

**A Sixteenth-Century Album to Constantinople:
MS. Bodl. Or. 430 at the Bodleian Library**

by

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in

Archaeology and History of Art



November 5, 2024

**A Sixteenth-Century Album to Constantinople:
MS. Bodl. Or. 430 at the Bodleian Library**

Koç University

Graduate School of Social Sciences & Humanities

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ABSTRACT

A Sixteenth-Century Album to Constantinople:

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This thesis presents the first detailed study on a long-overlooked travel album housed at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Catalogued under the shelf-mark MS. Bodl. Or. 430 it is a leather-bound codex composed of one hundred and ninety-two folios, including sixty-two illustrations pertaining in one way or another to the city of Istanbul. It hopes to bring to light an exceptionally informative example of early modern travel albums. It is believed that the Bodl. Or. 430 can prove additive to lively discussions around historical topics including the circulation of portraiture, naval history, the cartographic imaginary, the built environment and urbanism. Further, through a comparative methodology it looks to study the album and assess issues around its dating, patronage and authorship. Finally, it seeks to contribute to the growing study of travel albums, a field that is becoming attune to the complex processes of intellectual and material transmission that have informed their production as an early modern art historical phenomenon. The thesis is completed with running translations from the original Latin, an index of the *Album*'s illustrative content and a full transcription of the text. These, it is hoped, may provide avenues for further scholarly analysis.

ÖZETÇE

Istanbul'a Dair On Altıncı Yüzyıldan bir Albüm:

Bodleian Kütüphane Koleksiyonunda Bodl. Or. 430

Kayra Uguz

Arkeoloji ve Sanat Tarihi, Yüksek Lisans

4 Kasım 2024

Bu tez, Oxford'daki Bodleian Kütüphanesi'nde bulunan uzun süredir göz ardı edilen bir albümüyle ilgili ilk ayrıntılı çalışmayı sunmaktadır. MS. Bodl. Or. 430 adı altında kataloglanan, uzaktan veya yakından İstanbul şehriyle ilgili altmış iki resim içeren, yüz doksan iki sayfadan oluşan deri ciltli bir kodekstir. Bu çalışma erken modern seyahat albümlerinin fevkalade bilgilendirici bir örneğini gün yüzüne çıkarmayı ummakla beraber; portrelerin dolaşımı, kartegrofik imgelem, mimari yapılar ve şehircilik gibi tarihi konular etrafındaki güncel tartışmalara da katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Son olarak, bu tez, erken modern sanat tarihi olgusu olarak üretimlerini şekillendiren entelektüel ve maddi iletim süreçlerine duyarlı hale gelen albüm çalışmalarının alanına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışma, albümün orijinal Latince dilinden yapılan çevirilerle tamamlanmış ve görsel içeriğinin tam bir indeks sayfasıyla son bulmaktadır; bunun, daha ileri düzeydeki akademik analizler için yeni yollar açması umulmaktadır.

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Chapter 1:

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis presents the first detailed study on a long-overlooked manuscript housed at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Catalogued under the shelf-mark MS. Bodl. Or. 430 (hitherto also *Album*) it is a leather-bound codex composed of one hundred and ninety-two folios, including sixty-two illustrations pertaining in one way or another to the city of Constantinople/Istanbul. If a constitutive feature of the early modern ‘album’ was the prioritisation of imagery over text and the ability to “mix freely between recycled motifs and new compositions, resulting in bespoke final products tailored to the tastes and budgets of each collector”,¹ then the MS. Bodl. Or. 430 is an example of this pictorially-inclined genre. It is undated, but as the following chapters will show, was in all likelihood completed sometime between The Treaty of Edirne (1568) and the death of Sultan Murad III (1595).² Further, the *Album* is anonymous and there is no indication that it was originally signed; however, it was rebound in the eighteenth century and may have lost its mark of authorship and introductory text then, if ever it had one.³ It includes carefully detailed scenes across a diverse range of themes from portraits of the Ottoman ruling elite to naval scenes and buildings of the city of Istanbul. Taken within the larger literary designation of the early modern period it falls under the rubric of travel writing and, generally speaking, metabolises existing textual and pictorial sources

¹ Robyn Dora Radway uses Gwendolyn Collaço’s work on album and album-making processes by seventeenth and eighteenth century Ottoman artists to establish a broad definition of what constitutes an ‘album’ as prepared by European visitors to Ottoman lands in the sixteenth century. *Portraits of Empires: Habsburg Albums from the German House in Ottoman Constantinople* (Indiana University Press, 2023), p. 71. For Collaço’s discussion see: *The Image as Commodity: The Commercial Market for Single-Folio Paintings in Ottoman Istanbul, 17th–18th C.* (PhD Dissertation: Harvard MES, 2020).

² For a study on the Ottoman-Habsburg borders in the years following the peace treaty of 1568, see: Géza Pálffy, *Hungary Between Two Empires 1526–1711* (Indiana University Press, 2021), pp. 22–4. For information detailing the effect of a substantial interim of peace between the two empires in the field of album making, see: Radway, *Portraits of Empires*, p. 2.

³ Susan Skilliter, *Life in Istanbul: Scenes from a traveller’s picture book* (Bodleian Library: Oxford, 1977), p. 4.

(with little citation or acknowledgement) by what is evidently a firsthand visitor to the Ottoman capital.

The sixteenth century saw a long list of visitors to Istanbul who were to produce works relating to their travels: Melchior Lorck, Nicolay de Nicolay, Hans Dernschwam, Stephan Geriach and Reinhold Lubenau to name a few.⁴ These works have continued to supply Ottomanists with intricate details based on firsthand access pertaining to Ottoman social and cultural life including royal festivals and processions, the reception of ancient and Ottoman architecture, the lived experience of urbanism, the changing parameters of ethno-religious animosities and sympathies to name a few. It is to these lively scholarly discussions that this thesis attempts to contribute, in the historicising of a travel album that includes a series of episodes that has something to say about many of these fields of enquiry.

As will be clarified in chapter three, this thesis sees itself as the first development of an early study completed by Susan Skilliter in the 1970s. Skilliter's small 'picture book' publication had made some initial effort in presenting the *Album* as an object worthy of analysis. Though the historian had provided useful starting points, these lines of enquiry have been left untested for nearly half a century. Skilliter's brief mention that the *Album* shows pictorial affinities with extant travel albums across European collections, too, has been left largely unexplained. Therefore, methodologically speaking, this thesis has undertaken a comparative analysis of the *Album*'s content vis-à-vis extant

⁴ Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul An Urban History* (İş Bankası Yayınları, 2010), p. 251. For an in-depth study of the travellers to Ottoman lands across the centuries see: Yerasimos, Stefanos, *Les voyageurs dans l'Empire Ottoman, XIVe-XVIIe siècles* (Société turque d'histoire, 1991).

albums of the period c. 1570-95.⁵ In this way, the *Album* now requires much closer scrutiny, especially given that new albums of the period have come to light since Skilliter's publication. Equally, this thesis broadens the scope of Skilliter's enquiry and takes into account a much larger field of visual culture including peregrination texts, printed pamphlets, history painting, cartographic city-views and costume books. This approach, it is hoped, specifies how the production of the *Album* fits within the larger ecosystem of cultural transmission across literary and artistic spheres in early modern Euroasia, framed by the connecting and transgressive field of travel writing.

An earlier influential study by Günsel Renda had underscored the growth of printing press culture especially in the genre of costume books as a driving force of European interest in foreign lands and subjects.⁶ Likewise, the work of Leslie Meral Schick on costume books had elucidated that this was a novel iteration of an essentially European system of classification that would take, amongst practically all reachable parts of the known world, the Ottomans as an object of analysis.⁷ To use Schick's words, these costume books spoke in a vocabulary that "conveniently packaged [Ottoman society] for the consumption of the European"; this vocabulary was shaped primarily by the sartorial field in the designation of social and ethnic types.⁸ The *Album*'s consistent partiality for single-figure painting and evident awareness of the symbolics of dress as a cultural designator

⁵ These albums are: *The Freshfield Album*, (O.17.2), c. 1574, Trinity College Library, Cambridge; Lambert Wyts, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (Cod. 3325), c. 1574, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Heinrich Hendrowski, (Cod. 8626), c. 1590, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; Hieronymus Beck, *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum Turcarum imperatorum, capitaneorum*, (Cod. 2615), 1586-1599, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna and *Türkisches Manierenbuch*, (4° Ms. hist. 31), c. 1595, Universitätsbibliothek, Kassel.

⁶ Günsel Renda, 'The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century: Changing Images', in *Image of the Turks in the 17th Century*, ed. by Christoph K. Neumann-Petr Stepanek (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2005), pp. 44-55 (p. 44).

⁷ Leslie Meral Schick, 'The place of dress in pre-modern costume albums', in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul, 2004), 93-101 (p. 93). For a related study, see also: Leslie Meral Schick, 'Meraklı Avrupalılar için bir Başvuru Kaynağı: Osmanlı Kıyafet Albümleri', *Toplumsal Tarih*, 116 (2003), 4-9.

⁸ Schick, 'The place of dress in pre-modern costume albums' (p. 93).

indicates crossovers with these intellectual histories. Both Renda's and Shick's lines of thinking, in conjunction with Skilliter's, have helped situate the *Album* within a historical context and have laid the foundation for researching an anonymous and undated codex.

Certain uncertainties have risen in the scholarly debate around early modern pictures and albums to Ottoman lands, especially in relation to their opaque 'purpose'. Skilliter had explained the production of an album like the Bodl. Or. 430 as a kind of 'souvenir' that could "refresh [the traveller's] memory and enable friends at home to share his experience".⁹ This line of thinking was advanced by Metin And, who had ascertained that pictures relating to travel were made "to refresh [the European traveller's] memory and enable their sovereigns or their friends at home to share their experiences".¹⁰ Indeed, much of this belongs to a lexicon of art historical writing that is by now outdated; it takes for granted that a picture or album's pictorial content specifies the 'accuracy' of encounter as its primary representational context. This was the frame through which both Skilliter and And had come to employ their respective camera analogies,¹¹ charging pictures with the ability to capture (or 'repeat' in a word Barthes would have liked) a moment now expired.¹² On the one hand, and as this thesis will come to show, many albums of the period must have been the result of engaged and thoroughly involved periods of cultural observation. On the other, the end result of this need not, and in fact precisely cannot, be a pictorial programme that 'freezes' encounter into information. The problematic here is an unaccounted-for aesthetic reading that looks for a historical actuality in the scenes depicted. This consequently unfolds as a slippery method of historical analysis since it is left unclear for whom —the traveller or the modern historian—these scenes

⁹ Skilliter, *Life in Istanbul*, p. 3.

¹⁰ Metin And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century: The City, The Palace, Daily Life* (Yapi Kredi: Istanbul, 1994), p. 8.

¹¹ Skilliter, *Life in Istanbul*, p. 3; And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century*, p. 9.

¹² Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1982), p. 4.

capture and conserve. Elisabeth A. Fraser's work on the genre of costume books has resolved that this is a question already at odds with the production and consumption of travel accounts: In fact, the very adaptability of the pictorial and the textual (with existing models being repeated, appropriated and replaced casually, often with no indication of source) renders questions about origin and originality unproductive.¹³ The same line of argument proves productive in the context of costume and travel albums.¹⁴ To advance this, it would be useful to question whether primary evidence can support such a convenient link between the 'purpose' of an album and its historical reliability (or 'accuracy'). Whilst this requires more work, it remains true that many albums *were* informed by a set of shared conceptual and aesthetic parameters. As a result, the evident comparability of albums of the period allows for assessing the degree to which album-makers appropriated existing models, and inversely (notwithstanding the problem of historical valuation), how much was a result of exceptional, firsthand access.

As carefully traced in Robyn Dora Radway's recent study on Hapsburg album making of the period, these albums were born out of a wider epochal turn towards travel writing of the early modern period and in the domain of visual culture had not resulted in a homogenous category of art objects. Instead, various portable modes of recording the Ottoman world were developed and refined in the few decades of the second half of the sixteenth century: costume books, *alba amicorum*, decorated paper collections as well as albums.¹⁵ By reading albums as one distinct yet interconnected genre within the machinations of 'imperial subject-hood', Radway's study has highlighted the symbolic effect (and thereby purpose) of what she has come to call "paper portraits of empire".¹⁶ If what we

¹³ Elisabeth A. Fraser, 'The Ottoman Costume Album as Mobile Object and Agent of Contact', in *The Mobility of People and Things in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Art of Travel* (Routledge, 2019), 91-114 (p. 91).

¹⁴ These terms will be discussed in the following subsection 1.2.

¹⁵ Radway, *Portraits of Empires*, p. 4.

¹⁶ Radway, *Portraits of Empires*, pp. 1-5.

are dealing with is a genre that necessarily assumes the transgressive and descriptive space of cultural observation, the product cannot be a disengaged and removed photographic actuality. Rather, and as this thesis proposes in line with Radway's approach, it is through comparative analysis across the broad genre of travel literature that tendencies and sources of motivation may become visible, giving clues to historical processes that had shaped this very 'purpose'.

1.2 Notes on Terminology

Throughout the presentation of the Bodl. Or. 430 in this thesis, as well as comparative art objects of the period that share its basic formal characteristics, the terms 'album' and 'travel album' have been used in lieu of the traditional 'costume album'. As chapter four will detail, costume albums developed as one offshoot of the widely popularised costume book (*Trachtenbuch*) genre. Costume books were mass-produced texts depicting a series of figures in 'native' dress taken to represent racial types across the known world.¹⁷ Nicolas de Nicolay's publication of his own costume book under the title *Les navigations peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie* (Lyon, 1567-8) became the first costume book entirely focused on Turkish costume/custom.¹⁸ Its vast popularity, being printed up to four times every year until the end of the sixteenth century, was to have a lasting influence in associating the costume book genre specifically with travel to the Ottoman lands.¹⁹ It was in this milieu that patrons first began to commission one-off 'costume albums' to be completed by artists travelling firsthand to Ottoman lands.

¹⁷ Ulrike Ilg, 'The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650* ed. by Catherine Richardson (Routledge: 2004) pp. 29-47 (p. 29)

¹⁸ Radway, *Portraits of Empires*, p. 67. For a discussion on the cultural use of the term 'costume' which came to mean 'manners, custom' in various European languages in the sixteenth century, see: Ulrike Ilg, 'The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe', (p. 46).

¹⁹ Tülay Reyhanlı, 'Nicolas de Nicolay'ın Türkiye Seyahatnâmesi ve Desenleri', *Erdem*, 5. 14, (1989), 571-617 (p. 572)

As Leslie Meral Schick has defined, ‘costume albums’ of the sixteenth century were unique commissions by European patrons, their content comprised of “individual representations of Ottoman ‘types’ ranging from the sultan and court officials down the social ladder to street merchants”.²⁰ In this way, and as we will come to see, the Bodl. Or. 430 appears to fit the definition rather comfortably. However, through close research of the primary source it has become evident that many features of the Bodleian *Album* remain incompatible with the scope implied by the designation of a ‘costume album’. Schick again offers a useful definition for the costume album which (having inherited the generalising logic of the costume book) remained interested in portraiture but only as a shaping of the ‘type’. In her words these albums were primarily interested in portraiture but “[were] almost never portraits of individuals”.²¹ As the name ‘costume album’ suggests, they were instead pictorial compendia that made assertions about cultural variance through the sartorial field, one in which dress was taken as a surrogate for place.²²

Within these terms it remains unproductive to categorise Bodl. Or. 430 under the ‘costume album’ genre for the following reasons. Firstly, as chapter five will come to show, one primary emphasis in the *Album* is the recording of portraits of namable post-holders from the reigning Sultan Murad III (Fols. 6r, 11r, 15r) through Pashas and Ağas (Fols. 20r, 23r, 26r, 29r, 47r). These are structurally prioritised since they appear *before* any Ottoman ‘type’ in the *Album*. As will become evident, the album-maker had included details of appointments, marriages and deaths of post-holders alongside their portraits, where appropriate, having exerted the effort of compiling these (often highly accurate) details. The repeated inclusion of biographical features of named portraits is far from following the costume album’s preference for social types over subject specificity. In other words,

²⁰ Leslie Meral Schick, ‘The place of dress in pre-modern costume albums’, in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (Istanbul, 2004), 93-101 (p. 94).

²¹ Schick, ‘The place of dress in pre-modern costume albums’, (pp. 94-5).

²² Schick, ‘The place of dress in pre-modern costume albums’, (pp. 95).

these portraits cannot be defined under the category of Ottoman ‘types’ precisely because they effort a contextualisation of the subjects pictured. With this in mind, it remains more useful to acknowledge how the *Album* prioritises its maker’s proximity to Ottoman society as a first-hand traveller to Istanbul, one who was able to specify the context of this ‘other’ world beyond merely the repetition of *a priori* stock types. Indeed, this lack of timelessness, so to speak, in some of the portraits and scenes depicted may offer an explanation as to why images from the Bodl. Or. 430 were never reprinted, even as this remained common practice.²³

Secondly, as chapters six and seven will respectively survey, Bodl. Or. 430 makes use of several fold-out pages that picture a cartographic vista of the Bosphorus strait and three monuments from the city of Istanbul. Costume books, with their focus on shaping social types through dress, seldom if ever included pictures of the city or architectural forms therein. The Bodl. Or. 430 pictures both the Serpent Column (Fol. 56r) and the Obelisk of Theodosius (Fol. 159r) in the ancient Hippodrome, and the Süleymaniye Mosque (Fol. 132r) beyond the walled city, episodes in which Ottoman subjects are sidelined (if included at all). In this regard, the terms ‘album’ and ‘travel album’ propose a more accurate designation since they reflect the expanded purview of the primary source, one that is evidently broader than a book of social types elucidated through costume.²⁴ Chapter four historicises these intellectual currents in greater depth, in the context of sixteenth-century print culture and travel writing.

²³ Ulrike, Ilg, ‘The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe’, in *Clothing Culture 1350-1650* ed. by Catherine Richardson (Routledge: 2004) pp. 29-47 (p. 29). See also: Radway, *Portraits of Empires*, p. 67.

²⁴ Sibel Acar’s definition of Ottoman ‘travel albums’ (although in the context of late nineteenth and twentieth century photography albums) remains useful in acknowledging the breadth of the genre. Acar maintains that travel albums “mostly included picturesque landscapes, famous architectural structures and monuments, scenic bird’s-eye views of cityscapes, and ‘types,’ which were portraits of local residents, particularly focusing on their professions and regional outfits”. Sibel Acar, *Capturing Constantinople: Travel Albums (1884-1919)* (PhD dissertation, Middle East Technical University, 2015), p. 2.

1.3 Overview of Albums Compared

This thesis makes use of related albums of the period c.1570-95 and some general remarks can be made regarding the most complete and comparable sources at this juncture. Of these, Lambert de Vos' *Türkisches Kostümbuch* (1574) is of significance. Vos had arrived in Constantinople as part of a diplomatic envoy two years prior in 1572, and though little is known of the artist's biography, he was of Netherlandish origin and travelling as part of a Hapsburg envoy.²⁵ The artist explains in an entry to the text that he was commissioned by Karel Rim (1533-84), the imperial ambassador in Constantinople to prepare the album.²⁶ The illustrative content of this work was immense, one-hundred and four images almost entirely of standing and horseback figures. These were highly detailed portraits of different strata of the Ottoman polity, recorded through meticulously detailed sartorial and physiognomic features in vivid watercolour set in negative space. In affinity with the approach of the Bodl. Or. 430, its focus was evidently on the pictorial field, and the text was subordinated to short Latin inscriptions that were at times no longer than titular denotations. It included two fold-out pages that pictured a wedding of the Turks (For. 71r) and a procession of the city's Greek population (Fol. 101r), comparable to the Bodl. Or. 430's inclusion of five fold-out episodes. The primary difference between the two, however, was the restricted scope of *Türkisches Kostümbuch*: it included no images of buildings, city-views nor cartographic vistas, nor had any reference to the Bosphorus strait, nor the grounds of the imperial palace. In these terms, it would be precise to categorise this as a 'costume album'.

The second reference point for this thesis has been Lambert Wyts', *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (1574). This diary-album was completed in the same year as Vos' and Wyts too

²⁵ 'Lambert de Vos', *Netherlandish Institute of Art History*, 2024, <<https://research.rkd.nl/en/detail/https%3A%2F%2Fdata.rkd.nl%2Fartists%2F224909>> [accessed 22 November 2024].

²⁶ Thomas Elsmann, *Das Kostümbuch des Lambert de Vos (msor 009)*, ed. by Maria Hermes-Wladarsch (2015-6), Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, 1-3 (p. 1).

was a diplomat visiting Constantinople. In comparison with the Bodl. Or. 430, this album was heavily textual, and leans more into the form of a travelogue. Completed in French, it began with a hefty textual introduction to Wyts' travels including his experiences in Vienna and Spain (Fols. 2r-145v) followed by fifty-one illustrations pertaining to Ottoman society. The appearance of four fold-out pages in this album is noteworthy, since they picture holistic areas of the city including the Topkapı Palace, the ancient hippodrome and an unnamed mosque, all of which will be analysed in this thesis. Whilst contemporaneous to Vos' album detailed above, these comprehensive vistas separate the two; in the case of Wyts, it is clear that he had benefitted from exceptional access to the imperial grounds as well as elevated viewpoints from which to record Ottoman and Byzantine structures of the city. As this thesis will come to show, the Bodl. Or. 430 must have benefitted from comparable access even as these features appear in more subtle form.

Thirdly, Hieronymus Beck's *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum* (1586-99) has been a highly valuable reference point: as one of the most heavily-cited albums of the sixteenth century, it focused on the pictorial with little more than annotative texts in German. In similar terms to the previous two Hapsburg albums, emphasis was placed on packing each illustration with an abundance of minute detail painted in bright watercolour. However, even more than either album, the scope was truly comprehensive with over two-hundred and fifty illustrations including a series of sultanic portraits, ceremonial processions, Ottoman buildings, Bosphorus scenes and Byzantine structures. In this way, although it supersedes the Bodl. Or. 430 in both quality and detail, categorically it is the closest to its breadth of interest, especially the portrait of the reigning Sultan Murad III (Fol. 15r) as discussed in chapter five, the Bosphorus scenes (Fols. 122r-124v) as discussed in chapter six and the city's monuments including the Snake Columns and the Obelisk of Theodosius (Fol. 142r) and the Süleymaniye (Fol. 150r) as discussed in chapter seven. There is clear evidence that this German album-maker had benefitted from unprecedented levels of access in

the preparation of the codex, since not only does it include unparalleled details about the social and urban fabric of the city and a series of sultanic portraits, but two sixteenth-century Ottoman architectural plans which he famously pasted into the album (Fols. 151r; 152r).²⁷ On a broad level, *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum* marks the development of albums as a genre that was enveloping a much wider source of information than before, and benefitting from what is clearly knowledge sourced through the mediation of local agency. It is an exemplary source that demonstrates the unsuitability of ‘costume book’ as a category to describe the scope of certain albums’ content.

Finally, Heinrich Hendrowski had completed an illustrious album as a painter sent to Constantinople as part of the imperial envoy of Bartholomäus Pezzen c. 1590.²⁸ Hendrowski recorded his experience both as a visitor to the imperial palace and on the urban level with immense detail and pictorial skill. His album includes the well-cited festivity scene adjacent to the Column of Constantine (Fol. 82r), and a reception scene with Murad III in an enclosed chamber of the imperial palace (Fol. 122r). What is more, there were included three vistas of Istanbul’s peninsulas across several fold-out pages (Fols. 159v-160r) [**Figs. 6.4-6.6**]. These city-views are truly remarkable, comparable to the efforts of Melchior Lorck in the middle of the sixteenth century. Along with Beck’s album, this marks some of the most obsessively detailed images of the imperial court and the city of Istanbul to have been completed by a European visitor in this century. Hendrowski must have benefitted from a truly comprehensive range of viewpoints and sources. Significantly, in both this album and the Bodl. Or. 430 there is a felt intrigue with the Bosphorus which begins to appear as a central part of the Ottoman capital, as will be presented in chapter six.

²⁷ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire* (Reaktion Books, 2011), p. 98.

²⁸ ‘Cod. 8626’, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, <<https://onb.digital/result/13202B6E>> [accessed 23 November].

As can be discerned from these examples, the second half of the sixteenth century saw rapid developments in the genre of albums to the Ottoman capital, in which some truly exceptional samples were produced. Especially in the highest cases of patronage, which most if not all of the above-detailed albums were, a comprehensive scope had begun to inform their production. This purview moved between recording the architectural, the urban, the naval and the palatial amongst others, in an attempt to present an increasingly complete image of Ottoman society.

1.4 Scope and Structure of the Primary Source

The MS. Bodl. Or. 430 is comprised of one hundred and ninety-two folios, and includes sixty-two illustrations. Of these, five are fold-out compositions. Generally speaking, the codex is arranged so that there appears one illustration followed by four empty folios.²⁹ The first image of the *Album* is a fold-out cartographic view of the Bosphorus strait that pictures the occasion of Sultan Murad III's royal galley moving from the imperial palace in the direction of Rumelihisarı. This is followed by three portraits of Sultan Murad himself. Next are presented two grand viziers Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha and Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha, the eunuch Ali Pasha, and the Grand admiral Ulūj 'Ali/Kılıç Ali Pasha. This progresses into three naval scenes, the first of which pictures the galley of the same Ulūj 'Ali, followed by the caiques of Ibrahim Pasha and Ulūj Hasan. Evidently then, the first ten illustrations of the *Album* following the Bosphorus vista pertain to the highest members of the ruling elite all of whom are recorded as named potholders with details relating to their biographies.

The following four episodes picture courtiers and high-ranking subjects both general and named; a Greek-born nobleman, an anonymous eunuch of the court, the eunuch Hassan Ağa (born Samson

²⁹ It was common practice to paint on one side of an album's folio and leave the reverse blank. See: Lambert Wyts, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (c. 1573); Lambert de Vos, *Türkisches Kostümbuch* (1574). Certain albums of the period leave one or more blank folios that separate illustrations. See: *Türkisches Manierenbuch*, (c. 1595). This was presumably to aid the removal and restructuring of folios without causing damage to the neighbouring illustration.

Rowlie) and a mute courtier (*dilsiz*). This is followed by two fold-out illustrations of the Serpent Column and a dining scene of an Ottoman assembly.

The appearance of a *Sipahi* cavalryman marks the introduction of the ‘stock’ types commonly found in costume books of the period: a series of portraits depict the head of guards in the Topkapı Palace (*Kapıcıbaşı*), a Turkish foot-soldier, a janissary, an *Acemī oğlan*, a palace guard, a baron, an imperial messenger (*Ulak*) a soldier with a musket and a Persian soldier (*Kızılbaş*).³⁰ This section is the only to enumerate the types presented; below the corresponding portraits is recorded that there are twenty-four thousand *Sipahi* cavalryman, twenty-six thousand janissaries, two hundred foot-soldiers, six hundred gatekeepers of the imperial palace and one hundred barons. It is not clear why the album-maker had chosen to include numeric estimations for a small section of types, those corresponding to the palace cavalry and servants. A numbering system in this way does not appear in the above-discussed Hapsburg albums. Lambert de Vos’ *Türkisches Kostümbuch* (1574) consists of short descriptions or titular designations under each respective portrait, for instance (‘Janizzari’ or ‘Capigibassy seu prafecti cubiculariorum’).³¹ Lambert Wyts’, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (c. 1573) follows the same approach, and each portrait is appended with a brief description of the type pictured, for instance that the ‘janissary’ is “a foot soldier of the order of the grand signor”.³² Hieronymus Beck’s *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum* (1586-99) too, includes no such estimation. Although such an approach is also absent from popularised costume books such as those by Francis Deserpz (1562, Paris) and Abraham de Bruyn’s (Cologne, 1581), they do appear in some measure in Nicolay’s *Les Navigations*. In this text, whilst the plates appear with mere titles of the type represented, Nicolay’s accompanying textual account traces effort in calculation; he notes

³⁰ The illustration of an *Acemī oğlan* (Fol. 68r) is a copy of Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Les navigations*, fol. 131 and a soldier with a musket (80r) from the same text, fol. 137r.

³¹ Lambert de Vos, *Türkisches Kostümbuch* (1574), fols. 12r-18r.

³² Lambert Wyts’, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (c. 1573), fol. 157.

that at the time of writing in the mid sixteenth century there are ‘twelve-thousand janissaries’.³³

This becomes repeated in the popular English translation published in London by Thomas Dawson in 1585.³⁴ Further, the same text also measures ‘three to four hundred’ foot-soldiers,³⁵ which again is repeated in the English translation.³⁶ This source may have been used by the anonymous album-maker of the Bodl. Or. 430, though clearly he alters the numbers to reflect the augmented size of the Ottoman palace organisations in the late sixteenth century. His estimation of twenty-six thousand janissaries is rather accurate, even if the twenty-four thousand *Sipahi* cavalrymen is exaggerated.³⁷ It is likely that the album-maker is using a separate source that he does not cite, perhaps sourced locally through his travels. In either case, the inclusion of these estimations does indicate that the album was being prepared as a reliable source of information to be consulted upon completion.

Roughly in the centre of the *Album* appears a section on women introduced by a standing portrait of a *Hadım*, whom the text explains is employed to escort women through the city. This introduces eight portraits of women ranging from a Turkish woman being escorted by a *Hadım* to Greek and Christian women, each presented as standing or horseback portraits. These images are almost entirely copied from previous costume books, especially the second book of Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Les navigation* which had presented a series of woodcut prints of the various women of Istanbul.³⁸

³³ Nicolay’s *Les navigations*, fol. 132.

³⁴ *The nauigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay...*, trans. by T. Washington (Thomas Dawson: London, 1585), p.73.

³⁵ Nicolay’s *Les navigations*, fol. 141.

³⁶ *The nauigations, peregrinations and voyages...*, p. 78.

³⁷ Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973), p. 83.

³⁸ This section is in the second book of Nicolay’s text, chapters XVII- XXV. The illustration of a ‘Turkish woman’ (Fol. 90r) is taken from Nicolay’s *Les navigations*, fol. 131. ‘Women going to bath’ (Fol. 102r) is copied from *Les navigations*, fol. 113. The illustration of a covered woman with no explanatory text (Fol. 110r) is a copy of *Les navigations*, fol. 115. The portrait of ‘A Wife’ (Fol. 108r) is less direct, but appears to be inspired by ‘Turkish women in their house or in the seraglio’, of *Les navigations*, fol. 101.

Following the section on women are portraits of the city's non-Muslim population including the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, a Greek priest and a standing Christian (*Gavur*). There is a sense that we are moving further along Istanbul's streets and encountering the city's heterogeneous urban population. Then, an impressive fold-out view of the Süleymaniye Mosque marks a section on the Muslim inhabitants of Istanbul. Portraits of a religious scholar (*Hoca*), a "descendent of the Prophet", a dervish, and three scenes of pilgrims on their way to, or returning from, Mecca are presented.

The final episodes in the *Album* picture various daily life scenes from street-level. These include a curious clairvoyant, a decorated tomb and a fold-out of the Obelisk of Theodosius. The next three episodes relate to food and drink: a water-bearer, a water vendor and sherbet maker and cook. An illustration that appears later in the *Album* can also be added to this category, that of a man buying liver meat from a vendor. The next two episodes take into account exercise, with the first being two men challenging each other with faux swords and shields. This is followed by two Turkish men wrestling.

The final three episodes concern the grim aspects of the city: First is a peculiar illustration of an impoverished man reduced to living in a public garden. The penultimate episode pictures a man executed by hanging on a hook, followed by an impalement scene.

Within Schick's vocabulary, the *Album* does follow a "social ladder" that originated in the structural language of costume books, one that moves from the highest ranking official (the Sultan) through courtiers to urban subjects and street merchants. It may be useful to think of the *Album* as picturing a walk through the city that begins in the imperial palace; at this point it remains the most biographical and subject-specific. Sporadically, fold-out images are included: these more expansive

views are all likely made from firsthand observation and diverge from the costume book tradition. From here the *Album* meanders through various corners of Istanbul and gathers general stock types that are used to present a fuller picture of the vast and varicoloured tapestry of the urban lives the city enlivens.³⁹ These stock types, many likely copied from Nicolay's *Les navigations*, evoke the influence of the costume book tradition even as the album-maker was making personal observations as a firsthand traveller to the Ottoman capital.

Indeed this is far from surprising; almost all codexes analysed in comparison with the Bodl. Or. 430 in this thesis follow this general pattern of metabolising existing costume book Ottoman types whilst also including original episodes based on firsthand contact. The earliest of these, Lambert de Vos' *Türkisches Kostümbuch* (1574) and Lambert Wyts', *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (1574) were especially loyal to existing models, repeating many of the costume book types throughout. The later examples introduced above, namely Hieronymus Beck's *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum* (1586-99) and Heinrich Hendrowski's album (c. 1590), as well as the Bodl. Or. 430, balance these existing models with illustrations of ancient and Ottoman structures, panoramic Bosphorus views, firsthand episodes relating to everyday urban life and sultanic portraits. Whilst a structural analysis of all albums of this period is beyond the scope of this thesis, it remains clear that a distinct genre of album-making had emerged by the 1570s, one that owed much to the ordering principles found in costume books but had begun to considerably widen its scope. Most album-makers followed some general hierarchy in picturing Ottoman society whilst meeting the needs of specific patrons and the practical restrictions of what was able to be observed by a foreign visitor.

³⁹ For a discussion on Istanbul as a varicoloured "patch" of lived urban experiences, see: Shrine Hamadeh and Çigdem Kafescioglu eds., *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul* (Brill: London, 2022), pp. 19-20.

The production of the Bodl. Or. 430, as the following chapters will argue, was the product of precisely this period and equally attempted to synthesise an expanded scope that surpasses the single-figure portraits of costume book ‘types’. It seems that nearing the end of the sixteenth century an augmented purview of recording was expected of album-makers that included portraits of the Sultan based on *ad hoc* observation when available, the built environment as seen from multiple perspectives, features of the imperial palace and the Bosphorus strait. Taken within this context, it seems not implausible that there is a single artist behind the drawings of the Bodl. Or. 430, as with the Hapsburg masters cited above. Further, the stylistic consistency across the folios in the Bodl. Or. 430 further indicates that a single artist had likely completed its illustrations. As will come to be shown, its content heavily suggests that it had benefitted from various channels of insight and access to urban and perhaps even palatial spheres. This thesis, by analysing unique images in the *Album*, many of which move away from what was to be found in costume books and costume albums, shows how much of its content was the result of firsthand, exceptional access.

The respective chapters will comparatively analyse the content of the *Album* with contemporary sources in depth, and yet, on a general level it is suggestive that its content overlaps with all of the above-cited albums in various ways. The appearance of the reigning sultan (usually on horseback), Ottoman cavalymen and palace servants, standing portraits of Istanbul’s Muslim and non-Muslim population depicted as ‘types’, women and views of ancient and modern structures strongly indicate the existing of a genre at work.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ For details regarding the comparability of Bodl. Or. 430’s content vis-à-vis the Hapsburg albums and beyond, see chapter five which positions Bodl. Or. 430’s portrait of the reigning Sultan Murad III in relation to Hieronymus Beck’s *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum* in which Murad’s portrait appears. Further, chapter six draws a comparison between the Bodl. Or. 430’s Bosphorus view and the three expansive vistas found in Heinrich Hendrowski’s album. This chapter also makes a connection between the appearance of the three naval scenes in the Bodl. Or. 430 and those in Hieronymus Beck’s, which picture caïque leisure scenes along the Bosphorus. Chapter seven compares the appearance of the built environment in Lambert Wyts’ *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim*: an elevated view of the ancient hippodrome and an unnamed mosque with the Bodl. Or. 430’s picturing of the Serpent Column, Obelisk of Theodosius and the Süleymaniye Mosque. In relation to the first two, the anonymous *Freshfield Album* is also comparatively analysed, especially its depiction of the ancient structures in the hippodrome.

Whilst the Bodl. Or. 430 is certainly part of this genre, what sets it apart from these contemporaneous examples is chiefly its style: the Hapsburg/German albums from Lambert de Vos, Lambert Wyts, Hieronymus Beck and Heinrich Hendrowski display the skill of master draughtsmen that far exceeds the artistry of the Bodl. Or. 430. The latter, whilst also working in the medium of watercolour, is not as technically advanced as the artists of the famed Hapsburg albums and prefers to work in a style that is comparatively rough. Though there are some notable exceptions, it would be a superlative to suggest that its quality is commensurate with the Hapsburg albums. On the whole, the artist of the Bodl. Or. 430 presents a more sober and indicative finish that oversteps minute detailing, focusing rather on picturing the most recognisable features of a single subject-matter per folio. This technical difference may be explained, as the third chapter will hypothesise, by the possibility of an English album-maker. At this stage, not enough English albums of the period have come to light to certify this claim, but the Bodl. Or. 430's use of Latin as its language of choice over the vernacular German tongue is indicative, since the latter had become common in the albums of the last decades of the sixteenth century as exemplified by Hieronymus Beck's *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum* (1586-99). If this is the case, the contextual variance between English and Hapsburg artistry and patronage may offer an explanation for the clear stylistic and technical asymmetry across these albums. As will become evident, however, the scope of these albums are largely comparable as the artists resort to picturing many of the selfsame subjects. In other words, whilst the Bodl. Or. 430 'looks' different to its Hapsburg contemporaries, it is evidently part of a genre of picturing travel to the Ottoman lands that flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century.

1.5 Overview of the thesis

Following the introduction, the second chapter surveys the cataloguing history of the Bodl. Or. 430 in the context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century archival practices. It traces the efforts of Eduard Sachau (1845-1930) and Carl Hermann Ethé (1844-1917) in compiling the *Catalogue of Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1889-1930), within which the *Album* appears as an early entry. It follows one primary question, namely the reason for the *Album*'s considerable and long-lasting obscurity as a historical source and provides several likely causes ranging from the intellectual to the codicological. The third chapter takes up the issue of dating the *Album* with reference to Susan Skilliter's early efforts. Through surveying sources in the field of mercantile history between Elizabethan England and Sultan Murad III's Constantinople, on the one hand, and primary analysis of the *Album* in the other, it suggests a line of English patronage for the album's production. The fourth chapter comparatively situates the art historical phenomenon of album-making within an intellectual history of early modern travel writing, one that includes amongst other models the *Trachtenbuch* (costume book), peregrination texts and history painting. Chapter five is the first to closely analyse the images within the *Album* and focuses on three portraits of Sultan Murad III as well as portraits of Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha, Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha, Ulūj 'Ali Pasha, Ali Ağa and Hassan Ağa (born Samson Rowlie). Chapter six centres around images pertaining to the Bosphorus: a cartographic city view of the strait and surrounding sea-shore neighbourhoods as well as three naval scenes depicting various Ottoman commanders. Chapter seven studies the ancient and modern structures of the city of Istanbul that are depicted including the Serpent Column, the Obelisk of Theodosius and the Süleymaniye central Friday mosque. The conclusion draws together a range of findings in considering general resolutions regarding the *Album*'s content, its artist and intended readership.

The primary aims of the thesis can be summarised as follows. As the first detailed study on the Bodl. Or. 430 following Skilliter's work in the 1970s, it hopes to bring to light a long-overlooked yet exceptionally informative example of early modern albums to Ottoman Istanbul. It is believed that the Bodl. Or. 430 can prove additive to lively scholarly discussions around historical topics including the circulation of portraiture, naval history, the cartographic imaginary, the built environment and urbanism. Second, through a comparative methodology it looks to study the *Album* and assess issues around its dating, patronage and authorship. Third, by drawing focus on the analysis of unique images in the *Album*, many of which move away from what was to be expected in costume books and costume albums, it studies a series of illustrations that must have been the result of firsthand access by an exceptional visitor to the Ottoman capital. Finally, it seeks to contribute to the growing study of albums, a field that is becoming attune to the complex processes of intellectual and material transmission that have informed their production as an early modern art historical phenomenon. The thesis is completed with running translations from the original Latin, an index of the *Album*'s illustrative content and a full transcription of its text. These, it is hoped, may provide avenues for further scholarly analysis.

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Chapter 2:

ARCHIVAL HISTORY AND CATALOGUING *MS. Bodl. Or. 430*

2.1 Bodl. Or. 430 at the Bodleian Library: Eduard Sachau and Carl Hermann Ethé

The MS Bodl. Or. 430 has been in the collection at the Bodleian Library as part of the University of Oxford's Turkish Manuscripts since the turn of the seventeenth century.⁴¹ It was included in the second part of the multivolume catalogue initiated by German Orientalist Carl Eduard Sachau (1845-1930): this publication, *Catalogue of Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* was first published in 1889, a project that was to be completed by Carl Hermann Ethé (1844-1917) who worked on the remaining two volumes and edited the first.⁴² It was in the second volume that MS Bodl. Or. 430 (then shelf-marked Ethé 2285) was recorded under the following commentary as the first under the sub-category 'Picture-books':

"A book containing fifty-seven pictures in illustration of Eastern manners, customs, and costumes, especially of those of the Turks, Greeks, and Arabs, accompanied for the greater part by a short Latin explanation at the bottom of the respective page".⁴³

This was appended with a note on measurement and physical form: "7⁵/₈ × 5⁵/₈ in. Form: codex".⁴⁴

The entry was indeed not very thorough, and in line with the *Catalogue's* more general and self-

⁴¹ Susan Skilliter, *Life in Istanbul: Scenes from a traveller's picture book* (Bodleian Library: Oxford, 1977), p. 5.

⁴² As Ethé notes in the publication of the first volume: *Catalogue of Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Vol I* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1889), p. i.

⁴³ Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Vol II* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1930), p. 1270.

⁴⁴ *Catalogue of Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Vol II* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1930), p. 1270.

proclaimed attempt to account for each manuscript “in a handy form”,⁴⁵ an evidently pressing matter since the publication of the second volume was some forty years overdue.⁴⁶ Certainly, Sachau’s own body of work predating the compilation shows little in the way of interest regarding the heartlands of Ottoman rule. A professor of Semitic philology at the University of Vienna, Sachau made a decisive journey through the Ottoman lands in 1879, and yet steered clear of the monuments that were to eventually typify the canon of Ottoman Art History. For Sachau it was the pre-Ottoman remains in the Arab borderlands (mostly in Damascus and Aleppo) on which he affected his ‘scientific endeavours’ (*wissenschaftlichen Bestrebungen*). This was to shortly become the focus of a sizeable pseudo-archaeological study aptly published under the title *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (1883).⁴⁷ It is telling that his successive publications following the *Catalogue* also paid little attention to Ottoman centres such as Bursa, Edirne, Iznik and Istanbul, as his corpus remained situated towards the ancient Arabic philological tradition and the early medieval Indian subcontinent.⁴⁸ The output of Hermann Ethé himself, who probably catalogued the Bodl. Or. 430, though less voluminous, also remained oriented elsewhere: his authoritative contribution was a holistic compilation of hitherto scattered Persian Sufi Poetry attributed to Abu Sa’id Bahadur Khan.⁴⁹ Thus that the first volume of the Bodleian *Catalogue* (1889) was to be a standalone print of

⁴⁵ *Catalogue*, vol. I, p. i.

⁴⁶ As noted in the preface to the second volume of the *Catalogue*, due to the extended delay in production the volume (though printed in 1930) can only be taken “[to] serve as a guide to the collections [of the Bodleian] up to about 1900”. *Catalogue*, vol II, p. i.

⁴⁷ *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1883), p. i. In Sachau’s publication is an appended cartographic reproduction of the South-Eastern territories of the Ottoman Empire, on which the itinerary of his travels is recorded. The shape of his journey seems to systematically effort an irreverence to post-conquest Ottoman presence. See *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1883), p. 483. For a discussion on Sachau’s orientalism-inflected construction of an anthropological reading of the Arab polity see Remzi Avci, ‘Writing the Orient: The Representation of the Ottoman Society in the Travels of Eduard Sachau (1845-1930)’, *Acta Histriae*, 30. 1 (2022), 121-140.

⁴⁸ See: *Drei Aramäische Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine* (Akademie der Wissenschaften Von Jahre, 1907); *Alberuni's India. An account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, laws and astrology of India about A.D. 1030* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1910).

⁴⁹ Ethé, ‘Neupersische Litteratur’, in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (Strassburh, 1895-1904), 212-368. For a recent study see: J. T. P. de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry An Introduction to the Mystical Use of Classical Persian Poems* (Taylor & Francis: 2014), p. 15.

the Persian collection is of little surprise, especially since the Library's own strength in Persian manuscripts seems to have coalesced with the appointment of Ethé in the first place. Nonetheless, the *Album* must have instigated some interest in the scholars since it was saved from commentary slights that were to be found in the recording of other Turkish material in the collection, some of which were deemed "without the slightest value".⁵⁰ On the whole, however, it is reasonable to suggest that in this direction, the existence of an early modern Istanbul-centred picture album inspired no real interest in the cataloguers, eventually setting the context for considerable oversight in the already petite Turkish collection of the Bodleian Library.

The description of the *Album* by Ethé has set the standard for its modern cataloguing, with curators adding little in the past century. The single revision to the entry came in relation to its dating, a recent censorship of the original erroneous attribution to the year 1488.⁵¹ The issue of dating is one that will be dealt with in the following chapter, but for now it suffices to note that it is only within the very recent past that the album has been the object of any amendment, which has unsurprisingly been on the degree of provenance.

2.2 Cataloguing Errors

In terms of further calculation, Ethé's sum of illustrations within the album remains inexact though this has not attracted revision. Of one hundred and ninety-two folios, the album contains fifty-seven full page illustrations (which are Ethé's 'pictures') but with an addition of five fold-out illustrations totalling sixty-two. There is little clue to explicate this puzzling omission, since these fold-out

⁵⁰ *Catalogue II*, p. 1277. See also, entry 258 (shelf mark 2296) which is deemed likewise: "the whole is absolutely valueless", p. 1277.

⁵¹ The dating was a twenty-first century cataloguing error, since Ethé's *Catalogue* had left the *Album* undated (p. 1270). The alteration occurred on the database provided by *Fihrist* in 2022-3. The album is now dated 'n.d'. https://www.fihrist.org.uk/catalog/manuscript_4181 [accessed 13 December 2023].

leaves are interpolated evenly throughout the album (Fols. 2r; 56r; 58r; 132r; 159r) and show no stylistic or narrative inconsistency in the context of the wider codex. One might speculate that this oversight was codicologically informed since these were bound as folded leaves with a variant paper type and once opened were significantly larger in size. This might also account for Ethè's omission of the *ebru*-dyed designed pages (Fols. 4r; 4v; 13r; 13v), though equally likely is that this design of paper marbling would have been outside the definition of a 'picture'. The measuring of the album provided by Ethè is almost accurate,⁵² even if he again disregards the fold-out leaves which at full-scale remain incongruously large.⁵³ The inclusion of the five fold out images within the study of the *Album* is key, and will be dealt with carefully in the following chapters. For now it suffices to note that these scenes, namely Bosphorus map (Fol. 2r), Serpent Column of the ancient hippodrome (Fol. 56r), dining scene (Fol. 58r), Süleymaniye central Friday mosque and tomb (Fol. 132r) and Obelisk of the ancient hippodrome (Fol. 159r) contain the most comprehensive and original episodes within the manuscript as a whole.

The missing authorship of Bodl. Or. 430 presents a challenge in the effort of its historicisation and must have provided some impasse to Sachau and Ethé. Without a dedication page or note by the artist's hand, issues around dating have informed its cataloguing as an album of the fifteenth century. This was likely a result of the mention of a certain Joh Boemii on the page following the flyleaf (Fol. 1r), which may have been taken as a reference to the hand of ethnologist and traveller Johann Boemus (1485-1535). Images post-dating the lifespan of the traveler by about half a century make this attribution erroneous. Rather, this was likely a reference to Boemus's *Omnium Gentium*

⁵² The measurements given by Ethè are 7⁵/₈ x 5⁵/₈ in. or 19.4 x 14.3 cm. The more accurate measurement is a centimetre larger, reading at 20.5 x 15.5 cm (8 x 6¹/₈ in) for the leather-bound cover and 20 x 14.9 cm (7⁷/₈ x 5⁷/₈) for each leaf therein.

⁵³ Fol. 2r (Panorama of Istanbul): 42 x 22 cm or 16¹/₂ x 8³/₄ in.; Fol. 56r (Serpent Column of the Ancient Hippodrome): 36 cm x 15.8 cm or 14¹/₅ x 6¹/₅ in.; Fol. 58r (Dining and Scribe Scene): 42.5 cm x 31.5 cm or 16³/₄ x 12³/₅ in.; Fol. 132r (Süleymaniye Central Friday Mosque and Tomb): 42 cm x 32.5 cm or 16¹/₂ x 12⁴/₅ in.; 159r (Obelisk in Ancient Hippodrome): 41 x 15.5 cm or 16¹/₅ x 6¹/₁₀ in.

Mores, Leges et Ritus (1520, reprinted Lyons 1561),⁵⁴ which had become a reference point of ethnographic material regarding the inhabitants of the known ecumene, rather than a mark of his authorship.

One further oversight was the chroniclers' of the *Catalogue*'s failure to recognise that the *Album* was chiefly a work on the city of Istanbul/Constantinople. In fact, it was noted that it included illustrations both "of Turkish and Italian subjects", followed by two puzzling attributions of the illustrations of the ancient hippodrome (Fols. 56r; 159r) to Italy. Ethé had written that these were firstly 'a water fountain' and secondly 'an obelisk' from Naples.⁵⁵ This misattribution has resulted in the understatement of the city of Constantinople within the *Album*'s record, even as it rises as the primary historical intrigue of the work as a whole and thus presents one further impediment on the level of scholarly reference.

Thus even as the relatively recent art historical scholarship on arts of the Ottoman album has begun to grow, the missing date or at times misdating of Bodl. Or. 430 has kept it outside the purview of album-oriented studies since these scholars gave focus to the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The vague nature of its cataloguing (especially as it entered the digital domain) with absent information about its content has only added to its obscurity. Though trends towards the study of sultanic portraiture and forms of early modern representation relating to Istanbulite urbanity have been steadily increasing, this album remains largely forgotten if not completely unheard of by Ottomanists. Unique portraits of the reigning Sultan Murad III, observations of monumental and urban spaces from Byzantine and Ottoman history and a provocative cartography including the intrarmuros old city and the *Bilâd-ı selâse* (Galata and Üsküdar with the exception of

⁵⁴ Tülay Reyhanlı, *İngiliz Gezginlerine Göre XVI. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Hayat (1582-1599)* (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı: 1983), p. 18.

⁵⁵ *Catalogue II*, p. 1270.

Eyüp) demonstrate some of the value of this source that certainly fits within the purview of larger trends above-mentioned. The notable increase in such forums as distinct areas of study has been felt in major museum dedications to the subjects in recent years, whilst scholars and curators alike remain uninformed about the album at hand.⁵⁶

2.3 Physical Form and Condition

In comparison with the much better kept and frequently cited albums of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in private collections and national libraries across the world, the condition of the Bodleian album is strikingly defective resulting in multiple instances of illegibility. One regrettable feature of the album at hand is its condition, which taken in its entirety is exceedingly fragile. As it stands, almost each leaf has been eaten through by pests to some degree, with certain instances of much higher damage (Fols. 1r-v, 2r, 183r, 186r, 189r). The decay of the leaves have affected both the illustrations and annotative text and this presents a challenge for deciphering the precise nature of its content, especially since the most densely damaged leaves correspond to the beginning of the album containing the only significant standalone body of text (Fol. 1r-v). This is all the more pertinent since the language of the Album is a vernacularised Latin that often resorts to the use of lexicon not in compliance with the standard forms of the classical language.

The album was partially restored in 2022 with the primary aim to prevent further destruction of the leaves.⁵⁷ The acknowledgement of its fragile condition on the part of the Bodleian Library within the past decade has had an additionally negative effect for scholars, since it has delimited access to the object proper. Prior to (and since) the restoration project, the album has been safeguarded

⁵⁶ ‘Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman’, *Topkapi Palace* (June-September 2000); ‘On the Spot: Panoramic Gaze on Istanbul, a History, *Pera Museum* (October 2023 - August 2024).

⁵⁷ No restorative work to repair the leaves was undertaken.

heavily, with readers unable to consult without formal permission from the Curator of Persian Collections. Thus as interest in the field of album studies has begun to accelerate, the Bodl. Or. 430 has receded further into the shelf, with little archival footprint to follow.

However, following attention from readers and the Khalili Research Centre at the University of Oxford, the Bodleian has completed a digitisation project and the album is now available online in full as of December 2023.⁵⁸ This development has taken place halfway through my thesis research and marks a decisive opening for the potential of future scholarship on the album. This is all the more important when one considers the Collections Care regulation (held under the directive of the Bodleian Libraries' Preservation Policy) that the album has been subjected to, which strictly forbade personal recording (including non-invasive photographing techniques) of the codex.

Notwithstanding some errors with the numbering of pagination, the digitisation efforts have resulted in a rich and comprehensive open access resource in line with the Bodleian's effort to widen access to their significant rare material collections.⁵⁹

This study has come to life at this crossroad, with the belief and proposal that a close study of the *Album* may advance historical understanding around the opaque processes of making and consuming early modern albums. Since what we have is a genre that assumes the transiency of cultural encounter as its object of analysis, issues around production and purpose have all too often been taken for granted. This in turn, it is hoped, may support further study on the object-proper as the primary source becomes widely accessible for the first time in its history.

⁵⁸ See 'MS. Bodl. Or. 430', Digital Bodleian <<https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/3071c072-0209-47c5-b852-cc4fc25f967c/>> [accessed 22 December 2023].

⁵⁹ Though the Turkish-Turkic manuscripts hitherto digitised remains relatively low, this seems to be proportionally reflective of the Bodleian's collection of the same name, which numbers just over five-hundred manuscripts.

Chapter 3:

DATING *MS. Bodl. Or. 430*

3.1 Susan Skilliter's Dating Efforts

The next significant reference to Bodl. Or. 430 came in the final volume of a fifteen-part publication by the Bodleian Library under the name *Picture Books*. Printed between 1951-77, this series was variegated in subject matter but on the whole moved thematically across arts of the book and drawing practices in a broad Euroasian domain as it applied to Bodleian's own rare manuscript and painting collections.⁶⁰ It seems that the main purpose for the *Picture Books* series was to highlight the rare primary material held at the University of Oxford's libraries and, to a certain extent, increase access to material-oriented scholarship that coalesced with the dawn of art historical studies in Britain in the second half of the twentieth century. Categorically speaking, it must have been the allure of comparing diverse styles that had informed the selection process across the titles in the *Picture Books*, an emphasis that was explicated throughout the series.

The fifteenth and final volume, *Life in Istanbul: Scenes from a traveller's picture book*, was the first attempt (following Ethé, et al) in addressing Bodl. Or. 430 as a document worthy of historical analysis. It was prepared with twenty-four black and white plates and, significantly, a brief introduction (pp. 3-6) by Ottomanist Susan Skilliter who was at the time lecturer of Turkish at Cambridge University.⁶¹ Although by-and-large a picture publication, Skilliter took substantial

⁶⁰ The *Picture Books* (1977) published, in order, are as follows: *English Romanesque Illumination*, *Gold-tooled Bookbindings*, *Drawing of Oxford by 1811-21*, *Zoological Illustration*, *Scenes from the Life of Christ in English Manuscripts*, *Portraits of the sixteenth and Early seventeenth Centuries*, *Architectural Drawings in the Bodleian Library*, *Byzantine Illumination*, *Mughal Miniature of the Earlier Periods*, *English Illumination of the 13th & 14th Centuries*, *The Kennicott Bible*, *Humanistic Script of the 15th & 16th Centuries*, *An Islamic Book of Constellations (MS. Marsh 144)*, *English Rural Life in the Middle Ages*, *Life in Istanbul 1588 (Ref 355, Bodleian, Oxford)*.

⁶¹ Following her death, *The Skilliter Centre for Ottoman Studies* at Newham College Cambridge University was established (1985).

strides where documentation remained absent and attempted to clarify the *Album*'s dating to the year 1588. For Skilliter, the portraits of Murad III (r. 1574-95), and Hasan Ağa [born Samson Rowlie] (active 1577-88) and Beglerbeg Ulūj Hasan (d. 1587) with the inscription that it was drawn “within a year since [Ulu] had] died” provided compelling evidence for the dating of the book to this year.⁶² No evidence contrary to Skilliter's claim has risen throughout the research for this thesis, and it overall corroborates the scholar's *prima facie*.

Certainly, many additional sixteenth-century travel albums have come to light since the publication of *Life in Istanbul* in 1977.⁶³ Albums from the second half of the sixteenth century, especially from c.1570-95, have shown that a canon had been developing in the genre at large that was distinguishable from earlier albums of the century. One distinct feature that was repeated throughout albums of this period was the appearance of sultanic portraiture as embedded into the wider repertoire of Constantinople-related imagery. By the mid 1570s, extant Latin and German albums provide evidence that portraits of the reigning sultan (corresponding to the sultanates of Selim II - Murad III) appeared especially in the highest cases of patronage, and was in all likelihood a way to distinguish these albums from the more commercial versions that were becoming available on market levels.⁶⁴ In this manner, Lambert de Vos's *Türkisches Kostümbuch* (1574) is significant since it included a portrait of Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-1574) appearing in the public sphere on horseback [Fig. 3.1]. Note that the folios preceding Selim are portraits of the ‘*Janizzaraga*’ (Fol. 14r), ‘*Capijibassii*’ (Fol. 18r) followed by the imperial corps ‘*subaji*’ (Fol. 34-5r). The placing of

⁶² *Life in Istanbul*, pp. 4-5.

⁶³ Skilliter was able to trace seven comparable albums, though admittedly later in date: (MS. Dresd. I, 2a); Kassel (Landesbibl., MIS. hist. 4 31); (Öst. Natbibl., cod. Vindob. 8615 and 8626); (Hermitage, inv. no. 15289I); (Bibl. Nat., Dépt. des Estampes, Od 2); (All Souls Coll., MIS. 314).

⁶⁴ See, for instance: *A volume of coloured drawings of costumes worn in Turkey, Persia, & Greece* (All Souls Coll., MIS. 314, c. 1590), which depicts almost exclusively copies of older drawings in circulation during the sixteenth century and does not include a portrait of the reigning sultan (Murad III) or any named personage associated with the imperial court.

the Sultan into the centre of the first half of the album flanked by the military caste including the *solakân* (elite corps) references the order of imperial processions, which was one occasion through which the Sultan could appear to the public in person.⁶⁵ However, the appearance of the three time grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579) is also significant [Fig. 3.2], since it marks a developing interest in including nameable post-holders within the album genre as it developed in tandem with sultanic portraiture.⁶⁶

This is one key difference between the costume book type that was popularised by the likes of Nicolas de Nicolay's *Discours et histoire veritable des navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turqvie* (Lyon, 1567) and the albums produced in the final decades of the sixteenth century. The latter continued to draw from the representational customs established by the former, and at times repeated images wholesale including the infamous 'women going to bath' type which became one of the most exhausted Turkish images of the half-century. However, on the whole the second half of the sixteenth century saw in album production sharpened efforts of subject specificity that showed itself in the appearance of particular Ottoman dignitaries not limited to the Sultan and his unnamed 'Grand Dame'.⁶⁷ In essence, these travel albums were less 'timeless' in their recording of Ottoman subjects, articulating a historical specificity rather than being generalised through the category of sartorial types. This may be one reason that many of the albums from these decades, including the Bodl. Or. 430, remained as unique objects that were not reprinted thereafter. In this milieu, the correlation between personage depicted (such as Hasan Ağa and Beglerbeg Ulūj Hasan

⁶⁵ From Fol. 51r the album reverts to a 'costume book' form, which also correlates to the recycling of previous types.

⁶⁶ Lambert de Vos, *Türkisches Kostümbuch* (1574) (Bremen: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, msor 009), Fol. 31r.

⁶⁷ Nicolas de Nicolay, *Discours et histoire veritable des navigations, peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turqvie* (Anvers, A. Coninx, 1586), p. 63.

as noted by Skilliter) and the production date appears not only to correlate, but to define the contextual use-value of the objects.

In this context, the appearance of Murad III in three cases (once seated, Fol. 6r and twice on horseback, Fol. 11r; 15r) is a significant clue for its dating. This is especially evident on close inspection since Murad's final appearance is explained in the legend that it depicts the Sultan on his the way "to his Aya Sofia temple" (*ad suum templum Sancti Sophiam*) which was "near the imperial palace" (*propinquo est a Caesareo Pallatio*) [Fig. 3.3]. We know that this was a weekly tradition that the Sultan had partaken in, at least in his younger years, in which he had attended the famous Byzantine converted mosque on Fridays. Further, the fact that no directly comparable image of Sultan Murad III from this period has come to light (especially Fol. 6r, which will be dealt with on its own in the following chapters) strengthens the argument that they were indeed completed from life, as the inscriptions attest.⁶⁸ In this vein, Fol. 26r includes the assertion that the portraits are a 'living image' (*viva imago*) which is in line with the existing evidence about its production as a firsthand account.

To this end, it was also Skilliter who had made two tentative approximations for the origin of *Album*: one as a product of Hapsburg/German patronage and the other in the context of English-Ottoman diplomacy.⁶⁹ Gerald Maclean had stated that the *Album* was "a German traveller's picture book", without citing any reasoning,⁷⁰ and Jerry Brotton has also followed suit.⁷¹ Whilst no new

⁶⁸ With the exception of the reoccurrence of more general formal features that are be expected, and indeed found across nearly all of the travel album genre. Such features of typification (such as, the Sultan appearing on horseback in profile view) are likely to have been part and parcel of their readability.

⁶⁹ *Life in Istanbul*, p. 5.

⁷⁰ Gerald Maclean, *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580-1720* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. ix.

⁷¹ It is likely that the latter was citing the former. Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (Penguin Books: 2017), p. i.

material linking directly to the *Album* has surfaced since the early study by Skilliter to help aid the issue of patronage or its process of production, I want to advance the latter presumption, namely that the *Album* was the result of an English patron.

3.2 Anglo-Ottoman Relations before Sultan Murad III

The commercial circulation of goods between Ottoman Constantinople and England was, until the sixteenth century, largely mediated by the European trading nations Ragusa and Genoa and, to a greater degree, France and Venice, whose foothold in mercantile activity across the Mediterranean had been legally granted by Ottoman decree.⁷² As Liana Saunders has shown, other foreign nations (the non-Muslim *dar al-harb*), when legally permitted to partake in trade, were kept as subservient merchant-subjects across the rapidly expanding port-cities swallowed under Ottoman rule including Aleppo and Damascus. On account of not having been granted their own imperial capitulations by the Porte, these nations had resorted “to pay for the privilege of travelling under the aegis of these two nations”, France or Venice.⁷³ England, remaining in the western most extreme periphery of the European nations, seems to have paid less systematic attention to the growing Ottoman powers in the East until the sixteenth century,⁷⁴ except in some exceptional cases.⁷⁵ The existence of sporadic changes in Ottoman response to England’s independent right to trade indicate that the process of building direct commercial relations began in earnest in the middle of the sixteenth century. Sultan

⁷² Orhan Burian, ‘Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance’, *Oriens*, 5. 2 (1952), 209-29 (pp. 209-10).

⁷³ Liana Saunders, *The motives, pattern and form of Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relations, c. 1580-1661* (Oxford, 1994), p. 59.

⁷⁴ Burian, ‘Interest of the English in Turkey as Reflected in English Literature of the Renaissance’ (p. 209).

⁷⁵ The presence of Ottoman designs on fabric works such as carpets in the paintings of Hans Holbein the Younger (d. 1543) is noteworthy. See especially: *Portrait of Henry VIII* (1540), Petworth House and Park, West Sussex; *The Ambassadors* (1533), *National Gallery*, London. However the presence of these carpets cannot be taken to as evidence of a direct Anglo-Ottoman relationship, since their arrival into England may have been mediated by other European trading nations as above-mentioned. Compare these with the so-called ‘Rainbow Portrait’ of Queen Elizabeth (c. 1600) for the increase of Turkish fabrics as it applied to the depiction of the monarchy in England by the end of the century. Reproduced in: Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, p. 321.

Süleyman's (r. 1520-1566) *fermān* (imperial edict) of A.H. 961 (1553) issued on behalf of a certain merchant of London Anthony Jenkinson for the protection of his person "with the same liberties as the French and Venetians enjoy and more if it be possible",⁷⁶ is one example of this nascent development sealed on the level of jurisprudence.

3.3 Anglo-Ottoman Relations During Sultan Murad III

A turning point in Anglo-Ottoman relations was the eventual granting of imperial capitulations to the English as a mercantile subject under the sultanate of Murad III. This development seems to have come at the cost of notable persistence on the part Queen Elizabeth I (r. 1558-1603) for an exclusive trading license, whose increasing Ottoman-turn was criticised by contemporary foreign ambassadors keen to uphold commercial and diplomatic monopoly in the region.⁷⁷ Susan Skilliter's work, which itself was a development of the late and unpublished Paul Wittek, traced in detail how the English spy-merchant William Harborne (b. 1542) had, with exceeding success, propelled England into obtaining its own treaty in his visit to the court of Murad III in 1580.⁷⁸ Harborne's role in the establishment of what was to become the Levant Company was rooted in this initial success, though this wasn't his first trip to the Ottoman capital. His initial arrival in 1578, what Liana Saunders has suggestively called Harborne's 'field expedition', was to set the scene for this later substantial victory.⁷⁹ Harborne, along with an ever-increasing party, travelled with granted liberty between the two nations unharmed (though not untested) on successive trips throughout the

⁷⁶ Quoted in: Susan Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1578-1582: A documentary study of the first Anglo-Ottoman relations* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1977), p. 7.

⁷⁷ Skilliter emphasises particularly that representatives of the Holy Roman Empire and France "discuss[ed] now and then, with disdain or consternation, the struggles of the strange English merchant who seems so determined to force his way into the diplomatic life of Constantinople". See: S Susan Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1578-1582: A documentary study of the first Anglo-Ottoman relations* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1977), p. vx.

⁷⁸ Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey*, pp. xvi-4.

⁷⁹ Saunders, *The motives, pattern and form of Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relations*, p. 52.

1580s.⁸⁰ Harborne's own writing instructs that among the most favoured imports into England were "all sorts clothes and kersies dyed and dressed to the best proof, tin, lead, silk, spices, drugs, currants...cotton-wool and yarn".⁸¹ This trade network had amounted such profit for the English Crown that by 1578-8 Harborne could speak confidently of no less than the amount of ten thousand pounds annual revenue which "hath served as the only stable to and for other countries as formerly Antwerp did".⁸² The repeated issuing of edicts from the years following 1580 down to the regional level shows that mercantile interest of the English was to a great extent protected and reciprocated on symbolic as well as practical levels.⁸³

That this success seeped beyond that realm of commerce was evident in the meanings it was to pick up in London, particularly as it came to earn Harborne renown by those closest to the English royal crown and the reading public.⁸⁴ The second volume of Richard Hakluyt's influential *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation* (1589-1600) included a lauding recognition of Harborne as one of the 'worshipfull and worthy Citizens' whose influence to national interest was remembered as part of the "happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted

⁸⁰ Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey*, pp. 3-4. Written by Harborne himself on his return to England following his post in Constantinople in 1588, his text by the name *William Harborn his service to her Magestie and Commons, in his tenn yeares forrayne travell and residence att Constantinoble herevnder specefied*, speaks to the perilous context of his travels, namely the cutthroat competition that resulted in many threats from Christian "enemies" (Spanish and Venetian diplomats) residing in the Ottoman capital. See: H. G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5. (1922), 1-27 (pp. 21-4).

⁸¹ Harborne in his memorandum of 1587-8 shows great anxiety about losing these earlier favours of the now-established though still relatively precarious trade-routes (what he calls 'the Straits'), since the threat of some Venetians intervention remained ever-present. See: H. G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5. (1922), 1-27 (pp. 17-8).

⁸² H. G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', (p. 17).

⁸³ See for instance, the issuing of a certain document for the 'Safe-conduct of the Ociali Pasha of the Sea' in the body of which the safe passing of any English ship is demanded by a certain Pasha 'Ociali'. Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey*, p. 58.

⁸⁴ In his letter to Hassan Ağa (born Samson Rowlie) of 1568, Harborne writes confidently of the influence his 'commendation' would have over "both our misresse her Maiestie, and her most honorable counsellors the nobilitie of England". Printed in Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries... Volume II* (Outlook Verlag, 2020), p. 54.

trade in all the Levant”.⁸⁵ As late as 1922, the historian H. G. Rawlinson was commending Harborne’s “courage and perseverance” for his services to Queen Elizabeth and her government, making no small comparison in drawing a reference to the efforts of Sir Thomas Roe and the East India Company.⁸⁶

On the other hand, Harborne’s success was one symptom of a network of Ottoman policies that seemed to be testing the usefulness of an English alliance that, although initially materialised through the practice of commercial enterprise, had implications on the level of governance. It is not coincidental that it was during precisely this time that the first correspondence between Queen Elizabeth I and the chief consort Safiye Sultan appear in the form amicable letters of gift-giving.⁸⁷ By 1594 Safiye Sultan could speak of the ‘singular love’ that had flowered between the nations which was “like a garden of pleasant birds”, appended with a wish that “the Lord God vouchsafe to have and keepe you, and send your majesty an happy end both in this world and in the world to come”.⁸⁸ This remarkable affection had clearly bypassed mercantile relations, and may have been rooted in Elizabeth’s unique position as an excommunicated Protestant queen that outwardly opposed the common Spanish enemy.⁸⁹ But certainly this ‘singular love’ was bent in multiple ways: for Elizabeth, it developed as one key symptom of an aggressive policy for defending and expanding the nascent Tudor House, defining the growth of a consciousness of alliance that was to

⁸⁵ ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’ as reprinted in: Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey*, p. xvii.

⁸⁶ H. G. Rawlinson, ‘The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8’, (p. 1).

⁸⁷ These included, throughout the duration of their correspondence, a pair of shoes, embroidered handkerchiefs and a ‘sute of princely attire being after the Turkish fashion’. Tracey A. Sowerby, ‘Early Modern Queen Consort and Dowager and Diplomatic Gifts’, *Women’s History Review*, 30. 5 (2021), 723-737 (p. 728).

⁸⁸ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation* (London, 1589-1600), p. 312.

⁸⁹ Saunders, *The motives, pattern and form of Anglo-Ottoman diplomatic relations*, p. 13. Saunders adds that for Safiye Sultan the main impetus of this communication may have been relating to the importation of arms from England. See Ibid, p. 73.

be felt until the end of the Anglo-Spanish War in 1604.⁹⁰ This was a process Hakluyt was to call the ‘searching and haunting [of] the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea’, in the name of English imperial consolidation.⁹¹ Within this imperial machinery, Constantinople rose as one suitable context of such a procedure of ‘searching and haunting’, the very stamina of which would help aggrandise the symbolic reach of the Queen across the ecumene.⁹²

That the symbolism of searching for knowledge increasingly rose as the abutment of imperial rule was clarified by the historical processes through which commercial interests developed in tandem with the realm of espionage. Indeed, the practice of spying was entrenched into mercantile processes with which nations were legitimately engaged and this is far from happenstance: Harborne, was both as aforementioned, a merchant-turned-ambassador and a professional spy. Though officially an ambassador for the Queen, Harborne’s salary was financed by the Levant Company, and he was easily guised by this “stipendiary of the merchants”.⁹³

⁹⁰ See the painting *The Somerset House Conference* (1604) that pictures the forming of this peace treaty of the same year. Reproduced in: Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle*, p. 328.

⁹¹ Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey*, pp. xvii-iii. Note that two significant events take place during this interim: in 1580 Francis Drake circumnavigates the globe and in 1585 Sir Walter Raleigh establishes the colony of Virginia on the east coast of North America. These explicate how closely the English imperial mission was involved with a defensive strategy against the Hapsburgs that ran in tandem with expansionist politics.

⁹² It is significant that the only remaining pages of text in the *Album* (fols. 1r-1v) is not a firsthand account of the sixteenth century but an abridgement of a text widely circulated: hebraist Johann Boemus’s *Omnium Gentium Mores, Leges et Ritus*, accredited as the first ethnographic compendium of early modern Europe. The text was available in both Latin and an English translation by the middle of the sixteenth century. This monumental text included notable a section on Turkey (*De Turcica*), the first section of which details the ‘borders of Turkey’ including Lycaonia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and so on (pp. 182-3). The *Album* faithfully summarised these in the form of a list followed by a section on the inhabitants of the Turkish nation which corresponded precisely to information found in *Omnium Gentium* (p. 183). On a larger level, this compendium had become a reference point of ethnographic material regarding the inhabitants of the known ecumene and the *Album*’s unquestioning use of the text may indicate an ideological alignment with its imperialist (in the sense of expansionist) purview.

⁹³ H. G. Rawlinson, ‘The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8’, (p. 11).

3.4 An English Patron for the *Album*?

A significant piece of evidence for an English connection in the *Album* comes in the way of portraiture: a remarkable folio that pictures the aforementioned Hasan Ağa [Fig. 3.4]. Hasan Ağa, born Samson Rowlie, was an English Christian convert who eventually came to take the post of chief eunuch during Murad's reign sometime in the 1580s. This image is unlike any in the album, a close-up seated portrait with the unusual inclusion of a gilded chair that is suggestive of an interior space. A comparison with the other eunuchs pictured, Fol. 44 and Fol. 87 respectively, (who remain unnamed) [Figs. 3.5-3.6] highlights that there is considerable departure from the standard composition for the depiction of Ottoman dignitaries. The intimate seated position of Hasan Ağa is suggestive of some familiarity between the subject and the observer not commonly found in albums. Importantly, this is the only known surviving image of Hasan Ağa who does not make an appearance in any German/Hapsburg albums of the period, which again suggests that this context for observation (in all likelihood a "sitting" for the picture) was the result of special acquaintanceship.

Like Hasan Ağa, Harborne was Norfolk-born. The two men exchanged letters during their posts in the imperial capital, the former an influential member of the Ottoman ruling elite and therefore a strategic object of Harborne's affection. One of many letters written to imperial dignitaries during his sojourn in Constantinople, Harborne's correspondence with Hasan Ağa of June 1586 is especially noteworthy. In this letter, Harborne requests the help of the Ağa in freeing certain English men that have fallen under Ottoman captivity.⁹⁴ One of the striking features of this letter is Harborne's comfort in emphasising a shared national essence as the relevant context for their

⁹⁴ Printed in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries... Volume II* (Outlook Verlag, 2020), p. 54. At the beginning of the letter Harborne writes: "I receiued your letters of Will. Hamor gentleman my seruant very thankfully..", which suggests an established line of correspondence.

correspondence, one that undermines Hasan Ağa's conversion into Islam and his loyalty in the service of the Sultan. In the words of Harborne's request, Hasan Ağa's "Christian mind and English heart" should guide his unequivocal support for the release of the English captives, so that he may rise in "faithful obedience like a true subject to her Maiestie".⁹⁵ It is in this vein that he speaks of Hasan Ağa's own circumstance as a captive Joseph ("notwithstanding your body be subiect to Turkish thralldom") that should bear no traces on his "vertuous mind free from those vices".⁹⁶ Such daring intimacy in Harborne's letter is the result of an effort to draw an English umbilical cord that can summon the men in the faithful image of their patria.

It may not be happenstance that the text accompanying Hasan Ağa's portrait in the *Album* makes a point of his nationality, even naming the city of his birth: *Huius Eunuchi Fidei omnia Secreta ASSAM WASH...in Anglia natus in civitate Iarmouth* ("this is of the faithful eunuch of all secrets Assam Wasch[a]...born in England in the city [of] Yarmouth [Norfolk]").⁹⁷ As with the two eunuch pages above-mentioned, this national insight (especially down to the level of city) and the recording of a Christian name is unique in the *Album*, absent from portraits of other members of the military class who were also converts acculturated into Ottoman life. Though no further mention to Hasan Ağa's strategic alliance with the English embassy is to be found accompanying his portrait, on Fol. 32r appears some clue. In a naval scene of the imperial galley "Cattega" (*kadırga*) of the admiral Uluj Ali a reference is made to its thirty six oars, each one of which has "at least seven Christians who have fallen under bound service" (*servitio astricti insubuerunt*).⁹⁸ These Christian slaves make appearance twice more, pictured running the caiques of Ibrahim Pasha [Fig. 6.24] and Ulūj Hasan Pasha [Fig. 6.27]. These folios picture the harsh conditions under which the slaves are brought to

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 54.

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 54.

⁹⁷ Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 47.

⁹⁸ *Life in Istanbul*, p. 7.

labour, contrasted by the turbaned men who are presented as idly seated. This issue of Christian subservience is one link between the *Album* and Harborne's wider imperial goal during his Constantinople mission: in his own words, it was through Hassan Aga's "careful industry: that he hoped to attain the "libertie of the poore men".⁹⁹ When Harborne came to write a report of his decade-long sojourn upon returning to England in 1588, it was this feature of his success that he highlighted more than once.¹⁰⁰ As he himself wrote, he was outwardly pleased with his role in "[t]he Redemption of manie her Mag(ties) subjects from Captevetie, w(th) a future generall freedome thoughwt all thoes heathen countries", and then again that he had "redeemed... fiftie fower of her subjects from long miserable captevetie".¹⁰¹

In this light the Harborne-Hassan Ağa alliance gives clue to the English sensibilities emphasised in certain aspects of the *Album*, especially as it coalesced with the issue of freeing captives.

Furthermore, Harborne's return to London in the year 1588 when the *Album* is likely to have been completed, to be replaced by Edward Barton,¹⁰² suggests that it may have even been produced in the name of Harborne himself and even practically benefitted from his close association to the Sultan's court. Since on his return Harborne was to compose his own travel text under the title *William Harborn his seruice to her Magestie and Commons, in his tenn yeares forrayne travell and residence att Constantinoble herevnder specefied* as above-quoted,¹⁰³ it can be hypothesised that an object such as the *Album* may have been increasingly desirable for his return to England. Finally,

⁹⁹ Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations*, p. 54.

¹⁰⁰ H. G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', pp. 20-21.

¹⁰¹ Harborne writes: "For restraynte of his subjects from ill intreatie of o(r) people, than in all places they be more frendlie entertayned than anie other christians, as prooffe doth verifie and the traders thether can trulie Affirme, howe muche the Gran Sig(or) himself regarded them, w(th) A greater ffavor than ever he shewed to his oune subjects...". Cited in an account by Harborne following his return in 1588, (Tanner MSS. 77 Fol. 8), in H. G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', pp. 21-2.

¹⁰² H. G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', p. 19.

¹⁰³ For a transcription of Harborne's text, see: H. G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5. (1922), 1-27.

the fact that the *Album* is recorded to have been brought in England in 1607 by Sir Thomas Bodley (1545 –1613),¹⁰⁴ who was like Harborne, a minister-spy working for Elizabeth I in foreign missions, strengthens the possibility that it may have entered the country through Harborne's channel of diplomacy.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ *Life in Istanbul 1588*, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Both Harborne and Bodley's professional trajectories show an intimate connection to the Crown and both exhibit efforts to strengthen its imperial reach abroad during the second half of the sixteenth century. Both men write autobiographies in later life, and Sir Bodley comes to establish one of the most significant libraries in the world (The Bodleian) as another kind of national duty.

Chapter 4:

DRAWING AN INTELLECTUAL HISTORY**4.1 The *Trachtenbuch* Model**

Costume books (or *Trachtenbuch* in the German tongue) were an early modern European phenomenon that “consist[ed] of a series of woodcuts or etchings representing persons in native dress from all over the world”.¹⁰⁶ Costume books appeared in print for the first time between the years 1560-90 with the earliest examples by Francis Deserpz (Paris, 1562) and Ferdinando Bertelli (Venice, 1563) spreading to Germany soon thereafter.¹⁰⁷ What drew these books under the rubric of *Trachtenbuch* was the preeminence of dress as a marker of ethnic and social identity. Across these publications an encyclopaedic logic informed both structure and form, one that purported to classify the inhabitants of the known world through a reliable ‘system’ that began with Europe and moved to the outer regions of the known inhabitable world.¹⁰⁸

Studies in the area of costume books have explicated how these printed texts flourished as one offshoot of an epochal turn towards the ethnographic as a popular site of early modern curiosity. This, however, was far from abstracted and highly weaponised; in fact, the immense popularity of *Trachtenbuch* texts is best read as one symptom of an existing print culture that had honed in on the

¹⁰⁶ Ulrike, Ilg, 'The Cultural Significance of Costume Books in Sixteenth-Century Europe' (p. 29).

¹⁰⁷ Hans Weigel's *Habitus praecipuorum populorum tarn virorum quam foeminarum singulari arte depicti* was published in Nuremberg in 1577 and Caspar Rutz's own costume book in Cologne in the same year. Ibid, pp. 29-30.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 37

‘Eastern problem’ since the decisive vicissitudes of the middle of the fifteenth century.¹⁰⁹ The successive victories on the part of the Ottomans had, by the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (1520-1566), stretched to its most western expanse, triggering accelerated concern that was felt across practically all media of cultural production.¹¹⁰ It was in this milieu that an overwhelming amount of material relating to Ottoman governance and culture came to see the light of day in Germany as well as the Italian city-states, England and beyond, in which multiple and often contradictory viewpoints of ‘the Turk’ competed.¹¹¹ In this regard, though formally innovative and seemingly self-referential, the costume book genre owed much to these established print cultures that incessantly produced travel chronicles, call to arms propaganda, moralist essays, maps and pseudo-ethnographic treatises as the Ottoman House continued to consolidate itself throughout the sixteenth century.

Significantly, one reference point for the earliest *Trachtenbuch* was to be found in the the genre of late medieval peregrination incunabula. Fifteenth-century Germany saw the rapid formal development of incunabula which benefitted from innovations in the fields of topographic (and

¹⁰⁹ For an overview of the growth of crusading rhetoric in Germany and beyond post 1453 see: Norman Housley, *Crusading & the Ottoman Threat 1453-1505* (Oxford University Press, 2012). See also: Margaret Meserve’s tracing of a fifteenth century Nuremberg chronicle, namely Hartmann Schedel’s *Liber chorinacrum* in which Turks are depicted as the barbarians behind Alexander the Great’s gate. Notably Schedel was both a cartographer and intimately connected to Nuremberg’s print culture. His city-view of Constantinople (1493) glorified the city’s pre-Ottoman monuments. See: Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam In Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), p. 81. For a view on how the humanist tradition of anti-Ottoman thought had precedent in Italian literary thought of the fourteenth century see: Nancy Bisaha, ‘Petrarch’s Vision of the Muslim and Byzantine East’, *Speculum*, 76. 2 (2001), pp. 284-314 (p. 284).

¹¹⁰ Tracing the early images of Sultan Süleyman in European sources, Ágnes Drosztmér contests that particular life events of the imperial household, such as the Sultan’s killing of his son Mustafa, had entered chronicles, poems and even operas. See: Ágnes Drosztmér, ‘The Good Fowler as a World Conqueror: Images of Suleyman the Magnificent in Early Modern Hungarian Literary Practice’, in *Practices of Coexistence: Constructions of the Other in Early Modern Perceptions*, ed. by Marianna D. Birnbaum and Marcell Sebök (CEU Press, 2017) 1-34 (p. 8).

¹¹¹ Aslı Çırakman, *From the “Terror of the World” to the “Sick Man of Europe”* (Peter Lang Publishing: New York, 2002), p. 37; Günsel Renda, ‘The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century: Changing Images’, in *Image of the Turks in the 17th Century* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2005), 44-55 (p. 44).

more generally pictorial) woodblock methods in printed form.¹¹² Peregrination itineraries came to synthesise these developments in their advance use of corroborating cultural meaning with expansive bird's-eye city views, in-depth delineation of religious structures and local subjects with an emphasis on local forms of dress. These were features that were to be appropriated by *Trachtenbuch* authors of the sixteenth century. Furthermore, it was in all likelihood the structure of these travel itineraries to the holy land that offered a meaningful site for recording early modern costume albums, which also followed a 'pilgrimage' of a kind from the European centre into the Eastern world.¹¹³ In this regard, Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486) is of significance since it not only included a series of woodblock city-views such as Corfu, Rhodes and Jerusalem but prints of standing inhabitants by Utrecht-born artist Erhard Reuwich. These comprised a congregation of Greek men [Fol. 66v], an Ethiopian couple [Fol. 72v] and notably, a group of 'Saracens' [Fol. 64v], a term used by Breydenbach to delineate the Arabic-speaking polities of the East. This latter image presented two women and three men in standing congregation alongside a transliterated table of the Arabic alphabet [Fig. 4.1]. The association here was rather innovative, an attempt to place sartorial, physiognomic, linguistic and topographic features within the pursuit of picturing travel that could make legible cultural meaning.

4.2 Picturing an Eastern Subject

By the turn of the sixteenth century this saracen image was to gain new currency, particularly in the depiction of Ottoman subjects by Venetian painters. Gentile Bellini, in his *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria* (1504-07) [Figs. 4.2-4.3], had reprocessed the couple even as he was an artist with

¹¹² Leslie Howsam, *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. xi. Martha W. Driver, 'Woodcuts and Decorative Techniques', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476-1558*, ed. by Susan Powell and Vincent Gillespie (D.S. Brewer, 2014), 97-122 (pp. 97-110).

¹¹³ Note Nicolas de Nicolay's use of *peregrinations* in the title of his famed *Les navigations peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie* (1568), a word which shares the same etymology as Breydenbach's Latin *peregrinatio* in his famed *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* or "Pilgrimage to the holy land" (1486).

firsthand access to the Ottoman lands as an official artist to the court of Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444-46; 1451-81).¹¹⁴ Vittore Carpaccio's *Two Standing Women* (1501-08) was a wholesale copy of Reuwich's original [Fig. 4.4]. In the East/West (or more precisely, Ottoman/Christendom) dichotomy presented in the retelling of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legend Aurea* in *The Triumph of Saint George* (1504-7), Carpaccio's sketch of the women was to reappear, this time in the western most corner as a pair of Turkish onlookers to the Saint's allegorical victory over the dragon with his Ascalon lance [Figs. 4.5-4.6]. According to Jardine and Brotton, the influx of paintings that dealt with the story of St. George at the turn of the sixteenth century including those by Vittore Carpaccio such as *The Triumph of St George* (1504-7) but equally *The Baptism of the Selenites* (1504-7) reflected an appropriation of the medieval legend in an effort to morally consolidate Christendom's present defeat at the hand of the Ottomans.¹¹⁵ This representational handover from *Saraceni* to Turk also harkened to a reverberant late medieval tradition of polemical writing that had seen the rising Turkish powers as the contemporary incarnation of the saracen infidel. In this handover, Martin Luther had played a key role, himself translating into German *Contra legume Sarracentorum* written by the missionary Riccoldo da Montecroce during his visit to Baghdad (c. 1300).¹¹⁶ Like Montecroce, Luther's corpus was formed by an effort to gain reliable information about Islamic custom and religious practise in order to better consolidate an offensive on the part of

¹¹⁴ Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book* (USA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2014), pp. 81-82. It is significant that, although Bellini was not to incorporate the image into his later paintings, his drawing of a seated woman (British Library) had meticulously observed the sartorial features of the represented subject and signposted its features as a matter of interest, foreboding the costume genre that was to fully form in the following century.

¹¹⁵ Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, 'Exchanging Identity: Breaching the Boundaries of Renaissance Europe', in *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West*, ed. by Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 11-62 (pp. 17-22).

¹¹⁶ Matthew Birchwood and Matthew Dimmock, eds., *Cultural Encounters Between East and West 1453-1699* (U.K: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), pp. 16-17.

Christendom.¹¹⁷ As the work of James Hankins has shown, among others,¹¹⁸ the fervour of crusading literature had reached at least four hundred separate literary texts during the second half of the fifteenth century in early humanist circles.¹¹⁹ As a result, according to Hankins, it is safe to claim that “[t]he humanists wrote far more ... about the Turkish menace and the need for crusade than they did about such better-known humanist themes as true nobility, liberal education, the dignity of man, or the immortality of the soul”.¹²⁰ This intellectual tradition, one which was deeply informed by scholastic writing of the Middle Ages as it pertained to crusading sensibilities and principles, formed the backbone of early modern imaginations of the Ottoman polity in which familiarity and difference competed.¹²¹

It is significant that the birth of *Trachtenbuch* was part and parcel of this print tradition that stretched back into the medieval period, and that its aspirations at times converged with its historical precedent: on the level of form and language, the configuration was to be seen in the emphasis on city-subject relations. In the pictorial representation of cultural difference, one traceable handover was to be seen through the lifecycle of saracen imagery. Equally, on the degree of concept it offered a framework through which later travellers could mediate firsthand access into representation. According to Stephen Greenblatt, it is in fact the felt presence of such intellectual pressures and historical reference points that had informed early modern travel writing, shaping

¹¹⁷ It was in this vein that Luther had written “The Turk, you see, is our ‘schoolmaster.’ ... He has to discipline and teach us to fear God and pray. Otherwise we will do what we have been doing—rot in sin and complacency” Dimmock, *Cultural Encounters Between East and West 1453-1699*, p. 13.

¹¹⁸ Robert Schwoebel, *The Shadow of the Crescent: The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453-1517)* (USA: 1967), pp. 1-7.

¹¹⁹ James Hankins, ‘Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II’, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 49. (1995) pp. 111- 207 (p. 112).

¹²⁰ Hankins, ‘Renaissance Crusaders’, p. 112.

¹²¹ For an overview of Humanist writers who began to repurpose a classical tradition of “barbarian” representation in the delineation of Ottomans in written texts of the fifteenth century, see: Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), pp. 44-5.

forms of textual impulse that are best described as ‘engaged representations’. In his own words, these were forms of writing not involving processes of “detached scientific assessments” as they might at times purport, but were in fact always “relational, local, and historically contingent”.¹²² As detailed in the previous chapter, the repeating of Johann Boemus’s notes on *De Turcica* from *Omnium Gentium Mores* (1520) as the introductory body of text in the Bodl. Or. 430 (Fols. 1r-v) is evidence of likewise influence. By the time the Bodl. Or. 430 was being produced in the 1580s this information was rather outdated, and a firsthand traveller to the court of Sultan Murad III may well have produced a more sharpened (or ‘scientific’) introduction to the custom of the Turks. However the anonymous album-maker’s faithful repeating of Boemus’s text, which itself had made use of much older works, elucidates the presence of a canon that kept its influence throughout the sixteenth century.¹²³ In the case of travel albums including the Bodl. Or. 430, these were not simply replaced by firsthand insight—instead they continued to shape the reference points of album-makers who remained receptive to lively intellectual currents in the forming of their own engaged representations.

4.3 Costume Books and Print Culture

By the end of the sixteenth century the saracen image was to undergo further alteration and reappear within the original medium of printed texts. Here Vecellio Cesare, the Italian publisher and cousin to Tiziano Vecellio, had incorporated the image into his voluminous costume book *De gli habiti*

¹²² Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonders of the New World* (Chicago, 1991), p. 12. For an earlier work in which Greenblatt had traced the influence of ‘identity’ as it was formed across writing cultures of early modern England and beyond, see: Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1980). Much of this early work had informed the author’s anthropological reading of travel writing as an exercise of forming representation.

¹²³ Aana Loomba and Jonathan Burton write about the influence of textual precedents in early modern cultural writing, a tradition in which references stretching back to ancient world were continuously repurposed in the early modern period. See: Anna Loomba and Jonathan Burton, eds., *Race in Early Modern England: A Documentary Companion* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 6. For details on how Boemus’s major text adopted earlier works on human custom over more recent findings coming to light through the field of early modern travel, see: Ibid, pp. 82-3.

antichi et modern (1590). Cesare isolated the fully covered subject, presenting her as a Cairene woman and thus harkening back to Breydenbach's original publication rather than its more recent identification within the context of an Ottoman type [Fig. 4.7]. However, here the figure was isolated from the group found in Breydenbach's original and the pair in Bellini's and Carpaccio's paintings, presented alone to fit the repertoire of the costume book's emphasis on single subject portraits. This reverberant afterlife of Breydenbach's image across media and contextual meaning throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries suggests a plane upon which such images were able to be freely 'renewed' alongside first-hand images without necessarily curbing claims to empirical credibility. It is significant to note that such repeated transgression across printed and painted media (of which the Saracen-turned-Ottoman-turned-Cairene remains one example) was not coincidental, since the very practical application and value of printed images appears to be defined by their ability to be replicated and adapted. In this way it is useful to underline that the aesthetic parameters of 'cultural meaning', to borrow Jardine and Brotton's designation, was already implicated by the logic of its material circumstance, a form involved with circulation and modification to varying degrees.¹²⁴

In the development of a Turkish repertoire within the costume book genre, Nicolas de Nicolay's seminal *Les navigations peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie* (first published 1567-8) was to have the most felt impact.¹²⁵ This publication was the first costume book to be entirely focused on Turkish custom,¹²⁶ completed following Nicolay's personal voyage to the Ottoman capital in

¹²⁴ See Jardine and Brotton who speak of the "struggles for ownership of cultural meaning in the domain of what we today call art", in 'Exchanging Identity: Breaching the Boundaries of Renaissance Europe', *Global Interests: Renaissance Art Between East and West*, eds. Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 11-62 (p. 13).

¹²⁵ Renda, 'The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century', (p. 44). Marcus Keller, 'Nicolas de Nicolay's *Navigations* and the Domestic Politics of Travel Writing', *L'Esprit Créateur*, 48. 1 (2008), pp. 18-31 (18).

¹²⁶ Radway, *Portraits of Empires*, p. 67.

1551 as part of an official mission on the part of the court of Henry II of France.¹²⁷ The subsequent text-cum-prints of *Les navigations* were unmatched in scale as a firsthand account that pictured the social types of the Ottoman Empire beyond the imperial corps, the sultan and the mythologised sultana. It offered, in the words of Marcus Keller, a particularly influential “imaginary voyage to the Orient”,¹²⁸ one in which a truly comprehensive catalogue of firsthand information was elucidated by never-before-seen images of Ottoman subjects and costume. In the introduction to the text, Nicolay had set out his purpose in the following terms: that his project was one of recording “the diuersities of countries, the differences of peoples manners, the examples of life, and manifold thinges besides, which Trauellers doe comprehend with their e[y]e”.¹²⁹ Within this, it was the element of visuality that Nicolay came to determine as the most significant feature of travel, the ‘eye’ that could settle experience through a process of “diligent marking and remembring”.¹³⁰ That Nicolay substantiated the expansion of one’s mental field of knowledge through the process of travel is a backbone of the text’s moral economy, one which looked to “aspire to the knowledge” through “the sight of great matters”.¹³¹

Nicolay’s *Les navigations* was translated into most European languages including English as early as 1585 by Thomas Dawson of London,¹³² the very fact of which marks an epochal demand for the

¹²⁷ Renda, ‘The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century’, (p. 44).

¹²⁸ Keller, ‘Nicolas de Nicolay’s *Navigations*’, (p. 30).

¹²⁹ The English translation was printed under the following title: Nicolas de Nicolay, *The nauigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay Daulphinois, Lord of Arfeuille, chamberlaine and geographer ordinarie to the King of Fraunce conteining sundry singularities which the author hath there seene and obserued: deuided into foure bookes, with threescore figures, naturally set forth as well of men as women, according to the diuersitie of nations, their port, intreatie, apparrell, lawes, religion and maner of liuing, aswel in time of warre as peace: with diuers faire and memorable histories, happened in our time*, trans. by T. Washington the younger (London: Thomas Washington, 1585), p. i.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid, p. ii. Nicolay’s language relies on the images printed, his repeated use of “as in the picture following” (Ibid, p. 60, p. 98) suggests that he saw the pictorial elements of the text as integral to both its meaning and in the process of readership.

¹³² Ibid.

consumption of Ottoman-related imagery that was not limited to the German and French domains. Though *Les navigations* included what was to eventually become some of the most reproduced images of the next half century in the depiction of the Ottoman polity in European treatises,¹³³ the text itself did make references to existing images on more than one account with varying degrees of subtlety. For instance, the depiction of ‘Turkish [women] going to bath’ (*Turque allant au Bain*) in the Second Book [Fig. 4.8] showed the influence of Pieter Coecke van Aelst’s serial woodcut prints of Ottoman Istanbul of 1553 [Figs. 4.9- 4.10]. At least on the level of practise, this may have come as one solution to the issue of access with regards to the female hammam-goers in Constantinople, the open recording of which by a man would not have been possible. However, that this functioned beyond the form of surrogacy is implied by Nicolay’s portrayal of ‘Laquias du grand signor’ in the same text [Fig. 4.11]. This image was repurposed from the earliest known costume book, Francois Deserps’s *Recueil de la diversité des habits* published in Paris in 1562 [Fig. 4.12]. Thus from as early as the 1560s a setting of standards within the genre of costume books was underway with certain images being repeated: Nicolay’s selective appropriation of images from the works of van Aelst and Deserps, in turn, continued to inform a proper taste and market mostly by virtue of print culture which seems to have standardised a general corpus of expected imagery.¹³⁴

Hans Weigel’s *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (1577) was an early example of the costume book genre that had begun to metabolise Nicolay’s images into a distinct corpus of single subject compositions.¹³⁵ Weigel’s text, with illustrations by the artist Jost Amman, began with picturing the

¹³³ Also, eventually, texts made by local artists in the Ottoman capital for European readership as the “bazaar album” genre became well established in the seventeenth century. See: Metin And, *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları 2: Çarşı Ressamları* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul, 2018).

¹³⁴ For details regarding the repurposing of Nicolay’s images by later authors of the costume book genre, including in Abraham Bruyn’s *Habits de diverses nations Omnium pene Europae* and Cesare Vecellio’s *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*, see: Renda, ‘The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century’, (pp. 44-5).

¹³⁵ This text remained popular into the seventeenth century, being reprinted with some alteration in Ulm in 1639. See: British Museum, 1871,1209.3270.

subjects of the Holy Roman Empire and moved through Bohemia, Silesia, Holand, Venice and other European principalities eventually reaching a sizeable section on the Ottoman polity.¹³⁶ Though the breadth of sources used for picturing the subjects was evidently substantial, what was significant about Weigel's publication was its clearcut emphasis on the pictorial domain. Apart from a relatively short introduction,¹³⁷ the printed text was limited to Latin headings and short couplets in German under each standing portrait presented as a standalone. By shaving off much of the text that had formed a central part of travel literature such as those by Nicolay, Weigel had delineated the issue of "habits" specifically through the language of portraiture and dress. This was to rise as one of the defining features of travel albums throughout the 1570s-90s, a formalisation of Nicolay's antecedent emphasis on the visual domain as the place of building cultural knowledge. The appearance of colour in many of the extant copies of Weigel's text should also draw attention, since it seems to have implicated the publication with a firsthand patina that may have responded to a continued demand for 'original' access in travel readership. In this regard Weigel's reference to Nicolay's 'Turkish Woman with her Children' (Fol. 116) in his text (p. 408) is highly indicative. Although the reference point is one and the same, Weigel's title *Turcicae Divitis Foeminae una cum liberis suis in publicum prodeuntis pictura* 'A Rich Turkish Woman appearing in public with her children' shows some interest in sharpening the original image and placing it into social flesh [**Figs. 4.13-4.14**]. With regards to costume, the main alteration is that the overcoat of the female figure, which Nicolay had draped without detailing, has been opened to showcase a flowered silken brocade with coloured blossoms. This corroborates the wealth that Wiegel had attributed to Nicolay's Turkish woman in his title ("A Rich Turkish Woman..."), and along with the overall change in orientation from east to west, signifies the continued malleability across the genre of costume books.

¹³⁶ Hans Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (1577), plates. 177-218.

¹³⁷ Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum*, pp. 2-7.

4.4 Crossing References: Intertextuality and Early Modern Travel Writing

In light of this culture of appropriating across the genres of travel literature, history painting and costume books, it should not be surprising that the production of albums to Ottoman lands, although defined by firsthand access, participated in repurposing existing formulae and images. For Nurhan Atasoy and Lale Uluç, affinity across albums of the second half of the sixteenth century indicates the presence of certain established ‘models’.¹³⁸ The implication here is twofold: on the one hand, albums such as the Bodl. Or. 430 were part of a distinct genre that produced cultural meaning of their own as exclusive one-offs tailored for the tastes of particular patrons. These were most often materialised through exceptional access to the Ottoman capital, and even at times the imperial court, through extensive stays and levels of firsthand insight offered to official European diplomats and their parties. On the other, the fact that intertextual references in language and image still remained one formative feature of these albums proves that they were made with eyes on a repertoire of travel writing that informed both the conceptual and stylistic parameters of what was expected to be observed upon arrival. This accounts for the close affinity between albums produced for patrons from varied cultural backgrounds, and offers one explanation for the continued uncertainty in establishing origins for some extant albums. Nonetheless, the existing popularity of the *Trachtenbuch* model seems to have influenced the orientation of travel albums equally on a categorical level. Its vast popularity was to resonate and inform travel albums of many types for the next few centuries, and, it seems, ignite the impetus for their continued production from the perspective of European patrons.

¹³⁸ Nurhan Atasoy and Lale Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe: 1453-1699* (Istanbul: Armaggan Publications, 2012), p. 349.

Having established a basis for the intellectual history of the Bodl. Or. 430, the forthcoming chapters substantiate these claims through primary analysis of the album proper. In these chapters, I analyse the Bodl. Or. 430 within a canon of travel culture and compare its content with contemporaneous albums produced for German, French and English readership. This comparative method, it is hoped, will expose both the influence of a burgeoning taste in the wider genre of Ottoman album-making as an art historical phenomenon and, inversely, expose divergences from established norms within the medium and thereby elucidate original episodes within the Bodl. Or. 430.

Chapter 5:

PORTRAITS OF THE RULING CLASS

One primary group of images within the Bodl. Or. 430 is a series of portraits that begins with Sultan Murad III, once seated and twice on horseback. This is followed by portraits of named post-holders: Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha, Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha, Ulūj ‘Ali (Kılıç Ali) Pasha, Ali Ağa and Hassan Ağa (born Samson Rowlie). These portraits are structurally prioritised since they appear in the first quarter of the *Album*, before the picturing of any stock types. This chapter begins by broadly surveying the role of portraiture in the Ottoman court with an eye on cultural transmission and contact, and follows this with close analyses of the eight portrait of the Sultan and his high-ranking subjects.

5.1 Ottoman Portraiture: Mehmed II - Murad III

Writing in 1999 Serpil Bağcı had spoken of the “not so well known” genre of Ottoman portraiture within the field of Islamic Art History.¹³⁹ The past two decades have pronounced the centred role that portraiture had played in the development of Islamicate, and eventually, a canonised Ottoman artistic vocabulary.¹⁴⁰ Within this field of enquiry, the second and longer reign of Sultan Mehmed II (14451-81) has been thoroughly studied with regards to the earliest stages of patronising portraits by European artists in tandem with a humanist revival of classical picturing methods, especially in Italy. Well-cited examples have been Sultan Mehmed’s invitation of a bronze caster to his court and

¹³⁹ Serpil Bağcı, ‘From İskender to Mehmed II: Change in Royal Imagery’, in *Art turc/Turkish Art. 10th International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. by François Déroche and Charles Genequand (Geneva, 1999), 111-25 (p. 111).

¹⁴⁰ Bağcı cites Günsel Renda’s text as one of the few available surveys on the topic. See: Günsel Renda, ‘Portraiture in Islamic Painting’, *Islamic Art. Common Principles, Forms and Themes*, ed. by A. M. Issa and T. Ö Tahaoglu (Damascus, 1989), 225-35. For studies postdating Bağcı’s early study, see (with contributions from Bağcı): Selmin Kangal et al, eds., *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul: İşbank, 2000); Günsel Renda, ‘The Ottoman Empire and Europe in the 17th Century: Changing Images’, *Image of the Turks in the 17th Century* (Sakıp Sabancı Museum: Istanbul, 2005), 44-55.

the subsequent medals as they exist in various iterations,¹⁴¹ completed *ad vivum* by Constanzo da Ferrara (de Moysis).¹⁴² Attention has also been given to the medium of oil painting, including primarily the *Portrait of Mehmed II* (1480) by the famed Italian artist Gentile Bellini.¹⁴³ It has been subsequently argued by Julian Raby, amongst others, that the controlled financing of portraiture on the part of the reigning Sultan Mehmed had “validated the role of portraiture at the Ottoman court”,¹⁴⁴ and initiated a fully-formed ‘language’ that could speak in humanist terms.¹⁴⁵ This patronage surpassed the level of propagation and eventually become inwardly oriented (and therefore exceptionally long-lasting).¹⁴⁶ To conceptualise along lines set out by Gülru Necipoğlu, this well-sustained traffic was best explained by the desires on the part of Mehmed’s court as a nascent example of “visual cosmopolitanism” that dilated to absorb heterogeneous references from Islamicate painting techniques and Italian Renaissance portraiture.¹⁴⁷

However, since the systematic introduction of Turkish figures into Italian history painting corresponds to this period, it should be mentioned that the inverse is likely to be a productive line of thought. In this vein, Italian interest in solidifying a Levantine connection through an Ottoman

¹⁴¹ See: Costanzo da Ferrara’s *Mehmed II* (c. 1477-1480), National Gallery, Washington, USA; Costanzo da Ferrara’s *Mehmed II* (1480), V&A, London; Bertoldo di Giovanni, *Sultan Mehmed II* (model: 1480), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA.

¹⁴² Julian Raby, ‘A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a Patron of the Arts’, *Oxford Art Journal*, 5.1 (1982) 3-8 (p. 3).

¹⁴³ For a more recent publication on the painting, see: Elizabeth Rodini, *Gentile Bellini's Portrait of Sultan Mehmed II Lives and Afterlives of an Iconic Image* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020), especially pp. 15-31.

¹⁴⁴ Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode*, (Islamic Art Publications, 1982), p. 77.

¹⁴⁵ Julian Raby, “Opening Gambits,” *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, ed. by Selmin Kangal et al. (Istanbul, 2000), 64-95 (p. 67).

¹⁴⁶ Serpil Bağcı, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı, eds., *Ottoman Painting* (Ankara, 2010, 2019), p. 35

¹⁴⁷ Gülru Necipoğlu, ‘Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II’s Constantinople’, *Brill*, 29. (2012), 1-81 (pp. 1-2). To illustrate this point, Necipoğlu highlights how “[Sultan Mehmed’s] favorite court artist, Sinan Beg, was specifically trained in portraiture (a genre for which there was no preexisting Ottoman tradition), by a European master called Maestro Pavli”. *Ibid*, p. 4.

alliance on the levels of diplomacy and art were far from unconnected. A peace treaty between Venice and the Ottomans had been renewed in 1479,¹⁴⁸ adding to Venice's reputation as 'The Turk's Courtesan'.¹⁴⁹ It was this special diplomatic affinity that had earned Venice reprimand by Pope Pius II who remarked that "too much intercourse with the Turks has made you [Venetians] the friends of the Mohammedans and you care no more for religion".¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless Venice continued to maintain its ties through the century to such an extent that it has been remembered in modern historiography as "the mirror" of the Orient,¹⁵¹ indicating, above all, a special circumstance of cultural receptivity. Though this activity was centred in Venice, it reverberated throughout northern Europe by the likes of Albrecht Dürer in the fifteenth century.¹⁵² This was the predecessor to the "ethnographic/historiographic approach" that would define European interest in the Islamic East in the sixteenth century, which again would come to lean on the genre of portraiture.¹⁵³

During the first decades of the reign of Sultan Süleyman (1520-66), especially corresponding to the grand vizierate of Ibrahim Pasha (1523-36), it appears that there had been a courtly emphasis on the acquisition of import luxury goods and the production of sultanic portraiture by European artists.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Halil İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600* (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1973) p. 29.

¹⁴⁹ Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople: Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (The John Hopkins University Press: Baltimore, 2006), p. 5.

¹⁵⁰ As quoted in: Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, p. 6

¹⁵¹ Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, "'Orientalist' Painting in Venice, 15th-17th Centuries', in *Venice and the Islamic World 828-1797*, ed. by Stefano Carboni (London: Yale University Press, 2007) 120-139 (p. 138). William H. McNeill's provocation of Venice as "the hinge of Europe" is of worthy mention, since it continued to inform scholarship into the twentieth century. See: William H. McNeill, *Venice: The Hinge of Europe 1080-1797* (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 1974).

¹⁵² Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode*, pp. 1-15.

¹⁵³ Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, "'Orientalist' Painting in Venice', (p. 136).

¹⁵⁴ Gülrü Necipoğlu, 'The Aesthetics of Empire: Arts, Politics, and Commerce in the Construction of Sultan Süleyman's Magnificence,' in *The Battle for Central Europe: The Siege of Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman the Magnificent and Miklós Zrinyi (1566)*, ed by Pál Fodor (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 115-58 (pp. 115-126).

Medal portraits of Süleyman in bronze and copper,¹⁵⁵ and the monumental procession through Belgrade in 1532 which is thought to have been the context for the production of various extant prints of the Sultan wearing a four-tiered jewelled tiara, have been analysed within the framework of Ottoman-Hapsburg rivalry.¹⁵⁶ This indicates a continuation of Mehmed's appropriation of the portrait genre by the young Süleyman who shared his aspirations of expanding the empire westward with eyes on Rome. Such ambitions were recalled by the like of Paolo Giovio who had written that Süleyman maintains "the empire of Rome and the whole of the West belongs to him" (*che a lui tocca di ragione l'imperio di Roma & di tutto Ponente per esser*).¹⁵⁷ This indicated the presence of an imperial handover from Mehmed's "integration" of Greco-Roman models (in portraiture, literature, building types and the use of *spolia*), who's plans to extend his seat toward Rome has been well-cited.¹⁵⁸ The second half of the reign of Süleyman saw a political and cultural atmosphere that had greatly altered; in lieu of the practical openness of the court for outside (albeit selective) influence, it was marked by efforts in the centralisation of state and the canonisation of the arts.¹⁵⁹ By the 1550s, a 'classical synthesis of Ottoman imperial art' had largely been standardised across artistic fields including most notably monumental architecture.¹⁶⁰ The ongoing Ottoman-Safavid conflict (1532-1555) seems to have further altered the milieu of artistic production to one that was

¹⁵⁵ Necipoğlu, 'The Aesthetics of Empire', (pp. 143-8).

¹⁵⁶ Gülrü Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry', *The Art Bulletin*, 71. (1989), 401-427 (pp. 409-414). For details regarding the procession-campaign see: Kaya Şahin, *Empire and Power in the Reign of Süleyman: Narrating the Sixteenth-Century Ottoman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 83-5.

¹⁵⁷ Paolo Giovio, *Commentari delle cose de' Turchi*, Venice, 1531, fol. 30r. Quoted in Italian in: Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry', *The Art Bulletin*, 71 (1989), 401-27 (p. 425)

¹⁵⁸ Robert Ousterhout, 'The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture', *Gesta* 43.2 (2004): 165-76. For an earlier work that further investigates early Ottoman architecture in the context of Byzantine influence, see: Ousterhout, 'Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture', *Muqarnas*, 12. (1995) 48-62.

¹⁵⁹ Gülru Necipoğlu, 'A Kânûn for the State, A Canon for the Arts: Conceptualising the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture', in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. by G. Veinstein (Paris, 1992), pp. 195-216 (pp. 205-8).

¹⁶⁰ Necipoğlu, 'A Kânûn for the State, A Canon for the Arts' (p. 195).

less tolerant to outside influence.¹⁶¹ This resulted in the consolidation of a decidedly Ottoman aesthetic distinct from its Persianate counterpart, coalescing with a “growing religious orthodoxy” that was felt across a much broader field of Süleyman’s policies.¹⁶² It was within this context that the urgency of portraiture as an Ottoman language of display began to recede, until the reign of Sultan Murad III.

During the reign of Sultan Murad III portraiture was to rise as a genre of courtly concert, in terms quite different from the public presence it had enjoyed under Mehmed II and the early Süleyman. In this purview, Necipoğlu traces the production of a seminal text that was to seal a maturing iconography of Ottoman portraiture: *şehnâme*ci Seyyid Lokman’s 1579 *Kıyâfetü’l-insâniye fi şemâ’il-ü’l’Osmâniye* which included a series of sultanic portraits by the court painter Nakkaş Osman.¹⁶³ In the words of Necipoğlu, this was “[t]he earliest example of a historical text with royal portraits” produced by the Ottoman court, and a significant project since not only was it an effort at picturing the reigning Murad, but each of his predecessors reaching Osman I.¹⁶⁴ Each sultan was pictured in a similar model: a seated, cross-legged pose and a three-quarter visage with accompanying text that parsed their sultanic physiognomies (*firâset, kıyâfet*). Necipoğlu and Emine Fetvacı have argued that the word-and-image relationship in Lokman’s *şemâilname* might very well owe it’s formula to European models that predate its production. In their view, Paolo Giovio’s *Elogia Vivorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Venice, 1575), an illustrated biographical text of notable men was ‘Ottomanized’ in the 1570s.¹⁶⁵ The point of coalescence here was one of concept: the

¹⁶¹ Necipoğlu, ‘A Kânûn for the State, A Canon for the Arts’ (p. 213).

¹⁶² Necipoğlu sees the appointment of Ebû-su’ûd for the post of *şeyhü’l-Islâm* as one of the key symptoms of this new imperial atmosphere. See: Necipoğlu, ‘A Kânûn for the State, A Canon for the Arts’ (p. 196).

¹⁶³ Gülru Necipoğlu, ‘Word and Image: The serial portraits of Ottoman sultans in comparative perspective’, *The Sultan’s Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (Istanbul, 2000), pp. 20-61 (p. 31).

¹⁶⁴ Necipoğlu, ‘Word and Image’, (p. 31).

¹⁶⁵ Necipoğlu, ‘Word and Image’, (p. 36); Emine Fetvacı, ‘From Print to Trace’: An Ottoman Imperial Portrait Book and Its Western European Models’, *CAA*, 95. (2013) 243-268 (p. 243).

Ottoman House, much like their Italian counterparts, found meaning in a historicised image of rulership that was increasingly relying on portraiture to make claims about imperial legitimacy and genealogy. The stylistic point of reference was to be found in a Timurid iconography of picturing khans, and yet, the text-image relationship and the concept of seriality echoed contemporaneous European historical biographies. What matured fully in the second half of the sixteenth century was a canonised and distinctly Ottoman mode of imperial portraiture.¹⁶⁶

5.2 Portraits of Sultan Murad III

Fol. 6r: Seated portrait of Sultan Murad III at an audience of the Christians

The first portrait in the *Album* is a striking full-page depiction of the reigning Sultan Murad III [Fig. 5.1]. The accompanying text situates the image within an occasion, that what is depicted is “Sultan Murad now in the seat of prosperous Caesar listening to a [given] audience of the Christians”.¹⁶⁷ The Sultan appears seated in a cross-legged pose and three-quarter visage that is a unique composition for a European hand of this period, and is dissimilar to the equestrian sultan portraits exhausted in costume books and travels albums.¹⁶⁸ The established model of picturing an Ottoman sultan in profile on horseback would have presumably been an easier model to work with and was evidently still a meaningful tradition since two such examples exist in this very codex.¹⁶⁹ Yet, the artist has chosen to include this seated portrait and, it seems, spent considerable amount of time honing its style and minute details.¹⁷⁰ One explanation may be that this image was indeed the result

¹⁶⁶ Necipoğlu, ‘Word and Image’, (p. 59).

¹⁶⁷ “Sultan Amurat iam Florentis Casaris Sedes Christianis Legationes dandas Audiens”. Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 6r.

¹⁶⁸ This is equally different to bust portraits that harken to a humanist picturing tradition in their own way, appearing in travel album of this period: See: Hieronymus Beck’s *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum Turcarum imperatorum, capitaneorum etc. imagines, deinde habitus, ludos, caerimonias etc. repraesentantes* (1586-99), especially Fol. 11 in relation to Bellini’s *Sultan Mehmed II* (1480), National Gallery, London and Fol. 13 in relation to Titian’s *Sultan Suleiman II*, (c. 1530), Kunst Historisches Museum, Vienna.

¹⁶⁹ Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 11r; Fol. 15r.

¹⁷⁰ I would argue that of all portraits depicted in the *Album* this first image of Sultan Murad is the most technically sophisticated and detailed.

of a staged reception in which the Sultan had appeared, as the inscription claims, to an “audience of the Christians” including the artist himself. However, this does not preclude the existence of a model for the portrait at hand, and since the formal qualities bear close affinity to coeval developments taking place in the Ottoman court atelier, it can be productive to advance this line of thought. As above-detailed, the second half of the sixteenth century saw seminal developments in Ottoman picturing methods as they related to sultanic portraiture: one key model was Nakkaş Osman’s *şemâilname* series which typified the portraits of Ottoman sultans from Osman I to Murad III. Nakkaş Osman’s approach was one of canonising a framework of Ottoman portraiture in which each sultan appeared on their own, seated frontally on a cushion. Further, each sultan was depicted in a cross-legged manner facing the observer with a physical openness that correlated to the accompanying physiognomic analysis of the text which inscribed their bodies into divine meaning.

The *Album*’s portrait of Murad III pictures a fair-skinned sovereign with a moustache and beard, sat upright with both hands positioned below the belt. An entirely gilded royal kaftan set together with a crimson belt, and a large white feathered turban are distinct sartorial features that reference Sultan Murad III’s portrait in the *şemâilname* series [Fig. 5.2]. Minute details such as a cascading kaftan that ripples onto the carpet, and, significantly, a freestanding red pillow behind the Sultan (although a perspectival impossibility) suggest the likelihood of some pictorial model being used. The colouring of the carpet, with its deep blue main border and red body diverges from the royal copy above-mentioned, but finds a common source in another copy of the *şemâilname* (IÜ, T. 6087) [Fig. 5.3].¹⁷¹ Studies in the field of *şemâilname* have shown that between 1579 and 1595 over a dozen copies of the text were completed, which was a practise that should not be taken for granted since it

¹⁷¹ Ruhi Konak, ‘İstanbul Üniversitesi Nadir Eserler Kütüphanesi T. 6087 Envanter Numaralı El-Kiyâfetü’l-İnsâniyye Fi Şemâilî’l-Osmaniye El Yazmasında Yer Alan Padişah Portreleri’, *Uluslararası Sanat ve Sanat Eğitimi Dergisi* (2022), 72-90 (p. 86).

deviated from established patronage models in the context of Ottoman illustrated manuscripts.¹⁷² Since many illustrated copies of this text are extant (in varying degrees of quality),¹⁷³ its popularity, and by implication the potential for transmission, can be approximated within court literati circles and perhaps even their associates beyond the palace walls. As Metin And has shown, by the seventeenth century the appearance of certain “stylised forms” (*stilize unsur*) in albums made for commercial consumption by the so-called bazaar artists were transmitted from the court atelier and began to inform artistic activity outside the city walls.¹⁷⁴ Nonetheless, such images of the second half of the sixteenth century exist in copies linked to the court atelier which were in all likelihood made for a “privileged but somewhat wider audience”.¹⁷⁵ One cultural crossover here is significant: Seyyid Lokman's *şemâilname* emphasised the concept of *kıyafet* (‘costume’, ‘physiognomy’),¹⁷⁶ which became conceptually commensurate with the costume-turn that informed the travel albums of the period.¹⁷⁷ This may have offered one intellectual meeting-ground across the concerns of the artist of the *Album* and the coeval courtly *nakkaş* milieu that begat the *şemâilname* portraits.

The reference to “the seat of prosperous Caesar” in the inscription below Murad is at first puzzling, since no such “seat” is pictured in the portrait. However, the term ‘seat’ (“*sedes*”) may have been

¹⁷² Necipoğlu, ‘Word and Image’, (p. 43); Fetvacı, ‘From Print to Trace’ (p. 247). Fetvacı speaks to the widening up of courtly patronage of illustrated manuscripts during precisely this time, one that complicates a reading of the Sultan as the sole (or even primary) patron. According to the author, this is exemplified in the late sixteenth century in many cases including Mehmed Ağa and Gazanfer Ağa’s active role in patronising manuscripts from the court ateliers of the highest quality (and ‘inserting’ themselves into existing narrative topoi), a practise hitherto largely the reserve of the Sultan. See: *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 149-90; 239-266.

¹⁷³ For a version made c.1588-9 see The British Library, MS. Add. 7880.

¹⁷⁴ And, Metin, *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları 2: Çarşı Ressamları* (Yapı Kredi Yayınları: İstanbul, 2018), p. 72. And also relates how certain “frameworks” (*kalıplar*) established by Nakkaş Osman influenced sultanic portraiture as it appeared the increasingly public oriented market of the Bazaar album genre. Ibid, p. 170.

¹⁷⁵ Necipoğlu, ‘Word and Image’, (p. 43). See Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, especially pp. 25-58 and 140-5.

¹⁷⁶ Necipoğlu, ‘Word and Image’, (p. 42).

¹⁷⁷ Leslie Meral Schick, ‘The place of dress in pre-modern costume albums’, in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann (İstanbul, 2004), 93-101 (p. 100).

used to denote ‘home’ or ‘residency’, and in this meaning pulls the viewer’s attention to the meticulously detailed background. At first the physical setting receding behind the Sultan seems imaginary, comparable to Lambert Wyts’ image of the ‘Presentation of the Tribute to the Sultan’ in *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (1574) [Fig. 5.4]. Although Lambert Wyts was a firsthand traveler to the Ottoman capital, his retrospective diary drawings figure his experiences within a visual vocabulary that exposes his familiarity with European environments. On the other hand, the environment or ‘residency’ found in the seated Murad portrait is in many ways traceable to the Gate of Felicity (*Bâbüssaâde*) at the Entrance of the Inner Court where ambassadorial receptions were held throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁸ Referencing the architecture of the *Bâbüssaâde*, the artist of the *Album* has depicted a central dome crowning a gated structure in deep blue pigment, likely a reference to the lead covering technique of Ottoman domes including the *Bâbüssaâde* [Fig. 5.5].¹⁷⁹ Further, the east and west axes behind Sultan Murad appear to be a stylised depiction of the vaulted first courtyard supported by pillared arches surrounding the central gate, a Europeanised form of picturing that exposes the artist’s own foreign training. Perhaps most significantly, the artist pulls attention to two prominent green pillars painted carefully with a marbling effect topped with gilded Corinthian capitals; these pillars remain standing in the Topkapı Palace to this day [Figs. 5.6-5.7].¹⁸⁰ The implication here is revealing: the artist must have been sensitive to architectonic features and displays of imperial power as he encountered the palace grounds, a sentiment that many foreign visitors repeated in their accounts.¹⁸¹ Overall, it is most likely that the anonymous artist of the *Album* had benefited from multiple channels of access; first

¹⁷⁸ Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, ceremonial, and power: the Topkapı Palace in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 64-6.

¹⁷⁹ In his travels to the Ottoman capital 1584-8 John Sanderson wrote about the kiosks within the palace grounds of which “the top coverings [were] of lead”. See: William Foster, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602* (Modern Language Association, 2010), p. 72.

¹⁸⁰ Research suggests that renovations postdating the sixteenth century may have moved the two central columns originally flanking the gate. Nonetheless, many examples, including two prominent green columns, still remain in the first courtyard of the Topkapı Palace.

¹⁸¹ Necipoğlu, *Architecture, ceremonial, and power*, pp. 60-72.

as a primary observer of the grounds of the imperial palace, and second to a *şemâilname* model which formally implicated his depiction of the seated Sultan portrait.

Fol. 11r: Equestrian portrait of Sultan Murad III on his way to Aya Sofya

The second portrait of Sultan Murad pictures the ruler on horseback accompanied by a foot-soldier “on his way to his temple Aya Sofya” [Fig. 3.3].¹⁸² The legend details that this “temple” (*templum*) is “near the royal palace” (*in propinquo est a Casareo Pallatio*).¹⁸³ As will be traced in the following equestrian portrait of the Sultan (Fol. 15r), the prototype for this composition seems to be Sebald Beham’s (c.1530), with the addition of a standing soldier pictured in the background. The figure of the standing corps became a reoccurring feature of costume albums of the sixteenth century: the famed *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (1577) included one such figure “from the guarding corps of the Turkish emperor with arrows” (*custodes corporis sagitta*) [Figs. 5.8]. Here, however, the artist has chosen to depict the soldier alongside the Sultan, an episode in which both men and the horse are caught in the midst of movement. In this way the artist fleshes out the context of a sultanic procession, a standardised practice in which the reigning Sultan would ceremoniously appear in public with his retinue on Fridays on his way to prayer. Murad III had inherited and practiced this weekly procession until his latest years when he had abandoned the tradition and was critiqued for doing so.¹⁸⁴ In the European picturing tradition this was an episode stretching back to the Süleymanic period, with one notable example being Peter Coeck Van Aelst’s extensive drawing of the horseback Sultan and his procession through the ancient hippodrome before Friday prayer [Figs. 5.9-5.10]. At least conceptually this tradition must have been largely informative since the appearance of the equestrian sultan (at times explicitly on his way to prayer) remains consistent in

¹⁸² “Tahter Visus Caser cum equitande ad suum templum Sant[um] Sophiam”. Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 11r.

¹⁸³ Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 11r.

¹⁸⁴ Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge University Press), p. 31.

travel albums throughout the reign of Sultan Selim (1566-74) and into the 1580s.¹⁸⁵ This consistency may also partly be accounted for on the level of regulation: it is well recorded that foreign envoys to the Ottoman capital, especially of Hapsburg origin, resided in complexes close to or on the main ceremonial thoroughfare of the city. This was a structure on the old Byzantine *mese* known as the German House (*elçi hanı*).¹⁸⁶ Therefore, their exposure to processions became a standard feature of their stay and appeared in pictorial and textual sources throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁸⁷ Whilst it is approximated that the so-called 'English House' that accommodated the likes of Harborne was located in Rapamat near Pera,¹⁸⁸ it is evident that an established tradition of picturing an equestrian sultan during a procession informed visitors not limited to Hapsburg origin. As Semavi Eyice came to show, the German House and its surrounding area was a well-frequented hub of the city busied by foreign visitors and functioned as a source of intellectual exchange if not mere necessity for surviving abroad.¹⁸⁹ The appearance of a high seated Sultan Murad with a large feathered turban, long kaftan and horse with bejewelled muzzle strap enforce the subject's royal status. This occasion of movement is pictured through the horse which trots forward and the attending foot-soldier is subsequently caught with one foot in the air, both as if in quick successive motion, further enforcing the ceremonial transience of the occasion.

¹⁸⁵ See: Jacques de Bracle, *Memoires du voiage de Constantinople de Jacques de Bracle seigneur de Bassecourt* (1570); Lambert Wyts, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (1573), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Cod. 3325), Fol. 158.

¹⁸⁶ This is the present day 'Divan Yolu' in Fatih. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital* (The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), p. 22. See also: Semavi Eyice, 'Elçi Hanı', *Tarih Dergisi*, 24. (2011) 93-130 (p. 95).

¹⁸⁷ For details on the 'German House' which housed many notable visitors to the Ottoman capital including Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq see: Semavi Eyice, 'Elçi Hanı', p. 104. See also: Robyn Dora Radway, *Portraits of Empires: Habsburg Albums from the German House in Ottoman Constantinople* (Indiana University Press, 2023), pp. 16-20.

¹⁸⁸ H.G. Rawlinson, 'The Embassy of William Harborne to Constantinople, 1583-8', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5. (1921), 1-27 (p. 9).

¹⁸⁹ Semavi Eyice, 'Elçi Hanı' (p. 123).

Fol. 15r: Equestrian portrait of Sultan Murad III holding a sceptre

The final portrait of Sultan Murad repeats the equestrian side-profile composition, but pictures the monarch without his attendant [Fig. 5.11]. A different ceremonial horse appears bejewelled, and the

Sultan sits in a green overcoat atop a crimson Turkish saddle ornamented with gilded details.¹⁹⁰

Primary attention in the portrait is drawn to the golden sceptre which the Sultan holds above eye-level, studded with precious stones. The text accompanying the portrait emphasises this particular regalia that seems to be imbued with symbolism: “the sceptre that he holds in his hands” (*septrum manu tenens*) as “he rides with warlike virtues” (*bellicas virtutes equitat*). The model for the composition is evidently one and the same as the previous horseback portrait of the Sultan riding towards the Aya Sofa (Fol. 11r). The German printmaker Sebald Beham had published a print of Sultan Süleyman (c.1530) which pictured the subject in profile on horseback [Fig. 5.12].

Significantly, Beham’s Sultan also held a sceptre with his right hand whilst commanding the horse with his left. This print must have gained some popularity since it exists in multiple extant copies, with some receiving colouring.¹⁹¹ Small details aside, the similarities (down to the royal sword that is subtly revealed from beneath a kaftan) suggest that the Beham print was used to picture the Murad equestrian portraits, if not an earlier common model. One possibility in the case of the latter, and in all likelihood the original model for Beham’s own Süleyman, was Albrecht Dürer’s *Oriental Rider* (1495). This was the earliest depiction of an Ottoman subject pictured holding a sceptre [Fig. 5.13]. Dürer had not specified the royal nature of his subject, though he had made a point of including a much shorter sceptre and sword. Beham appropriates Dürer’s model into a sumptuous costume befitting Süleyman the Magnificent including a turban, saddle and sceptre. Murad’s

¹⁹⁰ For details on classical Turkish saddles, see: Halil Tekiner and Fahrettin Keleştimur, ‘A Cultural History of the Turkish Saddle’, *International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, 10. 5 (2015), 319-328 <doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.7827/TurkishStudies.8071>>.

¹⁹¹ For a coloured copy see: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam MB 2010/2 A (PK). Note that this prototype was reappear (albeit without the sceptre) in the depiction of ‘The Turkish Emperor Riding a Horse’ (*Imperator Turcicus equovectus*) in Joss Amman’s illustrated plates in *Habitus praecipuorum populorum, tam virorum quam foeminarum singulari arte depicti* (1577), p. 376. For a coloured version see: Victoria and Albert Museum, London (SP.44).

portrait practices this in its own way, utilising the property of gilded paint to emphasise the royalty of its subject. The presence of gilding in the depiction of Ottoman subjects by European hands can be traced back to Gentile Bellini's *Seated Scribe* (1479-81) [Fig. 5.14]. Even still, the use of gilding was uncommon in European drawings of the period and Bellini's employment of the technique can be explained by his personal tenure at the court of Sultan Mehmed II (c. 1479) which is likely when the painting *Seated Scribe* was completed. In the *Album*, gilding is confidently applied by the artist in numerous instances (Fols. 6r; 11r; 15r; 20r; 23r; 26r; 32r; 59r) and is usually reserved for the highest echelons of the ruling elite such as the Sultan's sceptre and saddle or a pasha's kaftan. This is rather suggestive since it remained one common feature of Ottoman painting techniques during this period; thus a conjecture here is that the appearance of gilding in the *Album* may indicate a certain level of affinity with Ottoman picturing techniques (comparable to the Bellini case), especially given that it is selectively reserved for depicting the highest members of the Ottoman elite.¹⁹²

5.3 Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha

Fol. 20r: Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha

The next significant portion of the *Album* pictures recognisable pashas, some of whom were potholders of the highest rank during the second half of the sixteenth century. The first portrait is interestingly left unnamed, but is in all likelihood a drawing of Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha who was three-time grand vizier (1582-4; 1586-8; 1592-3) [Fig. 5.15].¹⁹³ Siyavuş was Hungarian-born (as the text describes: ("*in Ungaria natus*") and was married to Murad's sister Fatma Sultan (as the text again describes: ("*qui Casaris ipsius sorori matrimonio Capulatus est*"), in 1574.¹⁹⁴ Interestingly, this portrait of Siyavuş Paşa appears directly following the above-mentioned portrait of Sultan

¹⁹² Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, p. 54.

¹⁹³ Mahmut Ak, 'Kanijeli Siyavuş Paşa', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 37. (2009), 311-13 (pp. 312-3).

¹⁹⁴ Ak, 'Kanijeli Siyavuş Paşa' (p. 312).

Murad holding a sceptre and this connection is further emphasised through formal similarity. Both the men appear confidently on horseback and are depicted full-bodied in profile heading westward. There is evidence that the grand vizier had appeared ceremoniously on horseback in public during his lifetime.¹⁹⁵ However in the portrait of the *Album* it appears that a prototype rather than *ad vivum* observation is setting the context. And yet, the clear similarity in composition may equally be explained with reference again to printmaker Sebald Beham who had himself repeated the equestrian Süleyman composition for the picturing of the Sultan's grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha around the year 1530 [Fig. 5.16]. It appears that Beham's application of the same model for both the reigning Sultan and his "de facto ruler",¹⁹⁶ had remained meaningful for the picturing of the highest post of influence in the imperial system following the Sultan proper. It is significant that Beham had made sure to distinguish Ibrahim Pasha from the Sultan to whom he was subservient (by way of the relative soberness of his dress, headgear and regalia), and that the anonymous artist of the *Album* has also followed these conventions. As a result there appears to be a handover from print to travel albums in the pictorial conventions that differentiated members of the ruling class through the visualisation of hierarchies including dress, headgear, and regalia

5.4 Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha

Fol. 23r: Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha

The next portrait pictures a certain 'Osmon Wasschaw', referring in all likelihood to Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha [Fig. 5.17]. Osman Pasha succeeded Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha's first tenure as grand vizier in 1584 until his death during a military campaign in 1585. Although his death predates the production of the *Album*, Osman Pasha's military fortunes had gained him considerable recognition abroad, bolstering his celebrity for years to come. He is mentioned as one of the military

¹⁹⁵ One recorded example is the Pasha's appearance as part of the public festivities on the occasion of the marriage of Ibrahim Pasha and Ayse Sultan in May of 1586. See: Nezihi Aykut, 'Damad İbrâhim Paşa', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 8. (1993), 440-1 (p. 440).

¹⁹⁶ Hüseyin Yılmaz, 'Containing Sultanlic Authority: Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire before Modernity', *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 45. (2015), 231-264 (p. 235).

powerhouses of the Ottoman state in a Latin letter by Franciscus de Billerbeg to David Chyrtæns completed during his stay in Constantinople c.1580.¹⁹⁷ Osman Pasha's upward professional trajectory culminated in the *meşaleler muharebesi* (Battle of Torches) against the Safavids in May of 1583 which ended in favourable terms for the Ottomans. The *Album* mentions this victory, his battle “against the people of Persia” which was “a period of five years before”.¹⁹⁸ The lack of distinguishing features both on sartorial and physiognomic features confirms that this drawing was not made from life: a standard white turban with a plumed aigrette and costume void of details, that above all, repeats the Belham model. Though the image lands on a static and rather unoriginal pose, his inclusion into the *Album* post-mortem suggests an abiding celebrity for his person.

5.5 Ulūj ‘Ali (Kılıç Ali) Pasha

Fol. 29r: Ulūj ‘Ali Pasha

The next portrait is the second to be of a subject post-mortem: it pictures ‘Ochyly Wasschaw’ (Ulūj ‘Ali), a Calabrian-born convert who had entered the service of the Ottomans during the reign of Selim II [Fig. 5.18]. Ulūj (more commonly referred to as Kılıç Ali Pasha) was promoted to the post of Grand Admiral (*kapudanlık*) in 1571 on order of the Sultan.¹⁹⁹ The admiral's military fortunes continued throughout the reign of Murad III, and was described by the sixteenth-century historian Selânikî Mustafa Efendi at the end of his life as a pious man devoted to religious practise and almsgiving. Ulūj Pasha's life came to an end in 1578, and Selânikî relates how on his final day he had attended the Friday prayer at Tophane Mosque and in the conviction to be in the practice of

¹⁹⁷ Franciscus de Billerbeg, *Most rare and straunge discourses of Amurathe, the Turkish emperor* (1584), p.8 Digitised by Bodleian Library, University of Oxford <<https://ota.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/repository/xmlui/handle/20.500.12024/A16139>> [accessed 29 October 2024]. This letter was translated to English in 1584 by an unnamed author and published in London, thereafter gaining some popularity. See: Daniel Ben Razzari, *English Merchants in Safavîd Persia, 1616-1650*, (Doctoral dissertation: University of California, 2016), p. 45.

¹⁹⁸ “...Contra a populo persico e modio lati ante lustrum”. Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 23r.

¹⁹⁹ Selânikî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, ed. by Mehmet Ipşirli (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi: Ankara, 1999), p. 84

doing good (“*hayrât u hasenât*”) he spent all available funds on his person on charitable deeds (“*ne mikdâr akça getürdi ise cümleten fukara vü mesâkine bezl idüp...*”).²⁰⁰ The portrait of Ulūj Pasha is the first standing portrait in the *Album* and imagines the admiral “at the age of 86”,²⁰¹ in terms resonant with Selânikî’s description of the sober admiral in his autumn years. The artist has depicted a subject with a white beard and emphasised Ulūj Pasha’s age by the omission of a horse. In the end there is a man standing with the help of a walking stick. In this way, it adheres more closely to the conventions of the *Trachtenbuch* type which favoured a standing subject facing straight on: in fact the term *typus* (type/model) is used by the author to introduce the portrait of Ulūj Pasha, admitting that indeed the image was not drawn from life.

More so than Osman Pasha, Ulūj had gained recognition in contemporaneous texts of European origin and had come to be depicted as one of the skilled enemies of Western Christendom.²⁰² The aforementioned Billerbeg recognised his “great authoritye” at sea, and listed his formidable success in Tunis as evidence of the fact.²⁰³ This event was further memorialised by the Ottomans themselves, illustrated by the famed court artist Nakkaş Osman in *Şehnâme-i Selīm Hân* completed during Murad III’s reign [Fig. 5.19].²⁰⁴ Further, a portrait of Ulūj ‘Ali was to appear in an album owned by the Austrian scholar Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldsdorf under the title *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum Turcarum imperatorum...* (ÖNB 8615). This album began with a series of bust

²⁰⁰ *Tarih-i Selânikî*, p. 186

²⁰¹ Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 29r.

²⁰² For Billerbeg, Ulūj Pasha embodies the skill and might of Ottoman military prowess especially against the neighbouring Christians who seem in comparison “buried in pleasures and idleness... unto their utter destruction and confusion”. *Most rare and straunge discourses of Amurathe, the Turkish emperor*, p. 15.

²⁰³ In full: “Next vnto him, the Admirall of the Sea is of great authoritye: whose name is Och [...]alus, by nation a Calabrian, he is Ochialis called of the Turke Captaine Bassa...”. And then again: “Admirall of the Sea departed hence: whose name was Ochiali he went into Africa, that he might stay and repress the seditions which were in the kingdome of Tunes.” *Most rare and straunge discourses of Amurathe, the Turkish emperor*, p. 7; 15.

²⁰⁴ Emine Fetvacı, ‘The Production of the *Sehname-i Selim Hân*, *Muqarnas Online*, 26.1 <doi:10.1163/22118993-90000152> 263-315 (p. 264).

portraits of Ottoman sultans up to Murad III, and included portraits of certain members of the Ottoman and Persian ruling elite, in all likelihood selected by Beck during his tenure in Constantinople.²⁰⁵ As in the *Album* at hand, the Leopoldsdorf album moved freely from picturing Ottoman Sultans to the ruling elite, seeing no need to separate the portraits.²⁰⁶ Unlike the elderly Ulūj pictured in the Bodl. Or. 430, here was a confident pasha who sat with a green coat lined with fur at the height of his military career [Fig. 5.20].

5.6 Ali Ağa

Fol. 26r: Ali Ağa²⁰⁷

This next image comes in the way of two standing men, with one made focal in the adjacent text. The taller figure appears as an attendee to the shorter, a certain “Ali [Ağa], an evident eunuch and very distinguished against the Christians” [Fig. 5.21].²⁰⁸ The repeated appearance of eunuchs within the *Album* (across four separate episodes including two named portraits) displays an overt fascination with this office. The text sharpens this fascination on the level of Christianised fear, an episode that pictures Ali Ağa and his attendant in active movement as if caught in the middle of conspiring “against the Christians”. As will be explained below in the case of Hassan Ağa, that eunuchs of the imperial court could wield substantial influence was known to ambassadors visiting the capital, and must have invoked considerable fear directed towards their person. This image of Ali Ağa coalesces with the historical beginnings of a substantial increase in the felt presence of the

²⁰⁵ Robyn Dora Radway, *Portraits of Empires*, pp. 117-8. The artist of the portrait may have been David Ungnad. See: Ibid, p. 125.

²⁰⁶ See Portrait of Sultan Murad III (Fol. 33b) followed by three unnamed portraits (Fols. 34b-36b) the first of which may have been intended to picture the young Mehmet III, followed by an abrupt shift to Sinan Pasha (Fol. 37b). *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum Turcarum imperatorum, capitaneorum etc. imagines, deinde habitus, ludos, caerimonias etc. repraesentantes*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (ÖNB 8615).

²⁰⁷ The text adjacent describes the eunuch as Ali ‘Wasshaw’ (Pasha), but as in the case below with Hassan Wasshaw (correctly Hassan Ağa), ‘Ağa’ has been used as a corrective edit throughout the chapter.

²⁰⁸ “Viva image Alii WASSCHAW plani Eunuchi & Eccellenti contra Christianos”, Fol. 26r. Translation: Skilliter, *Life in Istanbul*, p. 7

two chief eunuch posts (*Bâbüssaâde ağası* and *Dârüssaâde ağası*) within the central bureaucracy.²⁰⁹ Particularly following the efforts of Dârüssaâde Mehmed Ağa (d. 1591), the eunuchs of the court gained formidable influence through their connection to the queen mother, *hasekis* and the sultan.²¹⁰ As Emine Fetvacı writes, the boom in patronising illustrated manuscripts following the unexpected assassination of the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha in 1579, was one indication that members of the ruling elite were attempting to consolidate their power across court politics.²¹¹ Reading the rise of the eunuch aghas within this process of decentralisation may be productive since they were equally involved in appropriating a ‘patron of the arts’ models traditionally reserved for the sultan proper.²¹² The sudden appearance of harem aghas in illustrated manuscripts of the 1580s including Habeşi Mehmed Ağa in Seyyid Lokman’s *Zübdetü ’t-tevârih*’ (The Cream of Histories) which was completed for Sultan Murad in 1583 is instructive in this regard [**Fig. 5.22**].²¹³ Similar to Ali Ağa presented in the *Album*, Habeşi Mehmed Ağa is dressed in a large white turban and gilded kaftan that is second only to Murad’s. He appears as a loyal companion whose dress makes legible his connection to the central source of power symbolised by the sultan’s body and its material

²⁰⁹ With the latter eventually rising to preeminence. See: Zeren Tanındı, ‘Topkapı Sarayı’nın Ağaları ve Kitaplar’, *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 3. (2002), 41-56 (p. 42).

²¹⁰ Tanındı, ‘Topkapı Sarayı’nın Ağaları ve Kitaplar’ (pp. 42-3). See also: Leslie P. Pierce, *The Imperial Harem Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 235. For details about the rise of the white eunuch post as it applied to Gazanfer Ağa and his alliance within the harem including Cafeda Hatun and the Queen Mother throughout the reigns of Selim II, Murad III and Mehmed III see: Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1986), p. 72.

²¹¹ Fetvacı, ‘The Production of the Şehnâme-i Selīm Hân’, (p. 289). Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court*, 39-44; 149-50.

²¹² Christine Woodhead, ‘Murad III and the Historians’: Representations of Ottoman Imperial Authority in Late 16th-century Historiography’, in *Legitimizing the Order: the Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. by Hakan T. Karateke and Maurus Reinkowski (Brill: Boston, 2005), 85–98 (p. 97). Mustafa ‘Ali speaks of the disappearance of worthy individuals in literary posts following the Süleymanic age, giving the example of Selim II and Murad III who knew “that a royal poet and atelier were necessary for the prestige of the state, [but] simply sought to have the post filled like a vacant *timar* slot, without caring for the quality of the incumbent”. Quoted in: Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 299.

²¹³ Tanındı, ‘Topkapı Sarayı’nın Ağaları ve Kitaplar’ (p. 43). A later copy of the *Zübdetü ’t-tevârih* (Chester Beatty Library, T414) was presented to Mehmed Ağa and included two poetic stanzas dedicated to him.

corollary.²¹⁴ In fact, the rise of the eunuch's influence as it was reflected on the excesses of material wealth was criticised by the sixteenth-century historian Mustafa 'Ali during precisely this time, who had read in the breaking of courtly tradition a disturbing sign of the times. In particular, 'Ali came to write about the "improper sign of affairs" with which harem aghas were engaged, including the purchasing of homes outside the palace walls, the personal cultivation of "networks and social connections" and the frivolous spending on costume.²¹⁵ The portrait of Ali Ağa, which is substantiated by a description that it has been drawn "from life" (*viva imago*), appears in the form of a *Bâbüssaâde* ağa, a post reserved for *akağalar* (white ağas). Ali Ağa is pictured as displaying himself in a sumptuous gilded kaftan that shines through a blue satin base. Such a display of sartorial wealth on the part of the ruling class should not be taken for granted since it appears as one of the features challenged by court intellectuals throughout the sixteenth century.²¹⁶ Finally, the inclusion of a golden sphere squeezed into Ali Ağa's left hand symbolically intimates the power and influence held at his disposal.

5.7 Hassan Ağa (Samson Rowlie)

Fol. 47r: Hassan Ağa (born Samson Rowlie)

One of the most striking images in the *Album* is a portrait of a certain court eunuch 'Assam Wasch[a]' (Hassan Ağa) [Fig. 3.4]. The corresponding text to this portrait is longer than most in the *Album* and reports how Hassan Ağa was "born in England in the city of Yarmouth [Great

²¹⁴ See also the repeated appearance of "vizier" companions in a later copy of *Zübdetü't-tevârih* (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin T 414) presented to Mehmed Ağa himself. Throughout the copy attendees are pictured alongside prophets and this is mirrored in the following section in which viziers are depicted alongside the respective Ottoman sultans, straightening the structural language of governance depicted. *Seyyid Lokman, Zübdetü't-tevârih* ed. by Göker Inan (Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı Yayınları: İstanbul, 2022), p. 57.

²¹⁵ Douglas S. Brookes, trans. by, *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century: Mustafa 'Ali's Meva'idü'n-Nefa'is Fi Kava'idü'l-mecalis [Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings]* (Harvard University: The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 2003), pp. 20-21.

²¹⁶ Cornell Fleischer traces how Lütü Pasha's (grand vizier, 1539-41) earlier concerns about the need for the upkeep of sartorial measurements reappears in Mustafa 'Ali's justification of austerity and related writing on "the wasteful use of gold thread". See: Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 171.

Yarmouth]” with the birth-name “Samson Rolie in English”.²¹⁷ Rowlie was a merchant aboard the *Swallow* taken captive by an Ottoman fleet in 1577,²¹⁸ and once in Algiers, was castrated and taken into service.²¹⁹ As described in the third chapter, the *Album*’s emphasis on Rowlie’s Englishness down to the level of the city of his birth indicates an England-inclined mindset in its production since it was seen as a relevant point of reference. Rowlie appears in a letter written in June of 1586 by the famed merchant William Harborne in which he indicated how the eunuch had risen to considerable influence and had become a potential ally in the Queen’s extended efforts for freeing Christians captured at sea.²²⁰ In the same letter, Harborne remains certain of Rowlie’s “faithful obedience like a true subject to her Maiestie”,²²¹ and in this light the *Album*’s reference to Hassan Ağa as a “faithful eunuch of all secrets [of the Sultan]”²²² may be an intimation to his presumed covert alliance under the mask of Ottoman fidelity. Indeed Gerald Maclean historicises Hassan Ağa’s ‘powers’ as “unthinkable for representatives of foreign nations to assume in Britain”,²²³ and in doing so exposes the rationale through which he would have been a strategic point of alliance to an English ambassador such as Harborne testing the waters in the Levant. The only references to Hassan Ağa in primary sources following the Harborne letter is this portrait contained in the *Album*, which pictures the subject at the height of his career. The remarkable absence following may indicate a career and life that had abruptly ended in the second half of the 1580s.²²⁴ In comparison with the standing and equestrian portraits of the ruling class preceding, Hassan Ağa is presented in

²¹⁷ Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 47.

²¹⁸ Maclean, p. 183

²¹⁹ Brotton, *The Orient’s Isle*, p. 266

²²⁰ This letter was printed in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries... Volume II* (Outlook Verlag, 2020), p. 54.

²²¹ Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries... Volume II*, p. 54.

²²² “Eunuchi Fidei omnia Secreta”. Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 47.

²²³ Gerald Maclean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire Before 1800* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 82.

²²⁴ Daniel Bamford, ‘The life and death of Samson Rowlie, alias Hassan Agha’, conference paper, *Levantine Heritage Foundation Conference*, The Hellenic Centre London, November 2016 <<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/348966547>> [accessed 22 November 2024].

dissimilar terms: he is the only figure to be seated (except Sultan Murad's opening portrait), and the only one to be seated on a chair. This unconventional pose, which does not adhere to the *Album's* wider model of portraiture, nor to the *Trachtenbuch* type, presents an intimate episode of exchange between the subject and the artist which in all likelihood was drawn from life. The sitter's high head and elegant turban refines him with a sense of dignity, and his legs reach the edge of the composition, communicating a feeling of confident openness. In comparison with the static picturing of other standing eunuchs in the *Album* (Fol. 44r; 87r), this Ağa appeared to be the product of a personal sitting. The eunuch's crimson kaftan cascades down his body, but not before revealing an azure lining and gleaming belt. The use of gold pigment on the accent of a visible chair further indicates that the image was the result of both carefully choreographing and observing, a mutual understanding between subject and artist about the language of imperial authority as expressed through the role of portraiture.

Chapter 6:

BOSPHORUS MAP AND NAVAL SCENES

One distinctive feature of the Bodl. Or 430, indeed one that strongly indicates its divergence from the costume book tradition, is the appearance of a cartographic Bosphorus view bound to the beginning of the codex. This chapter closely analyses this complex image, framing the discussion around the visual and temporal planes respectively. This is followed by a taking into account three naval episodes within the *Album*: the galley of Ulūj ‘Ali (Kılıç Ali) Pasha and the caiques of Ibrahim Pasha and Ulūj Hasan which are comparatively analysed with contemporaneous European chronicles and albums.

6.1 Bosphorus Map

Fol. 2r: Bosphorus Map

Fol. 2r presents a highly detailed aerial view of the Bosphorus strait including the shores of Galata and Üsküdar and the intrarmuros old city jutting from the eastern plane [**Fig. 6.1**]. This is the first image in the *Album*, following directly from the revised Boemus excerpt detailed in chapter two. It is a fold-out page that extends to a sizeable 40 cm x 22 cm, one of the largest in the *Album* and remains the most cartographically-inclined episode therein. Structurally, it works to introduce the city through a holistic view from which a much closer look at its inhabitants, buildings and history is to follow. The technique of the fold-out allows for the recording of an increased amount of information on a single-sheet, and in the *Album* is almost entirely reserved for episodes linking to the urban landscape. The density of annotations is in this regard worthy of attention, especially since they appear in a multivalent of orientations: the title of the map is figured north-to-south whilst a written overview of the strait appears directly parallel in south-to-east formation; the Asian shoreline including episodes of the Bosphorus strait appear west-to-east and the Galata shore extending through Rumeli Feneri is mirrored east-to-west. On one level, an elucidating implication

is that the rotation of the map was supposed on the part of the reader of the text, an expectation that may have extended to the reading of the map itself. On the other, that almost all available space was utilised in the effort to record as much written and pictorial data onto the city-view suggests that the cartographic form was seen as an appropriate and readable context upon which urban meaning about the city could be delineated beyond the practice of way-finding.

Metin And's *Istanbul in the 16th Century* had presented a short reading of the city-view on Fol. 2r. This was an invaluable effort in defining its notable buildings along the European and Asiatic shores including the Sarayburnu promontory [Fig. 6.2].²²⁵ However an analysis beyond naming edifices and inhabited quarters, especially with regards to the wider cartographic turn in the travel album genre of the period, is yet to be attempted. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, extant travel albums provide evidence that city-views of Istanbul were initially being absorbed into the repertoire of urban imagery by the second half of the sixteenth century. Since on the whole these varied a great deal in their representational strategies, scales, colouring methods and topographic limits, it is clear that a single common prototype was not used by album makers. For instance, the Dryden Album (1580-90) pictured a focused vista of the Topkapı Palace over two consecutive pages as seen from an elevated position in Galata (Fols. 53v-54r) [Fig. 6.3]. This was a shortened view of the peninsula, focusing on the western most edge of Sarayburnu, an imperial household gardened by cypresses. That the Dryden Album inserted this episode amongst the established repertoire of Istanbulite types and commonly depicted monumental edifices suggests that city-views were becoming one of the suggestive additions to the *Trachtenbuch* model.

²²⁵ Metin And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century: The City, The Palace, Daily Life* (Yapı Kredi: Istanbul, 1994), pp. 25-29. The figure presented here is a synthesis of buildings identified in And's text superimposed onto the map itself with an accompanying index translated into English for ease of reference.

Johannes Lewenklaue's famed album included three elaborate city-views of Istanbul, Galata and Üsküdar attributed to Heinrich Hendrowski [Figs. 6.4-6.6].²²⁶ Presented as a sequence of three distinct vistas that unfold across several pages, what was recorded was a contemporary portrait of Istanbul's urban and built landscape as seen from across the Bosphorus from several orientations. The Lewenklaue album utilised a relatively innovative technique though it was not the first to do so: an extended horizon-line patched together by sequential perspectives along a longitudinal axis on the 'Constantinopolitan peninsula'.²²⁷ In this way, the artist's effort rang closer to those that had informed the likes of Melchior Lorck's *Panorama of Constantinople* (c. 1560-65) following the artist's visit to the Ottoman capital in the mid sixteenth century. Lorck's monumental vista of Istanbul, once unfolded, measured over eleven metres in length and was at the time the most comprehensive image of the capital with regards to its sultanic monuments, civic structures, gates, fortifications, commercial districts and Byzantine *spolia* [Figs. 6.7-6.8].²²⁸ Lorck, trained in the European pictorial tradition and with connections to Flemish and Hapsburg artistic circles, made use of multifocal views along the European shoreline whilst attempting to deal with the problem of verisimilitude through the strategy of a single, embodied viewer.²²⁹ As Kafescioğlu has noted, Lorck's approach itself was in all likelihood informed by existing vistas of Istanbul as they had become available in print: Giovan Andreas di Vavassore's *Byzantium sive Constantineopolis* (c.

²²⁶ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 8626 (c. 1590), Fol. 159v-160r. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, 'Between worlds, between visualities. Melchior Lorck's *Prospect of Constantinople*', in *Melchior Lorck: Facts, Fiction, Interpretation* (The Royal Collection of Graphic Art SMK: National Gallery of Denmark, 2023), pp. 96-116 (p. 97).

²²⁷ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu uses this term in relation to the famed sixteenth-century map by Melchior Lorck, in 'Between worlds, between visualities', (p. 96).

²²⁸ Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark and Rene van Meeuwen, 'Constructing Melchior Lorck's *Panorama of Constantinople*', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 69 (2010), 62-87 (p. 64) <<https://doi.org/10.1525/jsah.2010.69.1.62>>.

²²⁹ Erik Fischer, 'The life and work of Melchior Lorck', in *Melchior Lorck Vol. I*, ed. by Erik Fischer et al (Copenhagen, 2009) 63-140 (pp. 63-70). Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, 'Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580', (p. 28) For a discussion of the single point of view strategy used across *Isolario*, illustrated manuscripts in the European tradition and city-views see: Kafescioğlu, *Constantinople/Istanbul*, pp. 207-8.

1520),²³⁰ which was a modern bird's-eye-view look at Istanbul taken to represent a "sense of complete and empirical portrayal of the city" [Fig. 6.9].²³¹ In this way, Lorck was participating in a distinctly epochal turn towards the urban landscape in early modern representational practices that made itself known, amongst other things, in the prioritisation of cartographic imagery including city-views.²³² It is therefore to little surprise that travel albums of Istanbul, which concerned themselves primarily with the character of the urban, were to partake in this mode of representation that married the pictorial and the empirical with the cartographic.

The visual plane

The view of Istanbul as depicted in Bodl. Or. 430 appears to move freely between representational strategies traditionally reserved for bird's eye city-views, on the one hand, and mapping conventions, on the other. As compared to Lorck's view of Istanbul and the Lewenklaus Album, it would have been impossible to record a bird's eye view of all three land masses from a reachable point of observation. In order to make all three shorelines visible, the artist has employed a greatly reduced mode of scaling the topographic space that follows the essential practise of cartographic recording and translation into the visual plane.²³³ Further, graphic elements are repeated so as to function iconographically: imperial mosques are depicted through generalised visualising signs (usually a minareted domical structure) as well as fortifications (rampart and keep). Annotations flanking significant points of the city, especially imperial monuments, are further connections to features found in the cartographic history of Istanbul. Highly influential in this vein was Cristoforo

²³⁰ Kafescioğlu notes that this map is based on an earlier original of c. 1480. 'Between worlds, between visualities', (p. 96).

²³¹ Kafescioğlu, 'Between worlds, between visualities', pp. 96-8. Kafescioğlu writes that this map by Vavassore "shared its pictorial priorities with near contemporaries such as the Florence *Map with a Chain* and Jacopo de'Barbari's *Venice*". Ibid.

²³² Marco Juliano, *Melchior Lorck, Vol 4, The Constantinople Prospect*, ed. by Erik Fisher et al (Copenhagen, 2009), pp. 43-6.

²³³ Matthew H. Edney, *Cartography: The Ideal and its History* (The University of Chicago Press: Chicago and London, 2019), pp. 52-3.

Buondelmonti's (born c. 1385) *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* completed initially around 1418. This was intended, as Buondelmonti's had written in his preface, as a record of "the past and present state of the islands of the archipelago".²³⁴ This text must have exerted a significant level of influence since at least sixty-four copies survive.²³⁵ A considerable number of these included the famed map of Constantinople which had originally pictured the city pre-dating the Ottoman conquest as a network of annotated structures bracketed by fortified walls.²³⁶ This map was revised in the subsequent versions of the text's reprint following the 1453 conquest, and taken in their entirety show varying degrees of alteration and erasure regarding the Ottomanisation of the city.²³⁷ Nonetheless, the Düsseldorf version of the map (c. 1480) was one that had begun to take a closer look at the activity of the Bosphorus, making point to record the ships and galleys passing through its waters [Fig. 6.10]. Overall, however, this seems to have been an exception to the rule and the attention of most versions remained directed upon the intramuros city.

This is one key difference between Bodl. Or. 430 and the city-views of Istanbul as found in the city's cartographic history, namely its central focus on the Bosphorus strait. Maps circulating in the second half of the sixteenth century in print, including those by Braun and Hogenberg (1572) which was largely a copy of the Vavassore map, focused on the walled city whilst the Bosphorus appeared as a body of water marking the edges of inhabitation. Diverging from this tradition, a considerable

²³⁴ Ian R. Manners, 'Constructing the Image of a City: The Representation of Constantinople in Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 87. 1 (1997), 71-102 (p. 72).

²³⁵ Hilary Louise Turner, *Christopher Buondelmonti: Adventurer, Explorer and Cartographer* (1987), p. 13.

²³⁶ For an example of how Buondelmonti's map of Constantinople remained a consistent feature of the city's cartographic representation into the seventeenth century, see: *Joannis Cinnami imperatorii grammatici Historiarum libri sex, seu de rebus gestis a Joanne et Manuele Comnenis imp. CP. Accedunt Caroli Du Fresne, D. Du Cange, Regi a Consiliis, & Franciane apud Ambianos Quaestoris, in Nicephori Bryenii Caesaris, Annae Comnenae, Caesarisse, & ejusdem Joannis Cinnami Historiam Comnenicam Notae Historicae & Philologicae. His adjungitur Pauli Silentiarii descriptio Sanctae Sophiae, quae nunc primum prodit Graece & Latine, cum uberiori Commentario* (Paris: 1670). Manners, 'Constructing the Image of a City', p. 71-2.

²³⁷ Manners, 'Constructing the Image of a City', p. 73.

amount of interest in the map of the *Album* is reserved for the strait which is drawn as the heart of the Ottoman city. Dominating the Bosphorus is pictured a red imperial galley carrying Sultan Murad. This *kayık* (“caick”) is greatly inflated in size, and painted in a striking crimson that emphasizes its royal grandeur [Fig. 6.11].²³⁸ At the head of the galley is a gilded finial (*alem*) crowning the royal kiosk which reveals a high-turbaned Sultan visible to the public. With him is an attendee, closely seated in the rudder, likely the *bostancıbaşı* who would have been summoned by the sultan for his sightseeing trips. The body of the vessel is crowded by scores of oarsmen moving from the imperial palace in the direction of Rumelihisarı in ceremonial discipline. This episode may be far from imaginary: in fact, taken within the context of an evident increase in “rural excursions” on the Bosphorus by the ruling elite during these decades,²³⁹ it may depict a scene based on firsthand observation. As Necipoğlu has shown, the Bosphorus and its shores developed as a place for displaying and observing the presence of the imperial household beyond the secluded walls of the palace.²⁴⁰ Not only were the waters able to be watched from many points of the city’s hilltops, such as when the sultan ceremoniously passed through, but the Bosphorus itself provided a privileged viewpoint for foreign visitors to see the city. Trips long the strait were undertaken by many visitors in the sixteenth century including by Reinhold Lubenau, who had detailed his experience taken sometime between 1587-88 especially in relation to the remarkable waterfront gardens he had observed.²⁴¹ The Bosphorus map of the *Album* also records many of these including the Üsküdar garden, Tower garden, Karabali garden and a garden as part of the palace of Hasan Pasha; therefore the album-maker may have benefitted from an excursion likewise.²⁴² Furthermore,

²³⁸ And, *Istanbul in the 16th Century*, p. 29

²³⁹ Gülru Necipoğlu, ‘The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture’, in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli, (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997), 32-71 (p. 34).

²⁴⁰ Necipoğlu, ‘The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul’, pp. 32-40.

²⁴¹ Necipoğlu, ‘The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul’, p. 33.

²⁴² Necipoğlu, ‘The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul’, p. 53.

the adjoining text speaks as though the Sultan's procession had been observed from life, introducing the scene as "[h]ere the Turkish Emperor departs with a boat" (*Tahter Caesar Turcorum proficissitur cum cumba*). The author's detailing of the boat's decoration is striking, which is recorded as having "the greatest jewels" (*maximum gemus*). It is repeated that in the Turkish tongue, the royal vessel is called a "Caick", and is powered by scores of oarsmen, whilst the Sultan admits five or six persons to remain with him in his kiosk.²⁴³ The specificity of the boat's physical appearance in the image and its detailing in the adjoining text, as well as the numeric precision of attendees and oarsmen described are all suggestive of some empirical observation. Even more, the painting itself makes a point to picture the tail of the vessel as supporting a gilded figurehead in the shape of a dragon [Fig. 6.12]. This corresponds very closely to the the figurehead extant on the royal galley housed at Istanbul's Naval Museum, dated to around the end of the sixteenth century [Figs. 6.13–6.14]. The signature red hue of this vessel and its intricately decorated kiosk with tessellated jewels are further connections to the *Album*'s description of Sultan Murad's *kayık*, and yet another suggestion that it was based on an *ad vivum* observation, perhaps even linked to this very galley.

One striking representational feature as it relates to the Bosphorus is that the European shore is collapsed in order to face the strait. Üsküdar and the wider Asian shoreline are depicted in a frontal view that faces the Bosphorus and appears commensurate with the profile view of Sarayburnu if the theoretical perspective is taken to be from an elevated point in Galata. However, Galata and the wider European shore are unconventionally mirrored, presenting a composite vista in which the southern plane is entirely upturned towards the Bosphorus [Fig. 6.15]. Perhaps it is not coincidental that cartographic episodes of Istanbul in comparable terms were a feature of Ottoman representational practices corresponding precisely to the sixteenth century. Matrakçı Nasuh's famed

²⁴³ Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 2r.

depiction of Istanbul in the opening to his *Beyan-ı menazil-i sefer-i Irakayn-i Sultan Süleyman Talikizade* (1537) had oriented Galata, Üsküdar, and the fortification of Sarayburnu towards the Bosphorus even as it presented conflicting viewpoints [Fig. 6.16].²⁴⁴ What was revealed was a multifocal perspective that was observing from everywhere at once. According to Kafescioğlu, Nasuh's mode of urban representation, including those that had informed the Istanbul view, was the result of "free manipulations of the planimetric and the pictorial" harkening to Italian cartographic and Persian royal illustration traditions respectively.²⁴⁵ During the 1580s illustrations of Istanbul in royal texts continued to picture a city with multiple orientations: Seyyid Lokman's *Şehinşehnâme* (vol. I, 1581) was one example in which all three shorelines were turned towards the water [Fig. 6.17].²⁴⁶ Lokman's *Hünernâme* (vol. I, 1579-85) was another iteration of this visual formula, the entire walled city and Galata depicted through superimposing a vast number of mutually unintelligible viewpoints that cut buildings and streets into one another [Fig. 6.18-6.19].²⁴⁷ The sheer mass of dimensions, of viewpoints and of structures, presented an impression of Istanbul through a patchwork of de-centred gazes embodying the disorder and density they purported to observe. If these representational tendencies were indeed connected to a wider intrigue-turned-trepidation at the monumental scale of Istanbul's growing urbanity, as has been suggested, then it may be useful to expand this connection to cartographic episodes found in travel albums since this suggests the presence first of an epochal concern symptomising in representation.²⁴⁸ More evidence is needed to make a firm connection between city-views of Istanbul produced in the royal atelier and those by European artists in travel albums including the Bodl. Or. 430, but it might not be

²⁴⁴ Istanbul University Library, T. 5964, Fol. 9v.

²⁴⁵ Kafescioğlu, 'Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580', (pp. 27-9).

²⁴⁶ Istanbul University Library, F. 1404, Fol. 58r.

²⁴⁷ Topkapi Palace Museum Library, H. 1523, Fol. 158v-9r.

²⁴⁸ Kafescioğlu 'Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580', (p. 30). See also: Kafescioğlu, *Constantinople/Istanbul*, pp. 207-8.

happenstance that both were deliberately moving away from the “perspectival uniformity of the printed view”,²⁴⁹ that was available, and in the European tradition, common practice.²⁵⁰ What can be said at this juncture is that the map in the *Album*, with its focus on the Bosphorus itself, the royal procession, and the perspectival multidimensionality of the land surrounding it borrows from various cartographic and city-view conventions, remaining uncommitted to a single visual tradition. It coalesces with the spatial turn in Ottoman representational practices that also occasioned, amongst other things, the insertion of cartographic images of the city of Istanbul within the wider corpus of illustrated historical manuscripts.

The temporal plane

Although the emphasis remains on the Bosphorus itself, the Bodl. Or. 430 map does record the monumental fabric of the capital city, especially one that was consolidated throughout the tenure of the chief imperial architect Sinan (1539-1588). The Atik Valide Mosque (1570-9) in Üsküdar,²⁵¹ and the waterfront Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque (c. 1580-1) of Tophane,²⁵² are examples of the map’s emphasis on the newest monumental buildings in the city. Their appearance, especially in the context of the map’s exclusion of the hitherto most commonly depicted structures in the Ottoman history of the city (namely the Hagia Sofia and the Süleymaniye), draws attention to the most recent architectural projects of the city. The presence of these ‘new’ buildings in the map is consistent with the common practice of updating prototypes in travel albums as cultural insight sharpened throughout the sixteenth century. Equally, as above-mentioned, the focus on the Bosphorus seems to have informed a cartographic scope that does not cover the heavily built inner regions of the walled

²⁴⁹ Kafescioğlu ‘Viewing, Walking, Mapping Istanbul, ca. 1580’, (p. 29).

²⁵⁰ Günsel Renda, ‘Mapping and Picturing: Maps as Records of History,’ *Foundation for Science, Technology and Civilisation*, (2007), 1-7 (p. 4).

²⁵¹ Marked number 5 on Fig. 49. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 108.

²⁵² Marked number 17 on Fig. 49. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 431.

peninsula, and by way of consequence, spotlights the newer royal and vizierial structures that had begun appearing closer to the city's shorelines.²⁵³

However, the artist configures these distinctly new buildings alongside an episode of Greek mythology, thus unsettling the prospect of time as preserved in the map. In the western third of the Bosphorus is depicted a large hand rising from the sea coupled by a classicised column [Fig. 6.20]. The text describes the Greek myth of Leander, who, afflicted by his passion for Hero, had spent his nights swimming across the Dardanelles strait to reach his beloved before falling victim to a strong winter tide and drowning.²⁵⁴ The accompanying image of a ferocious creature rising from the water to the left of Leander's hand represents the severe tide detailed in the story. Whilst the reason for superimposing the Greek myth, originally set in Hellespont, into the Bosphorus strait is not clarified, it intimates an effort to map a mythology of the classical tradition of the Mediterranean in tandem with Istanbul's contemporary appearance which at first sight is perplexing. Studies in architectural history have already detailed that Constantine had, in the founding of his city, insisted on the presence of "Trojan themes" in the sculptural programmes of public spaces including in the Baths of Zeuxippos and The Serpent Column in the Hippodrome.²⁵⁵ That Mehmed II 'appropriated' (to use Robert Ousterhout's expression) or 'translated' (in the words of Gülru Necipoğlu) Greco-Roman legacies of the Mediterranean Basin has long been accepted, especially as

²⁵³ For a reading on how the Bosphorus shorelines were formed of summer residences of the sultan's household first, and later imitated by building patterns of the wider public see: P. Luca Ingigi, *Villeggiatura de'Bizantini sul Bosforo tracio*, tr. P.G. Inchichean (Venezia: Lazzaro, 1831). This reading has since come under scrutiny with regards to the non-Muslim presence that may have pre-dated the imperial move towards the Bosphorus. For a text dealing with how the Bosphorus was to eventually become loci of mass architectural activity in the eighteenth century see: Shirine Hamadeh, 'Public Spaces and the Garden Culture of Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century', in *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman eds. (Cambridge University Press, 2007) 277-312 (p. 279).

²⁵⁴ William Hansen, *The Book of Greek & Roman Folktales, Legends & Myths* (Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford, 2017), p. 255.

²⁵⁵ Robert Ousterhout, 'The East, the West, and the Appropriation of the Past in Early Ottoman Architecture', *Gesta*, 43. 2 (2004) 165-76 (p. 167). See also: S.G. Bassett, 'Historiae custos: Sculpture and Tradition in the Baths of Zeuxippos', *AJA* (1996) 491-506 (pp. 491-5).

it came to bolster the Ottoman House post-1453 through a Humanist language of historicity.²⁵⁶

Though traditional scholarship has looked to the art of portraiture to situate Mehmed's engagement with the Greco-Roman past as a markedly symbolic act comparable to his Italian and papal counterparts,²⁵⁷ it is evident that his efforts also extended to the city of Istanbul. Mehmed's relentless building projects worked to restore Constantinople to its former glory, as the Sultan's Greek historian Kritovoulos was to put, situating the Ottoman emergence in the city as continuation, rather than breakage, of former imperial presence.²⁵⁸ It is significant that Kritovoulos's claims, and Mehmed's patronage of building projects in his new capital, corresponded to the emergence of "a discourse that conceived and represented the city as a formal entity to be given shape in accordance with a political vision".²⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that the *Album*'s map incorporates Greco-Roman episodes of semi-mythic nature, which includes the story of Leander but equally the so-called Pompeii column in Rumeli Feneri (erroneously placed on an islet west of the Black Sea) [**Fig. 6.21**], and the author's deliberate use of the Greek "Pontus Euxinus" to refer the Black Sea and "Bosphorus Thratius" to the strait. This can be read as an acknowledgment of a long-standing tradition that saw Constantinople as a crossroad between history and myth.²⁶⁰ In this vein, Leander's bitter demise shares the very same waters as Sultan Murad's galley, and the city's ancient

²⁵⁶ Ousterhout, 'The East, the West', (165-76); Ousterhout, 'Ethnic Identity and Cultural Appropriation in Early Ottoman Architecture', *Muqarnas* 12. (1995): 48-62; Gülru Necipoğlu, 'Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II's Constantinople', *Brill*, 29. (2012), 1-81 (1-15); Julian Raby, *A Sultan of Paradox: Mehmed the Conqueror as a patron of the arts*, *Oxford Art Journal*, 5. 1, (1982) 3-8 (p. 6).

²⁵⁷ Julian Raby, 'Opening Gambits', *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman*, Selmin Kangal et al, (Istanbul, 2000), 64-95; Caroline Campbell and Alan Chong, eds., *Bellini and the East* (London, 2005), p. 30; Elizabeth Rodini, *Gentile Bellini's Portrait of Sultan Mehmet II: Lives and Afterlives of an Iconic Image*, (London: I. B. Tauris, 2020), p. 39.

²⁵⁸ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, p. 53.

²⁵⁹ Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul*, p. 55.

²⁶⁰ The mythologising of Constantinople by Ottoman writers, though propelled by Mehmed's conquest of the city, had medieval precedents. The literary tradition of symbolically reading the city's 'historical identity', especially as connected to its topography and public sculptures until the sixth century has been analysed by Sarah Basset. See: Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (Cambridge University Press, 2004).

monuments are framed by fortification that smokes with Ottoman canons. What is pictured is a city that has appropriated and layered the classical Mediterranean past into the present. On one level, just as with the map's visual and perspectival orientation, the temporality presented is patched, inviting a reading of Istanbul that is distinctly of the sixteenth century yet informed by the city's pre-Ottoman historical identities. Yet on a larger level, unsettling the temporality in this way sees the act of map-reading not only as an exercise of moving through space, but equally of moving through time.

6.2 Naval Scenes

Fol. 32r: Galley of Ulūj 'Ali (Kılıç Ali) Pasha with enslaved Christians

The first naval scene in the *Album* pictures a close-up of the galley of Ulūj 'Ali (Kılıç Ali) Pasha sailing in undefined waters [Fig. 6.22]. This is the same grand admiral whose standing portrait appeared on Fol. 29r, and which was detailed in Chapter 4 [Fig. 5.18]. Unlike the earlier appearance of Ulūj 'Ali in his autumn years enervated by age, this scene portrays the admiral in formidable action. In this scene, Ulūj 'Ali is depicted as the central figure towering in command over his vessel, which as the text describes is operated “on both sides by strong oars numbering thirty-six, powered by seven Christian slaves”.²⁶¹ The artist's effort of defining the vessel as a warship is evident, especially since its scale is significantly grander than the following two naval scenes (Fol. 35r, 38r), both of which appear in the form of caiques. In this way, this remains the most formally striking vessel of the four depicted in the *Album*, second only to the Sultan's galley detailed in the beginning of this chapter. This episode portrays Ulūj 'Ali as a grand admiral (in the post of *kaptan-ı derya* which he served from 1571),²⁶² at the height of a military career exercising great influence. It was in these terms that the German writer Franciscus de Billerbeg was to describe the admiral in a letter

²⁶¹ “qua utrobiq validis Remis 36 quorum uni Saltem 7 Christiani”. Fol. 32r. Skilliter, *Life in Istanbul*, p. 7.

²⁶² William Stewart, *Admirals of the World: A Biographical Dictionary, 1500 to the Present* (McFarland & Co, 2009), p. 281.

composed in the 1580s: Billerbeg spoke first and foremost of Ulūj ‘Ali’s “great authoritye” before asserting his official rank “by nation a *Calabrian*, he is called of the *Turke* Captaine *Bassa*”.²⁶³ The accompanying text emphasises his influential position as part of the military class through scribing that the Christian men operating the oars are slaves bound to his command.²⁶⁴

The *Album* does not comment overtly upon Ulūj ‘Ali’s role in the Battle of Lepanto of 1571, but does make some suggestive allusions to this well-remembered event. Although this battle had been a decisive win on the part of the fleet of the Holy League, and the general Ali Pasha had been killed, Ulūj ‘Ali had managed to escape through an opening left by the commander Giovanni Andre Doria with several of his galleys intact having made substantial damage to the Christian armada.²⁶⁵ It was in these terms that the Latin chronicler Joannes Latinus was to eulogise Ulūj ‘Ali in his epic poem *Astrias carmen* (1573) where even in the face of defeat Ulūj was immensely threatening: “Perfidus evasit dilapsus regulus undis / Hie partem classis duxit” (“[t]he treacherous strongman escaped at sea / he led his contingent and other escaping galley”).²⁶⁶ At least on one level, the red-and-white pennants erected across the vessel in the *Album* is reminiscent of the particoloured flagship of the Knights of Malta which Ulūj ‘Ali is said to have captured and presented to Sultan Selim II on his return to Constantinople. Further, although there appears no written clue relating to the battlefield, the vessel is described as a “ship” [*navis*] before adding that “it is called in the tongue of their race cattega” [*kadırğa*].²⁶⁷

²⁶³ Franciscus de Billerbeg, *Most rare and straunge discourses, of Amurathe the Turkish emperor that now is with the warres betweene him and the Persians: the Turkish triumph, lately had at Constantinople* (London, 1584), p. 7.

²⁶⁴ Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 32r.

²⁶⁵ Kenneth Meyer Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571* (American Philosophical Society: 1984), p. 1058. It is reported that Ulūj ‘Ali returned to Constantinople with over eighty ships. Stewart, *Admirals of the World*, p. 281.

²⁶⁶ Elizabeth R. Wright, ‘Narrating the Ineffable Lepanto: The *Astrias Carmen* of Joannes Latinus (Juan Latino)’, *Hispanic Review*, 77. 1 (2009), 71-91 (p. 85) <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/40541414?>>.

²⁶⁷ “Id natum Genus illorum Idiomate Catteda dicitur”, Fol. 32r. Ibid.

Fol. 35r: Caique of Ibrahim Pasha

The second naval scene is presented in strikingly different terms: the caique of Ibrahim Pasha (“Ebrehim Wasschaw”) passing leisurely through the Bosphorus [Fig. 6.23]. Ibrahim Pasha (b. 1517) was a Bosnian or Croatian-born commander and governor of Egypt who would eventually take the post of grand vizier no less than three times during the reign of Mehmed III (1596; 1596-97; 1599-1601).²⁶⁸ Produced before his grand vizierate, the *Album* refers rather to his Croatian origin and, interestingly, the Pasha’s marriage to Ayşe Sultan, a daughter of Sultan Murad III (“casaris par filie associatus”). This wedding had taken place in the Old Palace,²⁶⁹ and Selâniki was to carefully relate in his *Tarih* (c.1600) how the couple was united “in accordance with correctness and propriety” (*lâyık u sezâvâr*) on 20 May 1586, as well as detailing the generosity displayed by gifts offered by Ulûj ‘Ali.²⁷⁰ Although the author of the *Album* does not divulge such intimate particulars, his knowledge of the marriage indicates some familiarity with the court and the possibility of an extended stay, especially given that it is not an isolated instance: on Fol. 20r appears information detailing Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha’s marriage to Fatma Sultan, sister of Murad III.

In the naval scene, Ibrahim Pasha is seated in a spoon bow caique (*kaşıkbaş*) with ten oarsman, wearing a large stately turban with five close attendees. The type of vessel indicates that what is pictured is a sight-seeing trip, and if the building northeast is taken to be the Maiden’s Tower, the caique is pictured travelling north along the Bosphorus. Nonetheless, the extensive use of negative

²⁶⁸ Necdet Sevinç, *Osmanlı Sosyal ve Ekonomik Düzeni* (Üçdal Neşriyat, 1985), p. 322

²⁶⁹ Leslie P. Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 123

²⁷⁰ Selânîkî Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selâniki*, ed. by Mehmet İpşirli (Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi: Ankara, 1999), p. 168.

space with little indication of action harkens back to cartographic elements found in the Bosphorus map (Fol. 2r) detailed at the beginning of the chapter. Although naval scenes do not appear frequently in travel albums of the period, there are some notable exceptions: the aforementioned *Figurae calamo exaratae* (ÖNB 8615) at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek included six folios of such scenes. These were comprised of galleys as well as caique ridden by Ottoman statesmen, and women (Fols. 122r-124v). Particularly the slender caique pictured on Fol. 122v [Fig. 6.24], with its emphasis on the symmetrical positioning of the oars, the white slave-pages topped with red headgear and the soft presence of water around the vessel, remains formally cohesive with the caique of Ibrahim Pasha in the *Album*. This indicates the emergence of a type of picturing the urban life of the Bosphorus budding in travel albums in the second half of the sixteenth century. Both the Bodl. Or. 430 and ÖNB 8615 on another instance (Fol. 123v) make effort to contextualise the caiques in the Bosphorus: the former as aforementioned in the presence of the Maiden's Tower, and the latter with a line of stone walls and wooden domestic structures that face the strait [Fig. 6.25]. Given the *Album*'s suggestive interest in the Bosphorus as a core part of the urban makeup of the city and its inhabitants, it is noteworthy that a customary sightseeing trip appears as a secondary "portrait" of an Ottoman statesman, forming a way of reading the Ottoman ruling elite in the city's shorelines.²⁷¹

²⁷¹ Note that this is the only appearance of Ibrahim Pasha within the *Album*: unlike Ulūj 'Ali, there is no individual portrait included of him.

Fol. 38r: Caique of Ulūj Hasan

The third and final naval scene of the *Album* pictures Ulūj Hassan (born Andretta), a Venetian renegade who served as High Admiral until c. 1588 [Fig. 6.26].²⁷² In comparison with the previous vessels presented, Ulūj Hassan rides in a caique of modest scale bearing no kiosk-structure. Even still, he is pictured almost twice the size of his attendees and oarsmen, clarifying his elevated status above them. The text describes that Ulūj Hassan “was once a servant and now is the king of Fez, Algeria and Tunis”.²⁷³ Whereas this is a likely reference to Ulūj Hassan having risen to the post of treasurer (1568) and beylerbey of Algiers (1577), his Fez connection is less than clear. This same reference to the ‘King of Fez’ appears in a letter by a resident of Venice Wolfgang Zundelin dated November of 1574, describing the plans of the Turks in the Mediterranean and Africa against the Spanish following the Battle of Lepanto.²⁷⁴ R. J. P. Kuin, however, reads in this not a sincere register of Ulūj Hassan’s bureaucratic rank but a “a trifle ironic” reference to the widely held conception of the agha as a brute.²⁷⁵ The nineteenth century French historian H. D. de Grammont was to memorialise how Cervantes had, having fallen into captivity under the agha, recalled his disposition: “tall, thin, pale, with a rare red beard, bright and bloody eyes, a haughty and cruel air.”²⁷⁶ The harsh punishments effected on the whim of the his master Ulūj Hassan, along with the terrorisation of the Christian slaves were cited on multiple occasions by European writers of his day.²⁷⁷ In this light, the use of “rex” in the *Album* may be read as a play on the term, which can mean both *king* and *despot*. The curious yet purposefully placed dead body floating near the caique

²⁷² Skilliter, *Life in Istanbul*, p. 7.

²⁷³ “Typus Addam Wasschaw Ochyly quondam servituti dediti iam vero is rex est triplicis regi Phess Argiir & Tunis”, Fol. 38r.

²⁷⁴ R. J. P. Kuin, *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 338.

²⁷⁵ Ibid. For details on Wolfgang Zundelin see: Robert B. Todd, ‘Henry and Thomas Savile in Italy’, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 58.2 (1996) 439-44 (p. 442).

²⁷⁶ “grand, maigre, pâle, la barbe rare et rousse, les yeux brillants et sanglants, l'air hautain et cruel”. H. D. de Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque, 1515-1830* (Paris, 1887), pp. 118-9

²⁷⁷ Ibid. Kuin, *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 338.

of Ulūj Hassan may also critically allude to such perceived cruelty, especially as his face remains turned away, seemingly untouched by the fatal scene.

Chapter 7:

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT**7.1 Travel Albums and the Picturing of an Imperial City**

It was in the second half of the sixteenth century that travel albums exclusively concerning the Ottoman capital began to see the light of day. In these early examples, prior to the more formulaic production of ‘bazaar albums’ by local artists for foreign visitors in the seventeenth century, the reoccurrence of images pertaining to the city itself is worthy of note. What became novel about the characterisation of this early mode is that the city of Istanbul— its sultanic mosques, ancient monuments, living quarters and ceremonial streets— appeared as a subject worthy of depiction in its own right. The English traveler John Sanderson had spoken of the circulation of texts regarding the built environment in Istanbul upon his arrival in 1584-5. In his own words, he had written that “[I] went to see the chefe monuments, which ar discribed at lardge in a booke I tranclated out of Italian, presented me by a Jewe doctor”.²⁷⁸ Sanderson did not reveal from which ‘Jewe doctor’ this so-called book had come, and whether it was entirely textual or with images; in either case, it reveals that by the second half of the sixteenth century there remained an intellectual network from which at least some visitors could benefit regarding the built landscape of the city. It is within this milieu that the *Freshfield Album* (c. 1574) was produced: a Latin travel album of twenty-one watercolour and ink drawings by an anonymous Austrian artist that included no portraits of Istanbulites. Without an extant foreword, the *Freshfield Album* has not been definitively attributed to a single artist, yet its content is instructive since it almost exclusively focused on the architectural and monumental landscape of the city.²⁷⁹ Among these were meticulously detailed tripartite drawings of the Column of Constantine and the Obelisk of Theodosius from Eastern, Western and

²⁷⁸ *The Travels of John Sanderon* (The Hakluyt Society: 1930), p. 38

²⁷⁹ With the exception of Fols. 18r-19r which depict two rhinoceroses. However, it has been argued that these non-architectural drawings must have been an addition by “an amateur artist”. Radway, p. 107. O.17.2, Trinity College Library, Cambridge University.

Southern faces, and full-length depictions of the central nave of the Hagia Sofia from various full-view angles of the interior [**Figs. 7.1-7.2**]. What marked these drawings was an expert recording of architectural space to the level of minute formal detail strengthened by multiple perspectives, and a complete disinterest in the social politics crowding the streets of the city.

Completed around the same time was the famed album-diary of Flemish diplomat and draughtsman Lambert Wyts, who personally visited the court of Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-74) with a retinue in the summer of 1572.²⁸⁰ Wyts's text, which came to be known as *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (c. 1573) only partly concentrated on the Ottoman capital, but included landscape vistas of the Austrian embassy arriving at the outer gate of the Topkapı Palace bearing gifts; the second palatial courtyard of the Topkapı during a reception with the Sultan; an unnamed Ottoman mosque; and the ancient Hippodrome. In each episode Wyts marks some chief structure of the walled city, though often without the technical accuracy found in the *Freshfield Album*. What comes to light in these images, however, is an emphasis on the social use of the built environment as places of ceremonial practice and urban congregation. For instance, his view of an Ottoman mosque makes effort to piece together a collage of the multivalent ways in which the space was activated by those using it: worshippers approaching the mosque through the inner courtyard, a group of men washing themselves in a marbled fountain and minarets peopled by *müezzins* caught in the act of calling the believers to prayer [**Fig. 7.3**].²⁸¹

In Wyts's depiction of the Hippodrome, attention is configured in likewise terms precisely since what we have is a panoramic view that includes the three chief Byzantine structures in the centre of

²⁸⁰ *Compte-rendu des séances de la Commission royale d'histoire, ou, Recueil de ses bulletins, Vol I* (La Commission, 1837), p. 334.

²⁸¹ Lambert Wyts, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim*, (c. 1573), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 3325, Fol. 165v.

the composition, yet he dwarfs these under the noise of the city's urban presence [Fig. 7.4]. By bringing the city to life, or more accurately, by seeing in the city an urbanity commensurate with the body of its inhabitants, Wyts draws together a theatrical viewpoint from which Istanbul can be observed. He presents coupled wrestling matches, janissaries administering acts of justice and horseback archers competing as a crowd of spectators watch on. This is an entirely different ideation of the city to that found in the *Freshfield Album*, in which the social life of Istanbul was carefully stripped from the built environment, even when it purported to picture a view of one of the most densely crowded areas of the city [Fig. 7.5]. In this way, Wyts's compositions of Istanbul are reminiscent of those depicted by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, a Flemish artist who visited Istanbul in 1533 and whose drawings were first printed as woodcuts posthumously two decades later.²⁸² Van Aelst's seven panoramas were interested in depicting the built landscape in a way that reflected the artist's empirical experiences as a traveler, since they loosely followed a route from Northern Europe into the Ottoman capital.²⁸³ Yet, each vista was wrapped up in the realm of social activity that came to inform the very meaning of the scenes depicted. A well-cited example is van Aelst's depiction of Sultan Süleyman passing horseback through the ancient Hippodrome on his way to the congregational Friday prayer [Fig. 5.9-5.10]. In this panoramic view of the city, there is a heavy emphasis on the Sultan's retinue that carries the viewer's line of vision across the foreground in the direction of the ceremonial march. It is plausible that the artist had attended such a weekly showcase of the young sultan's majesty-cum-religiosity, as it is described by Andre Thevet in his *Cosmographie de Levant* (1554) as an ongoing practice of the aged monarch. Thevet had painstakingly scribed the ceremonial order of such an occasion, carefully listing the court officials

²⁸² These came to be known as *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* or 'Customs and Fashions of the Turks'. Nurhan Atasoy and Lale Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe: 1453-1699* (Istanbul: Armaggan Publications, 2012), p. 345.

²⁸³ Charlotte Colding Smith, *Images of Islam, 1453–1600* (Routledge: London, 2014), p. 101.

and urban onlookers that bolstered the effect of the cavalcade.²⁸⁴ In Thevet's impression of events, one finds an exhausting urban presence, the "almost infinite multitude from diverse nations... watching [the Sultan] pass", as the built landscape recedes into context.²⁸⁵ Likewise in van Aelst's composition, the Aya Sofia is sidelined to the most north-western edge, and so are various domed structures and the famed Obelisk, all drowned by the presence of urban society. It was perhaps this emphasis on the urban fabric of the city (above and beyond the built landscape) that would have van Aelst be remembered as picturing "the first vistas of Istanbul and Ottoman life".²⁸⁶ Likewise in the album context, Wyts's view of the Hippodrome (though outside of the ceremonial occasion) brings to focus a view of urbanism that is commanding and appropriating the city's public arenas.

It appears that by the time travel albums came to depict Istanbul in their own visual terms, there existed a coeval production of printed and textual sources oriented towards the urban aspect of the Ottoman capital. This, in all likelihood, was one symptom of a larger early modern turn to the city as a subject worthy of cultural intrigue, a process in which local Ottoman artists participated. Though exceeding the limits of this thesis, it is noteworthy to detail that one distinctive mode through which Ottoman ateliers associated with this urban turn was through the preparation of illustrated royal manuscripts that took Istanbul as their pictorial and textual setting, and the closely related genre of *şehrengiz* poetry.²⁸⁷ The term itself was linguistic assimilation of 'the city' (*şehir*)

²⁸⁴ As quoted in: Gülru Necipoğlu, 'The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation', *Muqarnas*, 3 (1985), 92-117 (pp. 98-9).

²⁸⁵ Necipoğlu, 'The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul', pp. 98-9.

²⁸⁶ Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode* (Islamic Art Publications, 1982), p. 81.

²⁸⁷ It is revealing that the scribe Intizami, who had penned the famed *Sûrnâme-i Hümayûn* (TSM Library, H.1344) depicting the events of the 1582 circumcision of Sultan Murad's son, Şehzade Mehmed, had himself written a *şehrengiz* prior to his work on the project. According to Kafescioğlu, this factor may explain the unusual choice of the employment of this 'minor scribe' on the imperial project to begin with. See: Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, 'Picturing the square, the streets, and denizens of early modern Istanbul: practices of urban space and shifts in visuality,' *Muqarnas*, 37(2020), 139-77 (pp. 139-150). For an overview on the poetic genre and its scholarly afterlife see: Yahya Taşlıcalı, 'İstanbul Şehrengizi', ed. by Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, XVII (1969), 73-108.

and up-turner (*engîz*), a genre dedicated to the rousing allure of the city in the face of its subjects.²⁸⁸ Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı explain that this had had a Persianate precedent stretching as far as the Samanid court in the early tenth century.²⁸⁹ What became distinctive about sixteenth-century Ottoman şehrengiz poetry was the appearance of the city of Istanbul, amongst others, as a place in which the fruits of labour and the beloved (*mahbûb*) were openly observed.²⁹⁰ These poems followed the contours of specific cities as a formal shaping of the poetic mode; the cities of Bursa (as with Lâmiî' and Âşık Çelebi), Edirne (Tabîî and Zâtî) and Istanbul (Kıyasî, Azizî and Yahya Bey) reoccured as special sites.²⁹¹ At least twenty-nine Ottoman şehrengiz poems were penned in the sixteenth century, making this the densest period of its production.²⁹² By the later seventeenth century şehrengiz production was to lose its popularity, thus emphasising that its concerns coalesced with the wider urban turn of this period.²⁹³ Furthermore, şehrengiz writers drew on the 'encomiums to Istanbul' genre in which the city "was likened to a beautiful female or male beloved, matchless in beauty".²⁹⁴ Consequently, some şehrengiz poems included, and often began with, sizeable descriptions of Istanbul, setting a direct relationship between the capital city and the forms of love-

²⁸⁸ Bayram Ali Kaya, 'Şehrengiz', *İslam Ansiklopedisi* (2010) <<https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/sehrengiz>> [accessed 11 September 2024].

²⁸⁹ Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Duke University Press, 2005), p. 40.

²⁹⁰ This is not to say that Ottoman şehrengiz poetry did not take other cities as their setting. For an analysis on Mesîhî's early sixteenth-century şehrengiz set in the city of Edirne see: Nuran Tezcan, 'Güzele bir Şehrengizden Bakış', *Türkoloji Dergisi*, 14. 1 (2001), 161-94 <https://doi.org/10.1501/Trkol_0000000129>. For Lamiî Çelebi's şehrengiz on the city of Bursa, see: Mustafa Isen, 'Bursa Şehr-engizi (Lamiî'î Çelebi)', *Türk Araştırmalar Dergisi* 3. (1987), 57-105.

²⁹¹ For an expansive picture of the Ottoman şehrengiz genre across Bursa, Edirne, Diyarbakır, Istanbul including all known contributors see: Barış Karacasu, 'Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engîzler', *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi*, 5.10 (2007), 259-313 (p. 262; 303-4).

²⁹² Andrews and Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds Love*, p. 40. Dukaginzâde Yahyâ Bey's (d. 1582) *Istanbul Şehr-engiz* (Istanbul University Library, 2982) was one such example: it described the vistas of the famed city (*şehr-i meşhûr*) before tracing fifty-eight beloveds across one hundred and eighty couplets. Mehmed Çavuşoğlu, 'Yahya (Taşlıcalı) İstanbul Şehrengizi', *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, 7. (1969), 73-108 (p. 76).

²⁹³ Selim S. Kuru, 'City of Men', in *A Companion to Early Modern Istanbul*, ed. by Shirine Hamadeh and Çigdem Kafescioğlu (Leiden: Brill, 2021), 63-80 (p. 74).

²⁹⁴ Selim S. Kuru, 'City of Men' (p. 60).

labour it bore. On a broad level, one primary feature (and success) of this kind of poetry seems to have been its emphasis on the individual urbanites as an extension of the city itself; in other words, to gather and watch Istanbul in representation one had to look to the crowds peopling its public squares, bazaars and seas.

The travel album genre, though on a more superficial level, appears to have engaged in comparable sentiment. Though it should be noted that based on extant European albums of Istanbul there seems to have been no fixed model of depicting the city, since whilst those like Wyts emphasised the sociality engendered in the most well-known quarters, the *Freshfield Album*, which was produced coevally, was interested in depicting bare structures. Notwithstanding differing levels of formal specialisation and technical accuracy, two main approaches to Istanbul's cityscape begins to appear in the production of sixteenth-century albums: the built environment as divorced from Ottoman subjects, on the one hand, and as a lived urban space on the other. The latter saw the embedment of the city's ancient monuments, Ottoman buildings including mosques and mausolea as part of the emergence of new social types and forms of sociability especially as connected to and in relation to their own environment. This was not entirely different to Ottoman representational practices of the time including şehrengiz poetry. Within either approach, however, there appears to be little evidence that an unmovable model was at work, and it is likely that a case-by-case flexibility continued to inform the production of travel albums until the end of the century.

7.2 Ancient Monuments

Fol. 56r: The Serpent Column

The first image pertaining to the built environment appears on folio 56r, and pictures the Serpent Column in the Hippodrome. The image pictures a lean sculpture consisting of three intertwined serpents that rise to dramatic height [Fig. 7.6] A body of text is placed below the base of the Serpent

Column and attests that this metal structure remains in the place of the Atbazar, is made of three equal heads bent together through which river water once flowed. It also acknowledges that this water (“fluens aqua”) has since receded and flows no longer (“iam vero non”).²⁹⁵ The folio employed is a fold-out page that extends fourfold measuring of 36 x 15.8 cm (14 x 6 ins), and yet the structure itself has been completed as a sketch in pencil alone, with little more than a structural outline and light details. The short text is noteworthy, since no record of its erection in the fifth century BC as part of a pagan ritual in Delphi is mentioned, nor its appropriation and continued symbolism under Byzantine Christian rule of the city.²⁹⁶ Although the artist-author of the album may not have been privy to these details, in comparison to the recoding of the precise provenance of the Obelisk (as will be seen below), it is possible that the allure of the Serpent Column was a formal rather than a historical one.

Nonetheless the Serpent Column is one of the most reoccurring structures in travel albums to Istanbul of this period, often appearing with little if any adjacent text to historicise it. The aforementioned *Freshfield Album* pictured the ‘tripartite bronze column in the Hippodrome’ (“columna anea triceps in Hippodromo”), making point to watercolour the body of the structure a luminous sheen [**Fig. 7.7**]. As with the Bodl. Or. 430, this depiction takes a traditional view of the Serpent Column from a frontal street-level perspective in which three serpent-heads jut in north, east and western directions. The *Türkisches Manierenbuch* album (c. 1595) also pictured the structure in likewise terms, only in a smaller scale upon a low street-line so as to emphasise its proportion as one of the smaller structures in the Hippodrome [**Fig. 7.8**].

²⁹⁵ Bodl. Or. 430, fol. 56r.

²⁹⁶ ‘Serpent Head’, *Pera Museum*, <<https://www.peramuseum.org/blog/serpent-head/1390>> [accessed 11 September 2024].

As a central monument of the Hippodrome, the Serpent Column also began to appear in illustrated Ottoman chronicles produced in the royal atelier. Most notable was Intizami's *Sûrnâme-i Hümayûn* (TSM Library, H.1344) which had chronicled the extensive public celebrations around the circumcision of Şehzade Mehmed in 1582.²⁹⁷ These celebrations, and the pictorial programme in Intizami's text (illustrated by the royal workshop of Nakkaş Osman), were based primarily in the Byzantine *spina*, the central segment of the public Hippodrome. Within this text, which included detailed commentaries on the procession of the urban guilds across successive days, the three ancient monuments of the Hippodrome appeared as markers of the space. For instance, picturing the procession of the cloth-makers (Fols. 338b-9a), the Serpent Column (alongside the Walled Obelisk and the chief Obelisk of Theodosius) designated the closest edge of the plane of view, behind which the procession and the Ibrahim Pasha Palace receded [Fig. 7.9]. The appearance of the Serpent Column in this text, which pictured one of the most extensive public celebrations of Ottoman history, presented it only as one part of the Hippodrome. Even still, the appearance of the structure as a slender, bronze monument emphasised that it continued to be one of the points of interest in at least some Ottoman sources as well as European visitors to the city in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Fol. 159r: The Obelisk of Theodosius

Another monument pictured in the *Album*, and the second structure from the ancient Hippodrome, is the Obelisk of Theodosius appearing on folio 159r [Fig. 7.10]. Once unfolded, the page measures 41 x 15.5 cm (16 x 6 ins), a sizeable five centimetres taller than the page of the Serpent Column. It appears that this composition has been left largely incomplete, since the main body of the monument depicts none of its famed hieroglyphs. These were almost always included in the

²⁹⁷ Derin Terzioğlu, 'The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation', *Muqarnas* (1995), 85-100 (p. 85).

depiction of the Obelisk in travel albums of the period. The *Freshfield Album* which recorded each of the four faces of the Obelisk across fold-out pages made effort to clarify its inscription programme with a high degree of accuracy. The western face (Fol. 4r) especially, was very accurate from the tip of the monument to its base [Fig. 7.11]. This suggests an eye that was observing carefully and likely in-person, especially given that the structure appears to perspectively recede (to mark its vertical extension) in proportion to a viewpoint from ground-level.

Even the much simplified picture of the Obelisk in *Türkisches Manierenbuch* album (c. 1595) made effort at distinguishing some signs of carving running vertically along the body of the structure [Fig. 7.12]. One suggestion may be that the artist of the Bodl. Or 430 was unable to secure an extended period of observation in the open Hippodrome, in line with strict rules applied to foreign visitors as described by Hans Dernschwam. This traveler Dernschwam, who had made a visit to Istanbul in 1553-5, described in his writing how drawing *ad vivum* including monuments was forbidden and that “none of the artists could do such a thing since they would immediately be detained as spies, to be beaten and fined”.²⁹⁸ However this seems rather unlikely in the context of the *Album*’s consistent privileged position as an observer to the city’s structures and inhabitants, exemplified through drawings of the below-detailed Süleymaniye Mosque and the ruling elite including the Sultan proper. Further, the amount of central space reserved on the page for the body of the Obelisk to subsequently be left blank is inconsistent with the *Album*’s patterns of recording. It is most likely, therefore, that this picture is one of the few in the *Album* to be left incomplete.

Of what remains, an imposing structure is pictured: the height of the Obelisk is emphasised by a pyramidal outline that reaches the farthest upper edge of the fold-out. This extension elongates the

²⁹⁸ Quoted in: Nurhan Atasoy and Lale Uluç, *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe: 1453-1699*, (Istanbul: Armaggan Publications, 2012), p. 346.

shape of the structure, picturing a much taller and slimmer form than its referent. The adjacent text begin with an obscure mention of a horse square ('forum ecurum') in Naples. This is likely a reference to the Byzantine context of the Hippodrome as a place used for horse and chariot racing. This is followed by a material description which details that "out of precious stone [the obelisk] was erected perpendicularly by the ruler".²⁹⁹ Finally the author notes that an "excellent poem [is] inscribed at the foot".³⁰⁰ If this is taken to be a reference to the Eastern face of the pedestal, it describes the Latin hexameters inscribed for the occasion of the re-erection of the Obelisk in Constantinople by Theodosius in the fourth century AD.³⁰¹ The artist has copied the verses of this 'excellent poem' almost in its entirety, with little error. A clue that this section of recording was completed from primary observation is the inclusion of a breaking clause "-“ in "VICTUSEGO - METUSA". This corresponds precisely to the point in which a major crack through the east face had split the stone, and supports the argument that it was in fact the result of *ad vivum* observation.

The most intriguing aspect of the drawing of the Obelisk appears in the marbled pedestal that pictures a four-part decorative programme depicting ceremonial scenes from the court of Theodosius I and his domination over his enemies. The *Album*'s version, however, is vastly different: what appears is a reception scene of a central Ottoman figure facing the viewer with attendees flanking him on either sides. Each of the figures represented appear wearing large stately turbans [Fig. 7.13]. The closest reference to the scene depicted appears on the upper plane of the eastern face of the Obelisk; here is pictured Theodosius I (r. 379-95) offering laurels of victory during the chariot races [Fig. 7.14]. The Roman emperor is dignified as the centre of the event and elevated above his subjects who frame him in all directions. In comparison with the *Album*'s

²⁹⁹ "...lapis ex cesaris perpendiculariter erectus est", Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 159r.

³⁰⁰ "...excellens poema subscriptum foret hoc modo", Ibid.

³⁰¹ Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 117

depiction of a seated ruler, Theodosius stands tall, yet in both instances the central figures are distinguished as commanding the space and face the viewer confidently head-on. This translation of this Byzantine scene from a famed *spolia* into Ottoman form is left unexplained in the *Album*, though it is unlikely that it was unintentional. The copying of the Latin inscription in almost entirety and its praising as “an excellent poem” infers that the artist had comprehended its meaning as lauding the emperor Theodosius against the “[now] forgotten tyrants” (EXTINCTIS... TYRANNIS). A comparable case appears in the aforementioned *Freshfield Album*; although the hieroglyphs are rendered accurately, there are instances of translation. For instance, along the southern face of the Obelisk, the hieroglyphic determinative for ‘ruler or god’ appears as a Europeanised reclining nude [Fig. 7.15]. In the context of a painstakingly accurate rendering of the monument into picture-form (including its pedestals from all angles), it is unlikely that this was the result of some shortcoming. Both the depiction of the Obelisk in the *Freshfield Album* and the Bodl. Or. 430 present elements of translation that are left unexplained. In the case of the former, it appears in the main body of the obelisk in the ancient writing system that may have been regarded as changeable due to its pictorial form. In the latter, an entire pedestal is ‘Ottomanised’, reflecting the changed imperial circumstance of the city, whilst keeping its formal connections to an ancient past. One conjecture may be that these were related to expectations from patrons within the commissioning of travel albums produced in Constantinople. Since these were objects intended to conjure intrigue as much as elucidate through firsthand documentation, its manifold purposes seem to have produced ground for narrative liberties, comparable to overstatements and dramatisations encountered in the genre of travel writing of the period.³⁰²

³⁰² Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt, eds., *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Routledge: London and New York, 2012), p. 110

7.3 Ottoman Buildings

Fol. 132r: The Süleymaniye Complex

Writing in the first decades of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman historian Hadîdî had read the extensive geographic reach of the House of Osman as a symptom of its unshakability. One feature of Hadîdî's proclamation of this Ottoman security ("emn ü amân") was their having built pious foundations throughout its variegated lands. The fact that these were built through the means, and for the use of, the just Imam and sunni congregation ("Îmâm u âdil ü sünni cemâ'at"), and that they now overfilled with worshipers, drew closer the judgement of divinely ordained rule to the practice of building and using buildings correctly.³⁰³ The effect and symbolism of building activity was to develop throughout the sixteenth century as part of the imperial imagination, informing various narrative and representational forms including the repeated use of topographic and itinerary structures in the arts of the book.³⁰⁴ Outside of this narrativisation of the built environment, the practice of consistently building, especially on a monumental scale, in the imperial capital entirely transformed the silhouette of Istanbul during this century. As Hakan T. Karateke has noted, the ideology of 'charitable buildings' which included monumental buildings types, was "partly aimed at fulfilling the image of an ideal Sultan that was in the collective memory of the people and thereby legitimize his rule in their minds".³⁰⁵ In this vein, Sinan's extended tenure as chief royal architect

³⁰³ Hadîdî, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman (1299-1523)*, ed. by Necdet Öztürk (Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1991), p. 17. Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 34. Hadîdî's words were not entirely different to those allegedly spoken by Sultan Bayezid II for the value of 'tombs, mosques, monasteries, convents and other buildings belonging to the sultans' which were "proof of the rule of Islam in their lands and the guarantors of the beautiful memory of the sublime people of God's beloved Prophet's community". Quoted in Max Scherberger, 'The Confrontation between Sunni and Shi'i Empires: Ottoman-Safavid Relations between the Fourteenth and the Seventeenth Century', in *The Sunna and Shi'a in History: Division and Ecumenism in the Muslim Middle East*, ed. by Ofra Bengio and Meir Litvak (USA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 51-68 (p. 53).

³⁰⁴ Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, 'Osmanlı Şehir Tahayyülünün Görsel ve Edebi İzleri: Onaltıncı ve Onyedinci Yüzyıl Menzılname ve Seyahatnamelerinde Şehir İmgeleri', in *Gelenek, Kimlik, Bireşim: Kültürel Kesişmeler ve Sanat* (Hacettepe Üniversitesi, 2011), pp. 139-48.

³⁰⁵ Hakan T. Karateke, 'Interpreting Monuments: Charitable Buildings, Monuments, and the Construction of Collective Memory in the Ottoman Empire', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 91. (2001), 183-199 (pp. 186-7).

(1539-88) has been well-cited, especially his large-scale modulation of the urban landscape of the capital city under the provision of three successive Sultans (Süleyman-Murad III).³⁰⁶

Given that Sinan was responsible for over three-hundred designs throughout his tenure,³⁰⁷ it is unsurprising that his structures gathered interest amongst foreign visitors to the city. The Süleymaniye complex (completed c. 1557), especially, was often detailed by travellers; those like Sanderson had referred to it as “the mervailouse church and sepullcer of the trioumphant and invi[n]sible Sultan Soliman”.³⁰⁸ He had also noted that the Süleymaniye was built in “the best and most frequented place of the citie”.³⁰⁹ Indeed, the location of the Süleymaniye was a decision carefully made, as land had been taken from the Old Palace in order that building work could begin on one of the highest terrains of the city.³¹⁰ Interestingly Sanderson’s architectural reading of Istanbul goes onto develop a genealogical model, the hilltop ‘temples’ of Mehmed II, Selim I and Süleyman that symbolise an unbroken pattern of governance. Even still, it is the Süleymaniye that is of primary attention; in his words, this mosque “meriteth to be matched with the seven wounders of the wourld”.³¹¹

³⁰⁶ See: Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*. See also: Necipoğlu, ‘The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation’, *Muqarnas*, 3 (1985), 92-117; Necipoğlu, ‘Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture’, *Muqarnas*, 10. *Essays in Honor of Oleg Grabar* (1993), 169-180, Jale Nejdert Erzen, *Sinan, Ottoman Architect. An Aesthetic Analysis* (Ankara, 2004); Turgut Cansever, *Mimar Sinan* (Istanbul, 2010); Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul An Urban History* (Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996), pp. 250-69.

³⁰⁷ Erzen, *Sinan, Ottoman Architect. An Aesthetic Analysis*, p. 24.

³⁰⁸ *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant*, p. 71.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

³¹⁰ Stefanos Yerasimos, *Süleymaniye*. (İstanbul: YKY, 2002), p. 51. For a detailed analysis of the architecture of the Süleymaniye Complex see: Gülru Necipoğlu, ‘The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation’, *Muqarnas* (1985), 92-117.

³¹¹ *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant*, p. 71.

Melchior Lorck was an earlier visitor to the city that had taken particular interest in the Süleymaniye complex, producing a comprehensive print of the central Friday mosque, the madrasas and the funerary garden as seen from a distant but levelled viewpoint from the south-east [Fig. 7.16]. The accuracy with which Lorck had detailed the structure implies an extended period of careful recording; that the Süleymaniye was the object of such attention is itself indicative of the heightened status of the structure in the traveller's imagination. The complex remained one of the primary sites of visitation throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for foreigners; Evliya Çelebi describes how he had once observed "ten Frankish infidels with expert knowledge of geometry and architecture who were touring this light-filled mosque". He continues that these men, dazzled by its perfection "put finger to mouth and bit in astonishment".³¹² Whether accurate or not, Evliya Çelebi's relaying of events represents the Süleymaniye as a continued site of visitation and spectacle for foreign visitors to the city, and to a certain extent, a source of pride amongst Istanbulites and the Ottoman intellectual elite.

This view from the east, with some variation, would become a repeated viewpoint from which the Süleymaniye complex was pictured in travel albums throughout the century. The *Freshfield Album*, alongside the Serpent Column and the Obelisk of Theodosius, pictured the 'Moschea Sultani Solimannii' (Fol. 14r). In comparison with Lorck's print, this drawing focused solely on the central Friday Mosque picturing its western façade head-on [Fig. 7.17]. The artist depicted its façade beginning from behind the outer courtyard: the mosque with its central dome, four minarets, galleries and pillared arcades. What was cut out from this view was the funerary garden including the mausolea of Sultan Süleyman and his wife Hürrem Sultan, as well as the domed madrasa schools and subordinate structures of the complex.

³¹² Robert Dankoff and Sooyong Kim, *An Ottoman Traveller: Selections from the Book of Travels of Evliya Çelebi* (Eland Publication Limited, 2010), p. 16.

Throughout the 1580s-90s, the Süleymaniye remained one of the most repeated buildings in travel albums, perhaps explained by the notable pause in building sultanic mosque in Istanbul until the early seventeenth century. The *Levenklau Album* (c. 1590) included a view of the Süleymaniye Mosque in terms so similar to the *Freshfield Album* that it is tempting to suppose that one was the model for the other. It pictured the building from an identical elevated viewpoint of the western façade, isolating the central mosque from the funerary garden to the opposite northern edge [Fig. 7.18].³¹³ As in the *Freshfield Album*, light tonal definition had been employed in watercolour on what was otherwise a monochromatic composition depicting a marbled edifice, with the main divergence to the fact being the appearance of its famed lead-covered domes painted silver.

One reason for the popularity of this view of the western façade in travel albums (produced by foreign visitors staying and frequenting the European quarter of the city) was in all probability that it corresponded to the appearance of the Süleymaniye as seen from an elevated viewpoint across the Bosphorus in Galata. Indeed, Evliya Çelebi had underscored the significance of the Süleymaniye as a site of contestation for the ‘infidels’ of Galata; in his *Seyāḥatnāme*, he repeats the story of the slab of cross-engraved porphyry fitted onto the courtyard floor which angered the Christians to such an extent that a cannonball was fired at the mosque.³¹⁴ In his own words, he boasts that “[s]een from Galata, the Süleymaniye complex seems like a vast city covered with dark blue lead”.³¹⁵

The Bodl. Or. 430, too, on a fold-out page (Fol. 132r) pictured the Süleymaniye from this vantage point as seen from Galata, depicting its western façade and isolating the central mosque [Fig. 7.19].

³¹³ Equally, a now-lost common prototype may have been used by both artists.

³¹⁴ *An Ottoman Traveller*, p. 12.

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 11.

The text describes that “[a]mong the most superior shrines (*delubra*) of Constantinople, there is beyond the [city] walls” a temple (*templum*) which “represents the name of its builder (*fabricatoris repesantat Sultan Soliman*)”.³¹⁶ In terms comparable to the Levenklau and Freshfield albums, the point of observation began with the walled portal of the gardened mausolea in the south, continuing up to the north-western corner of the forecourt. However in terms of scaling, the structure appears foreshortened, so as to fit the entire western façade of the central structure on the page. Nonetheless, the picture does record many architectonic features precisely: a domical superstructure and semi-domes which reflects the mosque’s famed pyramidal silhouette (what Sinan himself would come to call “bubbles on the surface of the sea of elegance”)³¹⁷; a central portico supported by pillars; *ablaq* voussoirs and fenestrated arches set against two trees that indicate the funerary garden to the south. The four minarets are drawn accurately with its ten galleries, yet incorrectly coupled north and south of the central dome. This may have been to preserve the overall symmetry in the picturing of the building, which is broken by all minarets rising from the northern division when viewing the western façade head-on. As such, the artist has seemingly superimposed a view of the northern and western façades in the depiction of the minarets.

The text along these minarets explain that “[t]he Turks do not use bells as we do...however in order to assemble the people, priests sing out of sharp towers (*acreis turribus*) in this way”.³¹⁸ This is followed by a transliteration of the *ezan* in Latinised script pressed between the minarets, which are peopled by ten *müezzins* caught in the act of pronouncing this call to prayer. This *ezan* is repeated to a high level of accuracy and implies the presence of some local mediation since it would have been improbable to transcribe the call with such precision given its transient nature. Likewise, below the

³¹⁶ Bodl. Or. 430, fol. 132r.

³¹⁷ Gülru Necipoğlu, ‘Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape: the Collective Message of Imperial Funerary Mosque Complexes in Istanbul’ (Türk Tarih Kurumu Bakimevi: Ankara, 1996), 23-36 (p. 34).

³¹⁸ Bodl. Or. 430, fol. 132r.

ablution fountains is included further information on the level of practice, that “here [is] an aquatic complex without which the Turks forbid themselves to enter the temple”.³¹⁹ This indicates the transferal of some insight since the reasoning for this cultural practice—the so-called forbidding (*prohibent*) of entry without having first washed oneself clean—is not self-evident in the way that the form of the building is. Further, the madrasa is described as a “populous dwelling” (*domiicilio frequens*) into which “plenty of students have tried” to be admitted. It further notes of these students that “they are in numbers selected by presbyters” (*quorum numero seliguntur presbyterri*).³²⁰ In comparison with the above-detailed ancient monuments in the *Album*, it appears that a higher level of cultural interest is reserved for the Süleymaniye complex including its subordinate structures; or equally, that it had been more readily available to the album-maker. Equally, in comparison with the *Levenklau* and *Freshfield* albums, this episode leans further into the function of the building amongst the urban landscape especially with the elucidation offered by the text. Thus the artist pictures an architecture that reserves its symbolic significance (it “represents” Sultan Süleyman in his words) but also captures a plane through which socio-religious activity on a larger level can be typified and elucidated.

One other divergence from pictures of the Süleymaniye during this time is that the folio is split below the centre by small stepped domes representing the third and fourth madrasas. This effectively reserves a lower portion of the composition to depict an independent flattened terrain in lieu of the slope overlooking the Golden Horn. Interestingly, what is depicted here is a smaller mausoleum-structure that is placed beyond the outer walls of the madrasas. Indeed no tomb was ever built here, and it is unlikely that this was intended to represent the Sultan’s mausoleum in the

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid.

southern funerary garden.³²¹ The text below clarifies that what is pictured are the five tombs (*quīnque sepulchri*) belonging to the five brothers of Sultan Murad after he had had them strangled (*strangularos*) in order that “authority be obtained”.³²² The text alludes to the fratricidal practice of the Ottomans as part of their processes of dynastic ascension, which was a feature cited in European sources of the period: Franciscus de Billerbeg had recorded accurately in 1584 that “Amurathes the third, the second sonne of Selimus...began his Empire with the murther of five young brethren, whom he strangled”.³²³ Indeed the five *şehzades* (Abdullah, Cihangir, Mustafa, Süleyman, Osman) had been murdered on order of Murad in 1574.³²⁴ The Sultan was continuing a practice of fratricide which was formally codified by Mehmed II’s *kānunnāme* as a permissible and lawful practice,³²⁵ in order to conserve world order (*nizām-ı âlem için*).³²⁶ Fratricide was to come under pressure and eventually the practice was broken in the seventeenth century, and yet during the second half of the sixteenth century it was far from obscured; in Selaniki’s work it seems to pose little issue to the institutionalised and sanctified ceremony of royal ascension. Selaniki describes in reverent terms how the five deceased princes were laid to rest by the foot of their father Selim II, and how high-ranking members of the ulema recited the Qur’an throughout those holy nights (*leyâli-i şerîfeyi ihyâylediler*).³²⁷ The oft-cited scene depicting the occasion of these burial rites in the *Freshfield Album*, produced in the same year 1574, recorded the central locale of mourning as adjacent to the Hagia

³²¹ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 205.

³²² Bodl. Or. 430, fol. 132r.

³²³ Franciscus de Billerbeg, *Most rare and straunge discourses*, p. 4.

³²⁴ A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford University Press: London, 1956), p. 31

³²⁵ Ekrem Buğra Ekinci, 'Fratricide in Ottoman Law', *Belleten*, (2018), 1013-1046 (p. 1017). For a discussion on the historical context leading up to the ‘centralist’ legislation of fratricide in the fifteenth century see: Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (University of California Press, 1995), pp. 135-8. Also: Joseph Fletcher, ‘Turco-Mongolian Monarchic Tradition in the Ottoman Empire’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, (1970-80), 236-51 (p. 248).

³²⁶ *Kānunnāme-i âl-i Osmân*, 18. Quoted in: H. Erdem Çıpa, ‘Empire or Faith: Stretching the Boundaries of the Shari‘a in Ottoman Institutional Practice’, *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* (2021), 211-225 (p. 217).

³²⁷ Selânikî, *Tarih-i Selânikî*, p. 102.

Sofia [Fig. 7.20]. Necipoğlu's study has shown that as early as the fifteenth century funerary rites were fully integrated into building practices of Istanbul, with the mausoleum of the deceased Sultan being built by the newly enthroned son without exception in the capital city.³²⁸ In this codified landscape, Sultan Selim's resting place was, as per his own directions, in an enclosed garden connected to the Hagia Sofia.³²⁹ The scene depicted in the *Freshfield Album* predates the construction of Selim's permanent mausoleum by Sinan c. 1577, and shows a temporary imperial tent; in either case, it must have served some facet of curiosity regarding Ottoman politics of dynastic ascension, since it enjoyed further readership in the German-speaking world following its reproduction in printed form [Fig. 7.21].³³⁰

The appearance of this burial site in the Bodl. Or. 430, and its textual recording of the death of the *şehzades* (with notable omission of the deceased Sultan Selim) around a decade and a half after the events had taken place indicates that Sultan Murad's enactment of fratricidal policies had informed his legacy in European minds. If we take the *Album*'s dating to be c.1588 as argued in the beginning of this thesis, it would have theoretically allowed the artist to record the permanent structure completed by Sinan by this time which the artist of the *Freshfield Album* could not have done. The mausoleum of Selim completed by Sinan was a double-domed octagonal plan with a grand portal; it had multiple codependent *ablaq* arches supported by stone pillars and was one of the grandest Ottoman mausolea of the city to have been built. Above the portal and to either side of the entrance walls were bold Iznik revetments in classical Ottoman blue, green and red. The building pictured in

³²⁸ Necipoğlu, 'Dynastic Imprints on the Cityscape', p. 27

³²⁹ Note that Selim's mausoleum continued to act as a centre of funerary activity post-dating the Sultan and his son's entombment in 1574. Nurbanu Valide Sultan (mother of Sultan Murad III) had died in April of 1583, and following her funeral prayer which took place in the Fatih Mosque was placed in the Selim mausoleum. M. Âkif Aydın, Coşkun Yılmaz, *Antik çağ'dan XXI. yüzyıla büyük İstanbul tarihi* (İBB Kültür A.Ş., 2015), p. 448. *Dünden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, vol. 6 (Kültür Bakanlığı, 1993), p. 96.

³³⁰ Radway, *Portraits of Empires*, p. 110. For a description of the imperial tent and the following construction of the permanent mausoleum by Sinan, see: Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 233.

the *Album*, however, is significantly divergent: what is depicted is a single-domed structure with ground-level steps up to a small centrally located portal. There are no arches depicted, and the famed Iznik tiles are missing. On the whole it is a much more sober and petite structure that appears to ill-fit the sultanic mausoleum it claims to record.

One clue for the origin of the building comes in the way of location, since the artist had made a point to clarify its position as directly outside the outer walls of the Süleymaniye, and not by any means connected to the Hagia Sofia. In terms of this suggestion of locale, the closest reference to my mind is the mausoleum of the architect Sinan, situated beyond the outer walls of the Süleymaniye in the farthest north-western corner [Fig. 7.22]. This was designed by the architect himself on an empty plot reserved for his endowed school and residence [Fig. 7.23].³³¹ A modest form, it bears resemblance to the edifice recorded as the tomb of Sultan Selim: a single-domed octagonal plan with ground-level steps up to a central arched portal [Fig. 7.24]. It also features a marble facade fenestrated with prominent, iron-barred windows. The chief architect had in fact passed away in the year 1588, and it is possible that this event coincided with the production of the *Album*. The conspicuous appearance of a single coffin even as the text describes five, which itself appears in rather austere form missing the regalia expected of the entombment of the Sultan and his household, is a further link between these two events.³³² Admittedly there appears certain formal differences between the tomb of the architect and the building pictured in the *Album*; mainly the addition of high stained-glass windows and a large led-covered dome circumferentially decorated with gilded ornament. All in all it seems that if the Sinan tomb had been used as a the model for ‘the five tombs of the five brothers of Sultan Murad’, it had been somewhat monumentalised to befit the

³³¹ Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan*, p. 205.

³³² Album-makers of the period experimented with simultaneously recording external and internal space, especially of mausolea. This may explain the appearance of the casket and candles ‘outside’. For the ‘inside-out’ formula employed by album-makers of the period in the representation of tombs, see: O.17.2, Trinity Library Library, Cambridge, Fol. 22v; Cod. 2615, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Fol. 129r.

sultanic context it purported to detail. On a larger level, it implies that whilst certain historical events and cultural practices were on the mind of the maker of the *Album* as they traversed the imperial capital looking to record the built environment, a level of superimposition must have been regarded as acceptable. Supported by the force of a firsthand account, it implies that these episodes were not expected to be readily verified by the intended readership.

Chapter 8:

CONCLUSION

As detailed at the beginning of this thesis, the historical study of the Bodl. Or. 430 had been hindered by the very fact that it exists as an undated and anonymous codex. Whilst the issue of the former has been largely resolved, since no contradictory evidence to the production date in the 1580s has arisen throughout this research project, the latter remains unsettled. With a missing dedication page (if ever it had one), and no extant mark at authorship it is through close comparative analysis of the text and images with contemporaneous albums, costume books and historical sources that original episodes have been categorically analysed, laying the ground for some general remarks about the artist-author of the *Album*.

In the first instance, it is clear that the artist behind the *Album* was a firsthand European visitor to the Ottoman capital with access (whether directly or indirectly) to the cultural sphere and happenings of the imperial court as well as, or as a result of, familiarity with the city's urban fabric. This 'insider knowledge' appears causally throughout the *Album*: the depiction of the seated Sultan for which no known European model survives, a drawing of original features of the Gate of Felicity in the Topkapı Palace, repeated textual accounts of the affairs of the ruling elite (including marriages, appointments and deaths), numeric estimations of the palace cavalrymen and servants, an expansive and highly accurate cartographic vista of the Bosphorus strait and descriptions relating to the cultural use of the Süleymaniye including the competitive process of admission to its madrasas, to name a few. In terms of production, though little is revealed explicitly by the author, the appearance of gilding as detailed in chapter four in the portrait of the Sultan (Fol. 6r) as well as other courtly figures (Fols. 11r, 20r, 23r, 26r), two double-sided *ebru*-dyed pages (Fols. 4r-v; 13r-v)

and the use of paper sourced locally, are strong links to the cultural practices of the Ottomans in the realm of the arts of the book during this period.³³³ It is known that earlier (albeit exceptional) visitors to the Ottoman court had gained firsthand access to material from which they could work. A case in point is Nicolas de Nicolay's relaying of his access to courtly fashion through the mediation and friendship of the eunuch Zafer Ağa. According to Nicolay, Zafer Ağa went as far as dressing two lay women in the style of the royal family for the artist's observation in the preparation of his costume book.³³⁴ In comparable terms, the author of the *Album*'s remarkable portrait and familiar account of the Norfolk-born eunuch Hasan Ağa (Samson Rowlie) [Fig. 3.4] as detailed in chapter three in connection to the English spy-merchant William Harborne suggests at least one possible line of connection that could explain the insight that its production had benefitted from.³³⁵

This is not to oversee the use of existing images and models that have informed many aspects of the *Album*'s pictorial programme and scope: many were, at least categorically speaking, rooted in

³³³ Skilliter, *Life in Istanbul*, p. 4. For details on gilding and marbled paper as they appeared in the burgeoning album genre by Ottoman artists at the turn of the seventeenth century, see: Emine Fetvacı, *The Album of the World Emperor: Cross-Cultural Collecting and the Art of Album-Making in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul* (Princeton University Press, 2020), p. 64.

³³⁴ Tülay Reyhanlı, 'Nicolas de Nicolay'ın Türkiye Seyahatnâmesi ve Desenleri', *Erdem*, 5. 14, (1989), 571-617 (p. 574).

³³⁵ In either case, travellers to the Ottoman capital in the sixteenth century, especially those sent on diplomatic missions to the imperial court were interacting with dignitaries not only attuned to the practise of painting and the arts of the book, but themselves actively involved in patronising such objects. Zeren Tanındı, 'Topkapı Sarayı'nın Ağaları ve Kitaplar', *Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 3. (2002), 41-56 (pp. 41-7).

Nicolay's *Les navigations* which is certainly the main source used by the album-maker.³³⁶ The popularity and influence of this text should not be understated, since it was reprinted at least once (and up to four times) each year until the end of the sixteenth century in most European languages.³³⁷ These conventional costume book 'types' are repeated in practically all albums to the Ottoman lands of the period, appearing casually amongst original and observed episodes. In the case of the Hapsburg albums comparatively analysed in this thesis some of the most frequently repeated costume types come in the way of palace cavalry and servants, Turkish, Greek and Christian women as seen in the public domain, Muslim and non-Muslim urban subjects and merchants. The fact that the Bodl. Or. 430's album-maker assimilates each of these stock types with episodes he had observed firsthand implies an awareness that he was working within a genre with its own archive of images *and* expectations for original observation. Whilst acknowledging this categorical implication, this thesis has contextualised divergences from the repeated stock types. This approach, by focusing specifically on original episodes within the Bodl. Or. 430, has looked to centre portraiture, cartography, naval history and the built landscape in the historicisation of firsthand contact that, art historically speaking, can enhance understandings of a variegated practice of travel and its writing.

³³⁶ I have counted seven illustrations that are close to direct copies from Nicolay's *Les navigations*: Fol. 90r 'Turkish woman' is a copy of *Les navigations*, fol. 114; Fol. 102r 'Women going to bath' is a copy of *Les navigations*, fol. 113; Fol. 110r, the untitled illustration of a fully covered woman, is a copy of *Les navigations*, fol. 101; Fol. 114r 'Judge' is a copy of *Les navigations*, fol. 77; Fol. 136r 'Descendent of the Prophet' is a copy of *Les navigations*, fol. 210; Fol. 145r 'Pilgrim' is a copy of *Les navigations*, fol. 195; Fol. 68r 'Acemî oğlan' appears to be a blend of the two portraits of the same subject in *Les navigations*, fol. 128 (from which the physiognomy and dress is taken) and fol. 131 (from which the pose is taken). At least an additional nine illustrations appear to be looser copies of the plates from the same text: Fol. 62r 'Foot-soldier' of *Les navigations*, fol. 148; Fol. 65r 'Janissary' of *Les navigations*, fol. 140; Fol. 80r 'Soldier with a musket' of *Les navigations*, fol. 137; Fol. 105r 'Christian woman in Galata' of *Les navigations*, fol. 122; Fol. 108r 'Wife' of *Les navigations*, fol. 101r; Fol. 139r 'Dervish' from *Les navigations*, fol. 188; Fol. 165 'Water vendor' of *Les navigations*, fol. 207; Fol. 168r 'Sherbet maker and cook' of *Les navigations*, fol. 167r; Fol. 174 'Two men wrestling' of *Les navigations*, fol. 159r.

³³⁷ Reyhanlı, 'Nicolas de Nicolay'ın Türkiye Seyahatnâmesi ve Desenleri' (p. 572).

Through close study of the images of the *Album* with reference to its text on the one hand, and in connection to coeval albums of the period and extant historical accounts on the other, it is evident that the *Album* was the result of a lengthy and involved line of inquiry that did not take for granted the contextual background of the scenes observed and depicted. The author's use of textual explanations, of which there is only a single exception,³³⁸ indicates that its purpose was concerned with recording the political and cultural landscape of the Ottomans as a reliable source to be visited upon completion. The numeric estimation of the subjects making up the palace cavalry and servants, which was not necessarily common practice, further supports this point. This counters the original claim of Skilliter referenced at the opening of this thesis which had read the *Album* as a 'souvenir', especially since we can assume that any number of 'souvenirs' would have been more conveniently available to a sixteenth-century traveller to Istanbul. On yet another level, the fact that the *Album* was carefully brought to England, acquired by Sir Thomas Bodley, re-bound and safe-kept in a national library intimates that value was attached to its content as an interesting if not reliable source, one that evidently oversteps the status of a personal keepsake.

As outlined in the introduction, the primary aim of this thesis was not to attach a name to the *Album*'s author or patron, though some suggestion has naturally arisen through study of the primary source. Although the practical specificity of the *Album*'s production is significant, the primary intent of this thesis was admittedly broader than this: It presents the first systematic study of a largely forgotten early modern album. By categorically analysing its original images, translating portions of the text and historicising these within a framework of English-Ottoman diplomacy, it highlighted a primary sources that can inform scholarship of the sixteenth century in an array of subfields including portraiture, naval history, cartography and the urban/built environment, but equally of the highly malleable mode of early modern travel writing.

³³⁸ Bodl. Or. 430, fol. 110r.

The first chapter following the introduction worked on the extant collections at the Bodleian Library to assess available archival material and establish the historical grounds through which the Bodl. Or. 430 was catalogued in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Working on the *Catalogue of Persian, Turkish, Hindûstânî, and Pushtû Manuscripts* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1889-1930), and, considering the intellectual domain through which its editorial team (most notably Carl Hermann Ethé) had produced the earliest record of the *Album*, it posed questions relating to its considerable and long-lasting obscurity. It also found certain errors in this earliest record: the number of illustrations had been miscalculated and the primacy of Constantinople/Istanbul was unnoticed by Ethé who suggested Naples as one of the sites of observation. Further, the chapter analysed the nascent digital footprint of the *Album*, in which it had been more recently misdated to the fifteenth century. The implication here was that it presented further grounds for its oversight by scholars working on travel albums. Finally the chapter considered the *Album*'s largely defective condition alongside modern curatorial policies of access as a final challenge for both the deciphering of its content and the potential for historical analysis.

The third chapter took up the issue of dating the Bodl. Or. 430, dealing closely with an anonymous author and absent dedication-page. It corroborated Susan Skilliter's early efforts in suggesting the date to be c.1588 through a comparative analysis of the portraits of nameable post-holders amongst other features. It argued that this sharpened efforts of subject specificity (the naming of sultans, eunuchs, viziers) was a clue for its dating to the reign of Murad III (1574-95). The chapter continued to build an argument for the historical processes through which the *Album* may have been patronised. Skilliter had not found a resolution to the problem, suggesting that it must have been either the result of Hapsburg or English patronage. This chapter married historical records of mercantile and trade activity between Elizabethan England and Murad III's Constantinople with

new primary evidence found in the *Album* to expand the latter proposition. This stands in objection to statements made by Gerald Maclean and Jerry Brotton and is, to my knowledge, the first advancement of this argument which was tentatively proposed by Skilliter.³³⁹

The fourth chapter traced the *Trachtenbuch* model as an intellectual and art historical phenomenon by assessing its historical precedents and lively offshoots. The key aim of this chapter was to elucidate the genre of illustrated albums within the form and shape of travel writing more widely. By following a history of appropriation that ran across European print cultures including late-medieval peregrination texts, costume books and travel writing, it attested to the development of an image-centred mode of depicting Eastern (and then Ottoman) polities. Accordingly, the long-lasting formal influence of Nicolas de Nicolay's *Les navigations* (first published 1567-8) was emphasised, especially in the development of a burgeoning taste of picturing travel to the Ottoman realm in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Chapter five, namely 'Portraits of the Ruling Class' took up for close-study one of the major categories pictured in the *Album*. The first segment drew a historical survey of the production of portraiture from the establishment of the imperial court in Constantinople under Mehmed II until the reign of Murad III as a way of setting the local artistic context by the time of the *Album*'s production. Using a range of available European and Ottoman sources, it emphasised the position of portraiture as a shared conceptual current between European visitors to the court and Ottoman rulers, literati and artisans. From here, it closely analysed each named portrait in the *Album*, beginning with three of Sultan Murad III (Fols. 6r; 11r; 15r). This was followed by analyses of the

³³⁹ Gerald Maclean had called the Bodl. Or. 430 a 'German traveller's picture book' with no explanation of the fact. See: *The Rise of Oriental Travel: English Visitors to the Ottoman Empire, 1580 - 1720* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. ix. Jerry Brotton has followed suit, citing the *Album* verbatim 'German traveller's picture book' when using the portrait of Samson Rowlie (Fol. 47r). See: Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (Penguin Books: 2017).

portraits of three prominent pashas: Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha (Fol. 20r) Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha (Fol. 23r); Ulūj ‘Ali Pasha (Fol. 29r). Finally the portraits of named eunuchs Ali Ağa (Fol. 26r) and Hassan Ağa (Fol. 47r) were deciphered and historicised. Each portrait was taken alongside its inscriptive text, and comparatively analysed with extant (and where available, coeval) descriptions of the post-holders in illustrated albums and, where applicable, primary Ottoman sources.

Chapter six, ‘Bosphorus Map and Naval Scenes’ began with a close reading of the *Album*’s fold-out ‘Bosphorus Map’ (Fol. 2r). It read the appearance of the map as a symptom of the cartographic-turn of the period which had seemingly directed both Ottoman artists and European album-makers towards the built environment and eventually towards the Bosphorus. To do this, it separated the analysis across two domains of inquiry: first, it looked at the visual plane and secondly the temporal plane. The former assessed the closely linked visual tradition of the bird’s eye city-view and mapping conventions to topographic and pictorial assimilation of space in the *Album*’s picturing of the Bosphorus. It posed an original argument about the collapsing of the orientation of shorelines towards the waterway in albums of the period, with implications about the transmission of visual culture in the early modern city. Further, it closely read the formal features of the depicted Sultan’s galley on the map as linked to the *kadırga* housed in the Naval Museum in Istanbul, dated around the end of the sixteenth century. Following this, the temporal analysis brought to light the seemingly contradictory appearance of ‘modern’ structures (including the Atik Valide Mosque in Üsküdar and the waterfront Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque) alongside an episode of Greek mythology depicting the tragic love story of Leander in the Dardanelles strait. One conclusion here was that the unsettling of the domain of history within the parameters of the Bosphorus map suggests the act of reading cartographically to be an exercise of travelling both through space and time. The second half of the chapter took up the naval scenes in the *Album* as an object of analysis, focusing on the depiction of the galley of Ulūj ‘Ali (Fol. 32r); and the caiques of Ibrahim Pasha (Fol. 35r) and Ulūj Hasan (Fol.

38r). Using contemporaneous European chronicles including by Joannes Latinus (1573) and Franciscus de Billerbeg (1584) it sought to position the textual description adjacent to the illustrations within a broader culture of representation pertaining to Ottoman commanders and the ruling elite.

The seventh and final chapter ‘The Built Environment’ began by broadly categorising the appearance of urban spaces within representational practices of the period. Emphasising the appearance of albums with a heavy (and at times sole) focus on the ancient/modern structures of Istanbul as a feature of this period, and the popularisation of *şehrengiz* poetry within local contexts, it pulled attention to the preeminence of Istanbul (its squares, bazaars and waters) as a model of representation through which writers and artists of diverse backgrounds had sought to draw cultural meaning. Following this introduction, it began by comparatively analysing the ancient monuments of the hippodrome in the *Album* (the Serpent Column, Fol. 56r; The Obelisk of Theodosius, Fol. 159r) with those found in *The Freshfield Album* (c. 1574) and *Türkisches Manierenbuch* (c. 1595). The second portion of the final chapter studied the only illustration of an Ottoman building, a fold-out of the Süleymaniye Mosque (Fol. 132r). It built an introductory context for the vast modulation of the imperial capital under the tenure of the famed royal architect Sinan (1539-88), especially in relation to the symbolic value of building activity as registered by Ottoman historians and literati. By sharpening these around the case of the Süleymaniye, it surveyed some notable images of the building produced by European artists including Melchior Lorck, and the repeated appearance of the building in travel albums of the half-century. This was followed by a close study of the depiction of the central Friday mosque of the Süleymaniye, paying attention to the accurate architectonic features on the western façade as evidence of a viewpoint observing carefully from Galata. Equally by using the inscriptions around the building which accurately depicted the *ezan*, practices of ablution and the process through which students of the Süleymaniye madrasas received

admission, it attested to an informed authorship that must have benefitted from local agency. The final section of the analysis of the Süleymaniye fold-out took for itself the unusual inclusion of a mausoleum structure pictured beyond the outer walls of the stepped madrasas. Through emphasising the absence of a built structure in this region, which was the slope overlooking the Golden Horn, it turned to textual evidence to elucidate that it was in fact purporting to picture ‘the five tombs belonging to the five brothers of Sultan Murad’. It highlighted two apparent inconsistencies between this claim and the structure depicted: namely that the mausoleum built by architect Sinan for the *şehzades* was adjacent to the Hagia Sofia in the intramuros city, and that it was of a much grander scale with a dissimilar decorative programme. To advance a line of resolution, it posed an original argument connecting the drawing to the single-domed octagonal mausoleum constructed for the architect Sinan at the farthest corner of the Süleymaniye grounds beyond the outer wall. It underscored that the architect had indeed died in 1588 which coincided with the likely date of the production of the *Album*. This may have offered an occasion for linking the mausoleum of the architect with the increasingly popularised story of Sultan Murad III’s strangulation of his brothers, an event which had gained popularity in European chronicles. Finally, it read in this episode an implication on the level of readership, that whilst certain historical events and cultural practices were on the mind of the maker of the *Album* as they traversed the imperial capital looking to record the built environment, a level of superimposition must have been regarded as acceptable and, that these episodes were not expected to be readily verified by its intended reader(s).

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Kafescioğlu, Çiğdem, 'Connections, Continuities and Departures in Imaginations of the City in Early Modern Ottoman Cartography', at *International Scientific Conference of the Sylvia Ioannou Foundation*, 2-4 November 2016, University of Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus

FIGURES



Fig. 3.1 'Sultan Selim the Second', in Lambert de Vos, *Türkisches Kostümbuch* (1574), Fol. 36r.



Fig. 3.2 'Mehmed Pasha the grand vizier', in Lambert de Vos, *Türkisches Kostümbuch* (1574), Fol. 31r.



Taliter Vilius Caesar cum equitando ad suum templum Sancti
Sophiam, quod in propinquo est a Caesareo Pallatio, proficisceretur.

Fig. 3.3 'The Ruler riding on his way to his temple', Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 11r.



Fig. 3.4 Hasan Ağa/ Samson Rowlie, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 47r.



Quidam Arabis S. & Illustissimi Viri & Eunuchi ceram
Caelare, cuiusque Concubinae Filiiissimi habent.



Mercatores & alii Op. Substantiam Eunuchis qui curam suam
EUNUCHIS qui curam suam
Eunuchis qui curam suam
Eunuchis qui curam suam
Eunuchis qui curam suam

Figs. 3.5-3.6 Unnamed Eunuchs, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 44r; Fol. 89r.

ut in eis erudiret israellem et ut consuetudinem haberent prestandi ꝛc. Sic fortassis id ipsum non incongrue dici potest in proposito ut scilicet et sarracenos dimittat dñs vel in flagellum vel exercitum populi xpiani. Sed ego nichil temere diffiniens id doctoribus relinquo. Hoc vñ scio psalmista testante. quia iudicia dei abissus multa ꝛc. Quis autem novit sensum dñi. aut quis consiliarius eius fuit. Apostolus etiā clamat. S. altitudo divitiarū sapientie et scientie dei. q̄ incōprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius. et inīestigabiles vie eius. Et tantū de Sarracenis.



Sarraceni lingua et littera vñtur Arabica hic inferius subimpressa.

Dal	Dal	Feh	haid	Gym	Teth	Te	Be	Aleph
𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	𐤈
Ayn	Dals	Ta	adap	Sad	Sahm	Gym	Zaym	Pe
𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	𐤐	𐤑
hebe	Nun	Mym	Lam	Lam	capl	Enbl	ffea	Saym
𐤒	𐤓	𐤔	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗	𐤘	𐤙	𐤚
𐤛	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞					
𐤟	𐤠	𐤡	𐤢					

Fig. 4.1 'Saracen' congregation and transliterated Arabic to Latin alphabet, Bernard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (1486), Fol.33r, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.



Figs. 4.2-4.3 Gentile Bellini, *St. Mark Preaching in Alexandria* (1504-07), oil on canvas, 347 x 770 cm, Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan, Italy.



Fig. 4.4 Vittore Carpaccio, *Two Standing Women* (1501-08), ink and white gouache on paper, Princeton University Art Museum.



Figs. 4.5-4.6 Vittore Carpaccio, *The Triumph of St George* (1502), tempera on canvas, 141 x 360 cm, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice.



Fig. 4.7 Cairene Woman, Vecellio Cesare, *De gli habiti antichi et modern* (c. 1590), woodcut on paper, British Museum, London, 1871,1209.2835.



Fig. 4.8 Turque allant au Bain, Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigations peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie* (Lyon, 1567-8), p. 113.



Figs. 4.9–4.10. Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (*Customs and Fashions of the Turks*), 16th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA, 28.85.6.



Fig. 4.11. Laquais du grand signor, Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigations peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie* (Lyon, 1567-8), p. 155.



Le laquais turc.

Ce Laquais Turc est icy sans mentir,
 Au vis depaint comme on s'en peut voir,
 C'est le moyen qu'il a de soy vestir,
 Pour mieux courir, dont il fait prompt scavoir.

Fig. 4.12 Le laquais turc, Francois Deserps's *Recueil de la diversité des habits* (Paris, 1562), p. 165.



Fig. 4.13 *Femme Turque menant ses enfans*, Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les navigations peregrinations et voyages, faicts en la Turquie* (Lyon, 1567-8), p. 116.

Fig. 4.14 Hans Weigel, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (1577), p. 222.



Fig. 5.1. Sultan Murad III, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 6r.



Fig. 5.2 Portrait of Murad III, Seyyid Lokman, *Kiyâfetü'l-insāniye fi şemâ'il-ü'l'Osmāniye*, TSM H.1563 (1579)

Fig. 5.3 Portrait of Murad III, *El-Kiyâfetü'l'İnsāniyye Fi Şemâ'ili'l-Osmaniye*, Istanbul University (T. 6087)



Fig. 5.4 Reception with the Sultan, Lambert Wyts, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (1574), Fol. 164.
Fig. 5.5 *Bâbüssaâde* entrance to the second courtyard, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul (Source: Archnet).



Fig. 5.6 Detail of marbled pillars behind the Sultan, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 6r.
Fig. 5.7 Detail of marbled pillars with Corinthian capitals, *Bâbüssaâde*, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul.



Fig. 5.8 From the guarding corps of the Turkish emperor with arrows, Jost Amman, *Habitus praecipuorum populorum* (1577), Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 5.9 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Procession of Sultan Süleyman through the Atmeidan, *Ces Moeurs et fachons de faire de Turcz* (1553), Met Museum, New York.

Fig. 5.10 Detail of frieze showing Sultan Süleyman on horseback.



Fig. 5.11 Sultan Murad III holding a sceptre on horseback, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 15r.



Fig. 5.12 Hans Sebald Beham, *Sultan Süleyman* (c. 1530), woodblock print, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Netherlands.



Fig. 5.13 Albrecht Dürer, *Oriental Rider*, 3196 (1495), 30.5 x 21 cm, water colour and pen on paper, Albertina Museum, Wien.



Fig. 5.14 Gentile Bellini(?), *Seated Scribe* (1479-81), pen in brown ink with watercolour and gold on paper, 18.2 x 14 cm, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.



Fig. 5.15 Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 20r.



Fig. 5.16 Hans Sebald Beham, *Ibrahim Pasha* (c. 1530), woodblock print, Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Netherlands.



Fig. 5.17 Özdemirolu Osman Pasha, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 23r.



Fig. 5.18 Uluj 'Ali Pasha, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 29r.



Fig. 5.19 Ulūj 'Ali Pasha during the Tunisian campaign, Seyyid Lokman, *Şehnâme-i Selīm Hān*, AKM215, (1581), opaque watercolour, ink, and gold on paper, Aga Khan Museum, USA.



Fig. 5.20 Ulūj 'Ali Pasha, Hieronymus Beck, *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum*, ÖNB 8615, (1586-99), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Fol. 22.



Viva Imago Alij WASSCHAW plani Eunuchi
& Excellenti: contra Christianos.

Fig. 5.21 Ali Ağa, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 26r.



Fig. 5.22 Seyyid Lokman, *Zübdetü't-Tevârih*, (1583), Nr. 1973, Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, Fol. 66r.



Fig. 6.1. Bosphorus Map, Bod Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 2r.

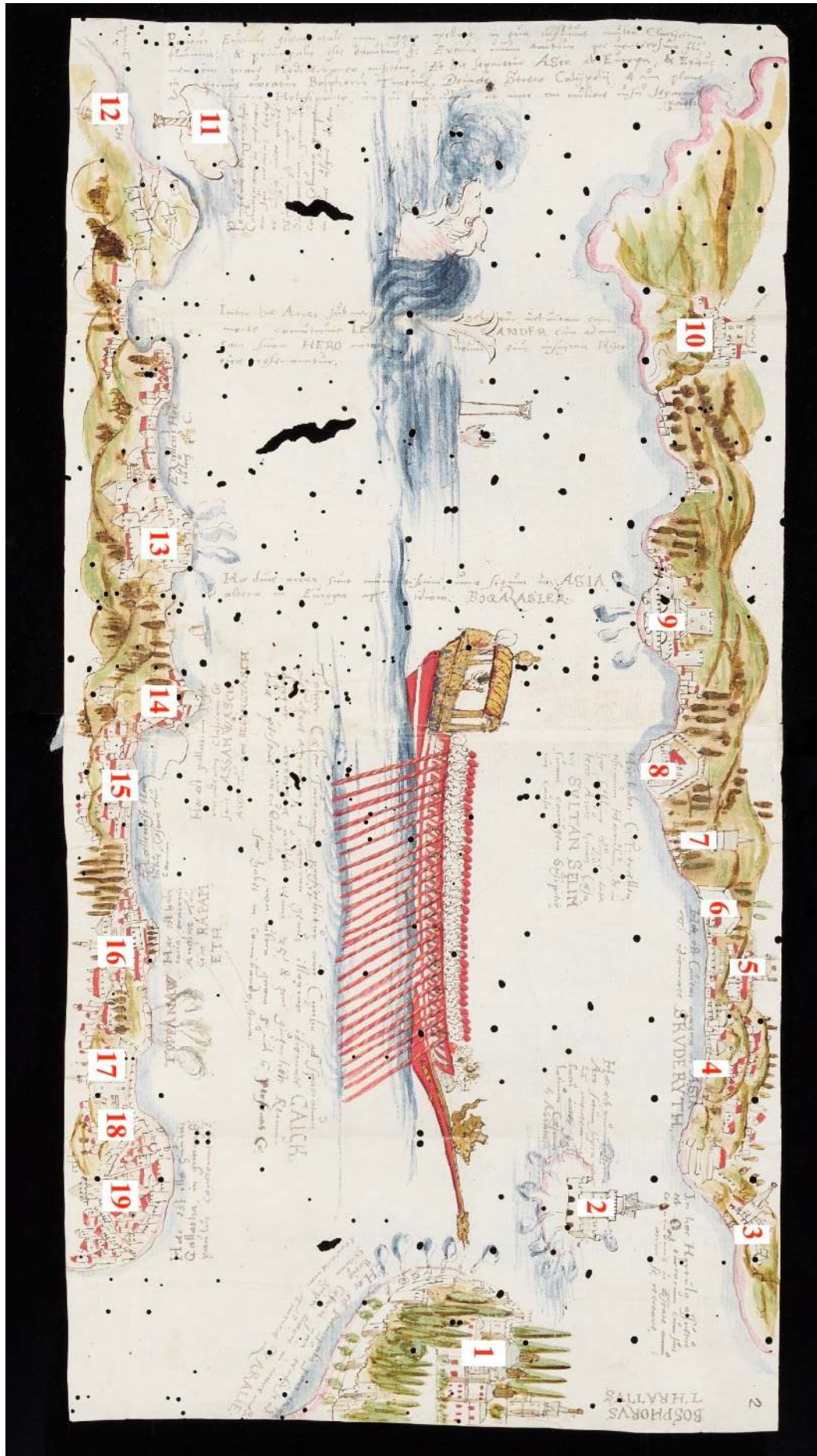
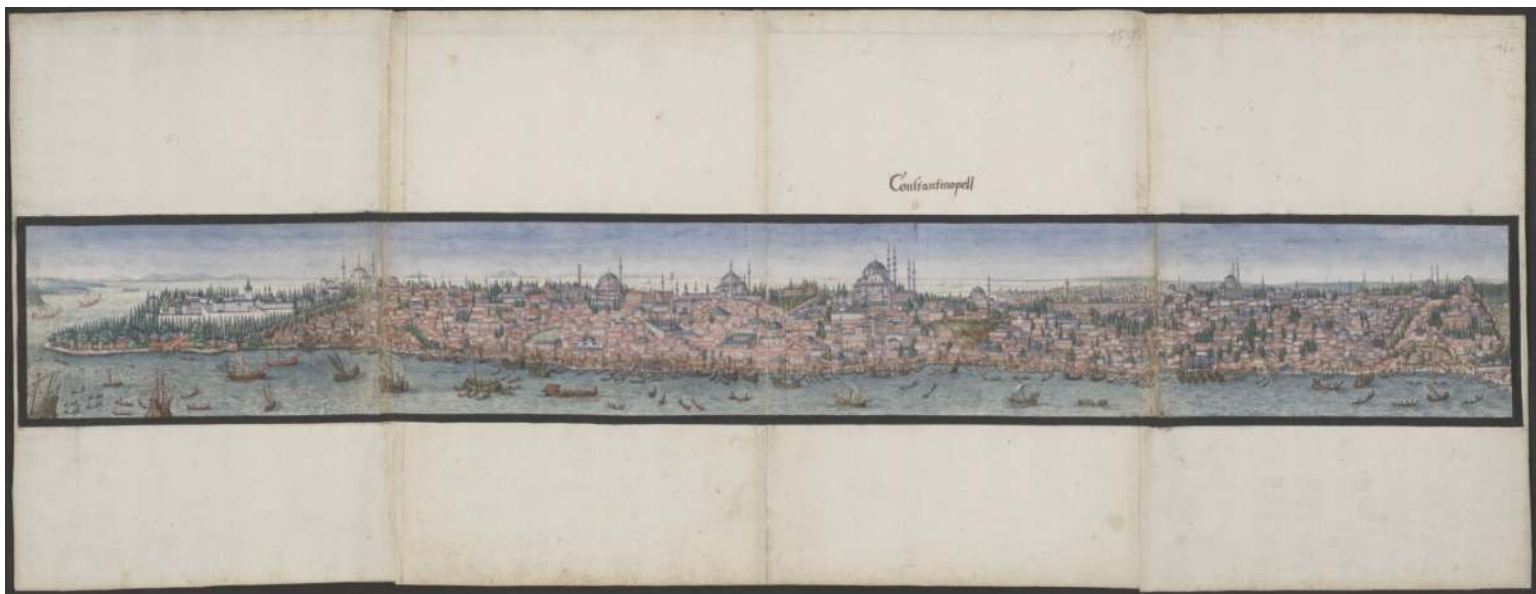


Fig. 6.2 1. Sarayburnu 2. Maiden's Tower 3. Fenerli Gardens 4. Üsküdar 5. Atik Valide Mosque 6. Şemsi Paşa Pavilion (Şerefâbâd) 7. Kule Bahçesi Pavilion 8. Kandilli Pavilion 9. Anadoluhisarı 10. Yoros Castle 11. Pompei Pillar 12. Rumeli Feneri 13. Rumeli Fortress 14. Hasan Paşa Residence (Yalı) 15. II. Selim Complex 16. Cihangir 17. Kılıç Ali Pasha Mosque 18. Tophane 19. Galata



Fig. 6.3. Sarayburnu, *Dryden Album* (1580-90), Trinity College Library, Cambridge, Fols. 53v-54r.



Figs. 6.4-6.6 Istanbul, Galata, Üsküdar, Heinrich Hendrowski, (c. 1590), Cod. 8626, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Fol. 159v-160r.



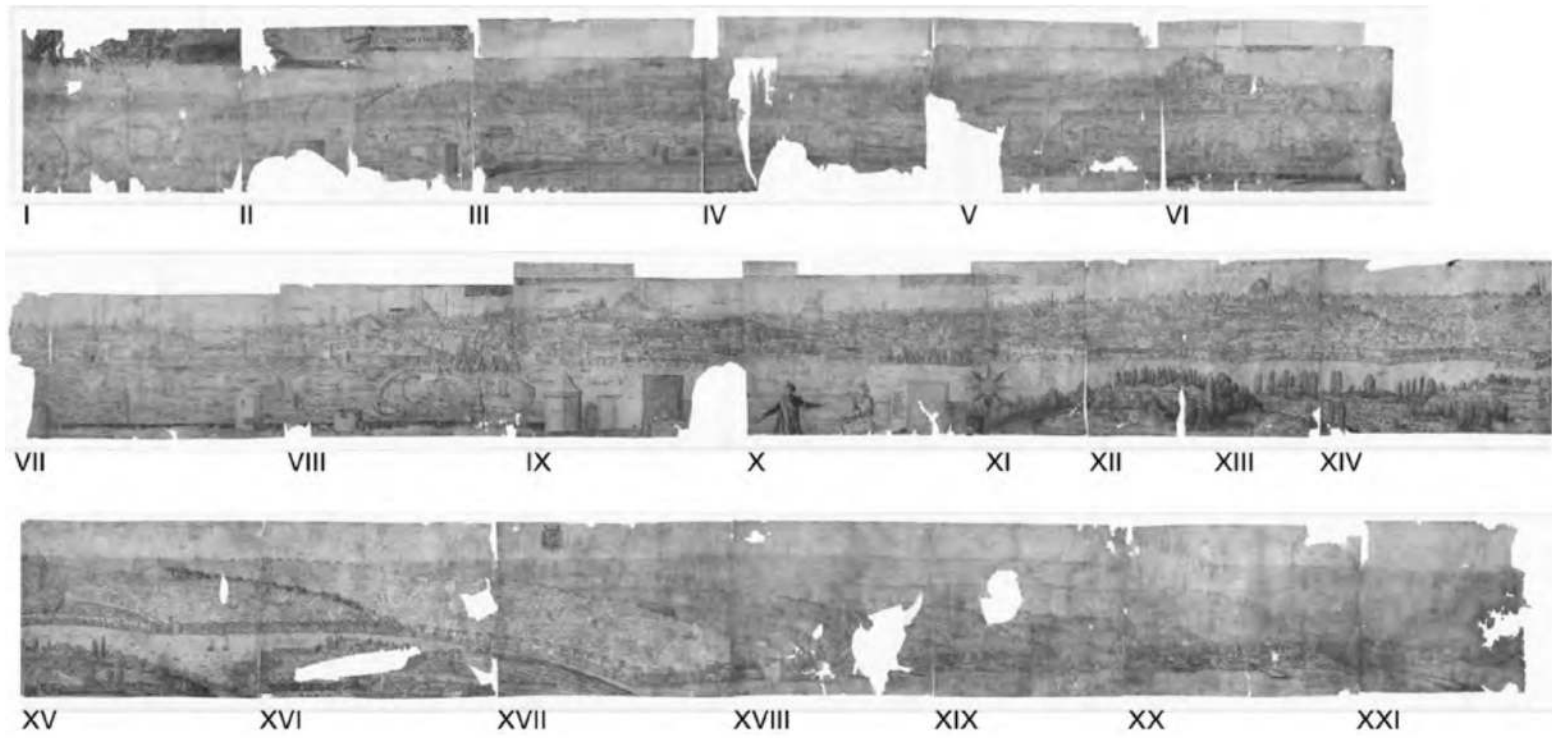


Fig. 6.7 Melchior Lorck, *Panorama of Constantinople* (1559), sheets I- XX, University of Leiden, Holland.

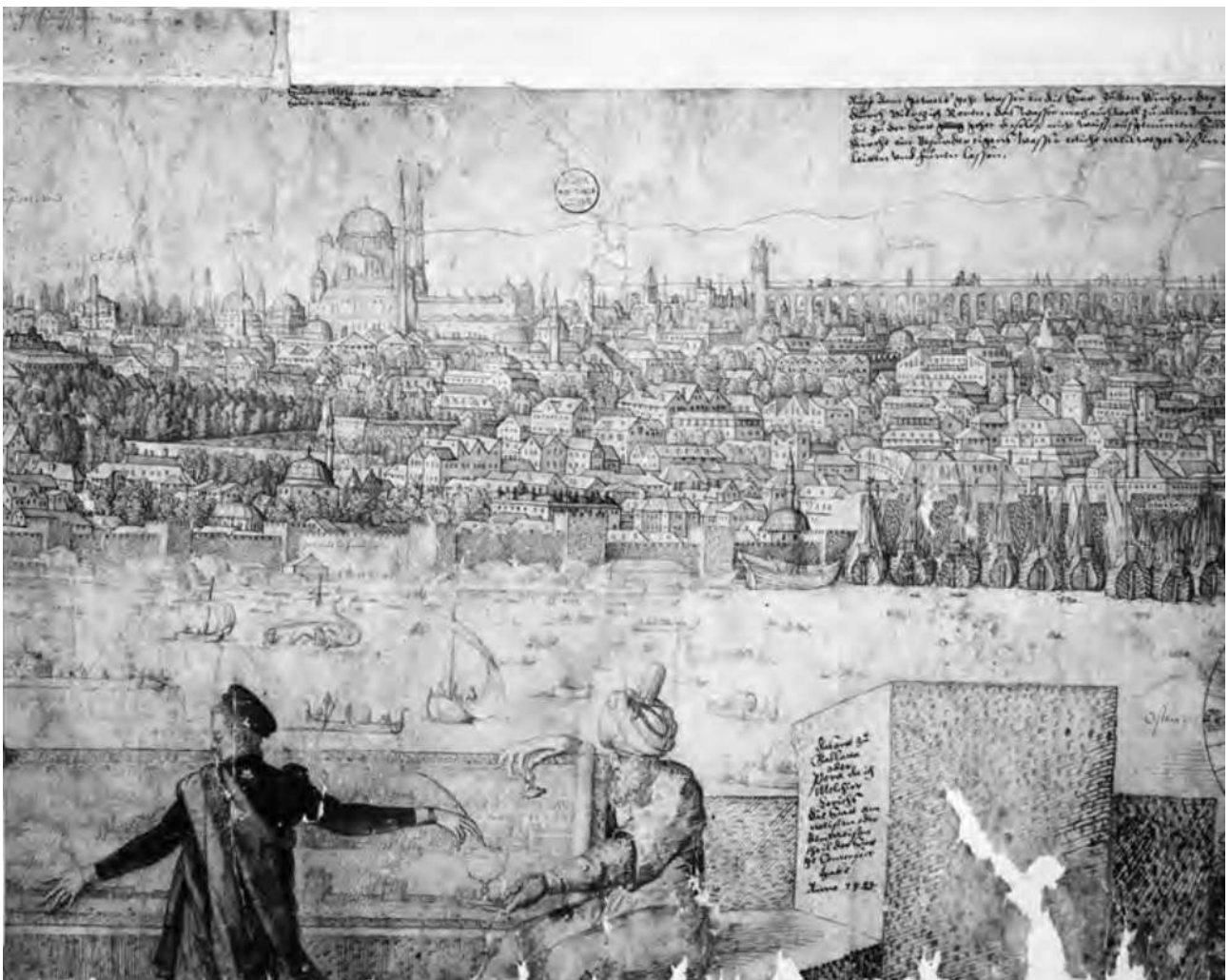


Fig. 6.8 Melchior Lorck, the artist with a Turkish attendee, sheet X.

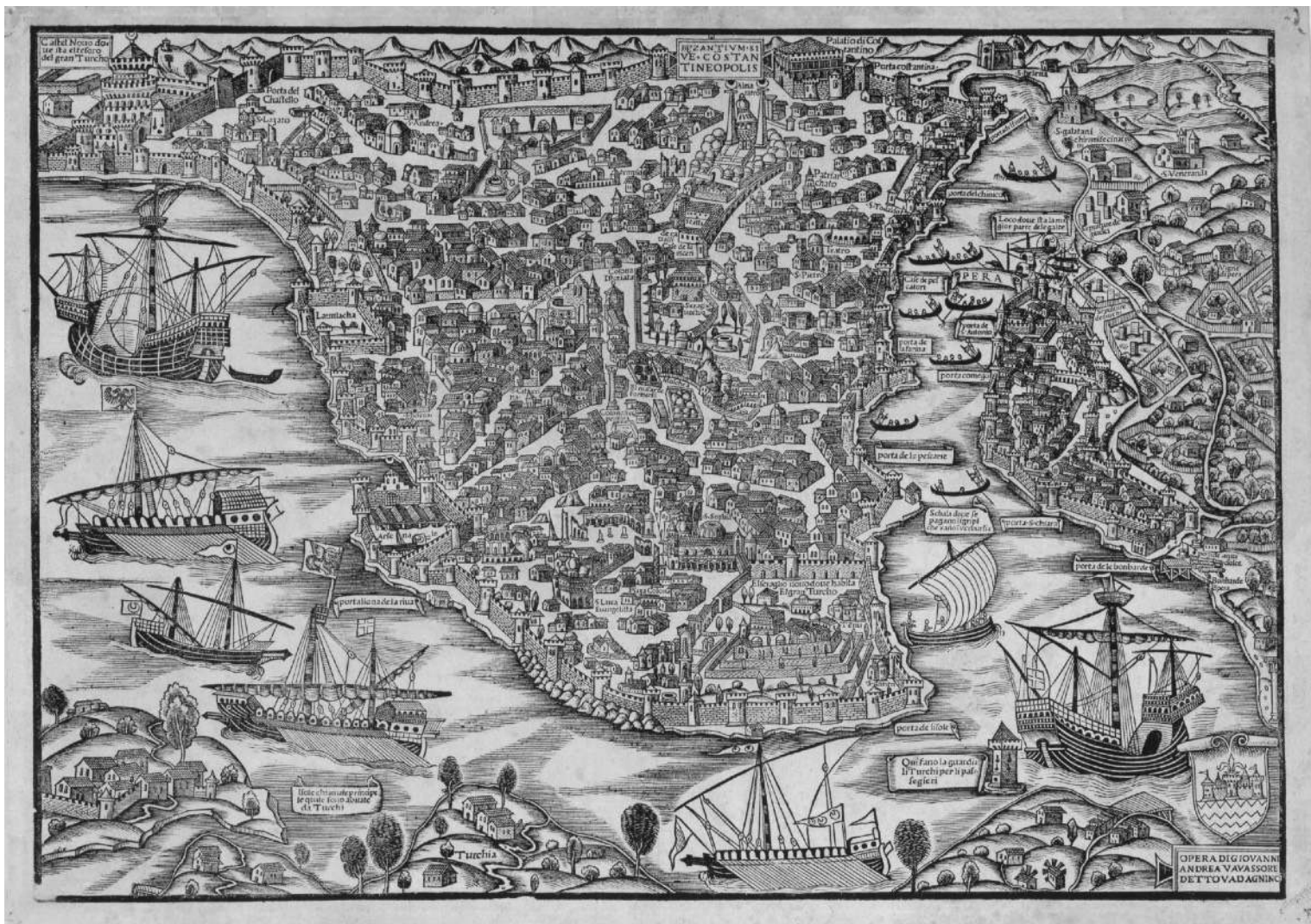


Fig. 6.9 Giovan Andreas di Vavassore, *Byzantium sive Constantinepolis* (c. 1520, copy of earlier original).



Fig. 6.10 The Düsseldorf version of Christopher Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, Düsseldorf Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. G. 13 (ca. 1480).



Fig. 6.13 The Sultan's Galley, 39.64 m x 5.72, late 16th - early 17th century, Naval Museum, Istanbul.
Fig. 6.14 Detail of Sultan's Galley showing gilded figurehead.

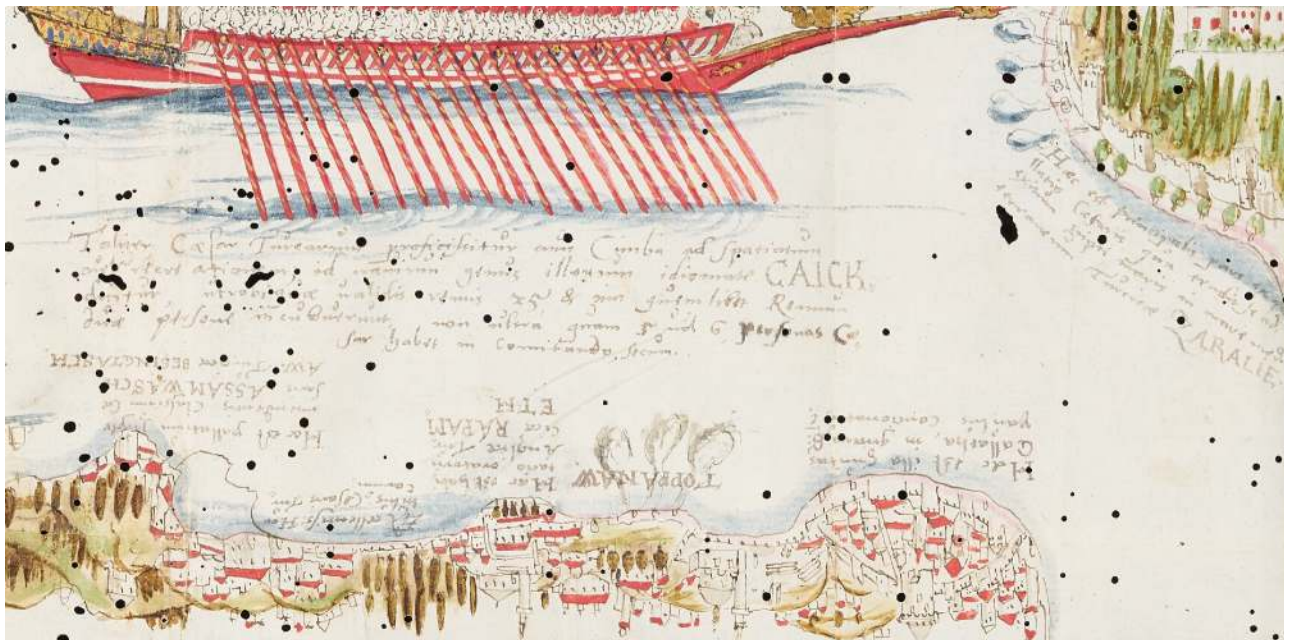


Fig. 6.15 Galata shoreline, Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 2r.



Fig. 6.16 Nasuh b. Abdullah Matrakçı, Istanbul map, *Beyan-ı menazil-i sefer-i Irakayn-i Sultan Süleyman Talikizade* (1537), Istanbul University Library, T. 5964, Fols. 8r-9v.

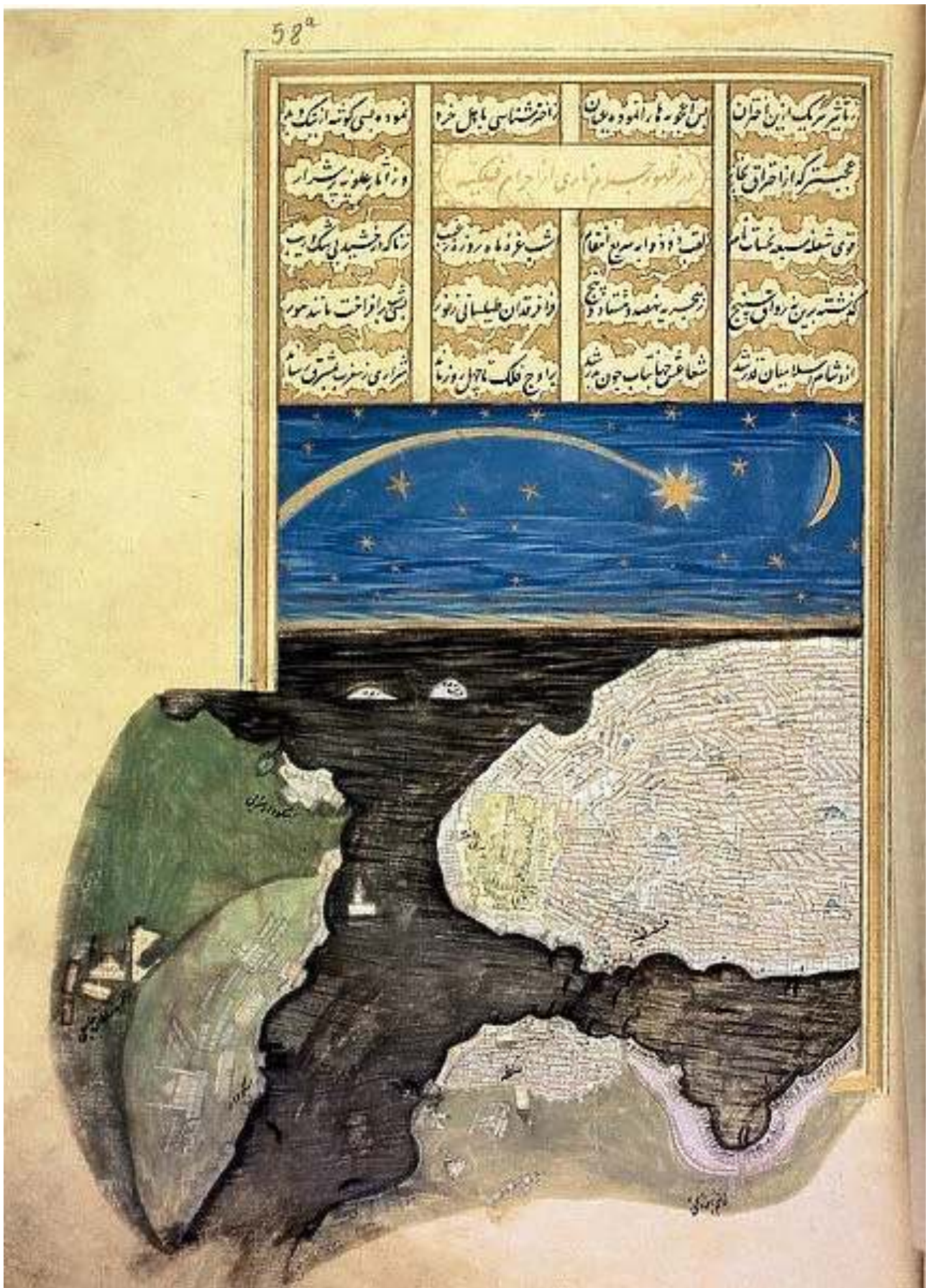
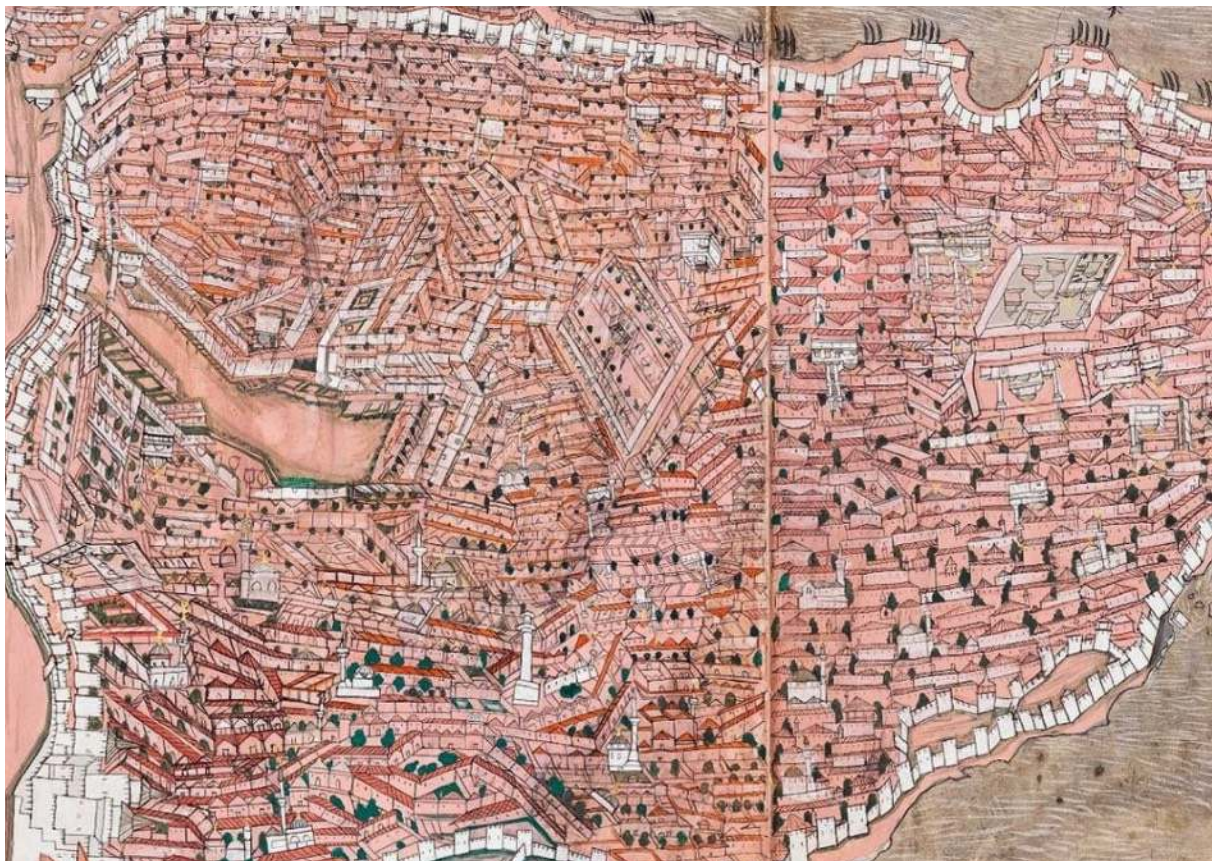


Fig. 6.17 Seyyid Lokman, Map of Istanbul, *Şehinşehnâme* (vol. I, 1581), Istanbul University Library, F. 1404, Fol. 58r.



Figs. 6.18-6.19 Seyyid Lokman, Map of Istanbul, *Hünername* (vol. I, 1579-85), Topkapi Palace Museum Library, H. 1523, Fol. 158v-9r.

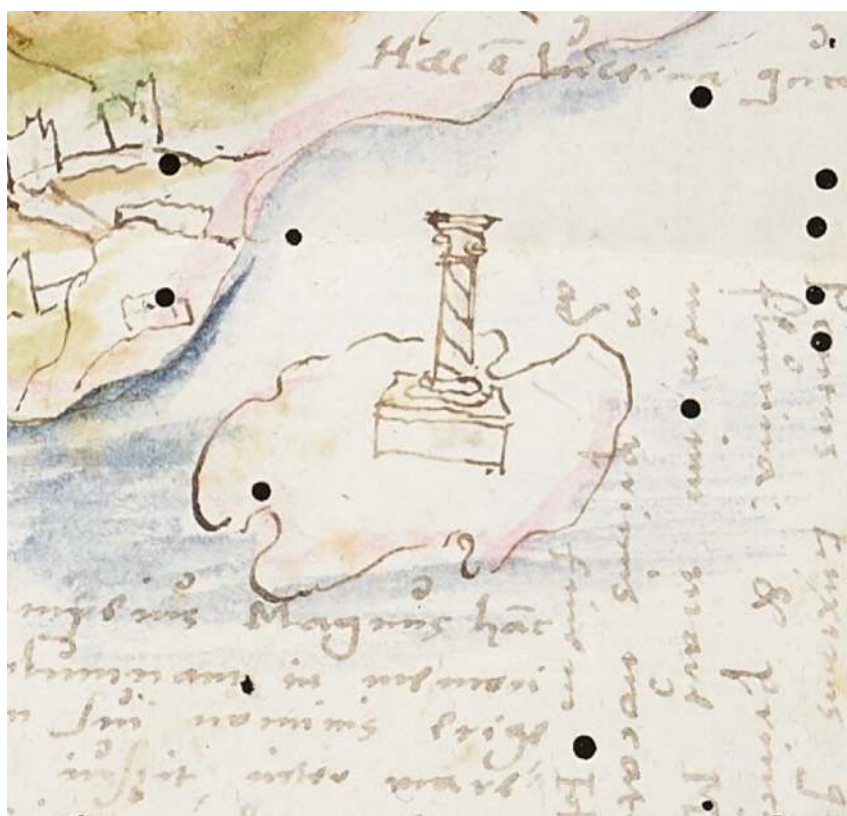
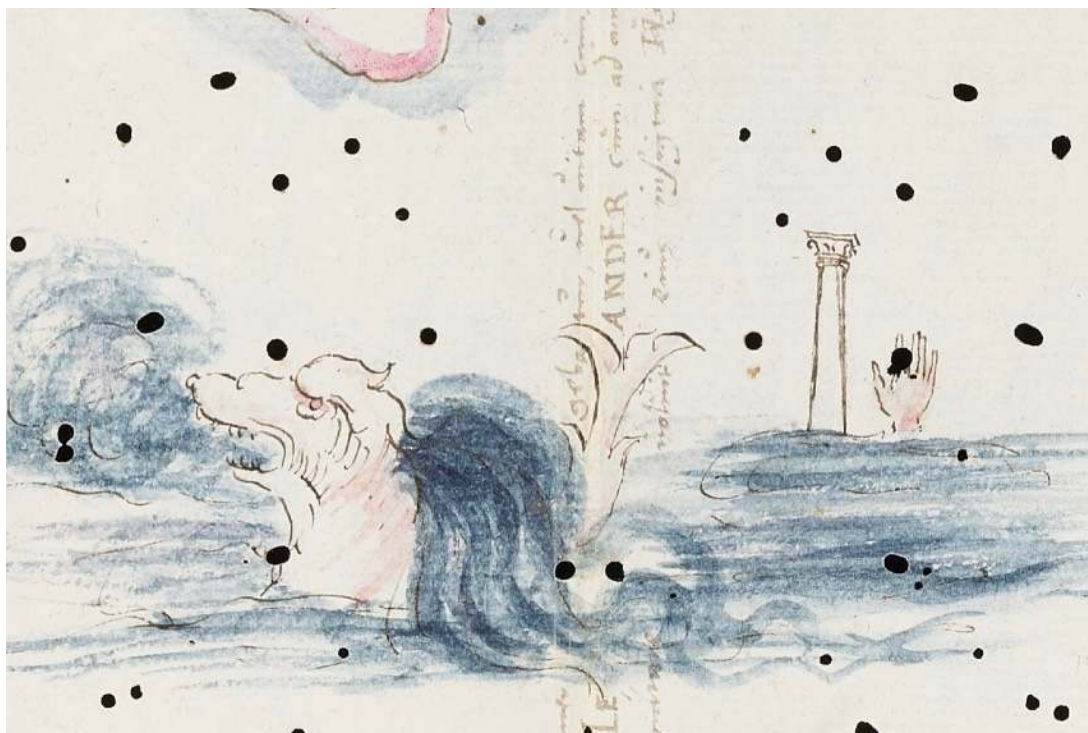


Fig. 6.20 Drowning hand of Leander, Bod. Or. 430, Fol. 2r.

Fig. 6.21 Pompeii Column, Bod. Or. 430, Fol. 2r.

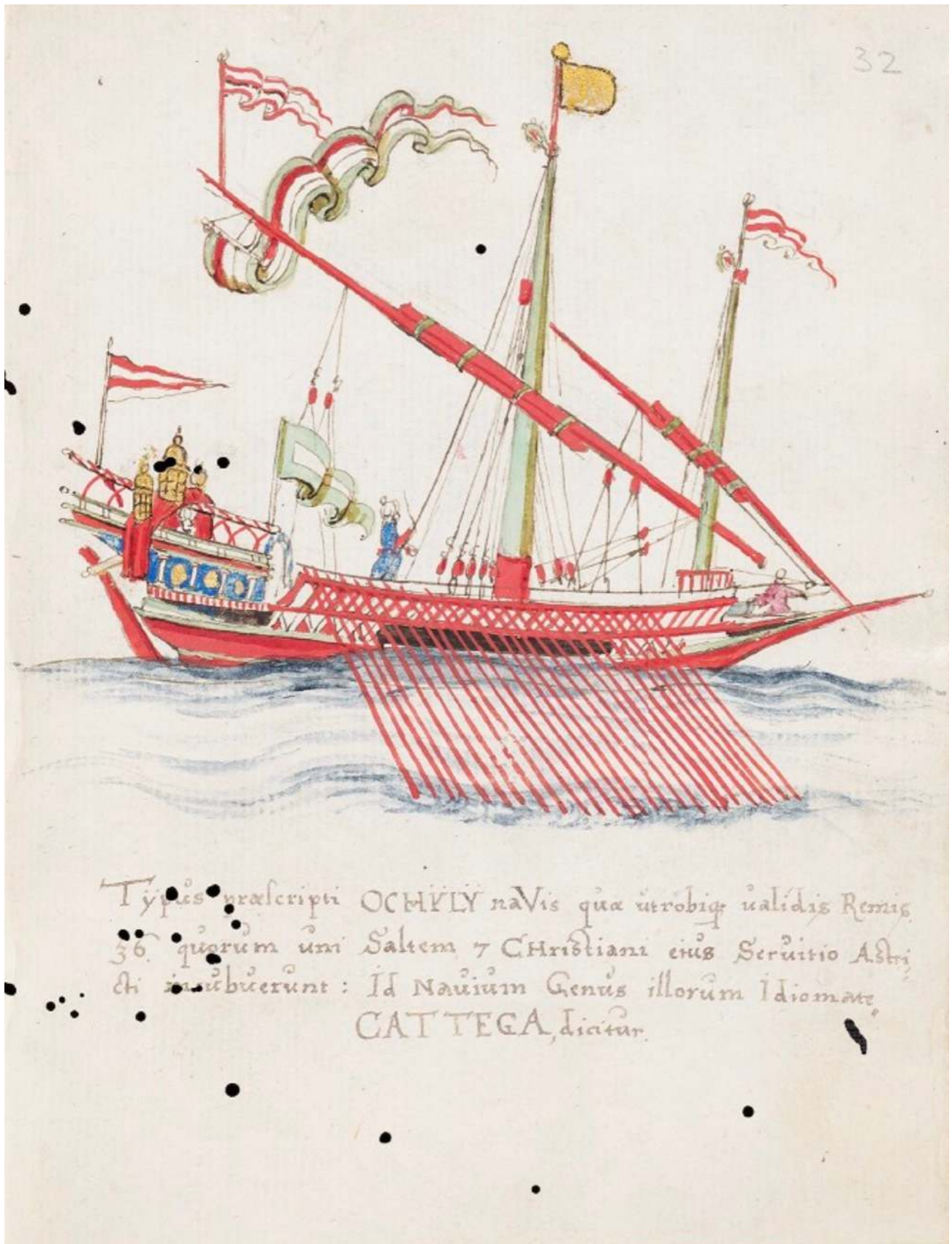
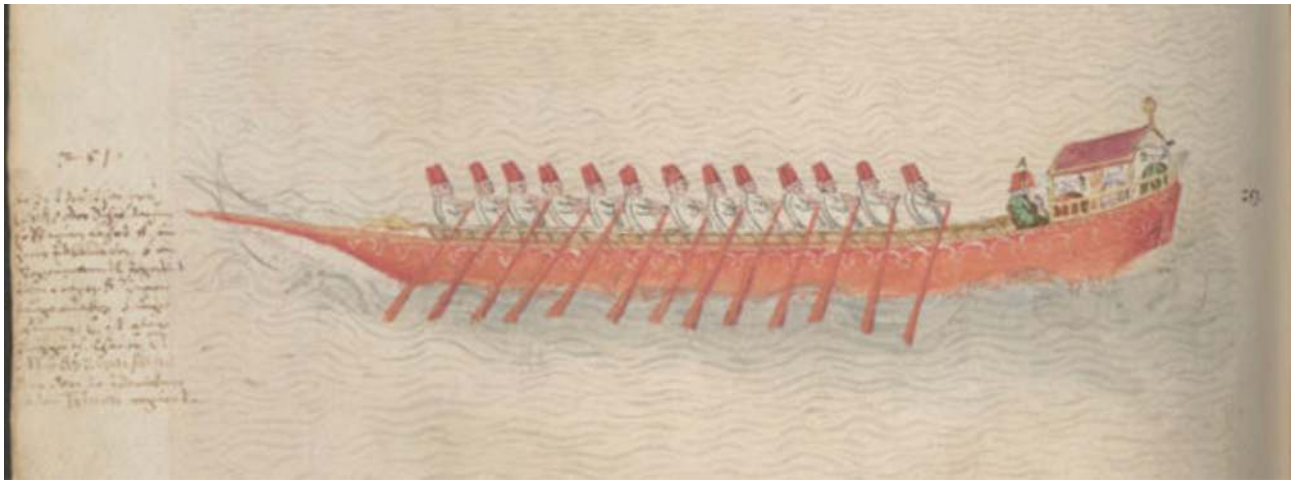


Fig. 6.22 Galley of Ulūj 'Ali, with enslaved Christians, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 32r.



6.23 Caique of Ibrahim Pasha, Bodl. Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 35r.



Figs. 6.24-5 Hieronymus Beck, *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum*, (1586-99), ÖNB 8615, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Fol. 122v; 123v.



Fig. 6.26. Caique of Ulūj Hasan, Bod Or. 430 (1588), Fol. 38r.



Figs. 7.1-7.2 Eastern view and western view of the interior of Hagia Sofia, *The Freshfield Album*, (c. 1574), O.17.2, watercolour, Trinity Library Library, Cambridge, Fol. 8r; 10r.



Fig. 7.3 Elevated view of an Ottoman mosque and courtyard, Lambert Wyts, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (c. 1573), Cod. 3325, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Fol. 165v.



Fig. 7.4 View of the ancient Hippodrome, *Itinera in Hispaniam, Viennam et Constantinopolim* (c. 1573), Fol. 166v.



Fig. 7.5 View the ancient hippodrome, *The Freshfield Album*, Fol. 20v-r.



Fig. 7.6 The Serpent Column, Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 56r.

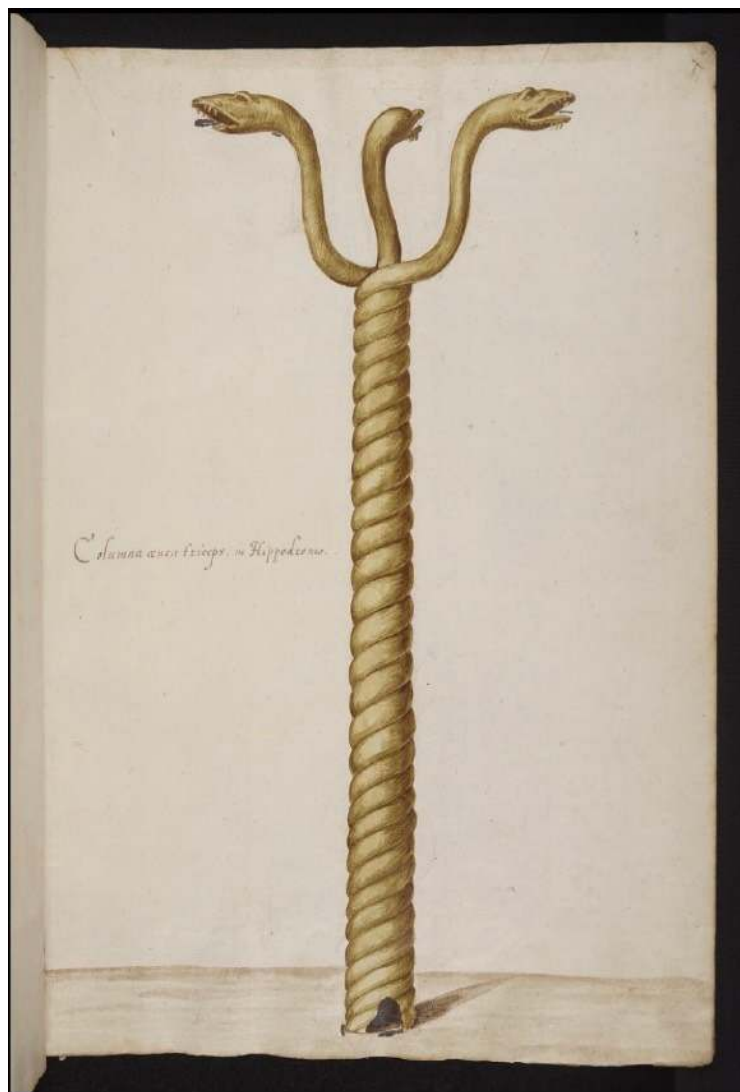


Fig. 7.7 The Serpent Column, *The Freshfield Album*, Fol. 6r.



Fig. 7.8 The Serpent Column, *Türkisches Manierenbuch*, (c. 1595), 4° Ms. hist. 31, Universitätsbibliothek Kassel, Fol. 15r.



Fig. 7.9 The procession of the cloth-makers, Intizami, *Sūrnāme-i Humāyūn* (1586), TSM Library, H.1344, Fols. 338b-9a.

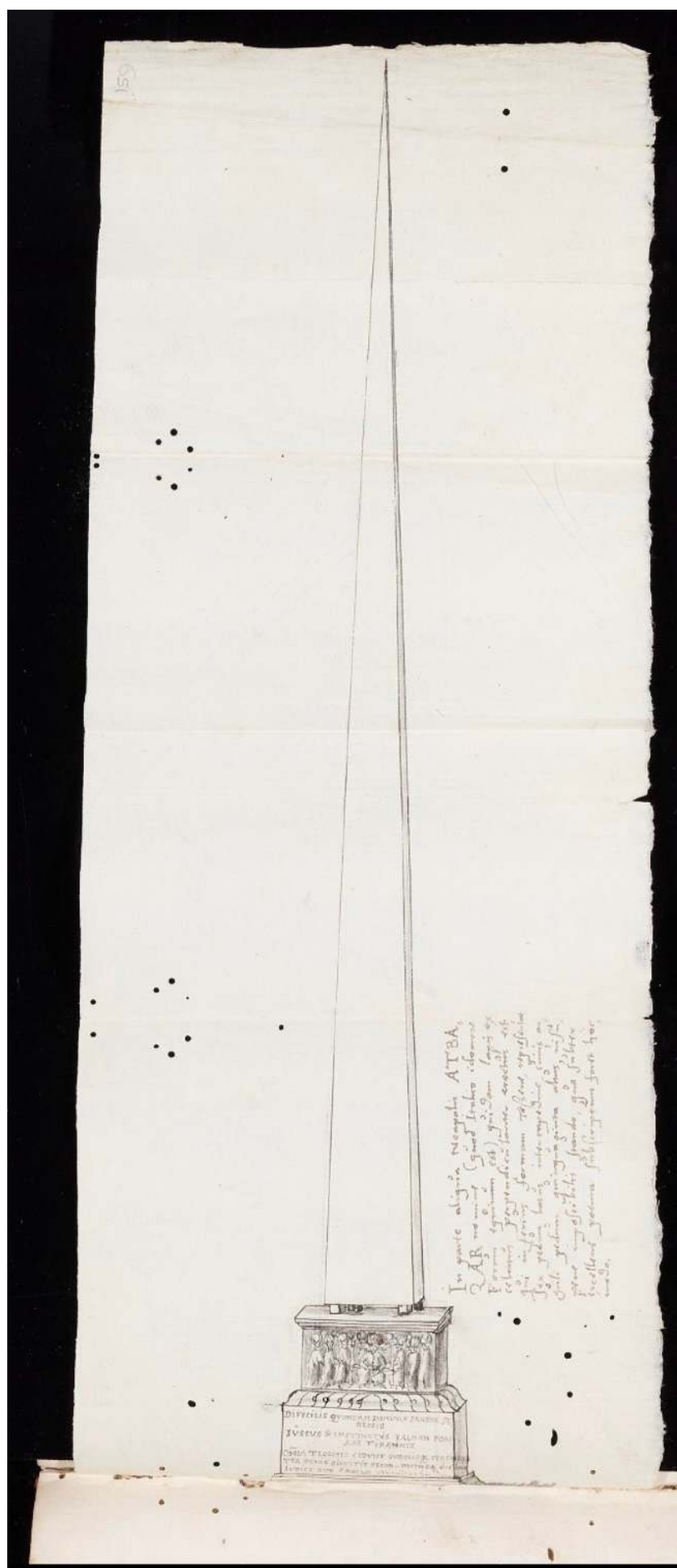


Fig. 7.10 The Obelisk of Theodosius, Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 159r.



Fig. 7.11 The Obelisk of Theodosius, *The Freshfield Album*, Fol. 4r.



Fig. 7.12 The Obelisk of Theodosius, *Türkisches Manierenbuch*, (c. 1595), 4° Ms. hist. 31, Fol. 13r.



Fig. 7.13 Base of the Obelisk of Theodosius, Bod. Or. 430, Fol. 159r.



Fig. 7.14. Eastern base of the Obelisk of Theodosius, Hippodrome, Istanbul.

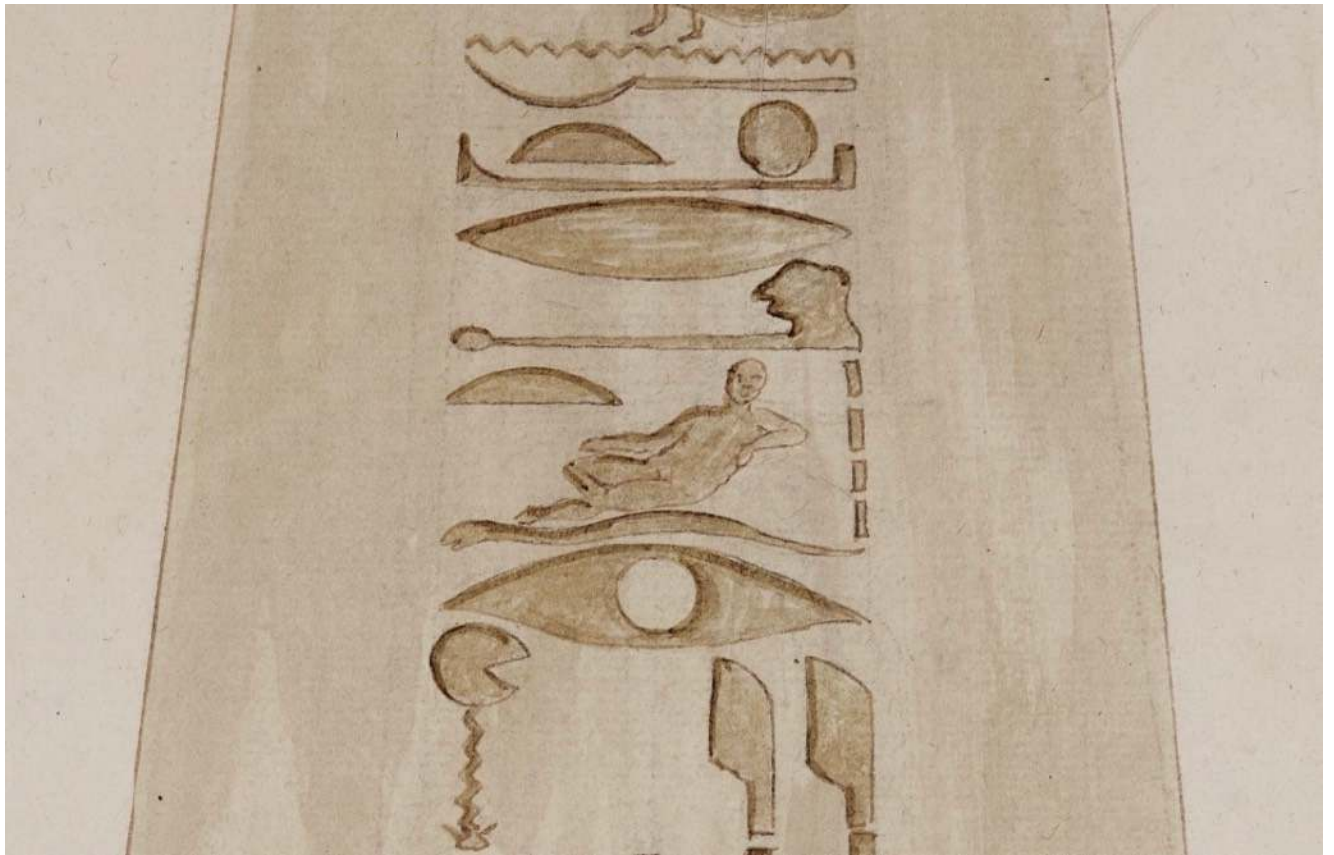


Fig. 7.15. Detail of the southern face of the Obelisk of Theodosius, *The Freshfield Album*, Fol 3r.



Fig. 7.16 Melchior Lorck, *The Süleymaniye Mosque*, (1580), Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, Denmark.



Fig. 7.17 The Süleymaniye Mosque, *The Freshfield Album*, Fol. 14r.

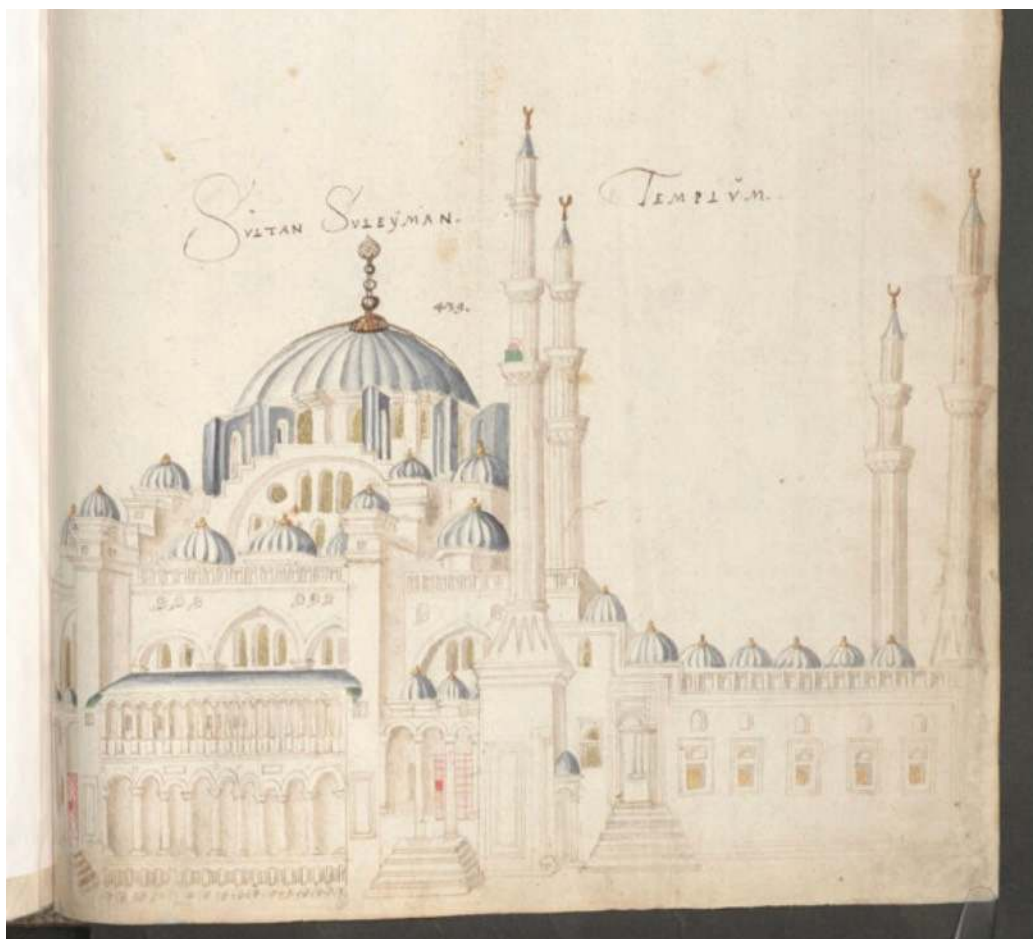
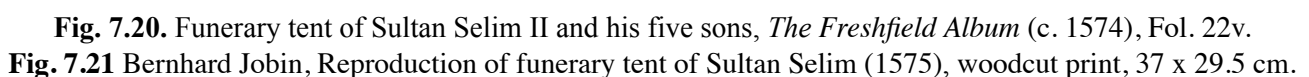


Fig. 7.18. The Süleymaniye Mosque, Hieronymus Beck, *Figurae calamo exaratae variorum*, (1586-99), ÖNB 8615, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Fol. 150r.



Fig. 7.19 The Süleymaniye Mosque and a tomb, Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 132r.



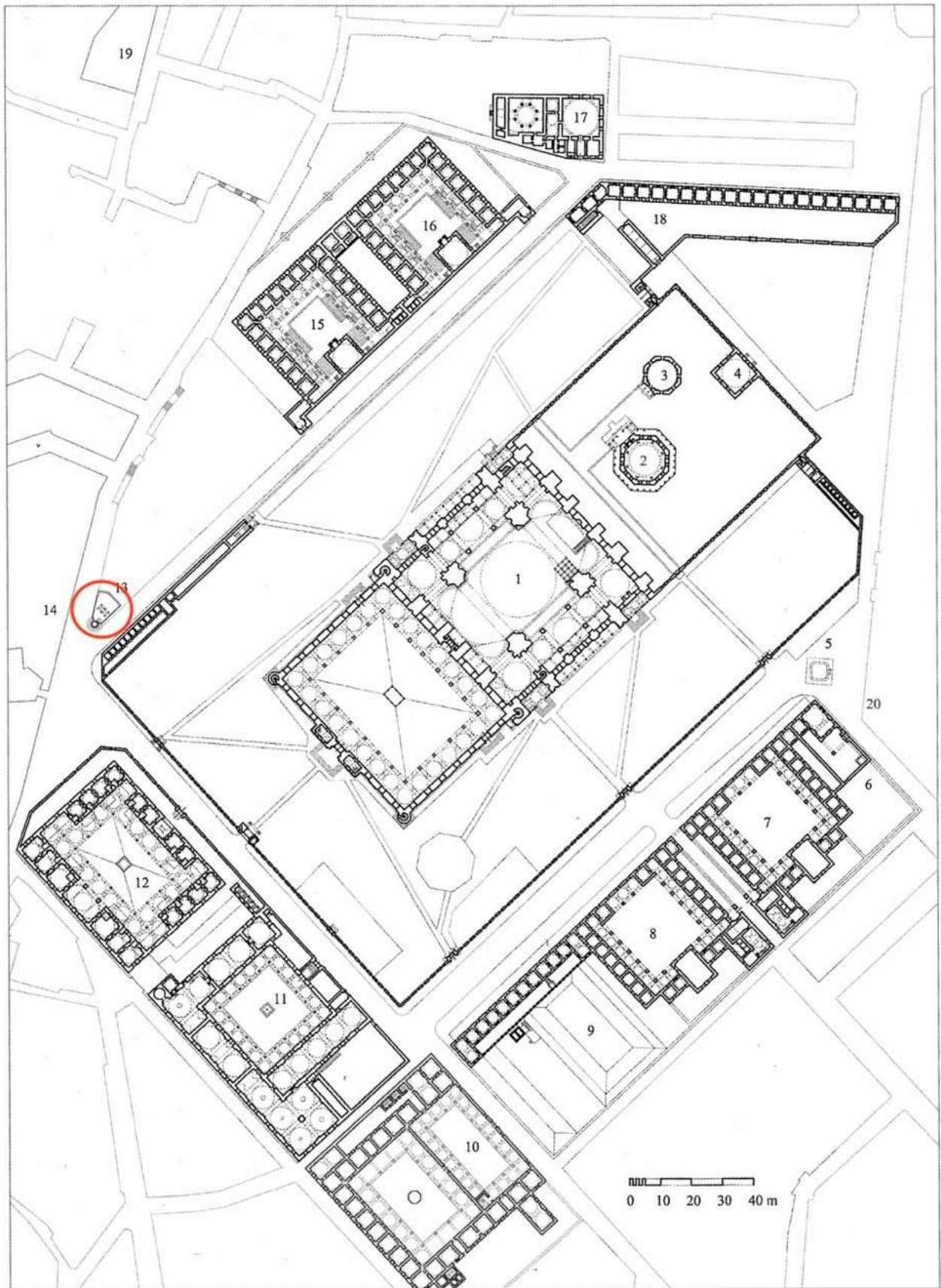
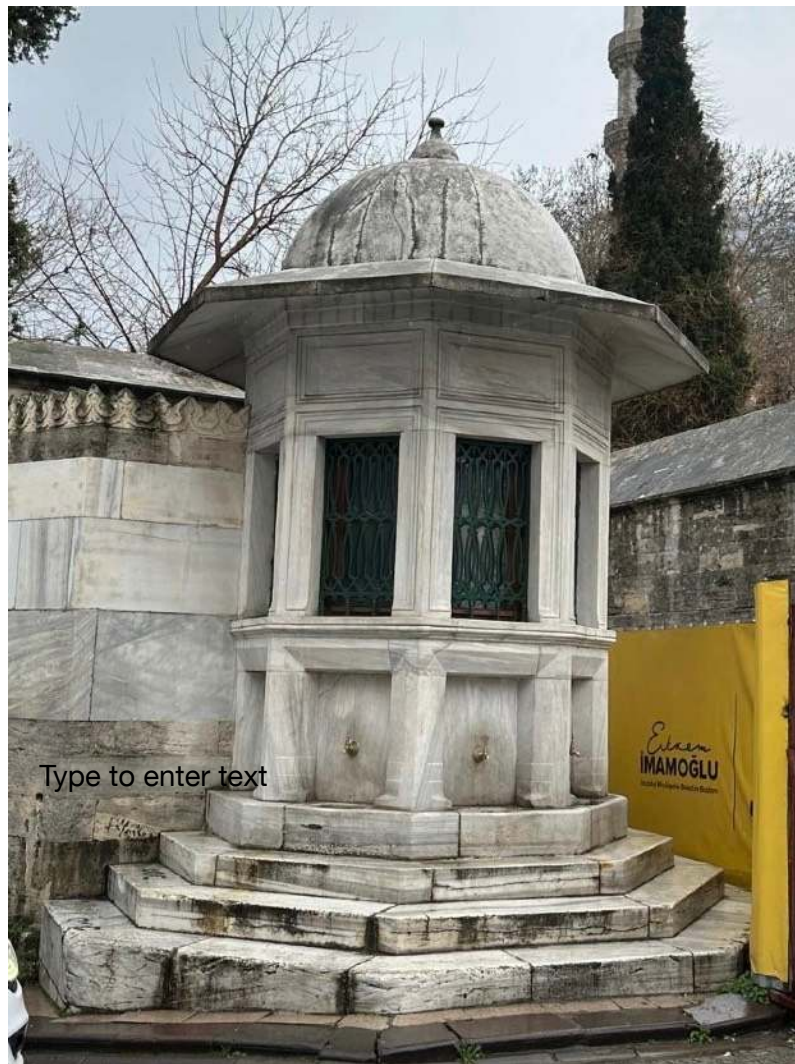


Fig. 7.22 Plan of Süleymaniye Complex with Sinan's tomb circled in red. Reproduced in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 205.

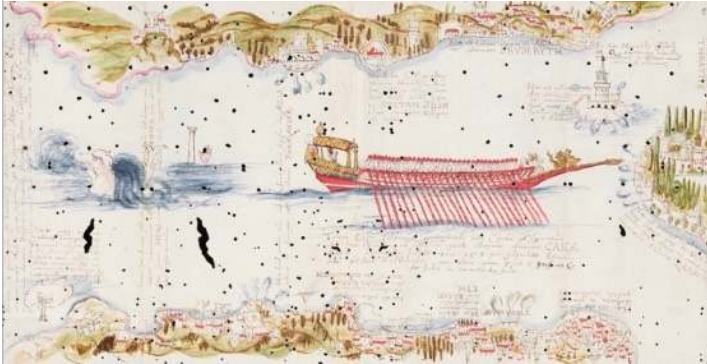


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Fig. 7.23 Sinan's mausoleum, Fatih, Istanbul.
Fig. 7.24 Detail of tomb, Bodl. Or. 430, Fol. 132r.

INDEX

Pagination	Image	Description	Text
Image 1 Fol. 2r		Map of Bosphorus. [Fold out]	Pontus Euximus quem itali mar negro apella[.]It in qua influnt multa Clarissima flumina: prime[.]palis iste [...] f: Exitum uorum tantum per vorticosum flumen [...] mare Mediterraneo miscetuo, Et hic Separetur Asia ab Europa, & Exitus in primus vocatur Bosphorus Tratius. [...] Streto Calypolii & eum plane [...] Helissponto ita in latitud[...] ut [...] [...] muliere uisu separari potesa. [Pompei Pillar]: Pompeus Magnus hac columnam in memoriam sui nominis erigeri iusu[.] inter mare Nig[...] & mare [...] [...] quam voca[...] Columna pompeii in [...] usque diem. [Leander and Hero]: Inter hae Arces submer gebatur velvuritum cum morte comut[...] Leander cum ad aim[...] Suam Hero [...] volunt eius insignia Histicarum referantur. Hae [...] arces sunt mun[...] [...] situm in ASIA altera in Europa T: idiom: Bogaiasler. [Below the royal galley]: Tahter Caesar Turcarum proficissitur cum Cumba ad spatium [...] atio[...] id maxium genus illorum idiomate Caick dicitur utuobiquae validis remis 105 & non quem[...] [...] persone incubuerunt non ultra quam 5 [...] 6 personas caesar habet in comitando secum. [Galata Tower]: Haec est [...] Ars [...] supra parius mortem in latu [...] pallatium Caesaris & Asiam.

		Map of Bosphorus (cont.)	[Fenerli Gardens]: In hoc Hortulo assuestus est Caesar turcarum cuisuis concubinis in Estate amo[...] se, recreare. [Üsküdar]: Hae est Civitates magna in Asia T: idiomate Skuderyth. [Kandilli Pavilion]: Hic habet C: T: excellentissimum Hortusum & in hoc sui[...] Turq[...] interfecit Auus huius Caesaris Sultan Selim suam co[...] Suis pitionis cousa.
Image 2 Fol. 6r		Seated portrait of Sultan Murad III.	Sultan Amurat iam Florentis Calaris Sedes Christia Sans Legationes dandas Audiens
Image 3 Fol. 11r		Equestrian portrait of Sultan Murad III on his way to Aya Sofia.	Tahter Visus Caesar cum equitande ad suum templum Sanct[...] Sophiam quod in propinquo est a Caesareo Pallatio profecisceretur

Image 4 Fol. 15r		* Equestrian portrait of Sultan Murad III holding a sceptre.	I[...] Spectatum Bellicas Virtutes equitat Caesar Septum Manu tenens
Image 5 Fol. 20r		Equestrian portrait of Kanijeli Siyavuş Pasha (grand vizier, 1582-8; 1586-89; 1592-93) married to Fatma Sultan, sister of Murad III.	Contrafactura Casaris Marschalschi qui Caesaris ipsius Sorori matrimomo Capulatus est in Ungaria natus
Image 6 Fol. 23r		* Equestrian portrait of Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha (grand vizier, 1584; d. 1585)	Contrafactura Cuiusdam Germani in Imami Bello Ciui tatem Taurum Contra a populo persico e modio lati ante lustrum Osmon Wasschaw

Image 7 Fol. 26r		* Portrait of eunuch Ali Pasha	Viva Imago Allij Wasschaw plani Eunuchi & Eccellenti: contra Christianos
Image 8 Fol. 29r		Standing portrait of Ulūj ‘Ali/Kılıç Ali Pasha (grand admiral and later <i>beylerbey</i> of Algiers)	Typus Ochyly Wasschaw in Calabria nati Annoo 86 por[...]: Caesaris populi subiecti facile principis, eodemque Annoo Vatiā cum morte communtantis.
Image 9 Fol. 32r		* First naval scene: Galley of Ulūj ‘Ali with enslaved Christians	Typus praescripti Ochyly navis quae utrobique ualidis Remis 36 quorum uni Saltem 7 Christiani eius Servitio Astricti [...]ubuerunt: Id Nauium Genus illorum idiomate Cattega dicitur.

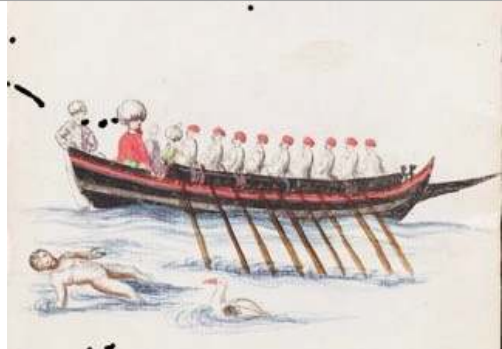
Image 10 Fol. 35r		Second naval scene: Caique of Ibrahim Pasha (grand vizier: 1596; 1596-97; 1599-1601) who was a commander that married Ayşe Sultan, daughter of Murad III.	Itta contemplatus Ebrehim Wasschaw Caesaris Por: Filiae Associatus qui Taxico Ochylum interfecit, eius[...] que fretus Officiis in Croatia Natus.
Image 11 Fol. 38r		* Third naval scene: Caique of Ulūj Hasan	Typus Assam Wasschaw Ochyly quondam Seruituti dediti iam vero is Rex est triplicis Regi Phess Argiir & Tunis mimirum, quinetiam Classium Caesaris Superintendem. Venetia Natus.
Image 12 Fol. 41r		Standing portrait of a Greek-born nobleman	Greci nati cuiusdam Typus Iias W: intime Vocationis Super iorem vero adepti eorum lingua Iamoglam, eiusque insignia Historice referantur.

Image 13 Fol. 44r		Standing portrait of an anonymous eunuch of the imperial court	Cuiusdam Arabis Selectissimi Viri & Eunuchi coram Caesare eiusque Concubinis Fid[.]sissimi habiti.
Image 14 Fol. 47r		* Seated portait of Hassan Ağa/Samson Rowlie (active 1577-88)	Huius Eunichi Fidei omnia Secreta Assam Wasch: & gazae & mulieres prestantes Com[.]jissa Hic in Anglia natus in Civitate Iarmouth quem Vocarunt Turcae Assan Aga in Anglia Samson Rowlii.
Image 15 Fol. 50r		* <i>Dilsiz</i> (deaf-mute) courtier	Hoc hominum Genus pene Fidelissimum Spectatur quo potissimum [..]titur Caesar in Rebus Arcamis agendis idque a teneris & loquendi & Audiendi muneribus destitutum & illud Alogum Turcica lingua Delsis est.

Image 16 Fol. 54r		Equestrian portrait of <i>Sipahi</i> cavalryman Numbering at 24,000.	Ittaque hominum Genus turcica Sipahi numero 24000
Image 17 Fol. 56r		Serpent column in the ancient hippodrome (<i>Atmeydanı</i>) [Fold out]	Hoc Confectum convoluto Metallo praescripta parte terrae Atbazar per quod Instrumentum triplicis instar Capitis emanant olim fluens Aqua iam vero non.
Image 18 Fol. 57r		Dining scene of an assembly of Ottoman men with attendees and a seated scribe. [Fold out]	Turcae in Eduliis Consumendis nostro more ut scamnis, mensis, sedibus aut fulcris aliquibus, ut videre est prorsus abutuntur, sed illorum Epu [...] aut pauimentum, aut planum aequor Subleuat / Inter scribendum Turcae intlectunt Crura ad alternos nexus, quali crucem inferrent & papyrus suam geru apponunt uti etypus est.

Image 19 Fol. 59r		* Head of guards in the Topkapi Palace (<i>Kapıcıbaşı</i>) associated with the keeping of gates.	Aulici Iamuatoris caesaris typus illorum[.. idiomate Capgii Wasschaw.
Image 20 Fol. 62r		Standing portrait of a Turkish foot-soldier. Numbering at 200.	Hic populus Caesari inter equitamdum precurrendo administrabat illorumque Idiomate Paycklyr & numero 200
Image 21 Fol. 65r		* Standing elite infantry (<i>Yeniçeri</i>). Numbering at 26,000.	Hi Caesaris Sunt instar subselligrum nostrates Turcice Iamschar numero 26000

Image 22 Fol. 68r		* Standing portrait of an <i>Acemī oğlan</i>	Hi cuius vocationis sunt teneris Matura aetate matura aetate [...] & [...] Bavores [...] quamvis pars porum in flori aetatis effererus & furibun[.. sunt admodum illorumquae numeros infinit[.] est Turcicae Iamoglan.
Image 23 Fol. 71r		Standing palace guard associated with the keeping of doors (<i>kapıcı</i>) Numbering at 600.	Tahter incedient portis Caecarcis adstantes: turcice Capiigii numero 600.
Image 24 Fol. 74r		Standing portrait of a baron. Numbering at 100.	Talibus Barones Illustres & Heroes qui[.] quot volunt utuntur Hic 100 allius 50 nonulli minus ac sunt ibi a[.. apud nos Subsellij.

Image 25 Fol. 77r		* Standing portrait of an imperial messenger (<i>Ulak</i>)	Hi Tyrones sunt & milites itaque Superintendes talis & talis nummeri celeriter ad rem quamqiam agendam utuntur illorum Idiomate Olack.
Image 26 Fol. 80r		Standing portrait of a gunman. Number unknown.	Tahter se gerunt ad Gressus pedites illorum Idiom: Seuolii Numero incerto.
Image 27 Fol. 84r		Standing portrait of a Persian soldier (<i>Kızılbaş</i>)	Itta visus aliquando Persecus Miles [...] Turce Kiselbasch appellant.

Image 28 Fol. 87r		* Standing portrait of a (<i>Hadım</i>) employed to escort women through the city.	Mercatores & alii ope sub[...] Eusmodi Eunuchis qui curam habent Suorum & Matronatum non pla[...] & Balneis Turcice Hadam.
Image 29 Fol. 90r		* Standing portrait of a Turkish woman (<i>Avrat</i>)	Tahter incedunt Matronae Turcicae quae illorum lingua Avrat dicuntur.
Image 30 Fol. 93r		Equestrian portrait of a Turkish woman being escorted by a <i>hadım</i> .	Equitando tanto polita est habitu turcica muliez.

Image 31 Fol. 96r		Equestrian portrait of a Greek woman (<i>famelle</i>) being escorted.	Itta Graecae Faemelle equitant
Image 32 Fol. 99r		Standing portrait of a Turkish lady indoors.	Tanto instructa Vestitu Versantur in suis aedib: Matronae
Image 33 Fol. 102r		Standing portraits of two women and a Turkish boy (<i>oğlancık</i>) on their way to the hammam.	Sic ad Balneum / Empta avicilla christiana Tur: Alaych eius capiti quilibet Necessaria in Balneis infixa apportant / masculus infans Turcice Oglanccick / Ipsa Uqor

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Image 35 Fol. 108r		Standing portrait of a wife in clogs.	Inf[...] Conditionis Virorum matrone potissimum ma[...] artis in aedibus ornatae
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Image 38 Fol. 117r		Standing portrait of a gentleman (<i>Çelebi</i>)	T: Cives ita pronemunt Constanti: nocantur illorum [...] matrimonio mastrecti Chelleby. nupti vero Offendi.
Image 39 Fol. 120r		Standing portrait of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople	Typus patriarchae Constantinopolitani Graeci.

Image 40 Fol. 123r		* Standing portrait of a Greek priest	Grecorum Sacerdotum habitus
Image 41 Fol. 126r		* Standing portrait of a Christian man from Galata (<i>Gavur</i>)	Incessus Cristicolum in Gallata qui Ture: dicuntur Gaur.
Image 42 Fol. 129r		Standing portrait of an Indian man.	Incessus Indeorum qui dicuntur T: Iuffut

Image 43

Fol. 132r



* Süleymaniye Friday
mosque, stepped madrasa
schools and a tomb

[Fold out]

Inter delubra praestomtissimum Constantinopolis,
hoc ē extra
& moris est ibi ut quilibet Caesar ad suum
nomen,
templum puigar, ideoque hoc nomen sui
fabricatoris represantat Sultan Soliman.

Turcae non ut nos Campanis ad i[...] utuntur sed
ad convocandum populum, sacerdotes ab Acreis
turribus chanitant hoc modo in diluculo chanitant
sacerdotes Sellat Elhair Minnenaw Sellat
Vessalamen Allaych Lares Sullulach

post prandium inter tertiam & quartam H. chanitant
S: La Illa Hillelach Mehmet Resull Ullah Hey El
Sellach Hey El Fellach Allach Hechber Allah
Hechber La Illa Hillalach

Hic videre est aquadictae intricaciones et quibus
prohibent se Turcae amequam templum adeunt.

In hoc domicilio frequens copia studiosarum
suistentatur uti collegio communi aliquo
quorum numero seliguntur presbyteri.

Hic nostri saecrisi imperatoris caesaris quinquiae
sepulti sunt fratres Sultani Amurati quos Imperii
Scepto obtinener strangularos fieri Conabatur, uisi
& imperio & imperii nomine mimum Caesaris
destitueretur.

Image 44 Fol. 133r		* Standing portrait of a religious scholar of Islam (<i>Hoca</i>) with books and rosary bead.	Itta se incedendo contemplantur sacerdotes illorum qui illorum, idiomate Hodgi dicuntur
Image 45 Fol. 136r		Standing portrait of a descendent of Prophet Muhammad.	Hi fulus incedunt ligaminibus Capitib. infixis symbolo quasi amphi prophetae Mahometis Stemmatis, plerique presbyteri Turcicae. Emmer.
Image 46 Fol. 139r		Standing portrait of a dervish.	Tahter incurrunt illorum prophete Civitates & Regiones adhortantes incolas ad bene vivendum

Image 47 Fol. 142r		* Standing portrait of a pious pilgrim having completed pilgrimage to Mecca.	Turcae nonulli negotis [...], pietaris, perpetuis astricti peregrinationibus ad Mecha itir perficiunt & itinera exacto & pompa Mahometis funeris uisa eum sibi oculos simunt, ne illorum uisus [...] ab [...] [...] alignia, re [...] perturbetur.
Image 48 Fol. 145r		* Standing portrait of a five-time pilgrim to Mecca walking alongside his stag.	Id quinquies suam peregrinatione ad Mecha exegit ambulando denudatis pedibus aducto semper Cervo
Image 49 Fol. 148r		A band of four marabouts on their way to Mecca holding instruments.	Ita incedendo peregrinantur, peregrinationi perpetua coniurati ad Mecha quos conatur illorum lingua Marrebut.

Image 50 Fol. 151r		Seated portrait of a clairvoyant with a mother and child.	Sic pars Arabum in plateis futura fortis anquires sedunt adhibitis illorum infantibus, destinata predicunt fortunae medullam.
Image 51 Fol. 154r		Scene depicting the decorated tomb of a deceased woman.	Tahter instructa forent faeminirorum Sepulchra exclaris vivi Typi Symblis, quae in medio sustulerunt capitibus.
Image 52 Fol. 159r		Obelisk in the ancient hippodrome (<i>Atmeydani</i>). [Fold out]	In parte aliqua Neapolis Atbazar nomine (quod Italo idiomate Forum eorum est) quidam lapis ex caesaris perpendiculariter erectus est qui inferius formam [...], representat sex pedum latus inter compesuit cuius anguli pedum quiqua qinta alius visu pene, impossibilis stando, que subter excellens poema subscriptum foret hoc modo

Image 53 Fol. 162r		Scene depicting a water-bearer handing water through a grilled window.	Subter hoc convincto ferro aquaticae ars lated quadam ex qua repentescaret aqua, qua litientibus Sitim explet transgredientibus.
Image 54 Fol. 165r		Standing portrait of a water vendor (<i>Sucu</i>) walking through the city streets.	Hic [...] plateas oneratur Saccum Choreo compilatum [...] alis distertum aqua, cum vasculis qui busdam & [...] in orbiculari linguo allatis, communicans sitientibus & dicitur illorum idiomate Saca.
Image 55 Fol. 168r		Standing portrait of a cook and sherbet maker.	Hi plerumque coqui & alias illorum requirit officium cogere labor[...] ad suos labores T: Sherbet Waschi.

Image 56 Fol. 171r		Scene depicting two men challenging each other playing sports.	Tahter excercent Se Turcae in suis Palestris
Image 57 Fol. 174r		Scene depicting two Turkish men wrestling.	Haec praecipua est Turcarum excercitationum memoria in qua virum Collatio mirabiliter victoriam utrobique sectetur.
Image 58 Fol. 177r		Scene depicting a man buying liver meat from a vendor.	Hic Coquius quidam est qui Iecur & eiusmodi viscerum partes apparari [...] quibus [...] Canes plateis quotidie ut plurimos introbique [...] quem pastum modico aere [...] plateis inhabitantibus divendit.

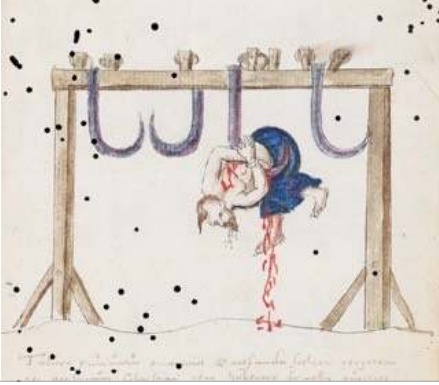
Image 59 Fol. 180r		Scene depicting a pharmacist collecting snake poison for medicinal use.	Hic vir quidam est promenens victum lucro pharmatis adversus ictus venenosos serpentum ex quibus omne [...] [...] huic in promptu est ut vide morsibus illorum serpentum acceptis experiretur [...] statim medevi.
Image 60 Fol. 183r		Scene depicting an impoverished man with missing arms and legs living in a public garden in Constantinople.	Hic infinae aegestatis pauper est qui se per plateas intricatum in Sacco quodam evolvitur carens Brachiis & cruris am magnae hortum in Constantinopolis.
Image 61 Fol. 186r		Scene depicting a man executed by hanging on hook.	Tahter prumintum [...] & nefanda septera perpetram res portissimum Christiani rem habentes faemellis turcices pendemes infinia parte faceie per dies aliquot antequam prorsus spiritus exhabatione destituntur.

Image 62 Fol. 189r		Scene depicting a man executed by impalement.	Tahier [...] semel contemplatus furem quendam qui [...]furtim magis [...] sesquitherum Ehalerum absuiti ut per fa[...] [...] terre affixo & uis spatio sesqui[...] suum prorsuis spiritum exhatore [...].
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