden in Kabataş. However, the absence of references to this garden in contemporary accounts may suggest that it was no longer extant by the beginning of the eighteenth century. On the Karabali garden, see Gürlü Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in Petruccioli, *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires*, 32–33. References to Abbas I's Chaharbagh also appear in the context of the embassy of Dürri Efendi to the court of Shah Huseyn in 1721 (A.H. 1134) and that of his counterpart in Istanbul in an audience with grand-vizier Nevşehirli that same year; *Tarih-i Râşid*, 5: 372–98, 466.

46. Mouradgea D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1788–1824), 4: 185.

47. See Gürlü Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis: A Special Issue on Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces* 23 (1993), 307–9.

48. Sixteenth-century suburban palaces of Istanbul are examined in detail in Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 32–71. On the Topkapı Palace, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power* (see n. 17). On eighteenth-century palaces, pavilions, and gardens, see Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," ch. 3 (see n. 9); and Hamadeh, "City's Pleasures," 56–70, 85–93, 163–212 (see n. 7).

49. "Bir Osmanlı Efendisi'nin Günlüğü: Sadreddinzâde Telhisî Mustafa Efendi ve Ceridesi" (The diary of an Ottoman Efendi: Sadreddinzade Telhisî Mustafa Efendi and his journal), excerpted in İsmail Erünsal, *Kaynaklar* (Sources) 2 (winter 1984), 81 (entry dated 27 Şevval 1134 [22 August 1720]).

50. "Şöyle vîrânında etmişti siphir-i gaddâr/Ki ide hürdi anı mi 'mâr taşavvur âbâd/Yaptı bir güne ki taħşin-i zarûri ederek/Aķl-ı kül nâm kođu aña Hümâyün-âbâd." "Tarih-i ta'mir-i kaşr-ı Bağçe-i Tokât ki bi-fermân-ı sulţân Maħmûd" (Chronogram on the construction of the garden pavilion of Tokat by imperial order of Sultan Mahmud) (n.d.), *Divân-ı Nevres*, MS İÜK, Ty 3414, fols. 38b–39a.

51. On the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze," 303–6; and Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 15–30, 61–69. Eighteenth-century developments and their reflection in the architectural vocabulary are explored in more detail in Hamadeh, "City's Pleasures," ch. 1.

52. Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze," 306.

53. Shah Abbas's lack of ceremony was frequently observed and noted by his contemporaries. See Iskandar Munshi, *Tarih-i 'âlam-ârâ-yi 'abbâsi* (History of the Persian world), published in English as *The History of Shah 'Abbas the Great*, trans. Roger Savory, 2 vols. (Boulder, 1978), 1: 529; and Pietro della Valle, *Delli conditioni di Abbas Rè di Persia* (Venice, 1628), 17–18, 26.

54. Munshi's *Tarih* was translated into Ottoman by the *müdürris*, or college teacher, Mehmed Nebih Efendi on the request of Nevşehirli. The manuscript is now located at the Topkapı Palace Library, MS TSMK, H. 1426.

55. As Donald Quataert points out, while Ottoman diplomacy with Europe was certainly important in this period, it was also very active on the Persian front, with eighteen ambassadors sent to the Ottoman court between 1700 and 1774; see Quataert, *Ottoman Empire*, 85 (see n. 16). On Ottoman-Safavid relations in the first half of the century, see Ernest Tucker, "The Peace Negotiations of 1736: A Conceptual Turning Point in Ottoman-Iranian Relations," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 20 (spring 1996), 16–37.

56. See Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle," 131–33 (see n. 9).

57. See Dams and Zega, *Pleasure Pavilions and Follies* (see n. 35); Delorme, *Garden Pavilions* (see n. 35); John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Peter Hughes, *Eighteenth-Century France and the East* (London, 1981); Jean Starobinski, *L'Invention de la liberté, 1700–1789* (Geneva, 1987); John Sweet-

man, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture, 1500–1920* (Cambridge, England, and London, 1988), 44–110.

58. The late-fifteenth-century linguistic movement of *türk-i basit* is examined in Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, “Millî Edebiyat Cereyanının İlk Mübeşşirleri” (The pioneers of the nationalist literary movement), in Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, *Edebiyat Araştırmaları* (Research in literature) (Istanbul, 1989), 271–315; Alessio Bombaci, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, trans. Irène Melikoff (Paris, 1968), 279–94 passim; Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*, 14–21 (see n. 20); and Walter Andrews, *Poetry’s Voice, Society’s Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* (Seattle and London, 1985), 57–58. On the innovations that permeated eighteenth-century poetry, see İlhan Başgöz, “Nedim’de Halk Edebiyatının İzleri” (Evidence of folk literature in Nedim’s [poetry]), in İlhan Başgöz, ed., *Folklor Yazıları* (Writings on popular culture) (Istanbul, 1986), 285–86; Ahmet Evin, “Nedim: Poet of the Tulip Age” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973), 93–112, 234–56; Elias John Wilkinson Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols. (London, 1967), 4: 14–29; Victoria Holbrook, *The Unreadable Shores of Love: Turkish Modernity and Mystic Romance* (Austin, 1994); Holbrook, “A Technology of Reference: Divan and Anti-Divan in the Reception of a Turkish Poet,” *Edebiyat: A Journal of Middle Eastern and Comparative Literature* 4, no. 1 (1993), 49–61; Holbrook, “Originality and Ottoman Poetics: In the Wilderness of the New,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1992), 440–54; Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court*; Hasibe Mazioğlu, *Nedim’in Divan Şiirine Getirdiği Yenilik* (Novelty in the court poetry of Nedim) (Ankara, 1957); Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, “Nedim’e Dair Bazı Düşünceler” (Some thoughts on Nedim), in Tanpınar, *Edebiyat Üzerine Makaleler* (Writings on literature) (Istanbul, 1995), 169–73. I examine the parallel courses of transformation in poetry, architecture, and landscape in more detail in Hamadeh, “City’s Pleasures,” 72–113, 163–212.

59. Gürlü Necipoğlu, “Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture,” *Muqarnas* 10 (1992), 173.

60. An exception to this is the continuing fascination with Hagia Sophia, to which eighteenth-century commentators still referred in their accounts of newly built mosques; see *Tarih-i Cami’-i Şerif-i Nür-i Osmânî*, 14 (see n. 26). On the long history of fascination with this monument, see Kafescioğlu, “Ottoman Capital,” 120–55 passim (see n. 14); and Necipoğlu, “Challenging the Past,” 171–76.

61. See Metin And, “17. Yüzyıl Türk Çarşı Ressamları ve Resimlerinin Belgesel Önemi” (Seventeenth-century Turkish street painters and the documentary significance of their paintings), *Ninth International Congress of Turkish Art 1*: 153–62 (see n. 9); Tülay Artan, “Mahremiyet: Mahrumiyetin Resmi” (The private realm: The painting of destitution), *Defter* (Notebook)

20 (spring/summer 1993), 91–115; and Hamadeh, “Splash and Spectacle,” 123–48.

62. Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton, 1997), 10.

63. Goodwin, *Ottoman Architecture*, 409–27 (see n. 10); Kuban, *Dünya Kenti İstanbul*, 346–80 (see n. 10); Aslanapa, *Osmanlı Devri Mimarisi* (see n. 10); Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar* (see n. 10); Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe Palace*, 6–43 (see n. 42); Gülersoy, *The Çerâğın Palace* (Istanbul, 1992); and Pars Tuğlacı, *Osmanlı Mimarlığında Batılılaşma Dönemi ve Balyan Ailesi* (The era of westernization in Ottoman architecture and the Balyan family) (Istanbul, 1981).

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Figure 1. Antoine-Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Istanbul, 1969), pl. 27

Figures 2–6. Photographs by the author

Figure 7. Eldem, *Sa’ dabad*, 20–21

Figure 8. *Hübünâme ve Zenânnâme*, MS İÜK, Ty 5502, fol. 78

Figures 9, 11. D’Ohsson, *Tableau général de l’empire ottoman*, 3

Figure 10. Cornelius de Bryn, *Cornelis de Bruins reizen over Moscovie door Persie en Indie* (Amsterdam, 1711)

Figure 12. Photograph by May Farhat

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Figure 14. Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d’un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris, 1680)

Figure 15. Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Paris, 1819), pl. 29

Figure 16. Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan; reproduced from Sheila Canby, *Princes, Poets, Paladins: Islamic and Indian Paintings from the Collection of Prince and Princess Sadruddin Aga Khan* (London, 1998), 102

Figure 17. *Hamse-i ‘Atâyi*, MS Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, W.666, fol. 91a

Figure 18. Allom and Walsh, *Scenery of the Seven Churches*, vol. 1

Figure 19. Photograph by Ahmet Ersoy