IN SEARCH OF THE PROVINCIAL ARTIST: NETWORKS, SERVICES, AND IDEAS IN THE OTTOMAN BALKANS AND THE QUESTION OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE

by

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis seeks to shed light on the production of art and architecture in the Ottoman Empire – and more specifically its provinces in the European mainland – from the perspective of the artist, that is, the producer. Above all, I am interested in the question of the place we are to give to the individual artist in the historical narrative of the art and architecture in the Ottomans' European provinces between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. In recognition of the fact that the same individuals or workshops are recorded as involved in the construction and decoration of mosques, churches, residences, and other building types, I have studied works by both Islamic and Christian patrons and artists. In contrast to a traditional line in art-historical scholarship that supposes both the autonomy of art and creative genius underlying "great works of art," I am more interested in the "negative" factors in the processes of design and production, such as limitations due to traditions, conventions, and codes of decorum. I also study the "provincial artist" not merely in his relation to his better-known counterpart in the West or to singular personages in Istanbul, but as operating within a concrete system of Ottoman social practices. Rather than on the cases of artists whose careers were so exceptional that they were passably documented, the focus of my dissertation is on the identification and rationalization of trends, patterns, dynamics, and structures from a *longue durée* perspective.

Keywords: Balkans, artists, authorship, centres/peripheries, networks

ÖZET

YEREL SANATÇININ İZİNDE:
OSMANLI YÖNETİMİNDEKİ BALKANLAR'DA İLETIŞİM AĞLARI,
HİZMETLER, DÜŞÜNCELER VE YAPISAL DEĞİŞİKLİK SORUSU

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Bu tez Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun özellikle Avrupa ana karasındaki bölgelerindeki sanat ve mimari üretimine sanatçının, diğer bir deyişle üretcinin perspektifinden ışık tutmayı amaçlamaktadır. Herşeyden önce, ondördüncü ve ondokuzuncu yüzyıllar arasında Osmanlıların Avrupa topraklarındaki sanat ve mimarinin tarihsel anlatısında sanatçının kendisine verdğimiz yer sorusu ile ilgilenmekteyim. Aynı şahıs ya da grupların cami, kilise, konut ve diğer yapı türlerinin inşa ve dekorasyonuna dahil olduklarını göz önünde bulundurarak hem Müslüman hem de Hıristiyan hami ve sanatçıların eserleri üzerinde çalıştım. Sanat tarihi alanında hem sanatın özerkliğini hem de "büyük sanat eserleri"nin altında yatan yaratıcı dehayı varsayan geleneksel çizginin aksine, tasarım ve üretim sürecindeki geleneklere dayalı sınırlamalar, uzlaşmalar ve nezaket kuralları gibi "olumsuz" faktörler ile ilgilenmekteyim. Aynı zamanda, yerel sanatçının Batı'da daha iyi bilinen meslektaşlarıyla ya da İstanbul'daki istisnai sanatçılar ile karşılaştırılması için değil, Osmanlıların belirli bir sosyal sistemi içerisinde faal olan bireyler olarak incelenmesi üzerinde çalışmaktayım. Çalışma hayatlarının olağandışılığı nedeni ile oldukça iyi belgelenmiş sanatçılar yerine çalışmamın odak noktasını eğilimlerin, modellerin, dinamiklerin ve geleneklerin uzun süreli bir bakış açısından tanımlanması ve anlamlandırılması oluşturmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Balkanlar, sanatçılar, yaratıcılık, merkez-periferi ilişikleri, iletişim ağları

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The research for this study has been undertaken in a number of libraries that should be thanked for making available their resources and services: in Istanbul the libraries of Sabancı, Boğaziçi, and Koç universities, as well as of the IAE, ARIT, RCAC, and NIT; in Vienna the National Library as well as the libraries of the departments of Oriental Studies, Eastern and Southeast European Studies, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, and Art History. A part of the fieldwork for this thesis could be conducted thanks to a grant by the Barakat Trust. My doctoral studies at Sabancı University were made possible thanks to a scholarship awarded by that institution.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Scope of this study

This thesis seeks to shed light on the production of art and architecture in the Ottoman Empire – and more specifically its provinces in the European mainland – from the perspective of the artist, that is to say, the producer. While in western art history the import of the individual in the creative process has been a focus to the extent that the outcome is on occasion derided as an "artist history," such has certainly not been the case in the Ottoman context. Due to exceptional circumstances with regard to source material, a good deal could be reconstructed about iconic individuals like Mi'mâr Sinân and certain court designers and illustrators of manuscripts. The situation concerning artistic production in the provinces, however, is far bleaker. Even in those rare cases where names and perhaps even professional titles of individuals involved in the conception, construction, or decoration of mosques, churches, or residences were recorded, it remains an open question to what extent this allows us to assert a causal connection between individual and product. Differently stated, I am interested in the question of the place we are to give to the individual artist – artist being a term I have chosen to use indiscriminately for all skilled individuals involved in the processes described above – in the historical narrative of the art and architecture in the Ottomans' European provinces between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries.

My interest in this problematic began with the study of those few artist personalities, typically from after the seventeenth century, for which enough historical data was available to reconstruct at least a part of their lives and oeuvre. In my subsequent doctoral research I have dismissed this approach, having come to recognize that its focus on exceptional cases ultimately failed to explain the conditions of artistic production in an Ottoman provincial setting and the cultural and economic basis of

artists' careers. Rather than on individuals, my dissertation research thus came to be focused on the identification of "structures."

Methodologically, I was influenced to some extent by Ousterhout's *Master builders of Byzantium*,[1] whose principal contribution I see not in his provision of new evidence but in his posing of "new" questions, even (or especially) where ready answers were (and are) not available. In the present study I have sought to go beyond Ousterhout's framework, however, and also inquire about the social status, private lives, and career choices of artists.

In recognition of the fact that the same individuals or workshops are recorded as involved in the construction and decoration of mosques, churches, residences, and other building types, I should emphasize that – in contrast to what may be regarded as the "traditional" approach to the artistic heritage of Southeast Europe – I have studied works by both Islamic and Christian patrons and artists. Moreover, in contrast to a traditional line in art-historical scholarship that supposes both the autonomy of art and creative genius underlying "great works of art," I am more interested in the "negative" factors in the processes of design and production, such as limitations due to traditions, conventions, and codes of decorum. I also study the "provincial artist" not merely in his relation to his better-known counterpart in the West, with whom he is often contrasted, or to singular personages in Istanbul, but as operating within a concrete system of Ottoman social practices.

The indisputable fact that most work was indeed "anonymous," and that we may never easily be able to connect in an unequivocal and explanatory manner specific names with the conception and production of even the most monumental works of art in this region, warrants not a discarding of such a line of inquiry but, instead, a refocusing from the individual to "structures." This, plus a study of monuments and artworks in the entire region, not just a district or a single monument, also enhances our prospects of being able to track and explain change. While the broad geographical and temporal scope of my project – covering the Ottoman possessions in Europe between the mid-fourteenth and late nineteenth century – may appear forbidding at first sight, it is not impracticable in light of the scarcity of "direct" evidence and the fact that a focus on a clearly delineated region or period would in fact have proven an obstacle in the identification of long-term continuities and caesuras in specific areas as well as the

[1] Robert Ousterhout, *Master builders of Byzantium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.

region as a whole. The macro-regional scope of my project also seemed to better correspond to the nature of much of the work in building and decorating in the Ottoman Balkans, which was frequently undertaken by itinerant masters and workshops rather than by urban craftspeople. Irrespective of whether they worked with stone, wood, or paints, these masters and workshops frequently hailed from mountainous areas, the limited economy of which regularly pushed a part of their populace into seasonal work in the valleys. Disseminating certain forms far and wide, their work was rarely restricted to one micro-region or city. They travelled to wherever they received commissions, though mobility across the Bosporus appears to have been more limited.[2] This, in part, also justifies my focus on the Balkan provinces as opposed to other Ottoman macro-regions or the empire as a whole.

Acknowledging that the questions posed in my work can (and should) be posed for Ottoman and post-Byzantine art and architecture as a whole, and that the Balkan heritage must certainly be understood and interpreted in the context of developments within this larger space, there are also a number of particularities that merit a separate appraisal of this region. Most important perhaps is that, unlike Anatolia or the "Arab provinces," the Balkans at the time prior to the Ottoman conquest lacked a local tradition in Islamic art. This resulted in extensive architectural production during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in the course of which a large number of urban centres with an Islamic infrastructure was largely built from scratch. A new hegemonic art was introduced while centres of non-Muslim cultural production continued to exist. It could moreover be argued, as shall be discussed in chapter 2.5, that the proximity of the region to the Catholic world resulted in somewhat different dynamics of exchange, if compared with other Ottoman macro-regions.

While the building industry will concern a large part of this study, it will also look to the development of other art forms in the region. Unfortunately, concerning the Ottoman provinces, there is only a tiny amount of literature on calligraphy and the arts of the book in general. Furthermore, the portability of manuscripts, in their conception as well as dissemination, makes them hard to study in the context of a research which revolves around the mobility of artists and the fixed work of art (i.e. not the mobility of works of art produced by what appear to have been comparatively place-bound artists). Unable to exclude calligraphy from this study, given the prominence of this art among

[2] A number of cases of E-W traffic of artists across the Bosporus in the early Ottoman period are discussed in ch. 2.5.

Muslim contemporaries, I have chosen to limit my observations to calligraphy found in the public or semi-public context of monuments – and to the rare cases for which conclusive documentary information exists.[3] I have also made use of existing studies beyond this limitation where I thought they contribute to discussions of dynamics of style or the artistic economy.[4] On the whole, however, calligraphy and the arts of the book, as well as another portable art, that of wood-panel icon painting, will take second place behind the arts related to the construction and decoration of buildings.[5]

However, the thesis will not make distinctions between the functions (residential, ritual) and users (Muslims, Christians, merchants, monks) of buildings. The imposition of such limitations was necessary in order to generate conclusive findings from a large amount of data. Nevertheless, I recognize that subjects like Islamic calligraphy or portrait painting (or of secular themes in general) deserve a far more

[3] Many aspects of the problematic of calligraphy in the context of this study are addressed in ch. 1.3.1, where I also discuss some of the principal sources and the quality of the information they provide.

[4] Here mention could be made of Tim Stanley's interesting piece on the production of illuminated Kurans in nineteenth-century Šumen ("Shumen as a centre of Qur'an production in the 19th century," in: *M. Uğur Derman armağanı*. Ed. Irvin Cemil Schick. Istanbul: Sabancı University, 2000, pp. 483-512), Fehim Nametak's unique biography of a poet/calligrapher/epigraphicist in Sarajevo in the same period *(Fadil-paša Šerifović: pjesnik i epigrafičar Bosne*. Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1980), or Koller and Ramović's article about the cosmos of an eighteenth-century Egyptian calligrapher in Cairo ("Die Integration eines ägyptischen Händlers in Sarajevo in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts," in: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte und Kultur Südosteuropas*, III [2001], pp. 149-57).

[5] There exists an extensive body of scholarly literature on Christian Orthodox painting in the Byzantine and Balkan contexts that I have only consulted very selectively. Much of this literature is devoted to questions of iconography and attribution – two subjects I will not foreground in this thesis, except where I discuss conventions and notions of authorship. I should also remark that I did not consult monographs written in Greek, being forced to limit my research to works in English, French, German, Turkish, Serbian-Croatian-Bosnian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian. To be sure, I did consult studies by Greek authors written in languages other than Greek. However, I regret not having been in the position to extensively draw upon texts like Manolēs Chatzēdakēs' *Ellēnes zōgrafoi meta tēn alōsē, 1450-1830* (2 vols. Athens: Kentro Neoellēnikōn Ereunōn, 1987 and 1997). While Chatzēdakēs' biographical inventory of post-Byzantine painters would have proven a welcome supplement to my extensive study of the related works by Mazalić and Vasiliev (see ch. 1.2.2) on Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Macedonia, I sincerely doubt that Greek painters led very different lives from their Slav counterparts. Thus, while access to this body of scholarship would certainly have resulted in greater detail, I doubt that its analysis would conteract my claims based on evidence in neighbouring regions.

detailed treatment than the one I am able to provide on this occasion. The reader must be reminded that my object is not to provide a survey of all arts and a biographical inventory of the individuals that produced them.[6] Rather, I seek to identify and rationalize trends, patterns, and structures. While in individual cases my observations may prove incorrect, due to the surfacing of sources unknown to me at this point, I think it unlikely that this will be the case when it comes to the identification of structures and dynamics within this thesis. It is in such developments, rather than in details, that I am interested.

The question of sources is, as mentioned, somewhat problematic. There exists no single category of sources that can be studied in a consistent and comparative manner in the pursuit of the research questions outlined above; in most cases the evidence is circumstantial. Depending on the case and question, I thus draw upon epigraphy, monastic and other chronicles, oral traditions, tax registers, law codes, endowment deeds, court records, and other sources.[7] For reasons of feasibility (in terms of this thesis's goal of covering a large territory over a long period), I have limited my inquiry to published primary sources. In addition to this, my own fieldwork, conducted in the region over the past decade, forms the indispensable evidence of this thesis.[8] For despite the work of little more than a handful of scholars over the past century, the region's Ottoman heritage remains little studied, much less critically interpreted (see also chapter 1.2).

[6] One of the resultant shortcomings, for instance, will be the lack of conclusive general remarks about the development of wood-carving into a quasi fine art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Here, the existing literature mostly treats "great works" as phenomena of a local, even "national," character, not as a regional phenomenon. Moreover, this literature seems not always entirely sure that its subject is in the domain of art history rather than ethnography.

[7] The various categories of available sources, examples of the information contained in them, and preliminarily assess their explanatory potential will be discussed in ch. 1.3.

[8] I would like to express my gratitude to the Barakat Trust (Oxford) for funding my short-term fieldwork research in Greece in March and June, 2011.

1.2. The historiographical context of this research project

1.2.1. The context of Balkan historiographies

On the art-historical map of Europe, the Balkans remain a place whose heritage is unfamiliar to most scholars outside the region. Considering the proximity of the region to centres excessively well-represented in the art-historical tradition, this may come as somewhat of a surprise. After very promising beginnings before World War I, Balkans art history has, to be sure, produced significant works of research. However, the overall verdict must be that scholarship has largely failed to make this region's heritage relevant to art history in general, in which the Balkans remain more exotic than many regions beyond Europe. I have tried not to repeat in this dissertation the mistakes that might be identified as the principal causes for this failed enterprise.

Firstly, there has been an insistence on "national" specificities, even in studies of periods when, as is clear now, no "national awareness" existed. This has led many scholars to make what are ultimately erroneous conclusions about the nature of the art produced, by whomever, in this period. There has been some literature in the past three decades that has pointed to the sometimes absurd effects of nationalist zeal on art-historical literature.[9] I have also come to realize, however, that this, "traditional," literature needs not to be criticized but to be replaced.

Secondly, the material from the Ottoman period, as opposed to the Middle Ages and the post-Ottoman period, has been under-researched in most of the region's countries. Research into the heritage of the Balkans' former Muslim overlords, now (anachronistically) identified with the modern nation of Turkey, has not always been very popular. There have been very few scholars who have significantly contributed to its study in the past century. But the belief in this period's being a "dark age," with the role of the Ottomans merely being that of destroyers of art and traditions, has also

[9] I have also sought to contribute to this body of writing in my early publications; see my "De/constructing a 'Legacy in Stone': Of interpretative and historiographical problems concerning the Ottoman cultural heritage in the Balkans," in: *Middle Eastern Studies*, XLIV/5 (2008), pp. 695-71; "Negotiating tradition and ambition: comparative de-Ottomanization of the Balkan cityscapes," in: *Ethnologia Balkanica*, X (2006/7), pp. 15-33; "Multicultural pasts as a problem in the construction of national programs of cultural heritage in modern Southeast Europe," (paper read at the *10th Annual Kokkalis Program Workshop at Harvard University*, 2007, published at hks.harvard.edu/kokkalis); and my review of *History and ideology: architectural heritage of the "Lands of Rum"* in the *Newsletter of the European Architectural History Network*, 4 (2008), pp. 36-9.

obstructed research on that period's abundant Christian artistic heritage. It was also neglected to realize that the relative suppression of the potential of Christian artistic activity under Ottoman rule – which was very real, despite all the recent talk of "Ottoman tolerance" – was a fate shared with millions of Europeans who found themselves on the wrong side of the Catholic/Protestant political divide. In fact, Ottoman restrictions on new Christian building compared rather favourably with the challenges faced by non-dominant communities in early modern Austria, England, or even the "liberal" Low Countries.[10] Whether the developments seen in Orthodox Christian painting, an art that did not suffer restrictions during the Ottoman centuries, make it more or less interesting than its medieval precursor ultimately depends on the question asked.

Thirdly, the heritages of the region's Muslim and Christian communities are almost never looked at simultaneously – despite the contemporaneity and similarity of many works, and despite the fact that artists of one confession very often worked for patrons from other communities.[11] "Hybrid" products have rarely been the focus of scholars' attention, certainly not outside the Yugoslav context.[12]

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[10] For these contexts, see Benjamin J. Kaplan, "Fictions of privacy: house chapels and the spatial accommodation of religious dissent in early modern Europe," in: *American Historical Review*, CVII (2002), pp. 1031-64; Reiner Sörries, *Von Kaisers Gnaden: protestantische Kirchenbauten im Habsburger Reich*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2008. In Austria, Joseph II's *Toleranzpatent* of 1781 first allowed the construction of non-Catholic houses of worship – granted that they did not have an entrance facing the street or a belfry, which was still considered intolerable. Even the Protestant church built in Vienna's Gumpendorf suburb in the 1840s according to a design by the famous architects Theophil Hansen and Ludwig Förster conformed to these principles. Prior to the nineteenth century, the situation of non-Calvinists in the Netherlands or Ireland's majority Catholic population under English rule, forced to worship in houses or barns, was not much different. Ottoman Christians were, in fact, permitted to build belfries five years earlier than the non-Catholics under Habsburg rule were granted the same right in 1861. The restrictions non-Muslims suffered under Ottoman rule, in sum, were not extraordinary but a fact of life in early modern Europe. They have an echo in today's debates in European countries over the extent to which Muslim communities are to be allowed to show presence in public space by equipping their houses of worship with minarets.

[11] Ch. 2.4 is devoted to this problematic.

[12] Not only the trade of forms, but also the mere presence of artists from a different community seems to have terrified one author to an extent that he thought the principal debate had to be whether or not the product was "national" enough: see Zeki Sönmez, *Başlangıçtan 16. yüzyıla kadar Anadolu Türk-İslâm mimarisinde sanatçılar*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1995^2, pp. 473-5.

Fourthly, Balkan art histories have largely resisted theoretical-methodological innovations in the discipline (or related disciplines) since the 1960s. The nationalist logic of the scholarly tradition in Southeast European art histories has not been questioned even during socialist rule. "Marxist" interpretations of art-historical phenomena in the Balkans, consisting of social-scientific approaches dismissing a Hegelian notion of "culture" as substructure at the expense of historical materialism, were far more likely to come from western scholars than from scholars in the countries of Southeast Europe who traced their political ideology to Marx.[13]

Fifthly, the borders of research traditions in the various Balkan countries are usually the modern territorial boundaries or perceived historical boundaries, the latter giving rise to concepts such as that of "Bulgarian lands" or "Old Serbia," or even (if unarticulated) of a "Turkey." There has been very little research on a truly regional level, most researchers confining themselves to "their" artistic inheritance. This has obstructed the study of phenomena that materialized in a time and region in which these borders simply did not exist. Chapter 2.1 will highlight the remarkable mobility of artists in the Ottoman Balkans that makes any micro-regional approach to the study of this heritage questionable.

Sixthly – and this concerns more the scholars in Turkey, Europe, and North America, who have been dominant in the writing of the history of Ottoman art – there have been few attempts to view Ottoman architecture outside Istanbul after 1453 as anything but a by-product. These works are regarded as ultimately without consequence for this history of this art, for its "head" was elsewhere. This approach is becoming obsolete as "the biggest" and "the best" are not necessarily the principal criteria for appraisal in art history anymore. A more recent focus on patronage has partly rescued the provincial heritage from oblivion, for it takes as starting point for an inquiry not a city or monument but a person. I shall also explore other strategies to make this heritage more relevant to the narrative of Ottoman architecture.

To remedy all these shortcomings is not the work for a dissertation but for one or more generations of scholars. While my study must not be seen as anything but an essay in perspective, I do hope that it will be a contribution to the project of the integration, and the making relevant, of the Balkans in/to art history.

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[13] See also my "Is there a crisis in Balkan studies? A position paper," in: *Kakanien Revisited*, 92 (2009) [http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/balkans/MHartmuth1.pdf], esp. p. 2.

1.2.2. The available literature on the topic

The most substantial work on a key subject of this dissertation is a 1988 article by Cerasi, entitled "Late-Ottoman architects and master builders."[14] Now found in some bibliographies, it is more often referenced than discussed or challenged. Already Cerasi lamented that the literature on the topic had been "forced into the mold" of "national" boundaries, which he found at odds with "the reality of the fundamentally homogeneous Ottoman urban culture, multiethnic though it may have been." This scholar moreover expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that Ottoman sources thus far explored have largely failed to explain "how Ottoman designers and builders worked and conceived their work." For a renewed debate, Cerasi proposed the binary, reflected in the title of his piece, of "two distinct crafts – that of the architect and that of the master builder."[15]

With regards to the provinces, the focus of my study, Cerasi posited two important breaches. Firstly, he saw the instituting of "town architects" in "late classical times" as "a change in the relations between the centralized system and local culture." Positioned between master masons and imperial architects, these "town architects" were nominated by the chief royal architect (*ser-mi'mârân-ı hâssa*) in Istanbul to "oversee imperial building sites and to supervise all construction activity whether private, *vakıf* or imperial, in provincial towns." Secondly, Cerasi maintained that by the end of the seventeenth century itinerant or sedentary "master-builder guilds" (sic) had begun to replace architects in the design and construction of buildings in the expanding Ottoman provincial towns. Starting from the western parts of the peninsula, these "Balkan mason corporations" saw their heyday in the late eighteenth century, when they bestowed to the region "whole dynasties of master builders" organized as travelling confraternities. Pointedly, Cerasi portrayed it as "a paradox of Ottoman civilization – centered in towns

[14] Maurice Cerasi, "Late-Ottoman architects and master builders," in *Muqarnas*, V (1988), pp. 87-102. Cerasi's work greatly benefited from earlier studies, especially those of Muzaffer Erdoğan (for a bibliography of which cf. Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf's *Osmanische Bibliographie: mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Türkei in Europa*. Leiden: Brill, 1973, p. 190).

[15] Cerasi, "Late-Ottoman architects and master builders," pp. 87-8. The definition of their relationship began, he thought, in the sixteenth century, when one came to be seen as the assistant of to different. This also had them belong to different social strata: architects, Cerasi claims, were "apt to be the more cultured and better integrated into official institutions," even if they did not constitute an archetypal "Ottoman intellectual."

and dominated by towns – that its architectural culture should have been almost entirely produced by villagers," as were indeed most of these itinerant builders. Next to what Cerasi believed to be shifts from architects to master builders and of their origins from towns to villages, he also identified as a general trend that after the sixteenth century non-Muslims played a greater role in the building crafts.[16]

It must be acknowledged that Cerasi did indeed manage to detect some major trends and shifts. My study will, however, take issue with his idea of the architect – or of *an* Ottoman architect per se – as the cultured peer of the builder, with the significance of the "town architects" in artistic process in the provinces (which may have been nil), and with other more minor issues. Nevertheless, it is a crucial finding that some kind of change did happen in the period of ca. 1600-1750. Cerasi is also not entirely wrong in suggesting that before 1600 it was likely that major works in the provinces were undertaken by Muslim architects from an urban background and after 1750 this was more likely done by Christian villagers; there are, however, nuances that must not be neglected, as should be a discussion of the causes that may have led to such a situation.

While I see the perspective of my study as in partial opposition to interpretations found in the existing literature, this is by no means to say that there were no substantial works on which this study could build. Veritable mines of information regarding individuals' biographies are two books from the 1960s by Mazalić and Vasiliev; their titles translate as "Lexicon of artists: painters, sculptors, builders, goldsmiths, calligraphers and others who have worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina"[17] and as "Bulgarian masters of the Revival [period]: painters, carvers, builders" respectively.[18] While Mazalić restricted himself to all names of individuals who could be proven or suspected of having worked in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in any period, Vasiliev's "Bulgarians" were – fortunately for us – really all Slavonic-speakers in the southern Balkans, including what is now the Republic of Macedonia and Greece. His focus was on four principal "schools" of the late Ottoman ("Revival") period, classified according the artists' native village, town, or district: Trjavna, Debar, Samokov, and Bansko. In the same decade the publication of Kreševljaković's tripartite work on guilds in

[16] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

[17] Đoko Mazalić, *Leksikon umjetnika : slikara, vajara, graditelja, zlatara, kaligrafa i drugih koj su radili u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1967.

[18] Asen Vasiliev, *Bălgarski văzroždenski majstori: živopisci, rezbari, stroiteli.* Sofia: Izdat. "Nauka i Izkustvo," 1965.

Ottoman Bosnia was also (posthumously) completed, which began with a volume on Sarajevo in 1935 and was continued with two further volumes on Mostar (1951) and Banja Luka and other locales (1961).[19] Like Mazalić's and Vasiliev's works, Kreševljaković's *Esnafi i obrti* is gathered from a large array of primary sources. Needless to say, all three works are by and large collections of data; they are prolegomena rather than art history as it is understood today. This should not detract from the monumentality of these and other studies, however, which must be acknowledged as achievements not only in the context of the place and/or time at which they were produced but also as foundations for the study of this heritage in the future.[20]

Another mine of information, both due to the massive amount of primary sources exploited and the originality of the argument, is a book that came out only half a decade ago: Necipoğlu's *Age of Sinan*, possibly the most substantial contribution to the field of Ottoman architectural history since Goodwin's standard survey from 1971. As hinted above, this author's refocusing of inquiry from the question of style to that of patronage has made practicable a closer look at the monumental architecture in the provinces as well. More than an ordinary study, it is a pladoyer for a different Ottoman architectural history.[21]

Another recent book, Faroqhi's *Artisans of Empire*, has synthesized the substantial body of research devoted to the Ottoman guilds.[22] Its findings have been less helpful for the purposes of this study than one might think, however, for one simple reason: although seldom recognized in the literature, many if not most builders, painters/decorators, and woodcarvers of the sort discussed in this thesis were simply never part of (urban) guilds. Instead, their work was based on seasonal migration for

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[19] Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Esnafi i obrti u Bosni i Hercegovini" [1935/1951], in: *Izabrana djela*, II. Sarajevo: IP "Veselin Masleša," 1991, pp. 7-384.

[20] Another important work, incidentally from the same decade, is Sreten Petković's *Zidno slikarstvo na području Pećke patrijaršije: 1557-1614*. Novi Sad: Matica Srpska, Odeljenje za Likovne Umetnosti, 1965. While I often draw upon its principal conclusion, I did not "mine" it to the extent I did with Mazalić's, Vasiliev's, or Kreševljaković's work. Yet another monumental work from the 1960s is Đoko Mazalic, *Slikarska umjetnost u Bosni i Hercegovini u tursko doba, 1500-1878*. Sarajevo: "Veselin Masleša," 1965.

[21] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan: architectural culture in the Otoman Empire*. Princeton: University Press, 2005.

[22] Suraiya Faroqhi, *Artisans of empire: crafts and craftspeople under the Ottomans.* London: IB Tauris, 2009.

work from their mountain homes, which appears to have made them relatively invisible in official documentation. That some scholars have chosen to translate the term *tayfa* (*tâ'ife*) as "guilds," rather than as "workshop" or "team," may also have led to some confusion about builders' and decorators' organizations as *tayfa*s. The important fact that some of the region's foremost artists continued to reside outside the major cities-even when they enjoyed great successes – will be addressed in various sections of this work.

There is some bias toward Bosnia (and, to a lesser extent, for Macedonia[23]) in this study. This is less an echo of my own (better) acquaintance with the heritage of this country than a result of the fact that, for Bosnia, Ottoman source material relative to the study of architecture has been made available in a more complete form than for any other Balkan region. The large amount of *vakfiye*s, inscriptions, chronicles, court cases, decrees, travelogues, and other materials published by scholars such as Mujezinović, Kreševljaković, Hasandedić, or Kemura have made possible my procession through, parallel reading, and comparison of large amounts of primary material in translations or transcriptions.[24] Early Ottoman inscriptions in Thrace and other territories, more rewarding than the later ones in terms of artist-related content, were handily published in the compilation by Sönmez.[25] I have also browsed several published tax-registers, on one occasion stumbling upon information that has enhanced one of my arguments.[26] In some cases I have managed to fathom only after a while how to make use of pieces of information that, and individuals who, seemed unconnected to anything or anybody,[27] thus impeding proper analysis.[28]

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[23] In this work I use Macedonia and Macedonian in a regional, not ethnic/national, sense. Where I specifically refer to the part of the historic region in the South-Central Balkans that was included in, and seceded fromm the former Yugoslavia, I shall write of "the Republic of Macedonia."

[24] Sometimes the preliminary conclusion simply was that a certain category of sources was not very rewarding with regard to information about artists, whereby not all of this work is cited.

[25] Sönmez, *Anadolu Türk-İslâm mimarisinde sanatçılar*.

[26] For the usefulness of one piece of information in the tax records of the Hersek district in the late fifteenth century, see ch. 4.2.2. A list of all published *tahrir defter*s is found at http://www.ottoman.uconn.edu/Bibliography/Published_Tahrirs.htm.

[27] In ch. 2.2.3, for instance, I discuss the implication of builders being invited to figure as witnesses to notarial acts, such as the legalization of endowment deeds. Can

Anybody with but a slight interest in the Ottoman-Islamic and post-Byzantine art and architecture of the Balkans will be aware of the fact that it is fairly impossible to work on these topics without frequent recourse to the work of Machiel Kiel of the last forty years. Kiel's approach is (mostly) the micro-historical: monuments are analyzed chiefly in the context of a given locale's economic and religious development over a long period of time, sometimes between the late fourteenth and late twentieth century. While he would occasionally write of Christian artists or Muslim workmen, this was usuallly without making them the focus of an article or book. In an article on Albania, for instance, one of his earliest published studies, Kiel sought to explain the peripherality of that land (and its architecture) as a result of the rugged terrain which hindered the development of agriculture, hence preventing the emergence of large cities. Its Islamic architecture, for Kiel, bore the imprint of neighbouring Macedonia, from which, rather than the capital, he believed Albania received its architecture.[29] Kiel has also produced three substantial studies based on the so-called construction accounts of Ottoman monuments in the Balkans.[30] I should also like to highlight one article in which Kiel discussed the spread of the so-called School of Thebes in the context of the economic development of these painters' native region, Boeotia (NW of Athens). Ottoman tax registers, agriculture, and Ottoman-period Christian art that is flourishing rather than dead; having all this together was so unusual for the mid-1980s, when this research was presented at a conference, that it must be acknowledged.[31]

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this serve as an indication for their elevated social status, or only for that of certain individuals?

[28] The various categories of sources and the use to which they can be put shall be discussed in greater detail in ch. 1.3.

[29] Machiel Kiel, "Aspects of Ottoman-Turkish architecture in Albania," in: *Vth International Congress of Turkish Art, Budapest 23-28 September 1975*. Ed. Géza Fehér. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978, pp. 541-65.

[30] These studies are discussed and cited in ch. 1.3.2.

[31] Machiel Kiel, "Byzantine architecture and painting in Central Greece 1460-1570: its demographic and economic basis according to the Ottoman census- and taxation registers for Central Greece preserved in Istanbul and Ankara," in: *From Mantzikert to Lepanto: The Byzantine World and the Turks 1071-1571. Ninth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies. Birmingham 1985 = Byzantinische Forschungen*, XVI (1991), pp. 429-46.

Regarding Ottoman architecture, also the inventories and studies by Ayverdi, Eyice, and others deserve mention, in part because I cite them more rarely than might be expected.[32] Before Kiel, it was Anhegger who produced the most stimulating studies on aspects of this heritage.[33] In Bosnia, its study dates back to the period of Austro-Hungarian rule (1878-1918), and some texts from this period are still useful today.[34] Hungarian scholars have also conducted pioneering research, most recently in the field of Ottoman archaeology;[35] but as relatively few significant Ottoman monuments remain standing in the Pannonian Basin and are well-preserved enough to enable comparative stylistic study, I will only rarely venture north of Danube and Sava. It should still be acknowledged that among the interesting works produced in Hungary was one article that suggested that Hungary's Ottoman architecture was very similar to Bosnia's because the architects or builders must have come to Hungary from nearby Bosnia.[36] Better acquainted with the conditions of design in this period and context, we may now assert that the similarity between domed mosques in Bosnia and Hungary was very probably not due to architects and/or builders moving back and forth between these places but because these monuments were built in a period at which the northern parts of the peninsula, including both Bosnia and Hungary, were equipped with an Islamic

[32] Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi's four-volume *Avrupa'da Osmanlı mimârî eserleri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1979-1982) remains the most complete inventory to date. A bibliography that includes Eyice's articles on the Balkans is found in Kornrumpf, *Osmanische Bibliographie*, pp. 199-203.

[33] Robert Anhegger's "Die Römerbrücke von Mostar: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Organisation des Bauwesens im Osmanischen Reich" (in: *Oriens*, VII/1 [1954], pp. 87-107) was perhaps the most conclusive study of this problematic until Necipoğlu's *Age of Sinan*.

[34] I discuss some of this literature in my "Insufficiently oriental? An early episode in the study and preservation of the Ottoman architectural heritage in the Balkans," in: *Monuments, patrons, contexts: papers on Ottoman Europe presented to Machiel Kiel*. Eds. Maximilian Hartmuth and Ayşe Dilsiz. Leiden: Netherlands Institute for the Near East, 2010, pp. 171-84.

[35] As "evidence" for this claim can be cited the volume *Archaeology of the Ottoman period in Hungary* (eds. Ibolya Gerelyes and Gyongyi Kovács. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2003), the like we lack for other ex-Ottoman regions, including Anatolia.

[36] Győző Gerő, "The question of school and master in the study of the history of Muslim architecture in Hungary," in: *The Muslim East: Studies in honour of Julius Germanus*. Ed. Gyula Káldy-Nagy. Budapest: Eötvös Lorand Univ., 1974, pp. 189-99.

infrastructure that consisted of architectural types whose designs had been canonized at the centre.

Concerning the relationship between centre and periphery and the notion of an imperial style, reference should be made to a study by Denny, many ideas in which were developed in Necipoğlu's seminal *Age of Sinan*.[37] Though not touching upon the Balkans at all, the (supposed) problem of artists' "anonymity" in Islamic contexts is addressed in a more conclusive way than elsewhere in a little-known article by Meinecke.[38] Goodwin, the doyen of Ottoman architectural history, also barely mentioned the Balkans in his seminal survey; but some interesting observations are found in a seldom cited article, in which he concluded that buildings in the provinces "rarely influenced the architects of the imperial monuments of Istanbul and Edirne," while conceding that "interesting work was achieved there by architects trained in Istanbul."[39] Articles on the problematic of centres and peripheries by Ginzburg/Castelnuovo and Hadjinicolaou, finally, have helped me make sense of difference and possible reasons for it.[40] Palairet's article on the "Migrant workers" of the late Ottoman Balkans stands in for a body of literature on work migration that has proven essential to my understanding of artistic production in the Ottoman provinces.[41]

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[37] Walter B. Denny, "Provincial Ottoman architecture and the metropolitan style: questions of meaning and originality," in: *Art turc/Turkish art*. Ed. François Deroche. Geneva: Van Berchem Foundation, 1999, pp. 243-52.

[38] Michael Meinecke, "Zur sogenannten Anonymität der Künstler im islamischen Mittelalter," in: *Künstler und Werkstatt in den orientalischen Gesellschaften*. Ed. Adalbert J. Gail. Graz: Akadem. Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1982, pp. 31-45.

[39] Godfrey Goodwin, "Ottoman architecture in the Balkans," in: *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, IX (1975), pp. 55-9, cit. pp. 55-6. Quite helpful is his observation that a Balkan provincial minaret was often "much more skilfully built than its mosque and one wonders if masons trained in minaret construction travelled up and down the peninsular."

[40] Carlo Ginzburg and Enrico Castelnuovo. "Symbolic domination and artistic geography in Italian Art History" [tr. by Maylis Curie], in: *Art in Translation*, I/1 (2009), pp. 5-48, but first published in French as "Domination symbolique et géographie artistique dans l'histoire de l'art italien," in: *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, XL (1981), pp. 51-72; Nikos Hadjinicolaou, "Kunstzentren und periphere Kunst," in: *Kritische Berichte*, XI (1983), pp. 36-56.

[41] Michael Palairet, "The migrant workers of the Balkans and their villages (18th Century –World War II)," in: *Handwerk in Mittel- und Südosteuropa. Mobilität:*

1.3. The principal sources

1.3.1. "Artist signatures" (epigraphy), *vitae*/biographies, and manuals

In some cases our principal source for the attribution of a certain work to an individual is epigraphy. The frequency of "artist signatures" varies to a great extent, however, according to period and craft. They are most frequent in Orthodox Christian painting,[42] while Muslim decorative painters of mosques – as some isolated examples (discussed in ch. 2.2.6) might suggest – would only "sign" their work after the mid-nineteenth century. It is in the same century that we find the recurring names of Orthodox Christian builders on an increased number of new or renewed churches. This is the reverted dynamic of what we see in Islamic architecture, where the names of builders and architects seem to be quite common around 1400 but completely disappear after the Fall of Constantinople.[43] It must be stressed, however, that the positive information gained from such inscriptions is at times limited, at least concerning the aims of this study.

The problematic nature of some inscriptions is perhaps best exemplified by those on the Great Mosque of Didymoteichon in Greek Thrace.[44] Completed in 1421, this monument dates from a period in which "artist inscriptions" were more common. Scholars have commonly – but, as I shall argue, very probably wrongly – interpreted the slightly ambiguous inscription in a way that the early Ottoman statesman Hacı 'İvâz Paşa emerged as "its architect." But what did it really mean to be considered a building's *mi'mâr* by 1400 – or even by 1600? A name alone, even if in connection with a professional title, might in fact tell us little about the actual contribution of that individual vis-à-vis others, especially patrons, other artists, or "planners" of any sort. It is rare that the same name is encountered on more than one or two buildings, hence

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Vermittlung und Wandel im Handwerk des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts. Ed. Klaus Roth. Munich: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 1987, pp. 23-46.

[42] For numbers pertaining to Greece, cf. Speros Vryonis, "The Byzantine legacy in the formal culture of the Balkan peoples," in: *The Byzantine tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*. Ed. John Yiannias. Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1991, pp. 17-44, cit. p. 30.

[43] Cf. Sönmez, *Anadolu Türk-İslâm mimarisinde sanatçılar*, passim; also Meinecke. "Zur sogenannten Anonymität der Künstler," esp. p. 36. For the exception of Dâvûd Ağa, who is mentioned in three inscriptions in late sixteenth-century Istanbul, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 508.

[44] This mosque is briefly discussed in 2.2.6 and 2.5.1.

allowing for conclusions as to an individual's "artistic development." Reference to a builder's or decorator's home locale is sometimes just as helpful a piece of information, however. Both help us to establish certain patterns.

Viewed against the background of Western art history, the lack of a Balkan tradition of artists' *vitae*, which one might consider the earliest form of art-historical narration, is a serious lack for the modern scholar. When in the second quarter of the nineteenth century the Zagreb gentleman Kukuljević-Sakcinski ventured to compile a compilation of *vitae* of South-Slav artists comparable to Vasari's legendary *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, et scultori italiani* (1550, revised 1568), he thus faced serious problems when it came especially to the centuries of Ottoman rule over Southeast Europe. The few artists' names and careers he managed to produce are relatively insignificant.[45] More fruitful, though of very limited use for a discussion of artists based in the Balkans, are the Vasari-like compilations of artist biographies produced in Istanbul since the sixteenth century. These are largely restricted to the domain of calligraphy, however; book painting is rarely addressed and architecture never.[46] All

[45] Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski, *Slovnik umjetnikah jugoslavenskih*. Zagreb: Lj. Gaj, 1858. If one disregards the biography of Anastas Jovanović, a Bulgarian-born artist contemporary to Kukuljević (for whose work he produced engravings), and who may be disqualified also on the grounds that he worked in the Habsburg monarchy rather than in the Ottoman domain, then the only substantial piece of information about any artist active in the Balkans throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule is that about the "probably Bulgarian" monk, painter, and calligrapher Filip. Around 1500 he produced an illuminated gospel book in the Zograf monastery on Athos for the Moldavian prince Ştefan cel Mare (cf. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, *Slovnik*, pp. 83-5). Less illuminating are the couple of lines about the bishop and builder (*graditelj*) Jo(v)an, who around 1600 equipped the Dečani monastery with a water supply system (*ibid.*, p. 124). Mentioned is also the "probably Bulgarian" Josip Jabec, who in 1521 is said to have established the first printing press in Thessalonikē (*ibid.*, p. 119). Somewhat related is a Sofia-born Jakov Krajkov – "the first-known Bulgarian who occupied himself with Slavic printing" – who around the mid-sixteenth century went to Venice and, together with Jerolim Zagurović from Kotor, produced a psalter and a prayer book (*ibid*., p. 207). A bit of a curiosity finally is Vuk Konde (Konda?), known as a skilled goldsmith "in Old Serbia or Macedonia" in the late sixteenth century. The only sources apparent are two silver objects from the Dečani monastery whose inscriptions had been published in a Novi Sad journal in 1831 (*ibid*., p. 124).

[46] A foundational work here, if of limited relevance for the discussion of artistic process in the Balkans, is the statesman Mustafâ Âlî's *Menâkıb-ı hünerverân* ("Deeds of the accomplished"), completed in 1587 for presentation to Sultan Murâd III. (For an English translation and analysis of this work, see Esra Akin, "Mustafa Ali's epic deeds of artists: a study on the earliest Ottoman text about the calligraphers and painters of the Islamic world," Ph.D. dissertation [Ohio State University], 2007. A modern Turkish rendering of the text has been available as *Hattatların ve kitap sanatçılarının destanları*

these works are largely a product of the centre, however. Where they make reference to calligraphers with a Balkan-connection it is usually when they point to the birthplaces of certain calligraphers. Calligraphers resident in Balkan towns seem to have been quite invisible in this regard. Frequent epithets like "Belgradî," "Bosnevî," or "Arnavûd" refer to their places of origin rather than to the sites of their production.[47] What,

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(Menakıb-ı hünerveran). Tr. Müjgan Cunbur. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1982.) This was a sultan at whose court the arts of the book especially flourished, and it must not surprise that this work, which echoes the production of contemporary texts in Safavid Iran (for which see David Roxburgh, *Prefacing the image: the writing of art history in sixteenth-century Iran*. Leiden: Brill, 2001), deals with various aspects of this genre, including book illustration and calligraphy. Composed a half-century later, similarly upon sultanic commission, Nefes-zâde İbrâhîm Efendi's *Gülzâr-i Savâb* ("The rose-garden of proper conduct") was both a manual as well as a biographical history of, specifically, calligraphy. This well-known work served as a fundament for later, continual updating of this stock of biographies. In Suyolcu-zâde Mehmed Necib's 1737 *Devhatü'l-küttâb* ("Genealogy of the scribes"), this debt is expressed in a dialogue in the introduction (for which see the useful survey by Tim Stanley, "After Müstakim-zade," in: *Islamic art in the 19th century: tradition, innovation, and eclecticism*. Eds. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Stephen Vernoit. Leiden: Brill, 2006, pp. 98-108, cit. p. 90), in which the author records his being commissioned to write "a book on calligraphers, both those who have died and those who are still alive." His patron acknowledged that "the *Gülzâr-i Savâb* is a valuable work, but there have been calligraphers since then." The mark for later appraisals was then set by Müstâkim-zâde Süleymân Sa'deddin (d. 1788-9), who simply compiled all information available to him without much selection. The tradition was continued by the Iranian expat Habîb Efendi İsfahânî, whose *Hat ve Hattâtân* ("Calligraphy and calligraphers") was even printed in 1887/8 – a first. Two decades later this work, and the cumulative tradition as a whole, was made available to an international audience in Clément Huart's *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient muselman* (Paris: Leroux, 1908), a text largely based on İsfahânî, prefaced for a Western readership ignorant of the implications of the discussion of the "art of writing."

[47] Though certainly a pattern, not all Bosnians ended up in Istanbul: Derviş Hüsâmeddîn of Bosnia (d. 1591/2), for example, studied in Damascus with the Persian calligrapher Kâni. This copier of manuscripts of old masters (his livelihood?) thus became known as "Hüsâm of Damascus" (cf. Huart, *Calligraphes*, p. 261). Other Bosnian-origin calligraphers, often *kadı*s or sons of *kadı*s, are noted to have worked in places like Cairo, Baghdad, or Damascus (cf. ibid., p. 269, 278, 310). The probably best-known Bosnian-born among the prominent calligraphers, though indeed better known as a poet, was Mehmed Nerkesî, who benefited from his association with the poet and *kazasker* Kafzâde Feyzullâh Efendi upon his arrival in Istanbul, where he was trained in all variants of calligraphy and worked as a poet. Nerkesî was also known as a very fast-working copyist, once having produced a copy of a famous Koran commentary in only forty days. He died unexpectedly in 1634/5 in Gebze, at the onset of the campaign to Yerevan, for which he was appointed chronicler, and was buried at Eyüp. He had worked as a *kadı*, interestingly, exclusively in Rumeli (Gabela, Čajniče, Thessalonikē [as deputy *kadı*], Mostar, Novi Pazar, Elbasan, Banja Luka, Bitola). The bombastic style of his prose fell into disregard during the Tanzîmat, whereafter he was

moreover, complicates a discussion of calligraphers is that some of the most talented may not have been professional but hobby artists, having gained an understanding of the art in the course of their higher education at a *medrese*.[48] For this and other reasons, calligraphy as an art will only claim a marginal place in this study, which privileges professional artists trained and working in the Balkans.

There exist biographical accounts of artists from the Ottoman Balkans, written during the lifetime of these individuals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries or shortly thereafter, but these are exceptional cases rather than expressions of a tradition. I have only come across three such texts, none of which compares with *vitae* written in Renaissance Italy and other western contexts, and all greatly differ.[49] The *vita* of Pimen Zografski, for instance, is really that of a Sofia-born monk who was also a painter. He trained in iconography at Mount Athōs with Thomas of Sofia and then returned to his native region to begin a massive "restoration campaign," which supposedly affected 300 churches and fifteen monasteries. As may be expected, the positive information about Pimen's art in his *vita*, composed by his disciple Pamfilije, is limited.[50] Even the degree of participation by Pimen as an artist in the abovementioned "campaign" may be questioned.[51] Better-established is the artisthood of the painter-monk Dionysios of

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largely forgotten. Considerably more information is available about this individual, as summarized in the EI^2 article "Nergisī" by Christine Woodhead (VIII, p. 6).

[48] We thus find in such compilations (cf. Huart, *Calligraphes*, p. 136, 348) two seventeenth-century calligraphers named Mehmed Paşa of Belgrade and Kâtib Mehmed of Belgrade, who both received their diploma from Hâfız Mehmed Efendi. Their only apparent Belgrade connection seems to have been that this was their place of birth, their career (and probably education) already taking place in Istanbul. More importantly, they clearly had a primary career in administration, copying Korans in the free time. See also the cases of the Bosnians Mehmed Kato (d. 1676/7) and İsmâ'îl Muhâsib (d. 1748), whose careers revolved around the palace in Istanbul (ibid., p. 137, 166), and the previous footnote.

[49] For the distinction between *vita* and biography, made in this thesis, see the discussion in ch. 4.3.1 (footnotes).

[50] This *vita* has been published most recently in a modernized Bulgarian version as Monah Pamfilij, *Žitie na prepodobnia naš otec Pimen Zografski*. Sofia: Ljubomodrie, 2007.

[51] While, curiously (given volume and repute), no signed work survives, there is indeed a considerable number of churches painted in that period and region in which Athonite influences, if largely devoid of metropolitan sophistication, can be discerned. See Machiel Kiel, *Art and society of Bulgaria in the Turkish period: a sketch of the economic, juridical and artistic preconditions of Bulgarian post-Byzantine art and its*

Fourna, who is also the subject of a *vita*. More than as a painter, he is known as the composer of a popular iconographers' manual (*ermēneia tēs zōgrafikēs*), which is also discussed below. Dionysios' "vios" was written by a certain Theophanēs, who succeeded him as the abbot of a monastery in the town of Fourna. It has been questioned, for good reasons, whether Theophanēs had actually personally known Dionysios or had just compiled information about his predecessor from sources available to him.[52] More importantly, Dionysios, certainly an important art-historical figure for the Balkans thanks to his comprehensive *ermēneia*, was eulogized by Theophanēs not as a painter but as the founder (*ktētōr*) of the Fourna monastery. It must be stressed that both *vitae* were written in acknowledgment of the painter-monks' religious activity rather than their art. Strictly speaking they must not be considered artists' *vitae*.

A different, though similarly isolated, case is the *vita* of the Ottoman chief royal architect Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa, which incidentally dates to around the same period as Piment's, that is, the early seventeenth century.[53] Really a eulogy written by a client and with some information intended for practical use (and hence termed *risâle*, or treatise, though in the text it is also identified as a *menâkıb-nâme*, or book of deeds), this is a source from the centre rather than from the province. While Mehmed Ağa's *vita* makes clear that he is to be considered the architect to be credited for the mosque of Sultan

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place in the development of the art of the Christian Balkans, 1360/70–1700: a new interpretation. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1985, pp. 346-7; Rossitza Gradeva, *Rumeli under the Ottomans, 15th-18th centuries: institutions and communities*. Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004, p. 355. Interesting is that the *vita* does not really imply Pimen's own artistic participation in this "campaign," and it is certainly rather extraordinary that in none of the works created in such a project Pimen would leave a signature. In the famed *Istorija Slavjanobolgarskaja*, completed by the monk Paisij of Hilendar in the Zograf monastery in 1762 (cf. the French translation by Athanase Popov, "L'histoire slavo-bulgare de Paisij de Hilendar: traduction et commentaire," DREA (Inalco), 2005, p. 143), Pimen is clearly identified as an icon-painter by training and profession, however. There it is similarly stated that he "built and restored" churches and monasteries in the eparchy of Sofia at a time when the sultan gave him permission to do so. Long after his death in 1610 his bones were discovered in the Čepino monastery, miraculously intact, and were moved to another monastery at Suhodol.

[52] K. Th. Dēmaras, "Theophanous tou ex Agrafōn vios Dionysiou tou ek Fourna," in: *Ellēnika*, X (1938), pp. 213-73, cit. p. 242-3; reproduction of the *vita* on pp. 248-54. I am indebted to Katerina Stathi for helping me with this text.

[53] Cafer Efendi, *Risale-i mimariyye: an early-seventeenth-century Ottoman treatise on architecture: facsimile with translation and notes by Howard Crane*. Leiden: Brill, 1987.

Ahmed I in the capital, no specific work in the European provinces is attributed to him, even though as the head of the Corps of Royal Architects (*ser mi'mârân-ı hâssa*) the designs of a number of monuments must have been produced by, or passed through, his office. In the context of my study, this extraordinary source is well worth a mention, for it illustrates how a man from the provinces – Albania in this case – made a career culminating in an eventual promotion to the head of the Corps of Royal Architects.[54] Interestingly, it also records that it was only after a series of jobs completely unrelated to the visual arts that Mehmed could work as an architect.[55] Though the text, at the beginning of chapter five, promises an enumeration of the "many" mosques, *mescid*s, palaces, baths, and bridges built by/under him, as was the case in the texts about Sinân that inspired Mehmed Ağa's *Risâle*, this promise remains unfulfilled. We only find in the manuscript, at the end of said chapter, a couple of blank pages presumably reserved for the list of monuments that was never added.[56] Again it must be stressed that the *Risâle* is silent about Mehmed Ağa's artistic contribution, or, to be more precise, the causal relationship between individual and product. At least the motive behind the composition of the *Risâle* is fairly clear: in the text it is claimed that *menâkıb-âme*s had been written about some previous chief architects – really only that by/about Mi'mâr Sinân has been discovered – and that therefore it was adequate to do the same for Mehmed Ağa.[57] In one version of Sinân's *vita*, the outspoken model for the *Risâle*, it is quite clearly stated that, "having become a weak old man," the architect commissioned a poet to "record his conversation in verse and prose," for he wished "his name and reputation to endure on the pages of time." [58] Briefly put, the motive and setting was

[54] The *Risâle* (p. 24) merely identifies Rumelia as his birthplace. The specification to Albania is based on the description of the Central Albanian town of Elbasan in Evliya Çelebi's travelogue (from 1670), in which the famed voyager reports of forty (sic) fountains "built by the Chief Architect who constructed the New Mosque of Sultan Ahmed on the hippodrome in Istanbul," that is, Mehmed Ağa. See Zeynep Nayır, *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet külliyesi ve sonrası*. Istanbul: İTU Mimarlık Fakültesi Baskı Atölyesi, 1975, p. 40.

[55] I shall discuss the biographical content of this *vita* in ch. 2.6.

[56] For a list of constructions and repairs during the tenure of Mehmed Ağa, see Nayır, *Osmanlı mimarlığında Sultan Ahmet külliyesi*, pp. 42-4.

[57] *Risâle*, p. 23.

[58] Cf. *Sinan's autobiographies: five sixteenth-century texts*. Ed. and tr. Howard Crane and Esra Akin. Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 114.

identical to Condivi's recording of Michelangelo's *vita*: the eulogized was the subject as much as the "author" of this text. The conduct seems to have been the same with Mehmed Ağa's *Risâle*, written by the poet Ca'fer Efendi – presumably to endow the text with some "neutrality" as well as literary style. In any case, the *Risâle* is an exceptional source that alone cannot provide sufficient data to answer some principal questions posed in this study.

While Mehmed Ağa's text is, technically, not really a *risâle* (treatise) but a *menâkib-nâme* (book of deeds), the iconographers' manuals (*ermēneiai*, "interpretations") for use by Orthodox Christian painters are certainly the most interesting texts of an instructive nature.[59] They are also written by the artists themselves, which makes them a privileged source for the study of artistic process in the Ottoman Balkans. The known preserved examples of such texts date to between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, but they evidently contain wisdoms much older than that. Their popularization as a genre especially in the eighteenth century has been seen as a reaction to the increased circulation of western prints, which had results seen by some as undermining the aesthetic foundations of the Orthodox Christian iconographic canon.[60] On the other hand, three well-known *ermēneiai*, all produced in the 1720s and 30s, [61] demonstrate that there too existed trends beyond the conservative. These manuals

[59] The extensive trilingual dictionary of *termini technici* that forms part of Mehmed Ağa's *Risâle* was obviously also meant to be of use to readers. The sometimes blurred boundaries between the biographical and the instructive (see also the discussion in ch. 4.3.1, esp. the first footnote) seems to justify the discussion of these seemingly disparate categories of sources in one chapter. For the use of *menâkıb* in the context of artists' *vitae*, see also Mustafâ Âlî's work mentioned earlier in this chapter (footnotes).

[60] For this interpretation, see Emmanuel Moutafov, "Post-Byzantine hermeneiai zographikes in the eighteenth century and their dissemination in the Balkans during the nineteenth century," in: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, XXX/1 (2006), pp. 69–79, cit. p. 76.

[61] The best-known of these is certainly that composed by Dionysios of Fourna in cooperation with his student Kirillos of Chios. It was discovered for Western research when a Peloponnesian painter came to decorate the Orthodox chapel at Munich around 1830. Various translations of the work appeared until the end of that century, after a French archaeologist (not knowing of the discovery at Munich) had discovered a copy of the manuscript in an Athonite monastery in 1839. Praised by Victor Hugo for this discovery, he believed to have discovered the reason for the "uniformity" of "eastern" art in the iconographical prescriptions contained in this text. See Hans Belting, *Likeness and presence: a history of the image before the era of art*. Tr. Edmund Jephcott. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997, pp. 17-9This manual is roughly contemporary with two others, both composed by painters who moved back and forth across the Ottoman Empire's boundaries with Venice and Austria: those of Panagiōtēs

were aimed at guiding students in the study of their art, covering aspects from iconographical conventions to the production of paints. Sometimes they also remind the trainees of the holiness of their craft. In the 1851 *ermēneia* by Dičo Zograf of Tresonče (near Debar), for instance, the painter warned future peers never to engage in sexual intercourse and the work of icons on the same day, for this is a great sin. Instead, on days of sexual activity one should be confined to grinding colours.[62]

While also among calligraphers, whose principal activity was the copying of Korans, there may have existed similar codes of conduct, the situation was different, for this art was not meant for autodidacts. Training consisted of private sessions with a teacher, often unpaid; and also the prestige of a calligrapher tended to rest to some degree on the renown of his teacher. Yet, it is only in the field of calligraphy that something in the way of manuals of proper conduct were available.[63] None existed among builders or carpenters until late in the nineteenth century. This was not because such would not have been helpful. Rather, widespread illiteracy among such "lower" crafts – calligraphy and icon-painting required some more formal training than did decorative painting or wood-carving – may have made the production of such texts unlikely. Moreover, since "trade secrets" were passed on within individual workshops and

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Doksaras and Hristofor Žefarovič. Doksaras had become familiar with treatises on the arts by Leonardo and Andrea Pozzo while working on Corfu. He integrated lessons from these texts into his own manual (which is often read as a manual for artistic Westernization) in which he also demonstrates knowledge of renowned Western artists and their *vitae* (which he advises readers to consult), such as Michelangelo, Tintoretto, and Albrecht Dürer ("Albertos o Douros"). Hristofor Žefarović, born around Lake Dojran in Macedonia, had come into contact with "Western" forms of art though Doksaras' translations into Greek of Renaissance treatises and his work in Habsburg Pannonia, for Orthodox Christian patrons. For a thorough recent discussion of these manuals and their authors, see Ivan Bentchev, *Die Technologie in den griechischen und bulgarischen Malerbüchern des 16. - 19. Jahrhunderts: Nektarij, Anonymus I und II, Dionysios von Phourna, Georgi Damjanov, Panagiotes Doxaras, Christofor Žefarovič, Zacharij Petrovič, Christo Jovevič, Cod. D. slavo 39, Dičo Zograf, Zacharij Zograf*. Recklinghausen: Museen der Stadt Recklinghausen, 2004.

[62] Tr. in Moutafov, "Post-Byzantine *hermeneiai zographikes*," p. 72. This stipulation, however, only applied when working on painting of icons from one's home, as the artist would not have come into that temptation anyway when working in a monastery.

[63] This was the case, for instance, with the *Gülzâr-i Savâb* by Nefes-zâde İbrâhîm Efendi, discussed in a previous footnote (this chapter).

families and jealously guarded – as best attested by the existence of "secret languages"[64] used on the job – the making available of aids to the competition would have only worked against their interests. For a similar reason, no "manuals of architecture" were produced by the able architects trained in Istanbul.[65] The making public of this knowledge would have undermined the hierarchy from which the architect derived his prestige.

1.3.2. Administrative sources and chronicles

A relatively little-explored category of sources are the Ottoman orders, budgets, and other financial and administrative records sometimes referred to collectively, not entirely correctly, as "building accounts." Their applicability for the reconstruction of the organizational process behind construction projects has been demonstrated in a seminal two-volume publication by Barkan of the accounts related to the Süleymâniye complex in Istanbul.[66] Also the accounts (1758-62) of the Ayazma Mosque, similarly in Istanbul, have been the subject of study.[67] For the slightly earlier Nûr-u 'Osmâniye mosque there exists even a narrative account (*Târîh*, or "chronicle") commissioned from the scribe Ahmed Efendi, in addition to existence of accounts of a more administrative nature. It must be stressed, however, that these are accounts of large building projects patronized by sultans in the capital on one hand, and that these are administrative records that are largely silent about the subject of design on the other.[68]

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[64] For some basic remarks, see Nikolaos Moutsopoulos, "Oi prodromoi tōn prōtōn ellinon tehnikōn epostēmonōn: koudaraioi makedones kai ēpeirōtes maistores," in: *Prōtoi Ellines technikoi epistēmones periodou apeleutherōsē*. Eds. Paulos Kyriazēs and M. Nikolinakos. Athens: Techniko epimelētērio Hellados, 1976, pp. 353-433, 449-453, cit. p. 362.

[65] There is, of course, also the possibility that such have simply not survived.

[66] Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye cami ve imareti inşaatı (1550-1557)*, 2 vols. Ankara: 1972, 1979; Barkan, O. Lutfi [sic]. "L'organisation du travail dans le chantier d'une grande mosquée à Istanbul au XVIe siècle," in: *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, XVII/6 (1962), pp. 1093-106.

[67] Sadi Bayram and Adnan Tüzen, "İstanbul Üsküdar Ayazma Camii ve Ayazma Camii inşaat defteri," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XXII (1991), pp. 199-288.

[68] This is exemplified even by the narrative account of the building of the Nûr-u 'Osmâniye mosque. Though the building constitutes a serious breach of tradition, this

Even the Istanbul-related accounts are of some interest here, however, for they demonstrate how in times of need the sultan would mobilize his administrative network in the provinces to acquire materials and find qualified workforce. While the participation of workmen recruited from the provinces was not always entirely voluntary, it was usually salaried. From Ahmed Efendi's *Târîh* we also know that the stone used in the Nûr-u 'Osmâniye construction was quarried by Albanian quarrymen in Bakırköy, and that they (successfully) requested from the sultan to bring in more workmen from their home region in the Western Balkans.[69] Of great interest are also the highly detailed accounts left to us about the Süleymâniye, from which we learn, for instance, that of 1060 masons whose names and home regions are revealed in the records, the greater part (609) was from Istanbul, followed by 320 from Rumelia (including the islands), and 131 from Anatolia. Of these masons, 83% were Christians, the number being even higher for those from Istanbul and Rumelia. Interestingly, the opposite trend is encountered with the stone-cutters: of the 618 persons identified by their origins (vis-à-vis 504 unidentified), the majority was from Istanbul (259) and Anatolia (242), while only 117 came from Rumelia. This profession was also dominated by Muslims: they constituted 87% of the Anatolians, 85% of the Istanbullus, and 93% of the Rumelians. Overall, the ratio of Muslims was 87% of all stoneworkers. Muslims also dominated among the carpenters, whose numbers were far smaller. All in all, a major contribution of workmen from the Balkans can be seen mostly in the supply of non-Muslim masons. Of all workforce identifiable as brought in from Rumelia and the islands (491) there were 300 Christians, and of these 281 were masons. The majority of these hailed from Lesvos and other Aegean islands, but also from Thessalonikē, the

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chronicle has little to say about style. It reveals, however, the various agents in the process. While it is known that a certain Çelebi Mustafâ was at the head of the corps of the imperial architects, he is not mentioned in the manuscript at all. Instead we learn that the sultan appointed a certain Derviş Mustafâ Efendi as the *binâ nâzırı* as a direct link between the sultan and the activities on site. Derviş Mustafâ Efendi then appointed a certain 'Alî Ağa as *binâ emîni* (leader of organization and costs), and 'Alî Ağa appointed the enigmatic Simeon as the *binâ kalfası* (here: foreman rather than assistant). That the latter seems to have had a significant impact of the outcome is suggested by Ahmed Efendi himself, who praises Simeon's technical expertise as a builder ("*fenn-i san'atta mehâret-i tâmî olan neccâr kalfalarından kâr-âzmûde Simyon*"). Cf. *Tarih-i Câmi-i Nuruosmânî* (ed. Ali Öngül) in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XXIV (1994), pp. 127-46, cit. p. 129; also Pia Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye in Istanbul: Beiträge zur Baugeschichte nach osmanischen Quellen.* Berlin: Schwarz, 1986, pp. 14-21, p. 125.

[69] Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, p. 25. They were even paid in advance to motivate them to complete their work swiftly and efficiently.

Morea, etc. Most of the Muslim stone-cutters came from districts that were home to the prime Muslim centres in the Rumelian heartland, such as Edirne, Skopje, Serres, and Thessalonikē.[70]

Administrative accounts of construction activity in the Balkan provinces, thus closer to the object of this study, seems to have come down to us – with one seemingly significant exception – in those cases where the projects were undertaken by the state, especially fortresses and infrastructural projects. In such cases usually the correspondence between the *dîvân* and the local authorities (*kadı*, *sancak-beği*) has been preserved. In chapter 2.4 we see, for instance, the account produced by the *kadı* of Kjustendil on the occasion of the repair of that town's Fâtih Câmi'i in 1556, provides some illuminating data concerning the question of the collaboration of Muslims and non-Muslims on such sites.[71] The only published account of the construction of a new mosque in the Balkan provinces known to me concerns the mosque of the former *beğler-beği* 'Alî Paşa in Sarajevo. It documents that the royal architect Ferhâd b. 'Abdullah, previously responsible for the monumental north portal of the Süleymâniye, was sent to Sarajevo in 1559 to oversee the work on the mosque to be constructed posthumously for the patron. When the construction was completed in 1560/1 (inscription), surplus building materials were taken to the construction site of the mosque built by Ferhâd Beğ. Only a few hundred meters away and completed in 1561/2 (inscription), its construction similarly may have been supervised by Mi'mâr Ferhâd.[72]

Other instances are recorded in the *kadı*'s court records, which are preserved for some Balkans locales. An entry in the records of Sarajevo for the year 1563 shows, for instance, that after a frontier raid by Habsburg(-supported) forces, which left some buildings in Sarajevo devastated, officials, including an architect (Mehmed), were sent

[70] Cf. Barkan, "L'organisation," data from table 8 and p. 1106.

[71] These accounts have been published by Machiel Kiel in his "Ottoman Kyustendil in the 15th and 16th Century: Ottoman administrative documents from the Turkish archives versus myths and assumptions in the work of academician Jordan Ivanov," in: *Izvestija na Istoričeski Muzej, Kjustendil*, V (1993), p. 141-69, esp. pp. 162-5.

[72] Cf. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 562, 565-6. Of the 432,997 *akçe* spent in total for the project, 217,932 were spent on material and unskilled labour, 176,000 on salaries (incl. wages of builders and artisans), 21,347 on a bath-house in "Mladina" (Mladenovac?), 13,424 on wages for mosque staff and Koran reciters in the period 1558-61, 3,669 on carpets and other objects as well as wages, and 625 on the work on books.

to the city to estimate the extent of the damage and the funds needed for the repair of the infrastructure. Despite the interest of the state, which requested detailed financial accounts for its archive, these repairs were to be financed by the *vakf*s that maintained these structures. The state eventually appears to have contributed funds to save these foundations from ruin, however.[73] Similar documentation was produced in 1564 when the (local?) *mi'mâr* Kosta diverted the waterways he was ordered to build in Lefkada (Aya Mavra) to also serve the houses of that town's notables living in the suburbs, resulting in a complaint by the *dîvân* in Istanbul sent to the *kadı*s of Aya Mavra and Angelokastro;[74] or when a decade later the *dîvân* admonished the (unnamed) architect commissioned to build a fortress at Pylos (see ill. 17) "in the Frankish style" (*firenk üslûbında*) to show presence on site and cooperate with Mi'mâr Ṣa'bân, presumably an architect working under Sinân. From the same set of documents we learn that the Morea's *sancak-beği* successfully recommended to the *dîvân* to not recruit any *devşirme* this year, for this would have painfully decreased the potential workforce to be engaged in the construction.[75]

Chronicles, while extant, rarely provide much information related to the arts. The "chronicle" (diary?) of the Bosnian Monla Başeski Mustafa, for example, records at

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[73] When state agents proceeded to rebuild the Sultan Mehmed mosque (sustained by the *vakf* of 'İsâ Beğ), local agents intervened, however. Under Mustafâ Subaşı, who had been appointed *emîn*, workers had begun to break down a part of the remaining wall to rebuild the structure on its foundation. But city notables (*şehir a'yân*) and foundation trustees kept them from doing so, maintaining that the damaged foundations could not support the dome the state agents intended to build (or rebuild?). They moreover claimed that the funds provided by the state for such a project were not sufficient, and offered to raise the remaining money locally. This is how it appears the present-day domed mosque from the sixteenth century, much extended in the nineteenth century, came about. For the court record in question and a transcription of it, see York Norman, "An Islamic city? Sarajevo's Islamization and economic development, 1461-1601," Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University (2005), pp. 133-6, 242.

[74] Cf. Machiel Kiel, "Remarks on some Ottoman-Turkish aqueducts and water supply systems in the Balkans: Kavalla, Chalkis, Aleksinac, Levkas and Ferai (Ferecik)," in: *De Turcicis Aliisque Rebus: commentarii Henry Hofman dedicati*, III. Ed. Mark van Damme. Utrecht: Inst. voor Oosterse Talen en Culturen, 1992, pp. 105-39, cit. pp. 120-2, 138 (translit. of doc.).

[75] Machiel Kiel, "The construction of the Ottoman castle of Anavarin-i Cedid according to the orders of the Imperial Council as preserved in the Mühimme Defters 19-31," in: *A historical and economic geography of Ottoman Greece: the southwestern Morea in the 18th century*. Eds. Fariba Zarinebaf, John Bennet, and Jack L. Davis. Athens: American School of Classical Studies, 2005, pp. 265-81, cit. pp. 267-70.

least the names and professions of some individuals working in Sarajevo in the second half of the eighteenth century. Usually the information provided is limited to their date of death, however.[76] Among the chronicles written at the Franciscan Catholic monasteries of Central Bosnia (Kreševo, Sutjeska, Fojnica) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must be highlighted the one authored by the *custos* of Kreševo (30km W of Sarajevo), Fra Marijan Bogdanović, covering the period 1765-1817. The entry for the year 1767, two years after a major fire, includes a detailed account of the rebuilding of the monastery church that year. It records the troubles in obtaining permission, the necessity of repeated bribes (all duly listed), and the honoraries for their Muslim advocate Beşir Ağa. Most significant for our discussion are those sections related to the soliciting of builders and carpenters: the monastery had failed to mobilize skilled builders through their network of priests in Central Bosnia, so they sent an envoy to Mostar, where he recruited a team of "schismatics" (i.e. Orthodox Christians). It was managed by Mihajlo Bovanović, we learn, but rested on the expertise of the master builder Panto of Stolac. For the next step, the woodwork, the *fratri* expressed their preference for Catholic carpenters, but also here the majority of workmen, including the gifted Marko Vukaljević and his workshop from Tešanj, turned out to be "schismatics."[77] This rare record, thus far unexploited by art historians, breathes more life into the processes studied than any administrative or epigraphic document.

1.3.3. Oral traditions and travelogues

Another principal source, often shunned by historians, consists of oral traditions relating the names or provenance or artists involved in the construction or decoration of buildings.[78] In the course of Peev's research on the old mansions of Plovdiv in the first

[76] Mula Mustafa Ševki Bašeskija. *Ljetopis (1746-1804)*. Tr. Mehmed Mujezinović. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987². The Başeski occasionally also records the dates of the renovation and restoration of major buildings after the devastating Habsburg incursion of 1689.

[77] Fra Marijan Bogdanović, *Ljetopis Kreševskog samostana (1765-1817)*. Tr. Ignacije Gavran. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1984. The record for the year 1767, most of which dealing with church construction, is on pp. 65-83.

[78] Prior to the later nineteenth century, it was mainly travellers who recorded these traditions, not yet researchers, which is why I have chosen to discuss them in the same section as travelogues.

half of the twentieth century, for instance, many of which dated back less than a century, the names and provenance of builders could still be identified by the descendents of the head of household who had commissioned the work.[79] Similarly, the case of Nikola and Mustafâ producing the woodwork for a *konak* between Sarajevo and Mostar in the mid-nineteenth century was remembered less than a century later, when Bejtić visited the site and interviewed the current occupant.[80] But where traditions go back further than a few generations, some caution is in order. For like most oral traditions they are likely to have been adapted repeatedly in order to remain meaningful within a given community. At times a story acquires fantastic elements, added for purposes of entertainment or moralizing, but this does not necessarily prove the entire story fictional.[81]

For the town of Mostar's landmark monument, the "Old Bridge", for instance, there existed no less than three traditions purporting who built it. The (erroneous) idea that this was originally a Roman bridge, with the 1560s Ottoman inscription only relating to later repairs, seems to have originated among Western visitors unwilling to attribute to "the Turk" a structure of remarkable sophistication.[82] While this version was widespread among the Catholics of Mostar, among the Orthodox Christians there existed another tradition according to which its architect was a man named Rade. A Christian slave in the service of the Ottomans, he regained his freedom by successfully completing this near-impossible work – if only after walling up alive a pair of lovers in the foundations. Both the name, Rade, and the *topos* of necessary human sacrifice are far from limited to the Mostar bridge legend.[83] While the *topos* of human sacrifice, especially in the construction of bridges, is frequently found in legends all over the

[79] Ch. D. Péew, *Alte Häuser in Plovdiv*. Berlin: Kupferberg, 1943.

[80] Alija Bejtić, "Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini," in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, III/IV (1953), pp. 229-97, cit. p. 283. For this building's interior and the artists responsible for it, see also ch. 2.4.

[81] This problematic is addressed in Jan Vansina, *Oral tradition as history*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985.

[82] See Božidar Jezernik, "Qudret kemeri: a bridge between barbarity and civilization," in: *Slavonic and East European Review*, LXXIII/3 (1995), pp. 470-84.

[83] Both are, in fact, found in the nobel prize laureate Ivo Andrić's famed 1940s historical novel *Bridge over the Drina*.

region,[84] the name Rade appears in legends pertinent to a number of buildings constructed between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries – possibly in reference to an actual historical person.[85] This likelihood of the fictitiousness of this tradition concerning the Mostar bridge considered, whichever the motives, more credibility must be given to a tradition about its builder once told among the Muslims of Mostar. Recorded by westerners first in the nineteenth century, in this exceptional case it is demonstrable that this narrative dates at least to the late sixteenth century, when it was first recorded by the Ottoman traveller Mehmed Âşık.[86] According to this version of the story, the inhabitants of Mostar requested from Süleymân the Magnificent a solid bridge of stone to replace the existing wooden edifice. The sultan thereupon sent his chief architect Sinân to assess the feasibility such project. As he declared the task to be impossible, the bridge project was abandoned until a builder local to the area asserted his willingness to take up the task and responsibility. Against all odds, he would succeed.[87] It is interesting that Mehmed Âşık and the better-known polymath Kâtib Çelebi, who both relate this story, both found it not too implausible that a task declined

[84] Cf. Georgios A. Megas, *Die Ballade von der Arta-Brücke: eine vergleichende Untersuchung*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1976. See also Donna Shai, "A Kurdish Jewish variant of the ballad of "the Bridge of Arta"," in: *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, I (1976), pp. 303-10.

[85] We find him/them mentioned not only as the supposed architect of the bridges at Mostar and Višegrad but also for the Ferhâdiye mosque at Banja Luka (built by a member of the Sokolović family). The source of this character may be an actual historical person, the late medieval master builder Rade Borović, who – exceptionally – had signed his name at the Ljuboštinja monastery in Central Serbia. In a folk song, a "Protomajstor Borović Rade" was moreover associated with the 1370s Ravanica Monastery and purported to hail from the Bay of Kotor. Cf. Otto Felix Kanitz, *Serbien und das Serbenvolk*. Leipzig: Meyer, 1913, III, p. 785. For generic names of builders in Serbia folklore, see Slavoljub Gacović, "Otkuda reč neimar u epici Balkana?" in: *Glasnik etnografskog instituta (SANU)*, IL (2000), pp. 155-60.

[86] This version of the story was copied by the better-known seventeenth-century Ottoman polymath Kâtib Çelebi in his cosmology *Cihânnümâ*. Through an early nineteenth-century (partial) translation of the *Cihânnümâ* into German by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, it all found its way elsewhere. For an analysis, see Anhegger, "Römerbrücke."

[87] Anhegger, "Römerbrücke," p. 88 and references.

by the great architect Sinân could be successfully dealt with by an unnamed local builder.[88]

It must be emphasized that Mehmed Âşık, seemingly the first to record this narrative, did so only some three decades after the bridge was completed in 1566, and he even names his source: the local *kadı* Mevlânâ Derviş Hüseyin.[89] We do not know if this *kadı* had possibily even witnessed the construction thirty years earlier – he might well have – but even if he did not, it still appears odd that such a narrative should replace what may have been the actual course of events in the course of only one generation. That this version came out of the mouth of a *kadı*, that is, a functionary of the central government in the province, who would with this account of the events practically lessen the reputation of the head of the Corps of Royal Architects, additionally invests it with some credibility.[90] Could this mean that the architect Hayrüddîn, whom other documentation clearly identifies as the bridge's architect,[91] originally hailed from the region and returned from the capital for this project? Be that as it may, one conclusion must be that oral traditions should not be instantly dismissed but at least merit serious scrutiny. They are ideally analyzed in tandem with other kinds of sources: epigraphy, documentary and material evidence. "Historically useable" information potentially contained in traditions must be filtered through a variety of

[88] Evliyâ Çelebi, by contrast, though he was acquainted with the work of Mehmed Âşık, seemed to have simply ignored this account and put forward the claim for Sinân's authorship.

[89] For these three Ottoman sources (incl. translations), cf. Anhegger, "Römerbrücke," pp. 97-107.

[90] Interesting in this regard is a royal decree, published by Ahmed Refik in the 1930s (cf. Ahmet Refik. *Türk mimarları: hazinei evrak vesikalarına göre*. Istanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1936, p. 75f.; German translation in Anhegger, "Römerbrücke," p. 98.), in which the architect of the bridge is identified as Hayrüddîn. The governor of Herzegovina, a Hüseyin Beğ, had petitioned Istanbul for his services for the construction of the fortress of Makarska on the coast. His career can be traced further: Hayrüddîn seems to have joined the palace service in the 1530s, working within the royal corps of architects until the 1560s in Istanbul, Skopje (as a "city architect"), and Herzegovina-Dalmatia. Cf. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 155, 157, 441, 529 (note 67), and 564-5.

[91] For Hayrüddîn, see also ch. 4.2.3.

tropes – in the case of Mostar: possibly the cliché of the local boy returning after success in the capital.[92]

Just as the Kreševo chronicle contains one exceptionally interesting chapter, nineteenth-century commentators, mostly travellers, historians, or ethnographers, also often had a lot to say about subjects of great interest to this study. In the pioneer Balkan historian Jireček's systematic presentation of knowledge gathered during his travels in Bulgaria are found, for instance, uniquely helpful elaborations on itinerant builders and the various communities involved, their home locales and target areas, on work terminology and hierarchy, organization within and without urban guilds.[93] Kanitz' three-volume work on Serbia is also obligatory reading, which contains his observations from fifty years of travel. Vivid are his depictions of the competition in post-1830 Serbia between "untrained" master builders from the South and the foreigners or foreign-trained. In addition we find dozens of observations recorded on single monuments or projects in general. A trained painter, Kanitz moreover appended to his texts drawings to illustrate his observations, including even a group portrait of a builders' company (ill. 14, 15).[94]

Travelogues produced by English or French-speaking travellers typically only relate the course of a single journey and display a greater ignorance of the geography and communities they traverse. That said, some of them record encounters with, or observations of, builders, carpenters, and their arts. Highlighted, if for sheer volume and originality, must be the work of the contemporaries Leake and Pouqueville, both travelling in the Southwest Balkans in the age of 'Alî Paşa of Iōannina.[95] Finally must be mentioned the work of Boué, who similarly attempted to write a comprehensive

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[92] For an in-depth discussion, see my forthcoming article "Oral tradition in/and architectural history."

[93] Konstantin Jireček, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien: seine Bodengestaltung, Natur, Bevölkerung, wirthschaftliche Zustände, geistige Cultur, Staatsverfassung, Staatsverwaltung und neueste Geschichte*. Prag: Tempsky, 1891, pp. 208-14.

[94] In actual fact, his study of architectural monuments in Serbia seems to have been prompted by the dissatisfaction with the restoration work conducted by "Vlachs," and to some extent also by the new constructions, mostly of churches, booming in the period of the semi-autonomous Serbian principality.

[95] William Martin Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 4 vols. London: Rodwell, 1835; F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Travels in Epirus, Albania, Macedonia, and Thessaly*. London: Richard Phillips and Co., [1805] 1820.

survey of "la Turquie de l'Europe" at a time when old modes entered into competition with new ones. Unique in Boué's work is his attempt to record professions and their objects of work in as many of the region's languages as possible (see table 1)[96]: Turkish, Serbian/Slavic, Albanian (with, rarely, distinctions according to the North/South dialects of Gheg and Tosk), Aromanian/Vlach, and Greek. Curious is, for instance, that in Serbian we find as German loanwords "bildaour" (from *Bildhauer*, sculptor; modern Serbian: *vajar*), *moler* (German *Maler*, as opposed to *slikar* or *zograf*), and *gips* (German *Gips,* as opposed to Turkish *alçı*). These later replaced terms reflect the state of affairs in 1830s Serbia, where painting and sculpture in the forms described were relatively new, foreign-derived arts. Very similar is the case with Turkish terms included: "sculpture" is identified as *oymacılık* (carving), the "painter" a Turkish *suretçi* (i.e. he who produces a *suret* = likeness, copy; alternatively: *ressâm*). "Engineer" is similarly not translated with *mühendis* but as *kumbaracı* (grenadier) and "inschinir" – apparently since his tasks were different from those traditionally expected of an Islamic *mühendis*?

Finally must be mentioned the ten-volume travelogue of the Ottoman voyager Evliyâ Çelebi, which I have used extensively.[97] Like no other source, this account composed in the third quarter of the seventeenth century provides a wealth of information, even in things art-historical. A thorough survey of the Balkan-related chapters for this dissertation has contributed vital arguments.

The various categories of sources, in sum, provide us with very different kinds of information to be analyzed in this study. Unfortunately, none of these categories provide us with data that can be comparatively studied in sequence: early fifteenth-century Islamic epigraphy differs in nature from that produced a century thereafter; the most fruitful period for the comparative study of the *ermēneiai* is the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century; painters' signatures quadruple after the mid-eighteenth century; and sources like the *vitae* of Pimen Zografski, Dionysios of Fourna, or Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa are exceptional rather than reflecting a tradition.[98] Therefore,

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[96] Ami Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe* [etc.]. Paris: Bertrand, 1840, III, p. 39, 68-9, 78-80, 87-8.

[97] *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi* [etc.], 10 vols. Ed. Yücel Dağlı et al. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi yayınları, 1996-2007.

[98] The frequency and quality of "artist inscriptions" is discussed in greater detail in ch. 2.2.6.

this dissertation is structured not according to the information that can be gathered through the study of a particular category of sources. Rather, certain questions are formulated and pursued in turn, using information from whichever kind of source is appropriate. The aim is to approach toward answers that I acknowledge will remain tentative in many cases. Incapable of supplying a complete history of artisthood in the Ottoman Balkans, the aim of this study, to be sure, is to propose a system of artistic production as a framework for the analysis of the role of the individual in it. Rather than in the careers of iconic individuals, it is especially interested in the cases of structural change, gradual or sudden, that can be tracked in the course of these long centuries.

1.4. Outline

The main body of this dissertation after the introduction is divided into three chapters pursuing different purposes and methodologies. Chapters two and three use information gathered from the scholarly literature, published primary sources, and the material evidence to address two very fundamental aspects to the work of artists in the Ottoman Balkans. Chapter two seeks to define the social and geographical framework of the production of art, especially with regards to the resultant limitations for a line of work that is usually seen as "creative." Starting with an investigation of the impact of the region's physical geography on its artistic and professional geography, I continue with a discussion of the social status enjoyed (or suffered) by artistically active individuals and groups. Discussed will also be patterns of self-identification, career considerations, trans-confessional cooperation among artists, and the impact of artists who came to work in the region from outside the borders of the Ottoman Empire.

The subject of chapter three is, in essence, communication. The importance of the patron's part in the production of art in this period cannot be underestimated, his interaction with the artist about the product being a key event in the becoming of monuments, objects, and images. I try to look at this process from the perspective of the artist, especially in his function as a provider of services. At the same time I will stress that there were a number of "negative" factors at play in this "creative" process that must be identified to attain a realistic picture of this process: images of the past have informed artistic production, as did conventions specific to certain cultural traditions

and notions of appropriateness to the occasion. Chapter three tries to trace what artist and patron talked about, and how.

Chapter 4, by contrast, rests upon comprehensive studies of individual monuments, objects, phenomena, and artists. Drawing upon cases very different in character, the common goal of these studies is to shed light on the causal connection between individual and monument or object – a crucial issue in any art history, but at the same time one typically far from being represented in the available source material. I will first try to reconstruct the processes that led to the design of three monuments and the actors involved. Having then questioned the role played by the functionaries that the scholarly literature calls "city architects" or "provincial architects," I shall proceed to a discussion of aspects of the work by Mi'mâr Sinân as it pertains to the Balkan provinces. I must stress, however, that elsewhere I shall try not to foreground this individual, whose life and work are well documented and have taken up a good part of the scholarship in Ottoman architectural history. This has been the case to the extent that other episodes become invisible, and it is the other participants in the processes in question that I have tried to privilege. As will be seen, it is neither entirely possible nor desirable to pay no attention to this iconic individual, resident in the capital. For his career coincided with an architecturally very productive period in the Balkans. The final sub-chapter will then examine two cases of divergence of metropolitan models and discuss intentionality and the role of the artists involved.

It must be stressed at this point that the purpose of the first two chapters is *not* to provide a history of art in the Ottoman Balkans and the role of artists in the process. Such would require a far more comprehensive study of the secondary literature in all of the region's languages as well as the primary sources – an enterprise little short of impossible. Instead, my aim is to propose a *model* for future analyses, which may well proceed along such lines. I do not claim this part of my work to be an exhaustive overview; in fact, I shall allow myself to not even mention some of the most celebrated artists unless their case contributes to the discussion of dynamics and structures. I am similarly not interested in the quality of specific works of art unless their formal merits afford greater insight into the general subject of this thesis.

The fact that my inquiry theoretically covers the heritage of more than half a millennium should also not deter from the fact that the majority of the works I deal with date from two periods: the second half of the sixteenth century and the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century.

The first period sees the expansion of Ottoman-Islamic architecture and the consolidation of the "classical" style under Mi'mâr Sinân and his immediate successors. More than before, this architecture as well as its plastic and painted ornamentation is based on a well-formulated vocabulary of forms, "managed" by agents of an efficiently administered apparatus, in which hierarchies are clear. Monuments from this period discussed at various points in this work include: the Alaca Câmi' at Foča (1550/1; ills. 18-20), which prior to its destruction in 1993 excelled not because of its relatively monumental but ultimately generic architecture but because of its sophisticated and well-preserved decorative program, distinguished by vegetal and geometric designs; the so-called Karagöz Beğ mosque at Mostar (1557/8), a work claimed by Sinân, but whose architecture is similarly generic but monumental and "metropolitan," save for its reduced ornamentation (possibly a result of provincial realities; ill. 35); the Zincirli Câmi' at Serres (ill. 23), which I date to ca. 1590, and which constitutes a rare case of a relatively sophisticated structural system exported from the capital to the provinces; and the Yeni Câmi' at Komotinē (ills. 44-6), which I date to the early 1600s, and which features extraordinary decoration dominated by Iznik tiles.

The same period is hardly artistically unproductive among the region's non-Muslims. The revival of the Peć Patriarchate in 1557 results in a number of commissions within its jurisdiction, while the monasteries further south see in the middle decades of the century the activity of some of the post-Byzantine period's most celebrated painters: Theophanēs the Cretan, the Kontarēs brothers from Thebes, or Onufri from Central Albania. Also Christian architecture is anything but dead: churches reminding of late medieval prototypes are built at locations like Novo Hopovo (1576; ill. 29), Kučevište (1590s?), and Bačkovo (1604). In the field of non-religious architecture, finally, I will make repeated reference to the Ottoman-built Italian-style fortress at Pylos from around 1570 (ill. 17) and the Old Bridge of Mostar (1557-66), whose construction by builders from Dubrovnik and Herzegovina, according to a plan supplied by a royal architect, was managed by the aforementioned Karagöz Beğ.

The second focus period sees activity on a very different level. The many remarkable churches built or rebuilt in the middle decades of the nineteenth century are now intended for use by urban congregations rather than monastic communities. They feature intricately carved iconostases, with wood-carving having become a veritable fine art – as seen, for instance, at the Bigorski monastery (ills. 3-4) in the region of Debar, which also supplied some of that era's most renowned artists. Icon painters

embrace new formats, most importantly the portrait (ills. 8-12). Residences too become sites of display for patrons and their painters, who work at relatively high levels of sophistication. It is also now that there appear "artist personalities"; some are in great demand and are sure to claim or defend what they perceive as their rightful status in society. The little monumental Islamic architecture from this period usually dates to between the 1820s and 40s and is sponsored by provincial strongmen – a class that disappears thereafter.[99] A remarkable example of patronage by this class in this period is the Alaca Câmi' at Tetovo (1833/4; ills. 24-5): it does without a true dome and asks to be appraised for its flamboyant murals. The relatively sophisticated design of the domed Azîziye in Brezovo Polje (ca. 1863; ill. 34) is exceptional, but its purpose was not: many of the mosques from this period are utilitarian structures erected for Muslim refugee communities resettled by the state. The limited interest of Islamic architecture in this period, at least if compared with the sixteenth century, is countered by a relatively flourishing turn to the arts of the book, perhaps best exemplified by another exception: the school of manuscript production at Šumen.

While the main body of this work is not arranged in a chronological manner but according to historical problems, I shall try to provide in the concluding sections a linear overview of major trends and structural changes that affected the lives of artists in the Ottoman Balkans – or were caused by them.

[99] I use the term "provincial strongmen" for a class of people typically identitfied in the literature as *a'yân* – a term possibly too specific to adequately describe a very varied group of individuals.

CHAPTER 2

ARTIST, SPACE, AND SOCIETY

2.1. Space and individual: geographies of art(ists) in the Ottoman Balkans

2.1.1. Mountains, valleys, networks, and ideas: centres and peripheries of artistic production

Considering the remarkable mobility of many artists whose names or home locales can be identified in the sources, it seems appropriate to devote the first regular chapter of this study to factors that might be defined in broad terms as geographical. To a considerable extent, artistic production in the Ottoman Balkans was characterized by the interchange of static and mobile factors. Irrespective of the period, the processes in question typically saw the activity of one or more of the following groups: 1) individuals or groups permanently resident in towns, where they were typically organized in guilds; 2) individuals or groups that were very often (but not always) from non-urban backgrounds, earning a livelihood through itinerant work; and 3) individuals resident in the capital, dispatched to the provinces or supplying blueprints for work to be undertaken there.

While research on Ottoman architecture has in recent decades witnessed an important shift of interest from style and morphology to questions of patronage, in this introduction to the artistic heritage in question I shall like to put more emphasis on the factor of place. To a considerable degree, the extent to which a provincial monument reflected the metropolitan style of Istanbul depended on its location. Mere geographic vicinity, however, was not the determining factor. The "imperial style" followed strategic routes along major communication arteries and rarely made an appearance beyond the network of provincial administrative centres. These were typically located in fertile valleys, where agriculture had facilitated the permanent settlement of large numbers of people. In most of the region, mountains were never far away; yet, mountainous areas did generally not see the development of large urban centres. Their

terrain could often only support a pastoral economy, this being a land-intensive profession in which large populations meant an increasing danger of poverty.[100] Islamic architecture of note is typically found in settlements at elevations of less than 250m above sea level – such as the case at Skopje, Serres, Plovdiv, or Banja Luka – or at fertile plateaus of up to 850m (Korçë), as is the case with major cities of Sarajevo, Prishtina, and Sofia, all of which are located on major roads traversing the Dinaric system. Muslims, of course, also lived in the highlands; but monumental Islamic architecture largely remained a feature of cities in the lowlands or on plateaus.

The situation was very different with Christian architecture. The construction of architecturally monumental churches was for most of the Ottoman period restricted to monastic establishments. Such were typically found in mountainous or hilly areas, if often in the vicinity of larger urban centres.[101] In the cities, by and large, no monumental Christian (ecclesiastical) architecture existed until about the mid-nineteenth century.[102] To some extent, this was not necessarily a breach with medieval patterns: monumental churches for large urban congregations were rare even in the pre-Ottoman period, as were cities as such.[103] On the other hand, the lack of monumental urban churches before the 1860s was also a visualization of an Ottoman system of stratification in which the scale and features of monuments reflected an individual's or group's standing and ambition. While monumental Christian art and architecture as a whole continued during Ottoman rule, it remained largely concealed from the public (urban) eye. Often the interiors of the usually small urban churches, which are often extensively painted and further embellished with magnificent wooden iconostases, stand in stark contrast with their unassuming exterior. The decisive factor was not design but visibility.

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[100] Unless, as shall be discussed below, a proportion of the mountain dwellers could be send to the valleys periodically for seasonal work

[101] Clusters of important monastic foundations were found in the vicinities of Ottoman provincial metropolises like Skopje, Thessalonikē, Serres, Sofia, Belgrade, or Plovdiv. Sarajevo is somewhat of an exception as the monasteries found in its Central Bosnian hinterland are Catholic rather than Orthodox Christian.

[102] Vassal states, like Walachia, Moldavia, or Dubrovnik, did not form part of this regime. The Saborna Crkva (1837-40) at Belgrade, dominated by a belfry, seems to be an expression of the freedom gained from central rule since the first uprising in 1804.

[103] Exceptions include the large fourteenth-century urban churches extant at Veliko Tărnovo and Prizren.

These general trends did not preclude exceptions. One such is the former town of Moschopolis (Voskopojë), located near Korçë in SE Albania at almost 1200m above sea level. Destroyed in the later eighteenth century by the bands of ‘Alî Paşa of Iōannina and since reduced to a village, in the eighteenth century Voskopojë was an international centre of trade and the arts. Not only did it boast a (Greek) printing press and an “academy”; between 1712 and 1724 alone were completed four (urban) churches, including one church recently qualified – due to the sophistication of its art – as “the Sistine of the Balkans.”[104] Beyond the fact that Voskopojë saw the construction of churches that may be qualified as ambitious in an eighteenth-century Ottoman context, the town was internationally well-connected, despite its secluded location. It is telling that the most complete visual record of the town at its height is a woodcut produced by a painter from Voskopojë in 1767 in Vienna, which at that point was home to at least twelve merchants from the Balkan town.[105]

Though certainly an exception, Voskopojë was not a completely isolated case, however. When in 1806 the British traveller Leake visited Ampelakia (near Larissa), he was surprised to almost immediately hear there the news of the French victory in the Battle of Jena. Despite its remote location, this wealthy Thessalian mountain town had a biweekly postal connection with Vienna.[106] Its grandest residence was built by an entrepreneur known by the name of “Geōrgios Schwartz,” who had it embellished by some of the period and area’s best decorative painters.[107] At around the same time, the SW-Macedonian town of Siatista (near Kozanē), located almost a kilometre above sea

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[104] Maximilian Durand, *Sixtine des Balkans: peintures de l'église Saint-Athanase à Voskopojë (Albanie)*. Paris: Somogy, 2008.

[105] Max Demeter Peyfuss, “Voskopoja und Wien: österreichisch-albanische Beziehungen um 1800,” in: *Albanien-Symposion 1984: Referate der Tagung* [etc.]. Ed. Klaus Beitl. Kittsee: Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde, Ethnographisches Museum Schloss Kittsee, 1986, pp. 117-32.

[106] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, III, p. 390; see also p. 354 on Germanophone mountain dwellers and p. 368 on Ampelakia.

[107] Dendrochronological investigations have proven that the timber used in its construction was cut in 1786 while an inscription purports it to have been completed in 1787. Peter Ian Kuniholm (“Dendrochronology,” in: *The Oxford handbook of Byzantine studies*. Eds. Elizabeth Jeffreys, John F. Haldon, and Robin Cormack. Oxford: University Press, 2008, pp. 182-92, cit. p. 184) has concluded that woodcutters “must have been Vitruvius’ dictum (whether they had heard of Vitruvius or not) that one should always use one’s wood fresh while it was still easy to cut.”

level, began to decline as a result of the economic depression in Austria. Many firms connecting Siatista with Vienna (almost 1000km to the north) went bankrupt, and thus that town's "golden age" came to an end.[108] It was despite their geographically unfortunate situation that towns like Voskopojë, Siatista, or Ampelakia managed to play a role in the artistic production of the Balkans in the eighteenth century. Rather than by mere geography, the access to art of a metropolitan character, as well as the fate of settlements as such, was determined by their integration into dynamic networks of exchange of goods, ideas, and services.

May we thus consider towns like the aforementioned examples to have been "artistic centres" or were they just destinations for artists and their art? Ginzburg and Castelnuovo, writing of Italy, sought to define such as a place characterized by the presence of a large number of patrons and artists, of institutions devoted to the training of the latter, and an audience beyond the patrons themselves.[109] Technically, of all cities in Ottoman Europe only Istanbul fully met these requirements.[110] It was there that the wealthiest patrons had their base, even when temporarily on posts as administrators in the provinces. To be sure, there existed wealthy merchants in Ottoman cities like Sarajevo who did leave a mark on the physical fabric of urban settlements through their patronage of architecture and infrastructure; but the volume and scope of this patronage simply could compare neither with the concentration of moneyed patrons in Istanbul nor with entrepreneurial Italian towns. Moreover, while there were certainly many guildsmen, the "presence of a large number of artists" in the sense of Ginzburg and Castelnuovo's understanding of the term (i.e. individuals engaged in the fine arts) was not a typical feature of any particular Balkan city. In fact, it seems that much of the most remarkable work was done by itinerant masters – a point to which I shall return below. And with the exception of *medrese*s, which occasionally functioned as sites of training in calligraphy, there also existed in no Balkan town an establishment devoted to the institutionalized education and promotion of artists. A Liberal Arts training in

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[108] Alke Kyriakidou-Nestoros, "Folk art in Greek Macedonia," in: *Balkan Studies*, IV (1963), pp. 15-36, cit. p. 32

[109] Ginzburg and Castelnuovo, "Symbolic domination and artistic geography in Italian art history," p. 9.

[110] Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann (*Toward a geography of art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, p. 158) similarly finds it hard to determine such artistic centres in the region of Central Europe before the nineteenth century.

architecture was only to be had at the palace in Istanbul, and much the same could be said about Islamic miniature painting, a courtly art. Similarly, for training by the most prolific calligraphers of the age, the capital was an almost obligatory destination.[111] It must be stressed that no example is known of a liberally-trained architect or manuscript illustrator trained in Istanbul who then proceeded to work in the Balkan provinces for provincial patrons.

While for the arts of Islam in Southeast Europe, then, Istanbul was the undisputed centre after 1453, the situation is more complicated when it comes to the Christian arts.[112] Perhaps more than the capital, which was also the seat of the Ecumenical Patriarch, Mount Athōs was an "artistic centre," if also not necessarily in the sense Ginzburg and Castelnuovo sought to define it. It was neither a city, nor was it the residence of patrons of major works. This cluster of monastic establishments in Macedonia did, however, attract large numbers of artists from various regions, and usually the most prolific of their age. They found work in one of the area's monasteries and often contributed to the training of others. In many cases the monks were also painters themselves. As we learn from Dionysios of Fourna's *ermēneia*, the great works of Orthodox Christian painting found in various Athonite monasteries did also serve artists-in-training as models.[113]

The Holy Mountain functioned not only as a reference point for artistic excellence and conservative tradition, however, but is also held to have been a site of mediation of influences from Western art. It is, for instance, believed that the carvers from the Debar villages and Samokov developed their Baroque-influenced style of woodcarving while working on Athōs.[114] They then passed on their expertise and style

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[111] The situation was different for Christian iconographers, wood-carvers, and decorative painters. While especially in the last two fields work experience in the capital may have been part of the training, it appears to have been possible to learn to master these arts at a high, quasi-metropolitan level without leaving the provinces. This must be inferred by the high quality of woodwork and murals found in Southwest Balkans, in locales such as Kastoria, Berat, and the aforementioned.

[112] On this point, see also Manolis Chatzidakis, "Contribution à l´étude de la peinture postbyzyantine," in: *1453-1953: le cinq-centième anniversaire de la prise de Constantinople, 29 mai 1453*. Athens: Imprimerie Nationale, 1953, pp. 193-216.

[113] Dionysius of Fourna. *The 'Painter's manual' of Dionysius of Fourna*. Tr. Paul Hetherington. London: Sagittarius Press, 1974, p. 2.

[114] For Debar, see Eleonora Petkova, *Rezbata vo makedonskata kukja, od XIX I početokot na XX vek.* Skopje: Muzej na Makedonija, 1998, p. 10. Similarly, the origins

to local assistants recruited in the places they were commissioned to work. Such an exchange is said to have occured, for instance, between the Debar masters and the workmen they recruited for assistant work in the Ibar valley (in Serbia and Kosovo), the Trăn district (north of Sofia), or Trjavna and Drjanovo on the northern outskirts of the Stara Planina (North-Central Bulgaria).[115] Similarly compelling is one author's claim that many builders received their basic training while on the job in Istanbul, which was very often their target of seasonal migration.[116]

Though we may thus identify certain locales that indubitably played vital roles in artistic production and stylistic dissemination, the question of schools remains problematic. In the literature on painting is found, for instance, the "school of Thebes," but its naming after the town north of Athens from which hailed its representatives downplays the fact that much of the art produced by them is not found in Thebes (modern Thēva).[117] In any case it did not constitute a local or regional variant. With regards to Islamic architecture, it must be emphasized that the remarkable monuments found in cities like Sarajevo, Skopje, or Serres essentially follow the style of the Ottoman metropolis. None of these places have managed to bring forth a "school" of architecture or any other art distinguished by a style appreciated for its divergence from metropolitan models. Where we do see significant aberrations from the "Istanbul style," as in a number of cases discussed in later chapters, these are usually in quantities that enable us neither to speak of a "school" nor of intention, in point of fact.

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of the Samokov school of carving are believed to lie with the Thessalonikan "Atanas Teladur," who may have trained on Athos with carvers trained in the Italian manner. (Dimitar Ḱornakov, *Petre Garkata*. Skopje: Gjurgja, 1998, p, 9) Alternatively, the iconostasis believed to be the model for later ones is said to have been begun by Andōnēs of Athōs and was only finished by Atanas, who directed the work of locals. (Mercia Macdermott, *A History of Bulgaria, 1393-1885*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962, p. 307.)

[115] Cf. Palairet, "Migrant workers," pp. 28-9.

[116] See e.g. Yanis Saïtas, *Kastoria: Greek traditional architecture.* Athens: Melissa, 1990, p. 50.

[117] Perhaps the best case for a "local style" borne by artists who worked in a certain locale can be made for manuscript production in Šumen around 1850. (For examples, see Stanley, "Shumen as a centre of Qur'an production.") It must be considered, however, that much of this work was produced for Istanbul. For a concise discussion of work process at Šumen, see also ch. 2.1.2.

Some problems of this discussion are also illustrated by the case of the centrality of artists associated with the city of Debar to the late Ottoman Balkans. Today a border town between the Republic of Macedonia and Albania, it lacks monuments of any significance. As far as we know, Debar as such has also not produced any artists of note; rather, it was from the mountain villages of the Mala Reka region north of that town that many of the region's most prominent woodcarvers, builders, and painters came. Since their district centre was Debar, however, it is by that name that they came to be known in other regions, possibly because the names of the native villages (typically Tresonče, Galičnik, Lazaropole, Gari, and Osoj) must not have meant much to people outside NW Macedonia. Curiously, even as many moved away from Mala Reka in the later eighteenth century, for instance to the surroundings of Plovdiv or Veles as a result of increasing banditry or decreasing work opportunities in their home region, they continued to be associated with the town of Debar. This was possibly because by that time that toponym had become synonymous with distinction in the art of wood-carving.[118] In this sense it is perhaps more justified to speak of a "school," for there are certain similarities in different Mala Reka teams' work, than in the case of the so-called School of Thebes.[119]

In sum, it is different kinds of centres, rather than several "artistic centres" competing with each other, that remain relevant for our discussion: 1) centres for artists to practice their craft, thus becoming sites of consumption of art; 2) centres from which artists hailed and where they may have received a basic training, but which probably lacked patrons and a critical audience; 3) and centres, like Athōs or Istanbul, where artists gained experience, but which were neither their native locales nor necessarily the sites of production of their "best art," however important in their artistic formation.

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[118] For example of westward mobility by Rekanci, cf. Krum Tomovski, "Veleškite majstori i zografi vo XIX i XX vek: pregled na tvorčestvo," in: *Kulturno nasledstvo*, V (1959), pp. 51-9, cit. p. 51; Jasmina Hadžieva Aleksievska and Elizabeta Kasapova, *Arhitekt Andreja Damjanov, 1813-1878 = Architect Andreja Damjanov, 1813-1878*. Skopje: Jasmina Hadžieva Aleksievska, 2001, p. 10; Pejo Nikolov Berbenliev and Vladimir Hristov Partăčev, *Bracigovskite majstori-stroiteli prez XVIII i XIX vek i mjahnoto arhitekturno tvorčestvo*. Sofia: Tehnika, 1963; Vasiliev *Bălgarski văzroždenski majstori*, p. 190.

[119] In the case of Thebes, it is the common place of origin, not the site or similarities in the formal qualities of their work, which has given rise to the idea of a "school."

2.1.2. The itinerant artist in the context of the region's professional and physical geography

It was already mentioned in the introductory chapter that in his seminal article on "Late-Ottoman architects and master builders" Cerasi has pointed to the supposed paradox of the fabric of Ottoman cities as having been brought about not by city-dwellers but by villagers.[120] And while this situation may be considered paradoxical in some measure, it is hardly inconsistent with the economic geography of the region. Periodic, seasonal work migration (known as *gurbet/gărbet* or *pečalba* in the region) from, and to, some areas of the Balkan Peninsula has long been acknowledged by historians as an important feature of economic life especially in the late Ottoman Balkans. Yet, these migrations are more often addressed as part of micro-histories than analyzed as a regional phenomenon. Of great interest in this respect is a study by Palairet who, looking at clear concentrations of villages in certain geographies, goes as far as to speak of "a continuous *pečalbar* belt which in the late 19th century extended from the western borderlands of Bulgaria and the adjacent regions of southeast Serbia to the west and south through Old Serbia (Kosovo), the Macedonian vilayets and the Pindus."[121] While *pečalba* is often portrayed as a phenomenon of the late nineteenth century, Palairet sees its beginning in the second half of the eighteenth century or earlier; by the middle of the following century it had become a mass phenomenon. Around 1900 some of the (usually mountainous) regions in the "*pečalbar* belt" sent up to 90% of their able-bodied male population into temporary work migration. To be sure, not all of these were engaged in the arts and crafts: *pečalbari* included gardeners, coppersmiths, tailors, confectioners, potters, and agricultural labourers.[122] Yet, as I have tried to visualize in ill. 6, virtually all of the villages significant as the birthplaces and winter residences of

[120] Cerasi, "Late-Ottoman architects," pp. 89-90.

[121] Outside this "belt," Palairet (p. 23) sees "significant concentrations of *pečalbar* villages were to be found in central Bulgaria, particularly in the *okrăg* of Veliko Tărnovo, in the Stara Planina and Sredna Gora, and in the Rhodope, especially to the north of Komotini." For Bosnia he claims that "there was less commitment to migrant work."

[122] Palairet, "Migrant workers," pp. 23-6, 44.

builders and decorators in at least the later Ottoman Balkans are located within this "*pečalbar* belt" (ill. 5).[123]

Seasonal work was one way out of the scarcity of resources in areas with a surplus of workforce.[124] While sometimes debt or the loss of one's stock may have been the trigger for an individual seeking work elsewhere,[125] in most cases the reason would simply have been the overpopulation of areas whose means for the support of its inhabitants' livelihoods were limited.[126] Periodic flows of workforce frequently followed certain routes within the region (see e.g. ill. 7),[127] but the direction of *pečalba* was certainly driven more by demand. Traditional areas of work migration could be adapted in line with changing realities. The (apparently usually Slavophone) builders in the villages of the Rhodopes mountains, for instance, had traditionally worked more in Western (i.e. Greek) than in Northern (i.e. Bulgarian) Thrace; but when the free transfer of goods and persons across the Rhodopes was halted in 1885 and their villages were

[123] In one case this situation has even left a trace in the toponymy of this region: in the Greek Pindos near Konitsa, thus in the southern flank of Palairet's "*pečalbar* belt," villages that furnished many itinerant builders over generations were (and are) collectively known as the "Mastorohōria."

[124] The builders' season began between the Feast of the Annunciation (March 25) and St George's Day (April 23; a.k.a. Hızır İlyas Günü) and ended between St Demetrius' day (November 8; a.k.a Kasım Günü) and the Archangels' Day (November 21). Dates are according to the Gregorian, not Julian, calendar. See Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 355; Kiel, "Construction of the Ottoman castle of Anavarin," p. 269. See also Petko Hristov, "Transborder exchange of seasonal workers in the central regions of the Balkans (19th – 20th Century)," in: *Ethnologia Balkanica*, XII (2008), pp. 215-30, cit. p. 221, and Despoina Veïkou and Danae Nomikou-Rizou, *Siatista: Greek traditional architecture*. Tr. Philipp Ramp. Athens: Melissa, 1990, p. 14, for somewhat different dates.

[125] Ulf Brunnbauer, *Gebirgsgesellschaften auf dem Balkan: Wirtschaft und Familienstrukturen im Rhodopengebirge*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2004, p. 253-63; Palairet, "Migrant workers," p. 40. Hristov ("Transborder exchange," p. 218) thinks that the increase of seasonal work migration was conditioned "by the decay of well-developed sheep-herding, which was previously organized and encouraged by the state for the needs of the army in the early times of the Ottoman Empire." While an interesting suggestion, Hristov does not substantiate this claim by evidence.

[126] Our modern imagination of mountain areas as disengaged and sparsely inhabited is deceptive concerning pre-modern realities. On this point, see more specifically the remarks in ch. 2.6.2.2.

[127] See also the maps in Moutsopoulos, "Oi prodromoi tōn prōtōn ellinon tehnikōn epostēmonōn."

left on the Bulgarian side, they reoriented their work from the Aegean hinterland toward the Thracian plain centred at Plovdiv. As late as 1926 the Greek government made an exception and invited masons from a Bulgarian Rhodope village to build 200 houses for Anatolian exchangees to be settled near Komotinē.[128] The builders from Trăn (55km W of Sofia), to give another example, had traditionally migrated to Serbia for work; but when Sofia began to emerge as the Bulgarian metropolis and the construction industry flourished there too, they were quick to replace the initially mostly Italian craftsmen working there in the 1880s. Traditionally found and hired on Sofia's "Djulger's square" thereafter, the Trăn builders remained only seasonal guests in the city that had become the source of their livelihood. As late as the early twentieth century they would still return to their mountain villages in the winter.[129]

The distances traversed by some artists, especially by painters, were often considerable and sometimes went beyond the borders of the Ottoman realm. When in 1770 Orthodox Christians in the Buda eparchy were in need of a wooden iconostasis complete with icons, it seemed not out of place to invite the workshop of Theodore Simeonov Gruntovič from Voskopojë, 775km to the South.[130] While Gruntovič was painting in a more conservative manner – perhaps the reason why he was invited to Hungary in the first place – the style of his contemporary Jovan Četirevič Grabovan, who also hailed from what is now Albania but worked mainly in Slavonia, was significantly influenced by the Baroque.[131] But long-distance mobility is also

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[128] Brunnbauer, *Gebirgsgesellschaften*, p. 256, 261

[129] Palairet, "Migrant workers," p. 29; Hristov, "Transborder exchange," p. 222. *Djulger* is the Bulgarian variant of the Turkish term *dülger* (builder, carpenter), rendered *dunđer* in Serbo-Croatian.

[130] See Dinko Davidov, "Serbische und griechisch-zinzarische Malerei in den Kirchen der Budaer Eparchie Ende des XVIII. und zu Beginn des XIX. Jahrhunderts," in: *Proceedings of the Fifth Greek-Serbian Symposium*. Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1991, pp. 175-83, cit. p. 173, 180.

[131] Dejan Medaković, "Die griechisch-serbischen Verbindungen in der Kunst der neueren Zeit," in: *Proceedings of the fifth Greek-Serbian symposium*. Thessaloniki: Inst. for Balkan Studies, 1991, pp. 185-199, cit. p. 189. See also ch. 3.3.2. for the case of "Teodor Kosta" and Nikola Krapič from near Thessaloniki, who built the monastery church of Kovilj near Novi Sad in 1741. Better known is the case of Theophanēs Strelitzas, who left his Cretan home to work in the monastic complexes of Athōs and the Meteōra in the Ottoman mainland. The cases of Panagiōtēs Doksaras and Hristifor Žefarovič, both of whom were born on Ottoman territory and went to work in Venice and Austria respectively, are discussed in ch. 1.3.1 and 2.5.5.

documented in other crafts. Builders from mountain villages in the regions of Kastoria or Debar, for instance, could end up as far away as Jerusalem or Alexandria.[132] It certainly was normal enough for them to be regular visitors to Belgrade, 4-500km to the north.[133] For the troupes of builders from the Popove Polje in Herzegovina or from Osat (near Srebrenica) in the Bosnian Podrinje, by contrast, it seemed far more normal to find work in relatively nearby areas, where their standing in the building industries at times appears to have approached that of a monopoly.[134] But generally it must be stressed that in a centralized state like the sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire the mobility of workforce and materials, especially for sultanic projects, was not considered a problem. This is best illustrated by data recorded in the context of the largest building enterprise of that century, the Süleymâniye.[135]

Next to the distances regularly traversed by artists of all kinds must be stressed the multiple levels of interaction between various non-local actors. We can discern such relations in some monumental construction for which documentation has survived. For the famous bridge of Mostar, for instance, the royal architect Hayrüddîn was dispatched from Istanbul to supervise its construction. This work was undertaken by skilled builders requisited from Dubrovnik, probably working under Hayrüddîn and possibly according to designs produced by the chief royal architect Sinân. The Dubrovnikans were moreover assisted by (presumably less skilled) workmen from the Popovo Polje in Herzegovina, while the costs and resources were managed by the Anatolian-born fief-holder Karagöz Mehmed Beğ.[136]

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[132] See Palairet, "Migrant workers," p. 46; maps published in Moutsopoulos, "Oi prodromoi tōn prōtōn ellinon tehnikōn epostēmonōn."

[133] See ch. 2.2.4 and ill. 7.

[134] The case of the Popovo Polje builders will be discussed in greater detail in ch. 4.4.1. For Osat, see Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 355.

[135] Curious is also the case of painters from Chios – named are "Nikola Todoros," his son Nikola, "Papa Kargopuli," "Yani the son of Papalya," and Kosta Papas – ordered to the construction site of the Selîmiye in Edirne (cf. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 534). There was no logical regional connection between Edirne and this island, nor would one guess that painters from Chios were already qualified in the decoration of mosques

[136] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 439-42; Anhegger, "Römerbrucke"; Machiel Kiel, "The campanile-minarets of the southern Herzegovina: a blend of Islamic and Christian elements in the architecture of an outlying border area of the Balkans, its spread in the past and survival until our time," in: *Centres and peripheries in Ottoman*

Another interesting case from a different period and geography, showing not only the various levels of interaction between individuals hailing from different locales but also between people involved in different phases of the production in different sections of one town, is that of Šumen. Between the 1820s and 1870s this town in Danubian Bulgaria flourished as a centre of manuscript production. Integrating work done in homes and the *çarşı*, orders for manuscripts were usually received from Istanbul, which was the principal destination of, and market for, Šumen work. In order to meet the demand in a timely manner, several calligraphers would start producing sections of the manuscript simultaneously. In that way, different contributors were able to produce a Koran of around 900 pages in a single day. Once the writing was completed, the manuscript was turned over to gilders and binders in the *çarşı* and eventually sent to Istanbul.[137]

Unlike builders, wood-carvers, and painters specialized in the decoration of architectural surfaces – all of which seem to have been accustomed to a considerable

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architecture. Ed. Maximilian Hartmuth. Stockholm/Sarajevo: Cultural Heritage without Borders, 2010, pp. 60-79, cit. p. 63. It remains somewhat unclear why also in sixteenth-century Sarajevo, where the construction industry was truly booming, the patrons of Ottoman-Islamic infrastructures would invite masters from Dubrovnik although there is already evidence (cf. Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 41) for a local guild of builders and carpenters. The Dubrovnikans were unlikely to be cheaper, so they may have simply been considered the better masters. If we consider that there were numerous pre-Ottoman precedents for participation of builders from the coast in construction projects in the Balkan interior (see Cvito Fisković, *Naši graditelji i kipari XV. i XVI. stoljeća u Dubrovniku*. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1947, pp. 97-102), we may even call this pattern a "structure," apparently undisturbed by political change. One also wonders whether the quite bossy tone of Ottoman decrees demanding the provision of builders from Dubrovnik, which are in principle not unlike the decrees sent to provincial *kadı*s with orders to mobilize local workforce (usually for work on sultanic projects in the capital; for examples, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 158, 163, and esp. 180), was also understood as an instrument to underline the vassal status of Dubrovnik, and was hence perhaps even promoted rather than discouraged. This must remain on the level of speculation, however.

[137] The success of Šumen seems to have been based on the endowment at a local *medrese* built in 1744/5 of the post of a teacher of calligraphy. Yet, the significant boost seems to have been a result of the visit of sultan Mahmûd II (in 1837?), as a result of which the ruler sent the excellent calligrapher İbrâhîm Şevki from the capital in order to improve the quality of Koran production in Šumen. The fact of Šumen manuscripts' ending up in the capital, and even in sultanic collections, seems to confirm the success of this experiment. The industry there came to an end in the 1870s as a result of not only Bulgarian quasi-independence but also the belated permission to produce Korans through lithography. Süheyl Ünver, "Şumnu'da Türk hattaları ve eserleri," in: *Belleten,* 185 (1983), pp. 31-6; Stanley, "Shumen as a centre of Qur'an production."

degree of mobility – the work of "artists of the book" appears to have been significantly more place-bound. Very often, the sites of production of calligraphers and illuminators of manuscripts were monasteries and *medrese*s.[138] This was, of course, in part conditioned by the fact that their activity was based on the copying of existing works, which would be found, and maybe were not to leave, the libraries of these institutions. Also the sites of production of portable icons were not necessarily the places where artists sold their works. Wood-panels painted by the famous "school" of Samokov (45km SSE of Sofia), for instance, are frequently found in village churches of the East Serbian district centred at Pirot (100km NW of Samokov).[139] They appear to have been produced in Samokov, probably during the winter months, whereafter they were sold either by the painters travelling through the region or in Sofia, which was the closest large urban and economic centre for both areas.[140] Stanislav Dospevski of Samokov, who specialized in the painting of portraits, had to travel the region to solicit commissions, however. The site of production was determined by the subject of the artwork, and a greater degree of mobility may have become more profitable for painters originally specialized in wood-panel icons when new opportunities arose.[141]

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[138] There is also evidence for manuscripts being worked on in homes or elsewhere, for instance at the provincial courts of dignitaries. The case of an icon whose inscription purports that it was painted in the house of *voyvoda* Ivan is mentioned at the end of this chapter. Curious is also the case of one remarkably early illuminated Islamic manuscript from Bosnia: it appears to have been written and illuminated by an itinerant artist, Yûsuf b. Ahmed, in Sarajevo in 1475, as the colophon informs us. Only years after the conquest of the area, this was much too early for any local to have mastered an Islamic art form, nor had there been established a *medrese*. Perhaps it is most likely to assume that Yûsuf was an artist who came to Sarajevo in the entourage of, or in order to offer his services to, a governor. For this manuscript, discussed again in greater detail in ch. 2.5.1, see Dorothea Duda, *Islamische Handschriften II/2: die Handschriften in türkischer Sprache, Textband*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008, p. 10, 79-80. For similar works by itinerant artists from Tabriz, see Zeren Tanındı, "An illuminated manuscript of the wandering scholar Ibn al-Jazari and the wandering illuminators between Tabriz, Shiraz, Herat, Bursa, Edirne, Istanbul in the fifteenth century," in: *Art Turc –Turkish Art, 10th International Congress of Turkish Art* [etc.]. Ed. François Déroche. Geneva: Fondation Max van Berchem, 1999, pp. 261-71.

[139] Elena Popova, "Samokovski ikoni v selata iz Caribrodsko," in: *Niš i Vizantija,* III. Niš: Prosveta, 2005, pp. 377-82.

[140] See Palairet ("Migrant workers," p. 23) for the example of the icon-painters of Trjavna, who painted in winters and then set out each summer to sell their products.

[141] For remarks about Dospevski and portrait painting in general, see ch. 3.2.2.

Different yet is the case of monumental inscriptions, especially in Islamic contexts. While today principally appraised for their informative value, there is convincing evidence that establishes them as objects of art criticism by contemporaries.[142] Here, too, the text and calligraphic design of inscriptions could be produced by individuals who had possibly never visited the town in which the monument with "their" inscription would be found. A comparably well-documented example seems to have been that of the so-called İhtisâb Çeşme at Ohrid (1821/2):[143] its lengthy inscription identified as its patron Mîr Celâlüddîn, the local strongman in pre-Tanzîmât Ohrid, and as its composer the Istanbul poet (Süleymân) Fehîm Efendi. The poet's stressing in the text that Celâlüddîn was in fact the son of a *vezîr* and of his already having equipped the city with a number of other water-providing structures makes clear that patron and artist had communicated about the content and possibly the formal qualities of the inscription. Yet, there is nothing to assume that Fehîm in fact visited Ohrid. One might rather presume that he sent his text and formal design to Ohrid, where it was transferred to stone by an able carver. Hence, at least three persons in probably two distant locales were involved in the design and execution of this work: a patron, a stone-carver, and a poet/calligrapher.[144]

Unfortunately, the exact circumstances of the production of an artwork are rarely clear. Unusually rich in information as to the spatial, temporal, and social context of its production, as well as the cosmos and perhaps even the motivation of an artist, is the case of one Bosnian icon of the Virgin Mary, with which I shall conclude this chapter. Its Slavonic inscription reveals that it was painted in Sarajevo in April 1568 by Tudor Vuković from Maina (near Budva) in the house of *voyvoda* Ivan. We also learn that this took place at a time when Makarije (Sokolović, Sokollu) was episcope (at Peć), Selîm (II) was the sultan, and Ferhâd Beğ was the *sancak-beği* of Bosnia. The latter is moreover identified as the brother of the mentioned *voyvoda* Ivan; both belonged to the

[142] See ch. 2.2 and also ch. 3.3.1.

[143] On my visit to Ohrid in 2007 I was not able to find the fountain on the Činar Square, where it was supposed to be found. Instead there was a modern fountain. Unless I err, this probably means that the fountain's inscription was removed.

[144] For the fountain inscription and notes about the poet, see the fundamental study by Fehim Bajraktarević, "Turski spomenici u Ohridu," in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju,* V (1955), pp. 111-34, esp. pp. 119-27; also Semavi Eyice, "Ohri'nin Türk devrine ait eserleri," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, VI (1956), 137-45, p. 144 for a transcription of the inscription.

Vuković-Desisalić family, as did the painter![145] It appears that Vuković, who had evidently been trained in the (Italianate) style of the Adriatic coast, had come to Sarajevo looking for patronage by a prosperous relative. Their extended family included both Christian and Muslim members and by 1570 a Bosnian *sancak-beği* and a *voyvoda* (tax-collector and/or clan leader). Stressing in the inscription that the icon was painted in the *voyvoda*'s house, and that the *voyvoda* was the *sancak-beği*'s brother – our only record of this connection – the painter may have aspired to stress his intimacy with his patron, whose wealth may well have prompted the directionality of his migration in the first place.

2.2. Social status

While the previous chapter sought to determine the place of the artist in the regional networks produced by Ottoman society in the Balkans, the present chapter discusses the status and place of the artist – or, perhaps, rather the statuses of individuals engaged in *various* arts – in Ottoman provincial society. I have this far avoided the question of what divides art and craft, for there is no ready evidence in the sources that points to an equivalent to this essentially modern distinction. Could perhaps the relative wealth of some individuals vis-à-vis the relative poverty of others engaged in the same profession be an indicator for the appreciation of their work by their customers (and, by extension, society)? Or did certain artistic or technical skills, however acquired, qualify individuals for "elite status"? In any case, there is likely to have been a direct link between the appreciation of an artist's work and the readiness to expend money on it. If some artists, in the eyes of their clients, deserved higher honoraries than others, this was necessarily reflected in an individual's financial standing vis-à-vis other members of society, and other artists.

This chapter explores various ways of measuring the degree of respect exhibited toward artists in Ottoman provincial society. Importantly, it also seeks to determine, to the greatest extent possible, divergences between the different arts, in different periods,

[145] Zaim (sic, Hazim) Šabanovič, "Bosanski namjesnik Ferhad-beg Vuković-Desisalić," in: *Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta* [Belgrade], VI/1 (1957), pp. 113-27, cit p. 113; Đoko Mazalić, "Nekoliko starih slika," in: *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja*, LIV (1942), pp. 207-40, cit. p. 218.

and between individuals practicing the same art. I shall first discuss, and challenge, the notion of a binary between architects and master builders, at least with regards to its usefulness for a discussion of the provincial context. The second sub-chapter (2.2.2) will look at "hard data," or numbers gathered from probates and tax registers, to look at stratifications within various groups of artists and/or craftsmen. The third sub-chapter tries to suggest and explore other sources that might give us an indication of the standing of an artist or artists in society. Chapter 2.2.4 will then discuss the first-hand observations of, and conversations with, builders in Serbia and Bulgaria recorded by one nineteenth-century traveller. Self-portraits by painters, a format that sees a moderate boom in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, will be discussed for their value as visual evidence for social standing and ambitions in 2.2.5. Finally, the last sub-chapter discusses the claim for authorship – as expressed in inscriptions or otherwise – not only as an indicator of, but as a potential claim for, status within Ottoman provincial society.

2.2.1. Architect and/or master-builder: a binary?

In his article on "Late-Ottoman architects and master builders," Cerasi put forward what he believed to be a fundamental binary of "two distinct crafts – that of the architect and that of the master builder." While they cooperated in "the design and construction of all kinds of structures," Cerasi thought that differentiation between the two professions began in the sixteenth century, when one came to be seen as the assistant of the other. As a result, architects were "apt to be the more cultured and better integrated into official institutions" than master builders, whose lesser education defined their lower social standing. In the eighteenth century, master builders rather than architects began to undertake "design and construction work in towns."[146] While I shall leave my challenging of this claim to chapter 4.2, it suffices to state here that such a shift reminds of that known to have taken place in Byzantium: according to Ousterhout, the theoretically-trained architect (*mēhanikos*) of Antiquity, an intellectual, came to be replaced by the practice-oriented master-mason (*oikodomos*).[147] In the West, similarly,

[146] Cerasi, "Late-Ottoman architects," pp. 87-9.

[147] Ousterhout, *Master builders of Byzantium*, p. 4, 40.

not so much the tasks but the classical concept of the *architectus* vanished. The "medieval architect," writes Kostof, "rose from the ranks of the building crafts, carpentry, or the working of stone or commonly both, and took part in the actual process of construction alongside the building crew as one of their own." Rather than in task, the change was one in social standing, for the master-builder was not expected to have a thorough grounding in the Liberal Arts.[148]

While Cerasi has identified what appears to be one crucial change between the sixteenth and nineteenth century, namely the loss of prominence of the *mi'mâr* as an agent in the monumental building projects, we must not forget that the nature of architectural production in both periods was very different. The *mi'mâr*s we see mentioned in the sources from the sixteenth century were by and large involved in the equipment of Balkan towns with a monumental Ottoman infrastructure of ritual buildings (mosques and *mescid*s), those relating to communication (bridges), education (*mekteb*s and *medrese*s), and hygiene and sociability (*hammâm*s). The master builders of the nineteenth century, by contrast, only very rarely built mosques or bathhouses; and when they did, these structures were usually not very monumental. Builders, decorators, and woodcarvers in the middle decades of the nineteenth century largely worked to equip two newly-prominent groups, the proto-bourgeoisie and the non-Muslims in genereal, with an infrastructure of pretension. The privileged building types were churches and residences. That very fundamental difference in the types that a good builder/architect had to master in different periods has not been recognized.

Cerasi was not incorrect in making a distinction between an architect/*mi'mâr* and a master builder, but the "Liberal Arts" training in institutional rather than personal form seems to have been restricted to royal architects in the capital, for whom it is attested. In the *vita* of Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa we read that this later chief royal architect studied "the science of geometry and the art of architecture" with Mi'mâr Sinân.[149] In the *vita* of the latter it is also revealed that a chief royal architect was expected, depending on the challenge, to excel both as a theoretician (*ilmî*) and a practitioner (*'amelî*).[150] In the provinces there was no possibility for future architects of attaining a

[148] Spiro Kostof, "The architect in the Middle Ages, East and West," in: *The architect: chapters in the history of the profession*. Ed. Spiro Kostof. Oxford: University Press, 1977, pp. 59-95, cit. pp. 60-1.

[149] Cafer Efendi, *Risâle*, p. 34.

[150] *Sinan's autobiographies*, p. 118.

formal, academic education comparable to that received by Sinân and Mehmed in the palace. The *mi'mâr*s that we see in sources related to the provinces were, as I shall argue in chapter 4.2, neither architects in the sense of agents of planning and design, nor did they receive a training that was necessarily more formal than the ordinary *dülger*s' or *neccâr*s'. In fact, these "provincial *mi'mâr*s" were chosen among the ranks of the builders/carpenters.[151]

Though this is not evidenced anywhere, we might presume that for a town-dwelling builder in the provinces there were two tasks that elevated his status vis-à-vis his peers. One was, of course, being appointed as the head of the guild of which he was a member; another may have been to be employed as the person responsible for the maintenance of the buildings of a *vakf*. While the latter livelihood may not have made people rich, it did guarantee a steady income and did not necessitate the active solicitation of work. According to the *vakfiye* of the Ferhâd Paşa mosque in Banja Luka, for instance, the "architect" (here referred to indeed as *mi'mâr*) employed was to receive six *akçe* per day – the same as that mosque's *imam*! – and his assistant four.[152] This is roughly what appears to have been an average daily salary of a builder in this period.[153] We must consider, however, that this man received this sum every day, not just when he was employed in construction projects. It would also mean that he would be paid in winter, when one may assume many builders to have remained out of work. In sum, the *vakf*-employed builder-carpenter may have to be considered rather well-off if compared to his "ordinary" peers.

There is, of course, also the possibility that the salary of the mentioned endowment's *mi'mâr* is an exception. Not many *evkâf*, at least not in the Balkans, seem to have permanently salaried such a profession. More probably the *vakf* managers normally used surplus money to employ a *dülger* when necessary.[154] Another evidenced

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[151] For a discussion, see ch. 4.2.

[152] Mehmed Mujezinović, *Ferhad-pašina vakufnama iz 995 (1587) godine*. Banja Luka: Bošnjačka zajednica kulture "Preporod," 2005 [1973], p. 12.

[153] Cf. Kiel, "Building accounts," p. 10.

[154] Emre Madran (*Osmanlı imparatorluğu'nun klasik çağlarında onarım alanının örgütlenmesi, 16.-18. yüzyıllar*. Ankara: ODTÜ, 2004, app. 2) lists 23 *vakfiye*s from between 1220 and 1797 in which is mentioned an individual responsible for keeping a building in good repair. The only case from the Balkans found in this list is that of İshâk Paşa's *vakf* (cf. Vehbi Tamer, "Fatih devri ricalinden İshak Paşa'nın vakfiyeleri ve vakıfları," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, IV [1958], pp. 107-24, cit. p. 121), which

case is that of the Mustafâ Paşa mosque (1492) in Skopje, whose *vakf* sustained a person (also referred to as *mi'mâr*) at a daily rate of only two *akçe*, thus earning considerably less than most other employees. Even the cook (four *akçe*) and the storekeeper (*kilerci*) earned more.[155] Perhaps this means that the post as that endowment's *mi'mâr* was only a part-time job, contributing to an income otherwise made on the market.[156] Moreover, one might think that the naming of these positions as *mi'mâr* reflects not their institutional training, as suggested above, but simply their employment in this institution as the person responsible for the maintenance of this building's architectural features and functions.

In sum, a binary of master-builder and architect, as suggested by Cerasi, is problematic, for what was referred to by the term(s) *mi'mâr*/architect appear to have been different things. A person identified as a *mi'mâr* in textual sources was not necessarily a liberally-trained architect, as was certainly the case with chief royal architects like Mi'mâr Sinân. Rather, and this is an argument that will be expanded in chapter 4.2, it was a term used for offices whose responsibilities included construction-related tasks. The *mi'mâr*s employed at the two mentioned *evkâf* in Skopje and Banja Luka had probably never designed anything of note, nor had they received a formal institutional training. What qualified them were practical skills acquired in the construction industry, for what they had to do was to keep "their" buildings in good repair, not to design new buildings.

2.2.2. The wealth of urban builders, painters, and carpenters: the evidence of tax registers and court records

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foresaw a salary of two *dirhem* for two *mi'mâr*s keeping in good repair his institutions in Thessalonikē and Sidērokavsa.

[155] Cf. Mehmet İnbaşı, "Osmanlı idaresinde Üsküb kazası," dissertation (Atatürk Üniversitesi [Erzurum]), 1995 p. 94.

[156] If we consider that among the witnesses undersigned in Ferhâd Paşa's *vakfîye* (cf. Mujezinović, *Ferhad-pašina vakufnama*, pp. 20-1) could be found the *dülger* Hacı Nezir and the *neccâr* Deli Sipâhî, presumably residents of Banja Luka, could this post have been overpaid because the patron intended to employ one of these two acquaintances as the *mi'mâr* of his foundation there?

Surviving records of expenditures in building projects suggest that in Sarajevo in the last third of the eighteenth century a master-builder could count on a per diem of between 42 and 66 *akçe* (or its equivalent in *para*). Though the incomplete nature of the data only partly allows us to draw such conclusions, it seems that it was customary that his assistants/workmen (*ırgâdân*) would earn about a quarter less than their master and that itinerant builders earned less than the locals (presumably guildsmen), even when they came from places that were renowned for their excellence. In 1793, for instance, the *dülger*s from Sarajevo received 20 *para* (60 *akçe*) plus "a lot of bread" for their daily work, while their peers from Herzegovina, engaged in the same project, would earn only 12 *para*, that is, almost half! In 1831 the Sarajevo-based *dülger*s received 15% more than those from Osat, a village near Srebrenica that was renowned for the work of its builders, especially in Central Serbia at that time. The *ırgâdân* still earned about a quarter less than the (local) masters.[157] There are two tentative conclusions to be drawn here. Firstly, the social differentiation between masters and their assistants cannot have been that great, for the differences in their income were not either – at least in this period and place. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the gap may have been greater, with an *ırgâd* earning about half of a master.[158] Secondly, a rural workforce coming to work in cities may have generally received less pay than locals. It remains open whether this was because their work was less valued or because the local guilds managed to defend the interests of local builders vis-à-vis newcomers.

That it was indeed possible to accumulate money seems to be suggested by the case of the Sarajevo *dülger* Hüseyin Beşe: he had a work partnership (*ortaklık*) with İbrâhîm Beşe, and their common capital was 28,876 *para* at the time of Hüseyin's death in 1839. While Hüseyin was indeed highly indebted to a cash-loaning *vakf*, to which he owed 27,840 *para*, he owned a house that was worth 24,000 *para* and other assets valued at 66,496 *para*.[159] A comparison of nine deceased *dülger*s' assets, as registered at the *kadı* court of Sarajevo between 1779 and 1798 (see table 3), seem to show, in fact, that within this group there were immense economic differences: their heirs received cash or goods at values ranging between as little as 1,740 and as much as 206,716 *akçe*! Also the immense gap between average and median value (47,517 vs.

[157] For these numbers, cf. Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 169.

[158] Cf. Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 330; Kiel, "Building accounts," p. 10.

[159] For these data, cf. Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 172.

10,260) shows the inequality in wealth.[160] While this is in part due to the fact that in some cases real estate was part of the estimate of a deceased's assets and in other cases it was not – Ca'fer Beşe's house was valued at 28,800 *akçe,* thus constituting more than half of his total wealth – this is not the only reason.[161] While we must expect fluctuations in price levels in the period of nineteen years spanned by these cases, the trend these numbers show is clearly that within the community of *dülger*s there was a considerable degree of stratification. If guilds really saw their purpose in levelling grave differences between its members – a supposed objective that has been summarized with the motto "equality in poverty"[162] – this was certainly not the case in late-eighteenth century Sarajevo. With an inheritance worth 206,716 *akçe*, Tanasije surely belonged to an urban professional elite, while Jovan, who left only 1,740 *akçe* (9% of which his, comparatively cheap, tools), may be seen as representing the urban poor.

A similar tendency is noticeable in the artistically flourishing town of Samokov (45 km SSE of Sofia) in the 1840s, for which we have exceptionally detailed information in the so-called *temettu'ât defterleri*.[163] Of the 98 households recorded in this census as being supported by a *dülger* as their head and breadwinner, the annual income could be as low as 50 *akçe* or as high as 560! Even among these *dülger*s' assistants/foremen (*kalfa*), the range would be between 50 and 160. Hence the lowest-earning master *dülger* would earn as little as the lowest-paid *kalfa*! Among the carpenters (*doğramacı*), of which in Samokov we find only four, the gap is still considerable but not as great as with the *dülgers*: the best-earning *doğramacı* claimed an income of 320 *akçe* annually, the least-earning 150. There were also two book-binders

[160] What concerns the tools' value, the average and the median are very close, whereby it is safe to say that a *dülger* in Sarajevo in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had to count on spending around 600 *akçe* for tools. Still, one could get by with tools worth as little as 160 *akçe* or spend as much as 1260.

[161] The house of the *taşçı* Hüseyin Beşe, who died in 1783 and who is not shown in table 3, was worth 14,400 *akçe*, hence only about half of Ca'fer Beşe's. Cf. Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 173.

[162] Cf. Faroqhi, *Artisans of Empire*, pp. 74-5.

[163] For the problematic nature of these records, available to researchers only since 1988, see the various contributions to Hayashi Kayoko and Mahir Aydın (eds.), *The Ottoman state and societies in change: a study of the nineteenth century Temettuat registers*. London: Kegan Paul, 2004. The data for Samokov has been published in tables in the contribution to this volume by Svetla Ianeva, "Samokov: an Ottoman Balkan city in the age of reforms," at pp. 46-76; the relevant numbers are on pp. 60-5.

(*mücellid*) in town, one claiming to earn 200, the other almost three times more (580). Five households, finally, were supported by individuals whose profession was identified as *nakkaş* (painters-decorators), and here the gap is the greatest: with 340 *akçe* the least-earning painter still made more than any carpenter and most of the *dülgers*, while the wealthiest painter-household claimed to accumulate 1410 *akçe* annually! The average annual income of a painter was 834 *akçe*, which was almost three times the salary of that town's mosque preacher (*hatîb*) or about the same as the better-earning of the two mine clerks (*ma'den kâtibi*). One could only expect a higher average annual income as a clerk of sorts (various averages), a draper (*çuhacı*; average annual income: 1293 *akçe*), a cattle-dealer (*celeb*; 1582), or a candle-maker (*mumcu*; 1039). The remaining 60 crafts and services professions paid dramatically less.

In sum, the evidence of salaries and inheritances recorded between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries in two Balkan locales seems to suggest that one could earn very well as a builder, painter, or carpenter, but also that work in such professions did not automatically make you prosperous. The seemingly grave economic differentiation between individuals working in the same fields suggests, as hinted to above, that clients were ready to pay more for the work of some than they were for others. This certainly reflects the perceived quality of the work by some, possibly the laziness of others, and in other cases perhaps simply bad luck.

2.2.3. Indicators for social standing: patronymics, musical virtuosity, and the witnessing of notarial acts

While not evidence as "positive" as the numbers just discussed, there are also other indicators for the relatively high social position of individual artists. The sources for such claims are extremely varied. There is evidence, for instance, for the existence of a family of notables (*a'yân*) in seventeenth-century Kjustendil whose name was Nakkaş-zâde.[164] This seems to imply not only that a painter, decorator, or designer (*nakkaş*) was these notables' ancestor, but also that it was under him (or them) that the family rose to

[164] This family is mentioned in Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "'On Monday the bread of the baker Malco has to written': property, maintenance, market and crime in the early 17th-century court of Küstendil," in: *Mélanges Prof. Machiel Kiel*. Ed. Abdeljelil Temimi. Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi, 1999, pp. 429-55, cit. p. 433.

prominence: otherwise they would not have taken this individual's profession, but someone else's name or profession, as their "patronymic". Potentially meaningful is also an encounter the traveller Leake made not far from Athens in the early 1800s: he met in a monastery at Livadeia (130km NW of Athens) a painter-restorer who was, he was told, also "the most celebrated performer on the violin in this part of the country, and fails not to be in attendance whenever there is an assembly at the monastery."[165] If we presume that the violin was essentially a foreign instrument in provincial Greece in this period, and that this painter managed to become a virtuoso at it, possibly through formal training, should we consider him as the representative of at least some kind of elite?

Another indicator for the relatively high social status of some builders may be their appearance as witnesses in notarial acts of legalizing *evkâf* at the *kadı* court. This was something typically reserved for trustworthy individuals esteemed in a given community. In the Mostar *vakfîye* of Murâd Ağa b. 'Abdurrahman of 1571 is found, for instance, a Neccâr Hasân;[166] in that of Hüseyin Beğ b. İlyas for a mosque in Rogatica near Sarajevo (1558) a certain Mi'mâr Yûsuf, possibly the *mi'mâr-başı* of Bosnia (see also chapter 4.2), and hence probably a local builder whose career took a lucky turn.[167] In the Banja Luka *vakfîye* of Ferhâd Paşa (1587) we even find two witnesses identified there as builders or carpenters: the *dülger* Hacı Nezir and the *neccâr* Deli Sipâhî.[168] The name of the latter translates as "the mad cavalryman" and must be a reference to that man's other occupation, which would have earned him a fief and elite status. The name of the former, which includes the title of *hacı*, at least tells us that also that man was affluent enough to undertake the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Despite occasionally being well-positioned to do so, it seems to have been exceptional for builders or decorators to figure as patrons of arts or architecture, which would be another indicator of their social position. It should not surprise us that the Albanian-born chief royal architects Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa and Kâsım Ağa became

[165] Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, p. 320.

[166] *Vakufname iz Bosne i Hercegovine (XV i XVI vijek)*. Ed. Lejla Gazić. Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1985, p. 178.

[167] Ibid., p. 135.

[168] *Vakufname*, p. 232 and Mujezinović, *Ferhad-pašina vakufnama*, pp. 20-1.

sponsors of architecture,[169] usually of "minor" structures.[170] Exceptions for what appears to be a general lack of foundations by builders and decorators are the mosques of the Bosnian Mi'mâr Sinân and the Neccâr İbrâhîm in Sarajevo.[171] An inscription on the kiosk in the northern wing of the Rila monastery informs us that Krstjo (from Lazaropole near Debar) rebuilt it after a fire in 1832/3 with his own hands and money.[172] Could voluntary work at existing foundations have been a more typical way for builders, decorators, and carpenters to contribute to a community's flourishing, than cash donations or institution-building?

2.2.4. Records of encounters with Balkan artists

For the nineteenth century, thanks to the increased frequency of travellers in this period, there are also a number of observations recorded that shed light on the social position of artists. While Boué's claim that the artisans in Ottoman Europe were relatively privileged compared with their European counterparts – they were, he wrote, not tucked away in half-dark spaces, they did not work excessively, and they were not as belittled as they were in the West – is interesting enough,[173] it is in the long-term observations recorded by Kanitz that we find the perhaps most insightful hints. In an account of his residence at Belgrade, which coincided with the construction of barracks under Knez Miloš, he observed the following spectacle:

> [F]rom my window I watched a Macedonian Vlach commence work. To save rent, he had apparently slept at the site of his artistic operation. An examination of his much-wrinkled shirt and the [consequent] necessary treatment of

[169] For both, see Artan, "Arts and architecture," pp. 456-7 and references.

[170] Although some of the buildings they sponsored were located in the European provinces, their case is only of partial relevance for this chapter.

[171] These shall be discussed in greater detail in ch. 4.2.

[172] Michael Margaritoff, "Das Rila-Kloster in Bulgarien: Der Versuch einer historischen und stilistischen Eınordnung," dissertation (Univ. Kaiserslautern), 1979, p. 26.

[173] Boué, *La Turquie d'Europe*, III, p. 117.

> innumerable insects made considerable demands on his time. After his thirst for revenge was satisfied to some extent, he put around his waist a belt of raw wool, certainly six metres long, and washed his face and hands superficially with water from a jug, dried them with a not very clean towel, arranged his protection fur in a flirtatious way, as if he would go to a ball, and finally he proceeded to a heap of clay in order to liquefy it again by pouring water on it and to thereby produce plaster sufficient for an hour and to be stored in a coffer. Thereafter he would begin to work on the splitting of pillars and planks with predictably primitive tools instead of the saw, [which was] unknown to him.[174]

While Kanitz' rare account of a builder at work is replete with moderate detestation of his lifestyle, informed by class difference, Kanitz would readily acknowledge the extraordinary work carried out in the domain of church-building by another Macedonian, Andreja Damjanov, whom he, exceptionally, identified by name.[175] During his travels through Bulgaria, he would even make the personal acquaintance of the famous Nikola Fičev (referred to by Kanitz as Fiçoğlu, i.e. with a Turkish patronymic!) in the 1870s. The latter was described as "a simple Bulgarian from the Balkan [mountains], undistinguished by dress or anything else from the most simple villager." Interesting is also how the portrait continues:

> That said, he [i.e. Fičev] did speak with justified pride of his work [the bridge over the Jantra] and stressed that it had cost 700,000 piasters (i.e. 70,000 Gulden) – for Bulgaria an enormous sum. Yet, he did not seem to realize that he, who knew little more than the meagre essentials, had completed a construction which, excepting Constantinople, must be considered the most perfect hydro-technical building of Turkey, being certainly a credit even to the most proficient of technicians. [176]

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[174] Kanitz, *Königreich Serbien*, I, p. 87 [transl. MH]. He continues (p. 87-8) with the following remark: "Now [i.e. 30 years later] even these foreign masters, still very present in construction in Belgrade, have learned from the Occidental ones and have acquainted themselves with our, time-saving, work tools."

[175] Kanitz, *Königreich Serbien*, I, p. 140.

[176] Felix Philipp Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien und der Balkan: Histor.-geogr.-ethnogr. Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1860-1876.* Leipzig: Fries, 1877, II, p. 32 [transl. MH].

On a similar note, elsewhere Kanitz recorded it as curious that "primitive sons of the mountains, who often barely manage to use a pen, succeed to solve difficult tasks such as the construction of multi-arched stone bridges or domed churches simply thanks to their acumen and innate talent."[177] He also had no problem speaking of them as "architects," not as masons or builders.[178]

In sum, neither Kanitz nor Boué portray persons involved in the arts and crafts as elite representatives, but they acknowledge that they were neither loathed by the upper classes nor unable to succeed in tasks that require complex technical thinking. In fact, Kanitz seems to imply that the skills of some would entitle them to elite status in the West, were it not for their lack of formal (i.e. institutional) education and the consequent expectations and ambitions.

2.2.5. The visual evidence of self-portraits

While Kanitz' drawings (ill. 14/15) are possibly in some way generic in the sense that they might reflect patterns, trends, and clichés rather than "accurate" portraits of individuals – they are identified by name neither in the main body of the text nor in the captions – there also exists an interesting, if small, body of self-portraits by artists, usually painters of icons and/or portraits.[179] In the nineteenth century these tasks were often undertaken by the same individuals, and most of the examples of painters' self-portraits also date to this period. An early example, here useful in serving as a point of comparison, is the self-portrait of the painter Mutul at Bordeşti (150 NE of Bucharest) (ill. 8): he is painted as a short-haired man with a moustache and in a garb perhaps best described as inconspicuous. The contrast with the self-portrait of the Samokov-based painter Petăr Valkov, found in the Rhodopean village churches of Varvara (1845) (ill.

[177] Kanitz, *Königreich Serbien*, III, p. 107. Only what concerns their commitment to stylistic purity, Kanitz adds, one must not be too critical.

[178] F[elix] Kanitz, *Serbien, historisch-ethnographische Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1859-1868*. Leizpig: Fries, 1868, pp. 334-5.

[179] The wood-carvers of the Garkata workshop represented themselves at work twice, in Skopje (Sveti Spas) and at the Bigorski monastery (see ill. 4), though it remains open to what extent these must be understood as actual portraits.

10) and Goljama Belovo (1852) (ill. 11) is already considerable: Valkov portrays himself as a European gentleman, though sporting a fez. (That he was as well-dressed when he operated with paints in this village context is, of course, unlikely.) Self-portraits are also preserved of another Samokov painter, Zahari Zograf, again on frescoes, such as in the (presumably more prestigious) context of the Bačkovo monastery's catholicon. Most remarkable, perhaps, is that Zahari is depicted in the company of that institution's dignitaries (ill. 12) – a remarkable "promotion" of the painter's profession, it seems. Of some of the Samokov painters there even exist self-portraits on canvas.

Self-portaits were not restricted to painters from that locale, however. In the village church of Tešovo in the Nestos Valley between Bansko and Drama, for instance, is found a triple-portrait of the Macedonian painters Mino, Marko, and Teofil from the 1880s (?) (ill. 9). They are depicted with fezes, moustaches, and even sideburns. All in all, however, it may have indeed been the background of the Samokov painters – they hailed from a relatively wealthy and culturally rather active town rather than a mountain village – that informed their claim for status as expressed in their self-portraits. Their services were sought after in a wider region and their home locale was internationally well-connected enough to broaden their horizon, especially with regards to an awareness of the status of, and services rendered by, painters in the West and of clothes as a marker of class distinctions.

2.2.6. The claim for authorship: an expression of status or ambition?

The formulation of inscriptions mentioning artists, thereby creating a connection between individual and product on the spot in a quasi-public manner, must also be considered in a discussion of the self-identification of artists in Ottoman Balkans society.[180] The claim for authorship over a certain artwork, something far from the rule

[180] Kris and Kurz have argued that the recording of an artist's name depends not upon his skill, which cannot be objectively ascertained, "but upon the significance attached to the work of art." The "urge to name the creator of a work of art" indicates that his art no longer exclusively serves a ritual purpose: "its valuation has at least to some extent become independent of such connections." See Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz, *Legend, myth, and magic in the image of the artist: a historical experiment*. Tr. Alastair Laing. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, pp. 3-4.

in this place and time, must itself be taken as an expression of an ambition – the ambition of being known, of being remembered, or simply to record pride in what has been produced.[181] The claim for a connection between the existence of artist signatures and social status is also not entirely new: Kalopissi-Verti has found that painters in Byzantine Greece were more likely to sign their work the lesser the social gap with the patron.[182] While I cannot draw such a conclusion based on the evidence available to me, this may very well have been the tendency in the Ottoman period as well.

There are often found in the generalist literature claims that most artistic production in the Ottoman Balkans, with the exception of Christian religious painting, was anonymous.[183] And while the number of artists known beyond the region is tiny, whether or not a name was mentioned also depended much on traditions in a certain genre: while more or less the rule in the arts of the book and frequent in fresco-painting, Ottoman-Islamic architects by and large ceased to be mentioned on inscriptions after the mid-fifteenth century,[184] which was still a peak period for such attributions in the Islamic context.[185] The subsequent lack of architects' names, it has been argued, was to underscore the primacy of patrons on one hand and to imply a "collaborative notion of

[181] Inscriptions very often provide only the most fundamental information, a rather typical example probably being that found associated with the frescoes in the *naos* of the Naum monastery in Ohrid, which dates from 1806 and reads (in Greek, rather than Slavonic, quite evidently the artist's mother tongue): "Painter Terpo [son] of the Painter Constantine from Koritsa [i.e. Korçë in SE Albania]." Given the common practice that walls were repainted in later centuries, there are naturally far more such inscriptions from the later periods than from the Middle Ages.

[182] Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, *Dedicatory inscriptions and donor portraits in thirteenth-century churches of Greece*. Vienna: Verl. d. Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1992, p. 26.

[183] For the Islamic context, this cliché is addressed in Meinecke, "Anonymität der Künstler," pp. 31-4.

[184] Sönmez, *Anadolu Türk-İslâm mimarisinde sanatçılar*, passim. An exception is one long inscription of 1719/20 on the Vidin fortress, which praises the skills (including those in geometry) of the architect Mustafa Ağa. For this inscription, see Vera Mutafčieva (ed.), *Rumelijski delnici i praznici ot XVII vek*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Otečestvenija Front, 1978, p. 71. For the contribution of others in this project, see ch. 2.5.2. The mention of Mi'mâr Dâvûd Ağa on one Istanbul inscription is discussed in ch. 4.1.1.

[185] Meinecke, "Anonmität der Künstler," p. 36.

authorship for buildings" designed within the Corps of Royal Architects on the other.[186] In Foucault's terms, this meant that the "author function," dealt to different contributors in various cultures, [187] here lay primarily with the patron. According to the eighteenth-century Macedonian painter Žefarovič, the painter from whom a patron commissioned an icon was "obliged to put in his name."[188] There was also a debate around the import of one name found on an Italianate Baroque painting in a Central Bosnian monastery: was "Stjepan Dragojlović" the name of the painter, as traditionally assumed, or that of the patron?[189] And if 'İvâz b. Bâyezîd, a grand vizier, was in the Arabic inscription (1421) on the Great Mosque of Didymoteichon referred to as the "the pride of engineers and the revered man of architects, the skilful master of his profession," did this really mean that he was the (and an) architect in our modern sense, as is generally believed,[190] or simply, as I tend to believe, that he was the administrator under whose responsibility the project was implemented?[191]

A quantification of data is possible in the Greek case, where scholars have been able to compile the names of 750 "Greek painters" active in the eighteenth century. Notably, this was two and a half times more than in the previous century. Moreover, the second half of the eighteenth century saw such a spectacular rise that from this half-

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[186] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 135.

[187] Michel Foucault, "What is an author?" [1969], reprinted in Paul Rabinow (ed.), *The Foucault reader*. New York: Penguin Books, 1984, pp. 101-20, esp. pp. 107-8, where he posits that "an author's name is not simply an element in a discourse (capable of being either subject or object, of being replaced by a pronoun, and the like); it performs a certain role with regard to narrative discourse, assuring a classificatory function ... [W]e could say that in a civilization like our own there are a certain number of discourses endowed with the "author function" while others are deprived of it."

[188] Cited in Sotirios Kissas, "Icons of a Kozani nenologion," in: *Balkan Studies*, XVII/1 (1976), 93–113, cit. p. 113.

[189] See Sanja Cvetnić, "Bezgrešno začeće donatora Stjepana Dragojlovića (1621)," in: *Svjetlo riječi*, XXV (2007), pp. 62-3; Ivana Prijatelj Pavičić, "Contributo alla ricerca delle pale d'altare di Baldassare D'Anna nei conventi francescani della Dalmazia, Quarnaro e Bosnia," in: *Ikon*, III/3 (2010), pp. 327-42.

[190] Salih Pay, "Baş Mimar Hacı İvaz Paşa," in: *Bir Masaldı Bursa*. Ed. Engin Yenal. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayinlari, 1996, pp. 177-85.

[191] For a transcription of this inscription, see Sönmez, *Anadolu Türk-İslâm mimarisinde sanatçılar*, p. 423. For "intermediaries" see also ch. 3.5.

century are preserved four times more than from the preceding one.[192] Differently stated, while in the period of 1600-1750 approximately three artists per year signed their name, in the period 1750-1800 it was as much as four times as many! In part, this situation may be due to the lack of "signatures" in cases of buildings being repainted in the course of time, which necessarily resulted in a greater number of names from more recent dates. The gap between ca. 1600 and ca. 1800 is so great, however, that it is hard not to suggest that something must have happened between these dates that made it more desirable for artists to have their name recorded for eternity (or at least until the next intervention). One reason might be the better economic conditions in that period in some areas, leading to a larger volume of patronage of art. On the other hand, the rural (rather than urban or monastic) backgrounds of most of these painters and their lack of "formal" training, resulting in what is sometimes derided as "folk art," are not necessarily factors one thinks to be conducive to ambitions of upward social mobility.

While in the Islamic context after ca. 1500, one would generally not find the names of architects chiselled on inscriptions, this privilege was often granted to those responsible for the composition and formal design of inscriptions: poets, epigraphicists, and calligraphers. We may presume that these were often one and the same person.[193] The evidence of Evliyâ Çelebi seems to show that such inscriptions were indeed objects of art criticism.[194] A survey of artist inscriptions in various genres, as is possible in the well-documented case of Bosnia, actually suggests that it was much more common for a goldsmith to "sign" objects produced by him than for an architect or builder, woodcarver, or decorative painter.[195] Should we moreover presume that a Muslim decorative painter had a somewhat lower status in his respective community than a Christian iconographer, for what the former produced was not "sacred," nor did it necessarily require knowledge of very strict conventions and the skills to faithfully copy?[196] The abovementioned trend for an increase in "painters' inscriptions" in

[192] For these data cf. Vryonis, "Formal culture," p. 30.

[193] A rare biography of such an individual from the nineteenth century is supplied by Nametak, *Fadil-paša Šerifović*.

[194] See ch. 3.3.1.

[195] Mazalić, *Leksikon*, passim.

[196] It must be stated more generally that painting in Orthodox Christian churches was incomparably more important than the painted decoration in mosques.

Orthodox Christian contexts after 1750 was, it seems, generally not shared in Muslim contexts. I have been able to find only three such inscriptions, all from mosques and dating to the middle decades of the nineteenth century: Aşcı-zâde Ahmed signed himself at Jambol in 1831/2;[197] Ahmed Receb Hari, who seems to have repainted a sixteenth-century domed mosque in Gjakova in 1844/5;[198] and Fagin Mustafa, who worked in Sarajevo in the 1860s and 70s (and left even two depictions of Mecca and Medina).[199]

Lastly shall be discussed the phenomenon of "artist inscriptions" in the Ottoman Balkans in the context of European art history and the regional economy of the arts. Hauser thought that the rise in status of the artist in Renaissance Italy was due to a deliberate misinterpretation of the social status of artists in antiquity. Their consequent emancipation from guilds, an important step in the genesis of the modern concept of the artist, was not a result of heightened self-respect, however. Instead, it resulted from the competition for their services. Artists' self-respect was, according to Hauser, "merely the expression of their market-value."[200] To be sure, processes in Renaissance Italy were only partly echoed in the Ottoman domain, or even in transalpine Europe, for that matter. Hauser's making a connection between status and market value, with artist inscriptions possibly (also) being a sign of increased competition, is certainly interesting. Possibly unconnected, but worth discussion in this context are two 1750s inscriptions on residences in the Pindos region: one reads, "If you ask, sir, from where hails the *prōtomastoras*: he is from the Konitsa *vilaeti*, and the name is Iōannis Dēmētriou," and the other: "If you ask, sir, who was the *mastoras* who built this, Nakos

[197] Cf. Franz Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.-15. Jahrhundert.)* Brno: Rohrer, 1944, p. 50.

[198] Cf. Zeynep Ahunbay, "Ottoman architecture in Kosova and the restoration of Hadum Mosque in Gjakovo (Đakovica)," in: *Centres and peripheries in Ottoman architecture*, pp. 108-17, cit. p. 111.

[199] For these inscriptions, cf. Mehmed Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: "Veselin Masleša," 1974-82, I: p. 274, 277-8

[200] Arnold Hauser, *The social history of art* [1951]. London: Routledge, 1989, II, pp. 50-9. Hauser also purports that it was then that the attention shifted from art to artist. Rather than his art, the artist became the object of veneration. While it once had been the job of the artist to praise the patron, now the patron was exalted simply by association with a certain artist.

is the name, from Konitsa."[201] These inscriptions are interesting in the sense that they anticipate that an audience, including potential future customers, might inquire about the identity and whereabouts of the builders this work, which they apparently were anticipated to admire.

Acknowleding that the beginning of changes in artists' self-perceptions must be sought in Renaissance Italy, Hauser sees the real change happening in the eighteenth century. It saw the rise of the concept of genius and intellectual property, the end of the domination of Church and court in the patronage of art, and the emergence of a public interested in art without the intention of buying it. The artist responded to the challenges of an increasingly free market in which his services were a commodity.[202] While I dare not claim to be able to track the emergence of the concepts of genius and intellectual property in the Ottoman Balkans, the rise of a proto-bourgeois class in the eighteenth century is hardly contested. In terms of the result being an enlargement of the base of patrons and an audience for art, one may similarly see parallels. An increased competition for the services of certain artists or workshops would be a logical consequence.[203]

In sum, the claim for authorship as reflected in artist inscriptions may be said to echo an artist's self-respect and/or a patron's acknowledgment of status, or simply of good work; but, depending on the case, there may also be other factors at play. It is certainly a paradox that the theoretically-trained Ottoman royal architects were less likely to "sign" a work than comparably minor provincial builders. In addition, whether or not a work was commonly "claimed" or not depended on the tradition in the relevant artistic genre. It is certainly not unreasonable to propose to link what appears to be a

[201] Cf. Moutsopoulos, "Oi prodromoi tōn prōtōn ellinon tehnikōn epostēmonōn," p. 370.

[202] Hauser, *Social history*, II, p. 47, 62; III, pp. 148-9. Also Kristeller thought that it was in this century that the concept of creativity emerged to characterize the artist and his activity. Losing patronage of Church and court, the artist lost guidance and instead turned to intuition. Paul Oskar Kristeller, "'Creativity' and 'tradition'," in: *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XLIV/1 (1983), pp. 105-13, cit. pp. 106-7.

[203] A good example might be the case of Plovdiv before the 1860s (for which see Péew, *Alte Häuser in Plovdiv*, passim), where we find not only a large number of affluent entrepreneurs but also a variety of artists from various locations – not only from Trjavna, and Debar, but even from Istanbul. The diversity of artistic modes in this context – with perhaps a basic distinction between "occidentalizing" and "orientalizing" – might suggest deliberate choice. This may have made the services of specific artists and/or their workshops a prized commodity.

general increase in artists' inscriptions in the late period with the prosperity of many locales and a possibly resultant competition for some artists' and teams' services. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, thus even before many regions' secession from Ottoman rule and a consequent transplantation of European-type institutions of learning, there seems to have emerged in the Balkans the image of an artist that was already fairly close to that of modern Western Europe. The acknowledgment of some artists' skills usually also translated into their relative affluence. One may assume that names of artists like the builder Andreja Damjanov or the painter Zahari Zograf were already familiar to circles beyond their former clients and associates, and that clients may have competed for their services.

2.3. Identities

This chapter seeks to tackle the question of identity in terms of the artists' self-image. While identity as it pertains to class consciousness and respectability has been discussed in chapter 2.2, the present chapter more specifically deals with identity as expressed through notions of sameness and association with a group of people. In the existing academic literature, questions of identity are most often addressed in terms of ethnic, less often religious, identity. Ethnicity in the modern understanding, as we shall see, appears not to have been the predominant marker of identification, however, both by the self and by others, and certainly not until the nineteenth century. It is also questionable that, as has been a claim, the work of artists in the late period must be understood as their contribution to a general "national renaissance."[204] As a result of these former suggestions, the artists' interest in such matters merits consideration in this study.

This chapter begins with an inquiry into self-identifications by artists given in various sources, weighed against the modern categories used to classify these artists

[204] Vasiliev (*Bălgarski văzroždenski majstori*, p. 147, 740-1), for instance, claims that the flourishing of the arts in the nineteenth century was "stimulated by revival ideas," and the output revealed "national" specificity. In another book (Dimitar Drumev and Asen Vasilev, *Die Holzschnitzkunst in Bulgarien*. Tr. Michail Matliev. Sofia: Balgarski Hudoschnik, 1955, p. 14), even the representations of lions fighting dragons, birds tearing up snakes, or men in folk costume slaying monsters, as they are found on iconostases of the late Ottoman period, have been interpreted as due to artists aiming to motivate "the people" for resistance during the "hard years of Turkish foreign rule."

today. It continues with a discussion of the known cases of artists who chose to figure as cultural and/or political activists; considered are also the reasons why the evidence for their enthusiasm for such movements may be slighter than the literature suggests. Finally will be explored the "networks of trust" that appear to have mattered to artists, and the question to which degree they were important for their identity, or identities.

2.3.1. Notions of (collective) identities as expressed in inscriptions, contemporary discourse, and textual documents

Our lack of generous information on artists' self-identifications before the modern period is certainly to a great extent conditioned by the fact that artists not engaged in the fields of calligraphy and iconography were generally illiterate. Thus, they left few "ego documents" that would help us in such inquiry. There is, however, the evidence of many inscriptions and, far less numerous, other types of texts. If an interest in "national" ideas were to be measured through demonstrative ethnic identification in modern terms, it cannot be said that these sources are very conclusive in this respect. In fact, self-identifications by artists in "ethnic" terms are sometimes perhaps more confusing than they are enlightening. The eighteenth-century painter/designer Hristifor Žefarovič, for instance, who was born in the area of Dojran (north of Thessaloniki) and died in 1753 in Moscow, identified himself in autographs on various artworks as an "Illyrian," an "Illyro-Serbian," and an "Illyro-Rascian."[205] This has left enough ambiguity to claim him as a "national" artist of the modern Serbs, Bulgarians, Macedonians, or even Greeks.[206] The Macedonian mason Ǵorǵi Pulevski – a rare example of, apparently, a man of letters – chose to identify himself "ethnically" as "a Mijak from Galičnik" (*Mijak galjički*) on the cover of his trilingual conversational dictionary published in Belgrade in 1875.[207] While these are indeed self-identifications by the individuals in question, a privileged source, the confusion does not stop at identification by others.

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[205] Kissas, "Icons of a Kozani menologion," p. 102.

[206] Max Demeter Peyfuss, "Gibt es eine aromunische Kunst?" in: *Studien zur rumänischen Sprache und Literatur*, 6 (1984), pp. 29-41. p. 40.

[207] Đorđe Puljevski, *Rečnik od tri jezika*. Belgrade: Državna Štamparija, 1875. See pp. 46-8 for a number of "ethnic" groups the author identified as living in Macedonia (Brsjaci, Mijaci, Kržaliji, Kucovlasi, Karakačani, etc.)

The pioneering Balkan historian Jireček, who claims to have "often" had the chance to converse with masters from the mountains of western Macedonia during his travels in Bulgaria, informs us that they were known there, despite their Slavonic tongue, as "Arnauti" (Albanians). Though one reason may have been that they occasionally used, as Jireček recorded, Albanian as their "secret language," perhaps it was really their hailing from the mountain geography in the SW-Balkans ("Albania") that earned them this appellation.[208] Jireček thought that it was because of their "Albanian" clothes. He also noted that in neighbouring Serbia the masons from Macedonia were collectively known as "Cincari," a term used interchangeably with "Vlachs," despite their "being" Greeks, Vlachs, and Slavs.[209]

Less ambiguous, but perhaps even more expressive of the flexibility expressed by, and perhaps necessitated from, many artists of the pre-modern period is the case of Nikolaos Iōannou Talēdoros (d. 1817?): born around the mid-eighteenth century on Ottoman-held Naxos, he relocated to Hungary to work as a wood-carver later that century. In an Orthodox Christian environment that largely spoke Serbo-Croatian, the artist came to be known as Nikola Janković. In fact, he even re-hellenized this Slavic name via Hungarian orthography in an inscription in Eger, where he resided, while at the same time pointing to his Greek ("Romaic") origins ("ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΙΑΝΚΟΒΙΤΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ ΤΑΛΗΔΟΡΟΣ"). His seal, on the other hand, consisted of the Cyrillic characters ИА (for "Iankovits").[210]

So how, other than in ethnic terms, did artists identify themselves on inscriptions, and to what extent does this help us in determining which factors were important for their identity? When the painter Hadži Koste (d. 1894) signed himself as a "painter and photographer" (*zograf i fotograf*) at a monastery near Veles in 1855, perhaps one might assert that he liked to think of himself as a technological innovator.[211] This, however, is a rare case, and in many instances the sole information

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[208] The inclusion of Albanian in Puljevski's *Rečnik*, cited in the previous footnote, as one of Macedonia's three languages seems to suggest that the mason from Galičnik was well versed in Albanian and had some knowledge of Turkish – both of which he reproduced in Cyrillic letters, however.

[209] Jireček, *Fürstentum*, pp. 208-9. On Macedonian Slav masters as "Albanians" see also Vasiliev, *Bălgarski văzroždenski majstori*, p. 147.

[210] Márta Nagy, "Nikolaos Iōannou Talēdōros (Jankovicz Miklós) ca 1750-1817 and his wood-carver's workshop in Eger," in: *Balkan Studies*, XXX/1 (1989), pp. 43-66.

[211] Tomovski, "Veleškite majstori," p. 56.

other than the names of artists that we find is that of their place of origin, usually a village. It is also from this information that the centrality of certain villages as producers of artists can be determined.[212] Less often, and perhaps more typical in the late period, we find notions of places of origin that were larger than villages. In the central Peloponnesus around 1900, for instance, we see inscriptions identifying teams of builders as "Macedonians" or "Epirotes" – two regions still under Ottoman rule.[213] Was this because of an increasing regional awareness, or perhaps because in times of competition between teams from various regions (as is apparent from these contemporary inscriptions) the identification with certain areas helped advertising expertise in certain areas of work?[214]

2.3.2. Artists as cultural activists and nationalist agitators

While the cooperation between individuals and groups from different ethno-confessional backgrounds will be discussed separately in chapter 2.4., with one conclusion being that especially in non-Muslim circles cooperation beyond borders was widespread, there are cases of what might be called "ethnic" conflict, or of artists actually taking action in political affairs. Very interesting is, for instance, a case I have found brought before the *vâlî* of Rumeli, as recorded at the *kadı* court of Bitola (then that *vâlî*'s seat) in 1836. He was petitioned by the "Bulgarian" *dülger*s/*neccâr*s of Bitola to replace an unnamed *dülger-başı* "from the Greek community" (*Rûm tayfasından*) with one of their own ethnicity, this being the *Bulgar tayfası*. The man they proposed

[212] Kōnstantinos Giakoumēs, "Kritikē ekdosē epigrafōn sinergeiōn apo to Linotopi stis perifereies tēs Orthodoxēs Ekklēsias tēs Alvanias," in: *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, XXI (2000), pp. 249-66.

[213] Argyris Petronitis, *Arcadia: Greek traditional architecture*. Tr. Philipp Ramp. Athens: Melissa, 1986, p. 68.

[214] In the late Ottoman period, Epirotes were widely known as skilful builders of bell-towers specifically (cf. Petronitis, *Arcadia*, p. 68), for instance, while Macedonians enjoyed regional repute as carpenters (cf. e.g. János Asbóth, *Bosnien u. die Herzegowina: Reisebilder u. Studien*. Vienna: Hölder, 1888, p. 171) and Herzegovinians as masons (cf. Bogdanović, *Ljetopis kreševskog samostana*, p. 71). Branislav Kojić (*Stara gradska i seoska arhitektura u Srbiji*. Belgrade: Prosveta, 1949, p. 13) also speaks of the following division in Serbia: builders from Osat (E-Bosnia) built chalets, those from Macedonia urban houses, and those from the Pirot area peasant dwellings.

was a certain "Stale" (a hypocorism for Stanislav?) from Smilevo, a village that had traditionally supplied the town of Bitola with builders.[215] It is also well-established that the builder Grozdan Nasalevski from Trăn (W-Bulgaria), while on migrant work in the nearby Serbian town of Ćuprija, organized his fellow workmen into a detachment of volunteers to fight under the aegis of the "Bulgarian Legion" in the Serbian-Ottoman war.[216] A third case is that of the Galičnik mason Pulevski (d. 1893), mentioned above, who also took part in military action against the Ottoman armies in Serbia and Bulgaria in the 1860s and 70s. Better known as the first propagator of the idea of a Macedonian nation,[217] both might establish him indeed as what we might call a political activist.[218] A lone career of an artist-turned-politician, finally, was that of Petar Nikolajević, known as "Moler" (after German "Maler," painter). Born in a village near Valjevo (W-Serbia) in the late eighteenth century, the artist, whose perhaps best-known works are the frescoes in the so-called Karađorđe Church at Topola (63km S of Belgrade), seems to have fled the Ottoman domains after participating in the revolt under Karađorđe in 1804. He returned for the second uprising in 1815/6, eventually being named a *voyvoda* (now usually interpreted as "prime minister") in the government of the emerging principality under the leadership of Miloš Obrenović.[219]

On the whole, however, such careers seem to have been absolute exceptions. Artists appear not to have been in the first row of nationalist movements, and perhaps this had to do with the nature of their work. Living and working in what were then, and are in part still today, multi-lingual environments, we should expect them having been versed, at least for purposes of conversation (including agreements over the products of

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[215] *Turski dokumenti za makedonskata istorija*, V (1827-1839). Skopje: Institut za Nacionalna Istorija, 1958, p. 88 (doc. 37), 171.

[216] Hristov, "Trans-border exchange of seasonal workers," p. 222.

[217] Puljevski, *Rečnik od tri jezika*, p. 49 ("Makedoncive se narod i mestovo njivno je Makedonija"). The Turkish column writes (in Cyrillic) "makedonlular kavmdir."

[218] For an early appraisal of his biography as a national hero, see Blaže Koneski, *Towards the Macedonian Renaissance: Macedonian textbooks of the nineteenth century*. Skopje: Institute of National History, 1961.

[219] Kukuljević, *Slovnik*, p. 321. He had probably learned the art from his uncle, who was the archimandrite at the Bogovađa monastery near his native Valjevo. After leaving Ottoman Serbia in 1804, Nikolajević appears to have continued training under Stevan Gavrilović in Sremski Karlovci, on the other side of the Danube.

their work), in more than one language. As mentioned above, the Debar masters would occasionally use Albanian as their working language when in Bulgaria, probably in order not to reveal their trade secrets to the local Slavs. Acquaintance with another language, of course, does not automatically make one sympathetic to another culture or enhance the prospect of assimilation into it. Perhaps more importantly, we must also consider that most of the areas from which our masters hailed were also to become the frontiers between modern territorial states. This was, of course, in part due to their usually mountainous aspect, which made them natural barriers. Yet, the establishment of barriers that were political circumscribed the orbit of builders more than the physical boundaries they had managed to traverse for centuries. Thus, when the Rhodopes became the border between Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire, later Greece, its *pečalbar* villages had to redirect their working habits toward the Thracian interior, as discussed in chapter 2.1.3. The western section of the "*pečalbar* belt," with district centres like Debar, Kastoria, and Korçë even came to be split between three modern countries by 1913, all housing the same linguistic and confessional groups. This region having been the most active "producer" of skilled artists for much of the later Ottoman period, their business began to decline. Undoubtedly, this was in part because the advent of modern technologies and institutionalized education made obsolete their traditional ways, but also because the itinerant masters lost the areas closest to them as natural destinations for their workforce. Jireček, who wrote in the late nineteenth century, also mentions that the emigration of Muslims from Bulgaria deprived these masters of one traditionally moneyed group of customers for their services.[220] This would have been the same all over the region.

Debar, for instance, lost all importance in the twentieth century, after it became a border town between Yugoslav Macedonia and Albania. The surprisingly "urban" architecture one sees today in the deserted mountain "village" of Galičnik (ill. 1/2), from where some of the region's best builders hailed, stands in stark contrast with the peripherality of the divided Debar area today. While they may not have been able to predict the technological and educational advance that eventually made their traditional ways of work obsolete, the builders, decorators, and carvers were very well aware of the fact that their livelihood depended on the absence of barriers such as political-cum-economical borders, as had been the case in the Ottoman context. When this situation

[220] Jireček, *Fürstentum*, pp. 209-10.

changed, so did their lives. Would this have made them unlikely participants in projects whose ultimate aim was the creation of borders?[221]

2.3.3. Alternative networks of trust: tribal, micro-regional, and professional identities

While there certainly existed a basic awareness of "being" Slav, Greek or Grecophile (as the case with many Vlachs), or "Muslim," which may have been so basic that nobody felt the need to articulate it, textual sources, especially inscriptions, show that villages, later regions, of origin were a, and perhaps the, principal marker of identity. The languages of inscriptions, usually Greek or Slavonic, very rarely Romanian/Vlach (written in Greek or Cyrillic), must not be taken as an indicator of artists' identities, however; they more likely reflect the choice of the patron in whose control the content of the inscription would remain. We must moreover consider that literacy was probably still an exceptional skill. There was, as we have seen in the case of Pulevski, also an awareness of belonging to factions like the Mijaci, which are now seen as a sub-group of the Macedonian Slav ethnicity. Beyond that, there is also evidence for an identity based on professions, very often within work in guilds. On a more metropolitan level, Necipoğlu has taken it as evidence for a corporate professional identity within the Corps of Royal Architects at Istanbul that Mi'mâr Sinân wished his *vakf* to be overseen by succeeding royal architects.[222] In provincial guilds such a "corporate identity" may have been promoted through inner-guild socializing events, such as periodical excursions (*teferrüc*, *teferič*) joined by the members of a certain guild – masters, foremen, and assistants alike.[223] Many guilds pooled resources to be used for such and other purposes.

[221] The district of Debar Maalo ("Debar *mahalle*") in today's Skopje is a testimony to many builders' families' fate during the interwar period. They moved from the Debar area, which was now a border district, to a low-income suburb of Skopje, where they hoped to find work. Unlike previous times, they settled there permanently and came to accept other lines of work. Palairet ("Migrant workers," p. 46) also notes that immigrants from the Debar villages had their own quarter in interwar Thessalonikē. In Sarajevo in 1934 there were 17 families from Galičnik, which at that time still had more than 3,000 inhabitants; by 1971 it was virtually uninhabited.

[222] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 148,

[223] Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 63.

The considerable surpluses accumulated in their coffers in some prosperous areas were also sometimes channelled into the patronage of architecture, usually of churches or clock-towers. Occasionally they were used to send young locals to abroad for study, often to acquire skills in "Frankish" crafts for which the demand rose in the nineteenth century. Enough of a surplus had been accumulated in Svištov on the Danube, for instance, to send the young Nikolaj Pavlovič to study art in Vienna and Munich between 1852 and 1858.[224]

While such actions by guilds are largely known from the nineteenth century, which saw the blooming of many crafts, there is evidence for guild corporatism or what we might call a profession-based identity already in an earlier period. The problem, again, is one of sources. Of great interest in this respect is a census undertaken in Sarajevo in 1788. As a result of the war with Austria the Bosnian *vâlî* Bekir Paşa requested a guarantee (*kefilleme*) by the local Christians against their defection to the enemy. 574 adult Christian men were recorded that day in twelve *mahalle*s and three *hân*s. Their professions are almost always recorded as well, and thus the *kefilleme defteri* includes the names of 79 members of the guild of the *dülger*s (which included builders and carpenters, but also plumbers, glass-cutters, lime-experts, and merchants of building materials).[225] This document would not have been as useful had the official not asked the recorded to identify those individuals, and their professions, ready to vouch for them. As this constituted a lawful agreement with potentially unpleasant consequences, data in this *defter* may be seen as an indicator of trust between individuals associated with that guild. And indeed, of the 92 named *dülger*s (at least) exactly half (46) chose one or more individuals who worked in the same profession, that is, as *dülger*s in the broadest sense, as their guarantors (see table 2)! What this appears to be proof of is an immense degree of acquaintance and trust between members of the *dülger*s' guild. We may go as far as to conclude that membership in this guild appears to have been a cornerstone of their identity in the social context of Sarajevo in the later

[224] Virginia Paskaleva, "Die Entwicklung des Handwerks und die kulturelle Vermittlungsfunktion von Handwerkern bei der 'Europäisierung' Bulgariens im 19. Jahrhundert," in: *Handwerk in Mittel- und Südosteuropa*. Ed. Klaus Roth. München: Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, 1987, pp. 129-35. Paskaleva (p. 134) names as examples of churches built by guilds the churches at Trjavna and Široka Lăka, known for their carpenters and builders respectively.

[225] This source has been published and introduced by Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Ćefilema sarajevskih kršćana iz 1788 godine," in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, III/IV (1953), pp. 195-214. Only two of the 92 individuals had Muslim guarantors.

eighteenth century. There is no reason to believe that the situation was radically different in other locales.

In sum, we have seen that in those rare cases in which we do have self-identifications by artists in "ethnic" terms or recognition of artists' identities by others in regions in which they worked, they are occasionally greatly at odds with the modern categories through which scholars have chosen to view these artists. Their work in various environments also seems to have demanded from them a certain degree of flexibility. And while the incident at Bitola indeed reveals a conflict between the local Bulgarians and Greeks over their representation in the 1830s, we must also note with caution that most evidence presented here, and the conclusions drawn from it, pertains exclusively to Orthodox Christians. In part, this certainly reflects their traditionally greater share in both the region's population and in many professions. It also reflects conventions in the sense that an Orthodox Christian, throughout the period in question, was far more likely to sign his work than a Muslim (calligraphers excepted), a Catholic, or a Jew. This brings to the fore the question over the collaboration between members of different confessional groups, the theme of the following chapter.

2.4. Nikola and Mustafâ; or, could art bridge the confessional divide?

2.4.1. Settlement patterns as the infrastructure of cooperation

The Balkans, as is well known, is one of Europe's most religiously diverse regions, and naturally this had an enormous impact on the art produced within this space. In much of the land south of the Danube-Sava border, Orthodox Christianity was traditionally the principal denomination, due to the erstwhile Byzantine hegemony. During Ottoman rule, Catholicism was relatively strong in the western parts of the peninsula, especially in Central Bosnia, the Adriatic coast and its hinterland, and the tribal borderland between Albania and Montenegro known as Malësia. There were also pockets of Slavophone Catholics in the mining areas of the Central Balkans, in towns such as Janjevo (Kosovo) or Čiprovci (W-Bulgaria), who were descended from German settlers desired here in the Middle Ages for their experience in the mining business. Another important Catholic community were the Dubrovnikan merchants, found in colonies in cities along their principal caravan roads, such as in Sarajevo, Sofia, Skopje, and Prizren. Finally, in Plovdiv and in the area of Nikopolis/Svištov in Danubian Bulgaria

were found Catholics said to be converts from the Paulikian medieval heresy.[226] It is important to realize that, more than the various Orthodox groups, the Ottoman Balkans' Catholics were dispersed and a phenomenon composed of very diverse communities. Apart from the cluster of monasteries in Central Bosnia, where there is at least a record of some art produced (though not necessarily in the country), they lacked centres like the Athonite monasteries, Ohrid, or Peć, within the Ottoman realm.[227] Traditionally treated with greater suspicion than the Orthodox Christians, they were also more vulnerable in instances of warfare with Venice and Austria.

While some of the earliest Muslims (or nominal Muslims) in the Balkans were pastoral nomads (*yörük*s) settled in the vicinity of newly Ottoman towns, where soon there would be found an urban elite transplanted from Anatolia, in some parts of the peninsula Islam largely remained an urban phenomenon. Muslims were the majority population in most major administrative centres in the peninsula, while their agricultural or mountainous hinterlands sometimes remained relatively untouched by Islam.[228]

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[226] Technically outside the scope of this study, there were also Grecophone Catholics on Aegean and Ionian islands.

[227] In the monastery at Kraljeva Sutjeska (33km NNW of Sarajevo), for instance, were found before their removal to Zagreb around 1873 panel paintings in oil and tempera ascribed to fifteenth-century artists of Styria (S-Austria and E-Slovenia) and S-Dalmatia. See Aleksandra Bunčić, "Bosanskohercegovačko pokretno naslijeđe u rasijanu = The dispersal of Bosnia and Herzegovina's movable heritage," in: *Baština/Heritage*, IV (2008), pp. 441-62, cit. pp. 447-50.

[228] In the Skopje district, for instance, could be found in 1453/4 in the city 516 Muslim and 312 Christian households as opposed to 229 Muslim, 3817 Christian households, and 134 Christian widows in the countryside. In 1568 there were 1559 Muslim households, 333 Muslim bachelors, and 511 non-Muslim households in the city and 983 Muslim and 6084 non-Muslim households in the countryside. (For these numbers cf. Eran Fraenkel, "Skopje from the Serbian to Ottoman empires: conditions for the appearance of a Balkan Muslim city," dissertation [University of Pennsylvania], 1986, p. 51.) If we presume an average household-size of five members, we reach approximate population numbers of 4140 (62% Muslims) for the city and 23,335 (5% Muslims) for the countryside in 1453/4 and 10,683 (76% Muslims) and 35,335 (14% Muslims) for 1568 respectively. Thus, while the district of Skopje saw an immense growth in the course of a century, from maybe 27,475 to 46,018 inhabitants, the percentage of Muslims grew at an even higher rate, almost tenfold. In the district their percentage increased from 14% to 28%, thus affecting even in the countryside. 69% of the district's Muslims lived in the city in 1453/4 (1568: 62%), compared to only 7% of the district's Christians (1568: 8%). While there obviously existed rural Muslims, the immense gap in these numbers demonstrate the connection between being a Muslim and being a town-dweller. Given the degree of Macedonia's "Ottomanization" already at an early period, the gap must have been considerably greater in more northern territories.

While Orthodox Christian art largely flourished in extra-urban monastic contexts, with work undertaken by itinerant painters' workshops, Islamic art in the Balkans was in the main one of cities. The earliest centre of regional importance, certainly by 1450, must have been Edirne; on the western frontier it was soon followed by Skopje, where by 1500 some of the most sophisticated Islamic cultural production in the peninsula took place.[229] Fifty years later Sarajevo was already in the process of establishing itself as the cultural metropolis in the Northwest. Such a role was perhaps claimed by Buda, of whose Ottoman fabric close to nothing remains, for the extreme North. The sixteenth century also saw the establishment of another religious group, the Sephardic Jews, in major Ottoman Balkan towns, such as Thessalonikē or Sarajevo. They were an exclusively urban community; their little-known visual culture, as the exceptional case of the Sarajevo Haggadah might suggest, was influenced by their Iberian "homeland" more than it was by that of other Balkan communities.

In sum, the Balkans was a religious mosaic rather than divided into clearly delineable regions with clear majorities and respective centres. One result of this spatial-religious overlap was that districts like the region of Sarajevo in the centuries of Ottoman rule were significant artistic centres for Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Catholics, and Jews alike. The purpose of this chapter is to inquire to what extent confession mattered in the artistic trades. Was there significant cooperation between members of various groups in the production of certain artworks? And, if so, was this the rule or an exception? What and where were the borders for such collaborations? In the literature, cases of collaboration have been either highlighted (see also chapter 4.4.1) or negated. To Ćurčić, for instance, there appeared to have been "virtually no professional interaction between builders of Christian churches and builders of Islamic mosques."[230] The findings presented in this chapter will demonstrate quite the contrary.

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[229] The sophistication seen, for instance, in the ornament and architecture of Skopje's three (!) large Friday mosques built around 1500 was probably due to outsiders. Still, more than other places in that region, Skopje exhibited what was considered metropolitan and Ottoman.

[230] This he found "all the more surprising if one recalls that residential architecture of Christian and Islamic communities showed no appreciable differences." Slobodan Ćurčić, "Byzantine Legacy in Ecclesiastical Architecture of the Balkans after 1453", in: *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*. Ed. Lowell Clucas. Boulder: Colorado, 1988, pp. 59-81, cit. p. 66.

2.4.2. Trans-confessional collaboration before and after the advent of Ottoman rule

Before discussing a number of interesting, at times curious, cases that shall bring us closer to a conclusion in these matters, it must be stressed that trans-confessional cooperation in the arts is already attested in the pre-Ottoman Balkans. The perhaps most illustrative, well-documented example is that of the construction of the Orthodox Christian monastery church at Dečani (Kosovo) in the late 1320s: the inscription of this funerary church of a Nemanjid king prominently reveals its architect to have been the Catholic friar Vita of Kotor, cooperating with the archbishop Danilo.[231] For later cultural activists, such as the proto-Yugoslavist supporters of the "Illyrian" movement, this was a welcome instance in their trying to make the case for a trans-confessional, "national" unity among the South Slavs.[232] Extraordinary in this example, however, is only that we know the name of the architect, for builders from the coast are known to have been active in several projects in the Balkans interior in the Middle Ages.[233] It seems that this was one pattern continued into the Ottoman period. While I dwell on the phenomenon of the participation of Catholic builders from Dubrovnik in the construction of much of Bosnia's sixteenth-century Islamic architecture elsewhere in this study, in the context of the problematic of this chapter I might add that they certainly did so under the supervision of a (usually, but, as we shall see below, not always) Muslim architect dispatched from Istanbul. As discussed in chapter 4.4.1, teams including Dubrovnikan masters might also comprise assistants from Herzegovina, who were either Catholic or Orthodox Christians. Such cooperation is perhaps best attested in the case of the Old Bridge of Mostar: the responsible architect being Mi'mâr Hayrüddîn, with the finances overseen by the prominent large-scale fief-holder Karagöz Mehmed Beğ, it was constructed by builders from Dubrovnik who were assisted by workmen from the Popovo Polje in Herzegovina.[234] Orthodox Christian builders from

[231] For Dečani, see Bratislav Pantelić, *The Architecture of Dečani and the role of Archbishop Danilo II*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2002.

[232] Kukuljević, *Slovnik*, p. 203.

[233] Fisković, *Naši graditelji*, pp. 97-102. For *protomajstor* Rade Borović, supposedly similarly from Kotor, and his connection with the medieval monuments at Ljuboštinja and Ravanica in Serbia, see ch. 1.3.3, esp. the footnotes.

[234] See Kiel, "Campanile-minarets," pp. 62-3.

Herzegovina were also hired, perhaps even sought after, by the prominent Muslims of Sarajevo who initiated the rebuilding of the so-called Latin Bridge in Sarajevo in 1797 with funds left for that purpose by a wealthy local Muslim merchant,[235] and in the reconstruction of the Catholic monastery at Kreševo in 1767, as shall be detailed below. In mid-nineteenth century Sarajevo, Orthodox Christian builders and carpenters were involved in the construction of the Catholic church of St Anthony, the woodwork of the so-called Magribija mosque, as well as the new casern commissioned by sultan ʻAbdülmecîd.[236]

These few cases already suffice to tentatively conclude that neither among Orthodox Christians nor Muslim patrons was there a categorical rejection of having Catholics work in their building projects, nor would Catholic patrons or builders necessarily object to the involvement of Orthodox Christians even when Catholic builders may have been available. The case of the reconstruction of the monastery church of Kreševo, which is fortunately documented in unusual detail in the chronicle of Fra Marijan Bogdanović, also shows that this was not necessarily without bias, however: the friar specifically identified the builders from Herzegovina as "schismatics," as certainly not untypical for a Catholic clergyman at the time. Yet, this chronicle also records that the "schismatic" builders seem to have agreed to the request of the Franciscans to bend the Ottoman regulations and build a church that was slightly larger than the foundations of the older church, which legally were the limit for the dimensions of the rebuilt church. Given the severe punishment that might have been expected – and the chronicle notes that the district's Muslims were very suspicious already at the beginning of the project – this "favour," even though certainly remunerated, seems worth consideration.[237]

Although we have already tentatively concluded that most patrons seemed little concerned with the confessional background of the artists they employed, it remains to highlight the case of Samokov and late Ottoman decorative painting in general. It is easy to note the striking similarities of painted interiors in the southern Balkans in the

[235] Džemal Čelić and Mehmed Mujezinović, *Stari mostovi u Bosni i Herzegovini*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1969, p. 97.

[236] Cf. Mazalić, *Leksikon*, p. 126 (Risto Savić and the woodwork of the Magribija mosque), p. 144-5 (Stojan Vezenković of Bitola involved in the building of church and casern).

[237] Boganović, *Ljetopis kreševskog samostana*, pp. 65-85, esp. p. 73.

eighteenth and nineteenth century, relatively irrespective of their setting. It appears that the same masters, very probably Orthodox Christians from the Southeast Balkan mountain areas, possibly originally non-monastic icon-painters, worked in residences and sanctuaries of Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Since few of these ensembles are signed, their attribution to the same Orthodox Christian troupes must remain a speculation. Only in the case of Samokov, where a "school" of painting emerged among artists engaged in the painting of icons, portraits on canvas, and walls of buildings flourished in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, it is clear that it was these Orthodox Christian Slavs that painted the local mosque, the local church, and also the residence of a wealthy Jewish family.[238]

2.4.3. Trans-confessional collaboration as obliged by demography

To some extent, the composition of the groups working in the construction of Ottoman monuments was certainly simply an echo of realities in these respective areas (see 2.4.1.), as some examples from the reign of Süleymân might suggest. The Alaca Câmi' (ill. 18) in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian town of town of Foča (45km SE of Sarajevo), was completed in 1550/1 as a result of the collaboration of – as the usage of the Dubrovnikan cubit suggests – Catholic builders from Dubrovnik and – as suggested by Evliyâ Çelebi – the Ottoman-Muslim architect Ramazan Ağa, who worked under Mi'mâr Sinân.[239] Must the presence of the Dubrovnikan builders be explained with the practicality of their employment as a result of their city's vicinity to the sites of construction in Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina?

While the extensive repair of the Fâtih Câmi'i of Kjustendil (70km SW of Sofia) in 1556, being an intervention for which written documentation is preserved, was certainly supervised by a (presumably Muslim) architect in Istanbul, here, in Rumelia proper, skilled Muslim workmen paid a more significant role. The source in question records the work of the day-labourers (*ırgâdân*) Hüseyin, Dimitri, Mile, Nikola, Stojan,

[238] On Samokov, see Anna Roškovska, *Văzroždenska dekorativna stenopis ot Samokovski zografi*. Sofia: Izdatelstvo Bălgarski Hudožnik, 1982.

[239] See my "Oral tradition and architectural history" (forthcoming). This mosque is the only Ottoman monument in the Balkans to have been the subject of a critical monograph: Andrej Andrejević, *Aladža Džamija u Foči*. Belgrade: Inst. za istoriju umetnosti, 1972.

and Todor, paid 4 *akçe* per diem; the carpenters Bâyezîd and Murâd, paid 8 *akçe*; and the masons Aymir, Murâd, Mustafâ, Mehmed, Nikola, and Hasan, who received 9 *akçe*. The lead-worker Mihail received a lump-sum for his work. We see that most Muslims received almost twice as much as the Christians involved, but this really seems to be a reflection of their rank as skilled labourers: the *ırgâd* Hüseyin received as little as his Christian peers (4 *akçe*, that is), and the mason Nikola as much as his Muslim colleagues (8 *akçe*). The fact that the Muslims were overrepresented in skilled jobs seems to reflect the composition of Kjustendil by the mid-sixteenth century, which was already three-thirds Muslim.[240]

The construction accounts of the "New Fortress" (*kal'a-i cedîd*) of Thessalonikē, which provide somewhat different kinds of data compiled after the completion of the structure (and, presumably, the payment of the builders and other workmen, whose names are not mentioned), reveal that a certain 'Alî Beğ, a commander of infantrymen (*ağa-i 'azebân-ı Rûmeli*), was installed as the superintendent (*emîn*) of the construction, with a certain Behrâm being the scribe; other than that also the names of Ahmed Küçük and Hüseyin are mentioned as holding offices apparently related to the management of materials (*hâfiz-ı anbar* and *hâfiz-ı mahzen*). The architect of this project, which took place between 1537/8 and 1539/40, was the well-paid Mi'mâr Kosta.[241] While possibly also being somebody dispatched from Istanbul, it is interesting that in this case Sinân (or his predecessor in the post of chief royal architect) entrusted a non-Muslim with this office.[242] Could this be because Mi'mâr Kosta's native tongue, certainly Greek, was considered an asset in a city where many workmen would have spoken Greek? In fact, Thessalonikē around 1535 appears to have had a population of 20-30,000 of which more than half were Sephardic (and hence Ladino-speaking) Jews, the remainder being almost equally divided between Muslims and Christians. Some of the latter were in fact registered with Slavic rather than Greek names.[243] Still, Greek may have been considered the *lingua franca* of Thessalonikē – next to Turkish, with which Mi'mâr

[240] For this data, see Kiel, "Ottoman Kjustendil," esp. pp. 162-5.

[241] These documents are transliterated in Barkan, *Süleymaniye*, II, pp. 245-8.

[242] In the 1530s, also the non-Muslims Francesco (a Portuguese naval architect?), Dimitri, and Anton were recorded as working under the royal architect. Cf. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 564.

[243] Cf. Heath W. Lowry, *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman society in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.* Istanbul: Isis Press, 1992, p. 100.

Kosta was certainly more than familiar. Considering also the case of the potentially Slavophone Mi'mâr Hayrüddîn's employment in the empire's western, Slavonic-speaking borderlands, discussed in greater detail in chapter 4.2.3, we must admit the possibility that the mother-tongue of a *mi'mâr* may have been considered an asset and may have determined who would be dispatched to which provinces to oversee work conducted by locals.

2.4.4. From collaboration to teamwork and tuition

If we can generalize from the example of 'Alî Paşa of Iōannina, it may be proposed that the disinterest in Ottoman patrons' confessional backgrounds of artists, as illustrated by the cited sixteenth-century cases, was continued into the late period. Around 1800 he employed in his architectural projects a Calabrian convert and a Petro(s) from Korçë, certainly an Orthodox Christian, as well as decorative painters identified by one traveller as Armenians.[244] Since Epirus is not known to have had a considerable Armenian community, let alone one excelling as artists, we may presume that he had them come from Istanbul, where Armenians were quite present in the arts around that time.[245] Even more interesting are those cases where workmen of different creeds worked together in teams. The famed nineteenth-century Bulgarian architect Nikola Fičev is known to have, at an early stage of his career wandered around in search for work with Italian masons.[246] Very interesting is also the case of the wood-carvers Nikola and Mustafâ, who proved responsible for the work in the Beglerovići house in Repovci (40km SWW of Sarajevo) in 1850/1, as is attested by the relevant inscriptions. To what extent they worked as a team is unclear, however. Somewhat ironically, Nikola

[244] Pouqueville. *Travels in Epirus*, p. 56; Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, I, p. 223.

[245] There is, of course, also the possibility that these painters were Armenians from outside the Ottoman Empire, possibly from an Adriatic port (such as Venice).

[246] Nikolai Todorov, *Kolyo Ficheto*. Sofia: Foreign Languages Press, 1966, p. 7, 40 and Milko Bichev, *Architecture in Bulgaria: from ancient times to the late nineteenth century*. Sofia: Foreign Languages Press, 1961, p. 73.

rather than Mustafâ is said to have proven responsible for the more "oriental" aspects of the interior.[247]

Similarly interesting, and better-documented, is the case of the Central Bosnian builders Muhammed Kaplan and a certain "Mirković". An order preserved in the court records of Jajce show that in 1693 they collaborated in the construction of a mosque in the Vinac fortress south of town before both were ordered to discontinue their work there and appear at Travnik to build for the *vâlî* of Bosnia.[248] While this may not be enough to argue that Mirković and Muhammed Kaplan worked as a team, the fact that both were ordered from one site to another suggests that they collaborated on more than one occasion.

Another case of cooperation between Christians of different confessions, which may have been more frequent than that between Muslims and Christians, is that of the *konak* of the local governor of Zvornik being decorated in the 1840s by, as one traveller witnessed, an Orthodox Christian from Montenegro and a "German" (probably a Catholic from Austria).[249] This episode ended unsuccessfully, however, due to mistrust between the patron and the artists. As a Serbian-Ottoman dispute over the neighbouring settlement (Mali Zvornik) arose, the Montenegrin (along with the unlucky "German") were thrown into prison by the *paşa*, who accused the Montenegrin of being "a Servian captain in disguise." In an age of increasing secessionist movements, as this case might suggest, it may not yet have become rare that such collaborations occured, but they could be affected by conflicts of a kind that had not existed in the sixteenth century. In a

[247] Bejtić, "Spomenici osmanlijske arhitekture," p. 283. According to an oral tradition, recorded by Bejtić as it was told by the current owner of the house, Nikola's surname was Borić, and he hailed from the nearby village of Lisičići on the road from Konjic to Sarajevo,

[248] The mosque at Vinac, certainly a rather minor structure, was eventually completed by the builder Receb from Jezero (4km W of Jajce). See Ćiro Truhelka, "Pabirci iz jednog jajačkog sidžila," in: *Glasnik zemaljskog muzeja*, XXX (1918), pp. 157-75, cit. p. 160; also in Mazalić, *Leksikon*, p. 69, 97, 122.

[249] Andrew Archibald Paton, *Servia, youngest member of the European family, or, a residence in Belgrade and travels in the highlands and woodlands of the Interior, during the years 1843 and 1844*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1845, pp. 143-4 writes only of a Montenegrin, not an Orthodox Christian, but since the Catholic inhabitants of today's Montenegro are concentrated in the (fomerly Venetian) Bay of Kotor, which would not have been considered Montenegro but Dalmatia in the mid-nineteenth century, it seems pretty clear that this was an Orthodox Christian.

time and space of changing power relations, such collaborations, while continuing, may have involved a feeling of increased distrust.

Curious, finally, are a couple of cases in which the stage of training in the artistic formation of individuals took place under the guidance of masters from a different confessional background. Nikola Fičev's apprenticeship in the workshop of Italian builders was already mentioned, and the assistance of possibly Orthodox Herzegovinians from Popovo Polje in projects commissioned from Dubrovnikan builders is touched upon in chapter 4.4.1. Even more interesting is perhaps that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it could happen that Orthodox Christians from Herzegovina would go to nearby Dubrovnik for training by Catholic painters. This was the case, for instance, with Simo Miloradović, who is on record in 1481 as being a pupil of a certain Matko Alegretović in Dubrovnik. Even an (Orthodox) monk of the Tvrdoš monastery (20km NE of Dubrovnik), Marko Stevanović, had studied painting in Dubrovnik with (the Catholic) Matko Milić in the early 1500s. The case of Miloslav Miljenović from Dabar, who learned from Stjepan Ugrinović in Dubrovnik just before the arrival of the Ottomans – he is on record as a student in 1471 – and who thereafter painted Orthodox churches in the Bay of Kotor in an Italianate *alla greca* style, shows that what Orthodox Christians learned in Dubrovnik was actually useable. But with this style even Catholic Dubrovnikans were seen fit to paint for Orthodox patrons. This at least is suggested by the case of the Dubrovnikan Vice Dobričević, who in 1510 painted *alla greca* in the church of the Orthodox monastery at Tvrdoš.[250]

2.4.5. Identifying boundaries

Considering all the cases discussed in this chapter, we may proceed to tentatively identify boundaries that certainly existed, and which must not be overlooked. Within the two Christian confessions there seemed to be few obstacles to cooperation, though the comments of Fra Bogdanović cited above may suggest that an awareness of otherness indeed existed. Except in the case of Dubrovnikan painting around 1500, the "orientalizing" elements of which would also appeal to the sensibilities of the region's Orthodox, it is evident that trans-confessional cooperation among Christians was much

[250] For these cases, usually without much detail, see Mazalić, *Leksikon*, p. 96, 130, 97, 39.

less complicated in the case of architecture than in painting, where artists were trained in their respective Christian tradition. A Muslim calligrapher had, of course, no mandate in a Christian church, but there is also no known case of a Muslim builder responsible for a church, and it is unlikely that there ever was one. The churches in the wider surroundings of cities like Skopje, Banja Luka, Bucharest, and Iaşi, on which can be seen Islamic ornament, are unlikely to have been their work but were probably that of non-Muslim builders' who had worked on Muslim sites.

While thus it was apparently customary for Catholics and Orthodox Christians to be involved in the construction and decoration of religious and residential structures made for the use of Muslims, this did apparently not work the other way round. On one hand, this may be simply a result of the general dominance of non-Muslims in professions related to construction and decoration.[251] In the case of Kjustendil, then a largely Muslim town, we have also seen that the participation of Muslims, very probably urban guildsmen rather than itinerant builders, could be greater in such circumstances. On the other hand, it must not have been very practical to have a Muslim involved in the repair or reconstruction of churches. As the Kreševo chronicle demonstrates, the monastic patrons may try to discount the Islamic regulations and clandestinely enlarge or embellish their structures in the process of "rebuilding,"[252] even when the local Muslim community (as it did at Kreševo, at least initially) volunteered to verify the legality of such interventions. For non-Muslim patrons to work with non-Muslim artists was certainly safer; nor may a Muslim builder have liked to be known as an accessory in non-Muslim interests. In conclusion, trans-confessional collaboration in the arts seems to have been widespread throughout the Ottoman period, but there existed certain boundaries that were rarely, or possibly never, crossed. It is important to stress that these boundaries were not the same as those between the three confessional communities in question. Conceptions of boundaries were, it seems, more nuanced.

[251] There seems to have existed at least one case of a Muslim "builders family" of the nineteenth century comparable to the frequent cases of non-Muslim families with such a professional specialization: the Neimarovići ("sons of the architect") of Travnik, for which cf. Mazalić, *Leksikon*, p. 102.

[252] This also seems to have been the case at Bačkovo in the early seventeenth century (cf, the plans in Kiel, *Art and society*, p. 197), and probably in several other cases.

2.5. Foreigners and foreign influence

The present chapter deals with the question of the existence and importance of foreign artists – by which I refer to individuals who were not Ottoman subjects – that worked on Ottoman soil in Europe between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. I am especially interested in the potential role of such artists as agents of change. While there is ample evidence for their existence in all periods of Ottoman rule, they are rarely discussed in the literature and have not been discussed, as this chapter attempts, from a regional perspective. I should also like to contrast the material to be presented with the claim that the Ottoman system – deliberately, it is implied – had isolated the region from the achievements of European art during the period of "the yoke," especially from the art of the Renaissance.[253] This chapter, by contrast, will argue that the Ottoman borders appear to have been remarkably open to both artists and artistic influences from the outside. It will start with the question of inputs from other Islamic cultural traditions and continue with the question of foreign models (and experts) in the specific case of military architecture. I shall then turn to the question of communication of artists across the Balkans' Adriatic, Aegean, and Pannonian borders more generally and its impact on artistic products within the Ottoman realm. Significant changes occur in the nineteenth century, in which new patterns evolved in changed circumstances, as shall be discussed in the concluding section.

2.5.1. The early Ottoman state and its Mamluk and Timurid connections

There is ample epigraphic evidence to suggest that medieval Anatolia, especially between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, was quite an attractive area for the activity of artists hailing either from the Persianate East or the Arab lands to the

[253] For this reproach, cf. Kiel, *Art and society*, p. 341, esp. ref. to the article "The cutting short of the Bulgarian Quattrocento." On the information plate next to the church of Hagios Nikolaos at Mystras (ills. 30-1) (titled "Constantinople in other hands... life goes on"), a large and beautifully decorated church, we read that: "In Post-Byzantine times the Ottoman conquest put an end to the production of religious art." This, of course, contradicts even Greek scholarship on the matter. The plate continues to concede that: "Churches were still erected to cater for the needs of the subjugated Christians."

South.[254] On European soil, Mamluk-inspired features, such as arches with decoratively interlocking stones or chevrons, can be found on the Eski Câmi‘ of Edirne or the Great Mosque at Didymoteichon,[255] but in neither case do the extant inscriptions reveal the participation of foreigners.[256] This may either mean that Mamluk-inspired forms, soon to be outdated in Ottoman conduct, had entered into the vocabulary of local builders, or simply that the foreigners did not choose, or were not expected by the patrons, to record their names on inscriptions. Could this have been because their contribution was more in the domain of skilled manual labour, and thus perhaps to forms of arches and ornaments, than it was in the domain of planning, in which case their name was more likely to be recorded?[257]

While in the fourteenth century and the early years of the fifteenth century Mamluk forms retained their attraction for Ottoman patrons, in the period following the recovery from the humiliating invasion by Tamerlane (Timur) and the successful establishment of Mehmed I as the legitimate heir of Bâyezîd I it is Timurid forms that come to be very popular.[258] The best-known monument to this trend is the Yeşil Complex in Bursa, for which tile-makers from the Akkoyunlu capital Tabriz produced tiles in the "international Timurid style." This they did under the supervision of an Anatolian-born designer (*nakkaş*) trained in Timur's capital Samarkand. Signing as "the masters of Tabriz" at Bursa, they seem to have moved on to Edirne, which under Murâd II acquired some prominence as a centre of power in the sultanate's European half. In the 1430s they embellished the interior of his Murâdiye with tile revetments in both the

[254] In the decades around 1400 we have, for instance, evidence for the agency of what appear to be three generations of a Damascene family of builders working for the 'Osmân-oğlu and Aydın-oğlu states in Anatolian towns like Amasya, Merzifon, Ankara, and Ayasuluğ (Selçuk). Cf. Sönmez, *Başlangıçtan 16. yüzyıla kadar Anadolu Türk-İslâm mimarisinde sanatçılar*, pp. 347-51, 403-9, 415-22.

[255] Both buildings were commissioned by sultans around 1400, but their completion was delayed as a result of the War of Succession (1402-13), and finished under Mehmed I (r. 1413-21).

[256] For one reading of both inscriptions, see Sönmez, *Başlangıçtan 16. yüzyıla kadar Anadolu Türk-İslâm mimarisinde sanatçılar*, p. 388, 423.

[257] Cf. e.g. ibid, pp. 347-51.

[258] On the monumental ambitions and prestige connected with these artistic traditions in the late medieval period, see Bernard O'Kane, "Monumentality in Mamluk and Mongol art," in: *Art History*, XIX/4 (1996), pp. 499-522.

cuerda seca and underglaze techniques. This is a singular monument on European soil – a testimony to the attractiveness of Persianate forms in the Ottoman fifteenth century during the reigns of Mehmed I and Murâd II. While, unlike at Bursa, they did not leave a "signature" in Edirne, it is clear that these must have been the same masters from Tabriz. The lack of truly comparable ensembles similarly suggests that after the completion of their work they must have left again.[259] It is not clear why, but by the mid-sixteenth century the development of an industry at Iznik and of an Ottoman court style had made obsolete the services rendered until then by artists from the East. The "masters of Tabriz" left a remarkable monument in Edirne, but their style did not produce offshoots in the Balkans. In fact, tiled interiors remained an absolute exception in this region throughout the Ottoman period.[260]

The influence of eastern centres such as Tabriz was still noticeable in the fifteenth century in other artistic media. Although, for reasons explained in the introductory chapter, illuminated manuscripts are beyond the scope of this study, mention should be made of an unusual case of a copy of Şeyhî's frontier romance *Hüsrev ü Şîrîn*, which is found in the Austrian National Library. It is unusual because, unlike other cases where we cannot be sure where a manuscript was written or illuminated, the colophon clearly attributes it to a certain Yûsuf b. Ahmed and locates and dates its production to Sarajevo in the August of 1475.[261] Only within years of the Ottoman conquest of the area, this is much too early for a local painter/decorator to have produced something in such a thoroughly Islamic mode. The Persianate style may indeed point us in the direction of its having been the work of one of the itinerant artists from Tabriz and other places travelling the Ottoman realm in the fifteenth century in search of work.[262]

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[259] Gülru Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: a change in taste in sixteenth-century ceramic tiles," in: *Muqarnas*, VII (1991), pp. 136-70. On the Edirne Murâdiye specifically see Rudolf M. Riefstahl, "Early Turkish tile revetments in Edirne," in: *Ars Islamica*, IV (1937), pp. 249-81.

[260] For one exception in Komotinē, where we find Iznik tiles from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, see ch. 4.1.3.

[261] For this images and a short description of this manuscript, see the inventory by Duda, *Islamische Handschriften*, p. 10, 79-80.

[262] For these artists, see Tanındı, "An illuminated manuscript."

There is another "Persian" link with a later work of architecture in Sarajevo, the mosque of Gâzî Hüsrev Beğ (Paşa). Completed in 1530/1 according to its inscription,[263] its design is usually attributed to the chief royal architect Acem 'Alîsi ("Ali the Persian") a.k.a. Esîr 'Alî ("Ali the captive"). Acem 'Alîsi was, according to one tradition, amongst the artists brought to Istanbul after Selîm's (impermanent) conquest of Tabriz in 1514, but there are in fact earlier mentions of 'Alî in the sources.[264] His involvement in the design and/or construction of the quite grand mosque in Sarajevo is in fact not at all unlikely, given that Acem 'Alîsi indeed was the chief royal architect of the period. The patron, a son-in-law of Bâyezîd II,[265] was evidently well-connected, and the building monumental enough – both in terms of size and (unusual) plan – to have required the involvement of a skilled architect.[266] But even if we accept that Acem 'Alîsi, as his sobriquet suggests, was from Tabriz or another land east of the Ottoman borders, there is nothing in the outcome that betrays an inspiration from beyond Istanbul – much in the same way that the agency of Dubrovnikans in Sarajevo at the same time (see below) did not automatically result in an Italianate imprint on the buildings in the construction of which they were involved. The lesson is, clearly, that a certain cultural background did not necessary affect the artistic product, for its form was to a large extent determined by the expectations and directions of the patron or a certain tradition unrelated to the origin of the artist.[267]

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[263] Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika*, I, pp. 294-5.

[264] See Stefanos Yerasimos, "15.-16. yüzyıl Osmanlı mimarları: bir prosografya denemesi", in: *Afife Batur'a Armağan*. Eds. Deniz Mazlum et al. Istanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2005, pp. 37-62, cit. p. 41. As the predecessor of Sinân in that post, this architect is usually also connected with, inter alia, the construction of the Selîm I complex in Istanbul in the early reign of Süleymân.

[265] An early biography of this statesman was supplied by Ćiro Truhelka, "Gazi Husrefbeg, njegov život i njegovo doba", in: *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*, XXIV (1912), pp. 91-232.

[266] The mosque consists of a central domed space, flanked by two smaller domed spaces and a large semi-domed space in the Southeast; the portico has five domed bays. It is the largest of the Sarajevo mosques, even surpassing the Hünkâr Câmi'i rebuilt around 1560. Elements of the plan are more typical for the last quarter of the fifteenth century than they are for ca. 1530.

[267] Although there are numerous Bosnians and Hungarians mentioned in the registers of palace workshop artists (cf. İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Osmanlı sarayında Ehl-i hiref (Sanatkârlar) defteri," in: *Belgeler*, XI/15 (1986), pp. 23-76), their products seem to bear no imprint of that. The artists commissioned to create an Islamic

2.5.2. Italian models and Ottoman military architecture: a case apart?

It has long been argued that Italian artists played a major role at the Istanbul court of Mehmed II.[268] Next to the famed portraits by the likes of Bellini, it is believed that these individuals had contributed to the planning of major sites like the Topkapı Palace, the Fâtih Complex, and the star-shaped Yedikulle fortress.[269] The sources, however, are silent as to the concrete contributions of foreigners to these projects. More important for the scope of this study is that none of Fâtih's projects seems to have had a noticeable echo in the Balkan provinces, and given the centrism of Istanbul in this era this should not be a surprise. There are, however, interesting cases in the domain of military architecture. In the chronicle of Doukas (completed ca. 1462), for instance, we read that at Lapseki on the Dardanelles in ca. 1402 the Genoese nobleman (*evgenēs*) Salagruso de Negro figured as the builder (*oikodomos*) of a fortified tower for Emîr Süleymân.[270] The combination of the wording *oikodomos* and the reference to the Genoese's noble descent seem to suggest that he actually planned the building rather than built it with his own hands or paid for it. After the tower was destroyed in a Venetian attack in 1416, and the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 had made essential a better defence of the Dardanelles, Mehmed II had two new fortresses built around 1460: Sultâniye (later:

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mukarnas-type of ornament for a pavilion in the Topkapı palace grounds in the 1590s were non-Muslims (cf. Faroqhi, *Artisans of empire*, pp. 61-2).

[268] For what appears to be the earliest critical appraisal, see Josef von Karabacek, *Abendländische Künstler zu Konstantinopel im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert: Italienische Künstler am Hofe Muhammeds II. des Eroberers, 1451-1481*. Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1918.

[269] Marcell Restle, "Bauplannung und Baugesinnung unter Mehmet II. Fâtih," in: *Pantheon*, XXXIX (1981), pp 361-7; Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: cultural encounter, imperial vision, and the construction of the Ottoman capital*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

[270] "There was in Lampsakos [i.e. Lapseki; opposite Gelibolu] a man who was erecting for [Emîr] Süleymân ["*Mousoulman*"] an enormous tower [*pyrgon*] on the promontory opposite Kallioupolis [Gelibolu]. The builder [*oikodomos*] was Salagruso de Negro, a Genoese nobleman [*evgenēs*]. After Süleymân observed that the tower was constructed to his satisfaction he rewarded the builder with large sums of money." This translation largely follows Doukas, *Decline and fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*. Tr. Harry J. Magoulias. Detroit: Wayne State University, 1975, p. 106, with adaptations according to the Greek/Latin text in Immanuel Bekker (ed). *Corpus scriptorum Byzantinae [etc.]: Michaelis Ducae Nepotis Historia Byzantina*. Bonn: Ed. Weber, 1834, p. 88.

Çanakkale) and Kilid ül-Bahr (Kilitbahir). Interesting is the striking contrast in design: while the former was a forbidding and relatively simple rectangular *kal'a* with a similarly rectangular keep in the middle, the latter shows a formally sophisticated plan of keep and curtain based on a trefoil.[271] It follows that the planning of the two fortresses had been entrusted to different individuals, the one on the European shore probably having been a Venetian or Genoese – perhaps even the same person responsible for the very Italianate Yedikulle at Istanbul.

Another fortress from the early period merits our attention in this regard: the Eptapyrgio/Yedikulle of Thessalonikē (ill. 16). While it has traditionally been dated to the pre-Ottoman period, a recent re-reading of the inscription (1431) emphasized that it does not refer to an Ottoman repair to the building, as long locally held, but to an *ex novo* construction.[272] Even before this re-dating, which is yet to be studied from its potential implications for art history, archaeologists have maintained that this annex to the urban enceinte indeed dates from a single construction period.[273] This is of interest to our discussion because one part of the layout of the Eptapyrgio might constitute an early version of "Italian" fortresses with pointed bastions. This was a type only contemplated on paper in fifteenth-century Italy but which became the norm after the failure to defend Italian cities during the French invasion at the end of that century.[274] While this case merits a far more detailed investigation, it may again not be unlikely that also here an Italian planner was involved. Only a few years later a Burgundian pilgrim spoke in Constantinople to the Genoese nobleman "Messire Benedic" who admitted that he aided "the Turks" in their conquest of Thessalonikē from Genoa's rival

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[271] For these two fortresses, see Simon Pepper, "Ottoman military architecture in the early gunpowder era: a reassessment", in: *City walls: the urban enceinte in global perspective.* Ed. James D. Tracy. Cambridge: University Press, 2000, pp. 282-313, cit. pp. 300-5; p. 286 for the destruction of Süleyman's *pyrgos* at Lapseki.

[272] Heath W. Lowry, *The shaping of the Ottoman Balkans, 1350-1550: the conquest, settlement & infrastructural development of Northern Greece*. Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Publications, 2008, ch. 3, esp. p. 112.

[273] Vasileios Koniordos and Philippos Oreopoulos, "Heptapyrgion. Thessaloniki, Greece," in: *Secular medieval architecture in the Balkans 1300-1500 and its preservation*. Eds. Slobodan Ćurčić and Evangelia Hadjitryphonos. Thessaloniki: Aimos, 1997, pp. 192-5.

[274] See Horst De la Croix, "The literature on fortification in Renaissance Italy," in: *Technology and Culture*, IV/1 (1963), pp. 30-50.

Venice in 1430.[275] The Ottomans had already lost this important city once, in 1402, in the wake of the Timurid invasion; could this have made Murâd II more open to experiment with innovative designs supplied by an ally against the Venetians, a captive hoping for manumission, or a renegade? The Yedikulle of Istanbul and Kilid ül-Bahr certainly attest to a will for experimentation with regards to military architecture in the middle decades of the fifteenth century. We also know that in the library of Mehmed II were found a number of Italian military treatises.[276] Finally, there is the earlier precedent of a Genoese builder of the *pyrgos* at Lapseki.

While the Yedikulles at Istanbul and Thessalonikē may be, if at all, considered early examples of experimentation with models established (materially, and in a much more formalized variant) in Italy only in the sixteenth century, the hexagonal inner keep (*içhisâr*) of the 1570s fortress of Anavarin-i Cedîd at Pylos (Navarino) on the Morea *is* an Italian-type fortification system of that age (ill. 17). Even an Ottoman order from 1573 speaks of the fortress as designed "in the Frankish style" (*frenk üslûbında*).[277] The "foreign" plan was also not lost on Evliyâ Çelebi, who fittingly compared it with the contemporary (Habsburg) fortress of Nové Zámky (Uyvar) and described it as "low-lying"[278] (*süflâ*) and hexagonal.[279] The latter comparison is remarkably apt, for the Castrum Novum built there by the Habsburgs at the same time as Anavarin-i Cedîd follows a very similar, Italianate design. There is, in fact, evidence to suggest that Anavarin-i Cedîd was the work of a foreigner. The fortress was built for Murâd III by his grand admiral (*kapudan paşa*) Kılıç ʻAlî Paşa. A Calabrian-born, he was known to

[275] Bertrandon de la Brouquière, *Voyage d'Outremer*. Ed. Ch. Schefer. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1892, p. 142. ("Et me dist ledit Messire Benedic qu'il avait esté cause de faire perdre Salonique aux Venissiens pour leur faire dommage etla faire gaignier au Turc; de quoy ll fist grant dommaige.")

[276] Cf. Florio Banfi, "Two Italian maps of the Balkan peninsula," in: *Imago Mundi*, XI (1954), pp. 17-34, esp. p. 23.

[277] Kiel, "The construction of the Ottoman castle of Anavarin-i Cedid," p. 276 for a transcription of the decree, p. 267-8 for a translation. See also Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 430 and 530 (note 137). The mosque has not been destroyed, as Necipoğlu believes.

[278] In order to adapt to a different siege technology, the "Italian" fortifications were indeed significantly lower than the medieval ones.

[279] *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi,* VIII, pp. 141-2 for a transcription; translation into English in Ian McKay, "Evliya Çelebi's account of Anavarin", in: *A historical and economic geography of Ottoman Greece*, pp. 215-22, cit. p. 218-9.

have had in his service a number of renegades and slaves, including many carpenters, and also a personal architect. An order of Murâd III refers to an unnamed architect, supposedly working for Kılıç ʻAlî, and orders him to cooperate with another architect named Şaban who was already on site.[280] For Necipoğlu, it seems clear that this unnamed architect was, like his patron, an Italian renegade.[281] The hexagonal design with pointed bastions, thus far unprecedented in Ottoman architecture, and the fact that the (presumably non-Muslim) architect remained unnamed, would certainly point in that direction.

The Ottoman attitude toward military architecture appears to have been among the many things that changed as a result of the numerous Habsburg-Ottoman confrontations between the mid-seventeenth and mid-eighteenth century. Around 1720 were refortified two major strongholds on the new borders, at Niš and Vidin, to whose medieval fortifications the Ottomans had added little over the centuries. Interestingly, Vidin on the Danube acquired its modern, Vauban-type fortification as a result of involuntary Habsburg assistance: after that possession, far inside formerly Ottoman territory, had to be given up as a result of the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, the Ottomans merely completed in 1722/3 what the Habsburgs had begun to build a couple of years earlier.[282] Interestingly, the master builders were brought from as far away as Crete, the building of "*tabya*s" (in this context perhaps referring to bastions) being considered their speciality.[283] In 1650 Cretan builders had similarly participated in the

[280] Cf. Kiel, "Construction of the Ottoman castle," p. 267.

[281] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 430; see also p. 102, 167, and 530 (note 137).

[282] Rossitza Gradeva, "Between hinterland and frontier: Ottoman Vidin, fifteenth to eighteenth centuries," in: *Proceedings of the British Academy*, CLVI (2009), pp. 331-51, cit. p. 335-6.

[283] As leader of the works in 1719/20 is recorded the *miʻmâr* Vanko of Chania, assisted by "Fotya" (Fotis?) of Ērakleio. Vanko was later replaced by the *miʻmâr* "Manyo" (Manolis?), similarly of Chania. See Suraiya Faroqhi, "Fifty years after the conquest: eighteenth-century reforms in Ottoman Crete," in: *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman rule: Crete 1645-1840*. Ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos. Rethymnon: University of Crete Press, 2008, pp. 243-254, cit pp. 246-7. Interesting in this respect is also an entry in the (now lost) *sicill* of Skopje from 1735, published by Gliša Elezović (in "Turski spomenici u Skoplju [part II]," in: *Glasnik Skopskog Naučnog Društva*, II [1929], pp. 243-61, cit. pp. 259-60), in which three masters – Giga, Nikola, and Tanas – are identified as able candidates for the construction of a bridge near Skopje, for they had "built" the fortress of Vidin. The above makes it obvious that these three masters were not work-leaders, but merely working under them. Still, a

building of a pentagonal (initially hexagonal?) fortress with pointed bastions facing the besieged city of Ērakleio (Candia).[284]

Very interesting in this regard is also the case of Niš: it was similarly refortified along Vauban principles, yet had been held by the Habsburgs only for a couple of months each in 1690 and 1737. After Passarowitz, which established Niš as a Habsburg-Ottoman border town, Köprülüzâde ʻAbdullâh Paşa, the *beğler-beği* of Rumelia, was put in charge as the supervisor of the construction of the new fortification at Niš.[285] It appears that he simply oversaw a construction along the lines of what the Habsburgs had started at Vidin. The model was foreign indeed, but in this case, apparently, no foreign expertise was required.[286] Yet, it was also later in the same century that, at least in Istanbul, the Ottomans came to rely on the expertise of mostly French engineers for their strengthening of defences along the Bosporus.[287]

2.5.3. Painting in the Italianate Mediterranean sphere and the Balkan interior

While the examples of military architecture pertain in all cases to works commissioned by the sultans, the best case to support the claim that the Ottoman borders were quite open to outsiders – or their art – is probably that of the artists connected with Crete. Under Venetian rule since 1203, the island's largely Greek population had come into contact with Italian forms, cultivated through commissions by Catholic patrons and an

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participation in this project seems to have enabled them to advertise themselves for future projects.

[284] Elias Kolovos, "A town for the besiegers: social life and marriage in Ottoman Candia outside Candia (1650-1669)," in: *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman rule*, pp. 103-75, esp. pp. 103-5.

[285] Nejat Göyünç. "The procurement of labor and materials, in the Ottoman Empire (16. and 18. Centuries)," in: *Economies et sociétés dans I'empire Ottoman (fin du XVIII-début du XX siécle)*, Eds. Jean-Louis Bacqué Grammont and Paul Dumont. Paris: CERS, 1986, pp. 327-33, cit. p. 331f.

[286] The leading builders/masons in this project were brought from the island of Lesvos. Cf. Göyünç, "Procurement," pp. 331-2.

[287] Kemal K. Eyüpgiller, "Preliminary results from the survey of Rumelikavağı fort," in: *Monuments, patrons, contexts: papers on Ottoman Europe presented to Machiel Kiel*. Eds. Maximilian Hartmuth and Ayşe Dilsiz. Leiden: NINO, 2010, pp. 129-42, provides several examples from the 1780s and 90s.

acquaintance with Italian engravings.[288] Yet, while at home they mostly painted representations of saints on wood panels, the Athonite monasteries who invited the famed Theophanēs Strelitzas in the early decades of sixteenth century demanded that he paint walls in fresco. This adaptation is visible in his early works.[289] The Cretans' Italianate style coexisted with the "Palailogan" style that saw a revival in the same period in the Central Balkans as a result of the restoration of the Peć Patriarchate.[290] Patrons were apparently able to choose from a variety of stylistic modes. This was acknowledged from the seventeenth century onward in iconographers' manuals written in the Ottoman realm, which came to include sections on "how to work like the Cretans" and "how to work like the Muscovites."[291]

At the same time, reflections of the Cretan style, possibly mediated via Athōs, could be felt in distant Bosnia, Herzegovina, and even southern Pannonia.[292] Venice too was an important centre of Orthodox communities on the eastern Adriatic. Icons painted there (or in Crete) in the "Italo-Cretan" style found their way into the Balkan interior, as we know from the notebook of the eighteenth-century Prizren merchant Petar Andrejević (d. 1787).[293] Yet, Catholic-Orthodox "hybrids" did also have a prehistory in the Ottomans' north-western borderlands, where around 1500 a number of exchanges took place across the Venetian-Ottoman-Ragusan borders. Several Orthodox Christians

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[288] On Italian engravings as models, see Manolis Chatzidakis, "Marcantonio Raimondi und die Postbvzantinisch-kretische Malerei," in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LIX (1940), pp. 147-61. I am grateful to Anestis Vasilakeris on his insightful comments concerning Cretan artists.

[289] Chatzidakis, "Contribution à l´étude de la peinture postbyzyantine," pp. 199-202.

[290] Petković, *Zidno slikarstvo,* passim. This, no doubt, had to do with the conservatism inherent in the institution and its particular goals.

[291] See e.g. *The 'painter's manual' of Dionysius of Fourna* (tr. Hetherington), pp. 11-2. While Dionysios based these sections on an earlier work, the so-called First Jerusalem Manuscript from the seventeenth century, it must be noted that he chose not to copy that text's praise for the Cretan Theophanēs, only that for his personal favourite, the "Palaiologian" Panselēnos. See Bentchev, *Technologie*, p. 67.

[292] Mazalić, *Slikarstvo*, p. 168f.; Kiel, *Art and society*, p. 305; Petković, *Zidno slikarstvo*, p. 226.

[293] Nenad Makuljević, "The trade zone as the cultural space: traders, icons and the cross-cultural transfer at the Adriatic frontiers in early modern times", in: *11th Mediterranean Research Meeting*. Florence: European University Institute, 2009 (CD-Rom).

from Herzegovina went to Dubrovnik to be trained by Catholic masters.[294] At the same time, Catholic Dubrovnikans painted "alla greca," not least on Ottoman territory, while Orthodox "pictores graeci" worked in Catholic churches in the (Venetian) Bay of Kotor.[295] In this relatively compact region, divided between three states, borders seem to have been crossed quite liberally.

A curious case of what appears to have been an Ottoman subject painting purely in the Italian style is that of Stjepan Dragojlović, active around 1600.[296] The Catholic Bosnian, who signed his works in Latin and Cyrillic, had received his training in Venice, possibly under Veronese. The few preserved works of the talented painter, who may have been a friar, are found in the monastery at Kraljeva Sutjeska and surroundings.[297] Given the connections between the Bosnian Catholics and Venice and Rome in this period, this may not have been a singular case.[298] Yet, among the effects of the Habsburg-Ottoman wars in the second half of the seventeenth century was a sharp reduction of the number of monasteries in Bosnia through demolition – Kraljeva Sutjeska was one out of three (of formerly nine) that survived – and an emigration of a fairly wealthy class of Catholic merchants certainly figuring as donors.[299]

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[294] These cases have been discussed in ch. 2.4.4.

[295] Cf. Mazalić, *Leksikon*, p. 39, 97, 96, 130, 147. See also the cases of "mixed style" of Tudor Vuković-Desisalić (p. 148-9), Marko Skorojević (p. 128), and Jovan Mangafa (p. 85), the latter possibly of Greek or Vlach origin. On the "*pictores graeci*", see Klaus Wessel, "Pictores graeci: über den Austausch künstlerischer Motive zwischen Orthodoxie und Katholizismus in Montenegro," in: *Jugoslawien: Integrationsprobleme in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Ed. Klaus-Detlev Grothusen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1984, pp. 98-104.

[296] For the claim of Dragojlović being a patron rather than artist, see ch. 2.2.6.

[297] Mazalić, *Slikarstvo*, p. 44-8.

[298] See also the case of Marko Skorojević (fl. 1660), similarly from around Sutjeska, in Kukuljević, *Slovnik*, p. 419.

[299] For these developments, see Ivan Lovrenović, *Bosnien und Herzegowina: eine Kulturgeschichte*. Vienna: Folio, 1998, pp. 121-2.

2.5.4. Islamic architecture and the Adriatic factor

Foreign influences are much harder to trace in the Balkans' monumental religious or residential architecture than they are in military architecture, painting, or the plastic arts. The noteworthy monuments of Orthodox Christian religious architecture from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries show no significant breach in this regard after the advent of Ottoman rule.[300] There can be sensed no innovations inspired, for example, by the rationalist formalism of the Italian Renaissance or the nervy movement of the Baroque, nor is there a great deal of reference to Western-type ornament prior to the nineteenth century. Where "foreign" forms are introduced – as mostly seen in the forms of ornament and arches – these are, in fact, usually of Ottoman-Islamic origin: most typically we see in such churches, usually the catholicons of monasteries, the pointed Ottoman arch and/or stalactite ornament known as *mukarnas*.[301]

The case of Islamic architecture is more interesting. As discussed elsewhere,[302] it is well attested in a multitude of contemporary sources that builders from Dubrovnik (and perhaps other coastal areas) were employed in many, maybe most, of the large-scale projects in Bosnia in the sixteenth century. Yet, the consistency in the "metropolitan style" found in the mosques of this period similarly suggests that they had no part in their design – if we except minor structural and ornamental irregularities, that is. The Dubrovnikans appear to have worked under an architect dispatched from Istanbul according to a design similarly drafted in the capital. While it must be due to

[300] The developmental possibilities regarding foreign inspiration are demonstrated by the very Italian façade (masking a very simple two-naved building) of the church of Monē Arkadiou (late sixteenth century) near Rethymno on Venetian-ruled Crete. A curious exception of what may be seen as an architectural innovation in the Ottoman context is the church of the sixteenth-century Taou Pentelis monastery near Athens; it appears to imitate the hexagonal baldachin support of contemporary mosques from the late period of Sinan. For a plan and a few observations, see Robert Ousterhout, "Ethnic identity and cultural appropriation in early Ottoman architecture," in: *Muqarnas*, XII (1995), pp. 48-62, cit. p. 50.

[301] See e.g. Andrej Andrejević, "Manastir Moštanica pod Kozarom," *Starinar*, XIII/XIV (1965), pp. 163-175; idem, "Prilog proučavanju islamske uticaja na umetnost XVI. i XVII. veka kod srba u Sarajevu i Bosni," in: *Prilozi za proučavanje istorije Sarajeva*, I (1963), pp. 51-7; Machiel Kiel, "Armenian and Ottoman influences on a group of village churches in North-Eastern Macedonia: a contribution to the history of art of the Armenian diaspora," in: *Revue des études arméniennes*, VIII (1971), pp. 267-82.

[302] See e.g. ch. 2.1.2.

them, or other provincial agents, that some of the geometric ornament occasionally looks rather crude (see e.g. ill. 35), more interesting are the cases of some early mosques the execution and especially the ornament of which differs even from other monuments in Bosnia. Window forms and ornaments seen at the Nasûh Ağa mosque in Mostar, for example, have been portrayed as Gothic and Renaissance echoes from Dalmatia.[303] As I shall argue in chapter 4.4, such "foreign features" may not have been intentional, however. Rather, the lack of models on site for properly metropolitan designs may have led the Dubrovnikan builders to turn to forms with which they were well acquainted.

The Herzegovina remains an interesting region after the sixteenth century. It must have been in the 1720s that a clock-tower was built by Resulbeğ-zâde 'Osmân Paşa, the *kapudan* of the area (and a recent convert from Herceg Novi), or a relative of his. With its rounded windows and execution it reminds of the campanili of the Adriatic. (It certainly looked Western, or un-Ottoman, enough for the Turkish architectural historian Ayverdi to [wrongly] date it to the nineteenth century.[304]) There should be little doubt that Dubrovnikan builders proved responsible for this monument, just as they did for the two mosques built in the revived town of Trebinje in this period.[305] On this occasion it should be noted that in parts of the Western Balkans looking toward the Adriatic there seems to be have been more generally a certain tendency toward the semicircular arch, as opposed to the typical Ottoman pointed arch, long before the semicircular arch became palatable in the architecture of the capital in the second half of the eighteenth century.[306] This is somewhat curious, for (next to the

[303] Amir Pašić, *Islamic architecture in Bosnia and Hercegovina*. Istanbul: IRCICA, 1994, p. 192f.

[304] Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı mimârî eserleri,* II, p. 469.

[305] For these three buildings in Trebinje, see Hivzija Hasandedić, *Muslimanska baština u istočnoj Hercegovini*. Sarajevo: El-Kalem, 1990, pp. 232-40. Dubrovnik had, by then, also seen better days, and the three large churches built in the city republic after the devastating 1667 earthquake were built according to designs by Italian architects. See Lazar Trifunović, *Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien*, I. Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1981, p. XXXV. What is somewhat striking is that the close contacts with Ottoman Bosnia, at least in the sixteenth century, seem to have had no repercussions of the architecture of Dubrovnik at all – especially if one compares this with Venice.

[306] The first monumental Ottoman mosque in Istanbul consciously exhibiting the semicircular arch seems to be the Nûr-u 'Osmâniye (completed 1745). Porticoes with rounded arches are seen earlier at the Fethiye mosque of Athens (ca. 1670); the nearby

hemispherical dome and the "pencil minaret") the Ottoman pointed arch was one key element of the recognizable and exportable Ottoman style. For this and other reasons, it is doubtful that the aforementioned aberrations must be seen as intentional quotations of non-Ottoman forms. More probable is that it simply reflected the local conditions in a region far from the imperial centre and the faculties of the local workforce, some of which was indeed recruited from without the Ottoman borders.[307]

2.5.5. Crossing borders within the Orthodox Christian *oikoumenē* and the question of the "Baroque"

We have thus far addressed only transfers between the Ottoman Balkan and the Italian/Italianate sphere, or rather the frontiers to the West and South. In the Northeast, the artistic exchange with the Balkan interior and the Danubian vassal principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia seems to have been rather one-way: their princes sponsored art especially for the monastic clusters in northern Greece and Greek or other artists coming to work in Wallachia and Romania rather than vice versa. In Pannonia, there seems to be little of note prior to the fundamental shift of borders around 1700, which leaves a large number of Orthodox Christians, mostly but not exclusively Slavs, on either side of the new Ottoman-Habsburg border. Merchant companies knew how to exploit this situation and a new elite formed and acquired the economic potency necessary to sponsor art. This in turn produced some traffic of artists across the border, usually of painters from Albania or Macedonia coming to work north of the Danube and Sava.[308] It is also under Habsburg rule that the Orthodox Christians of Pannonia came into contact with a European Baroque visual culture, aspects of which they embraced.[309]

"Tzisdaraki Mosque" from a century later that shows an apparently conscious side-by-side of pointed and semicircular (or very slightly pointed) arches.

[307] One might similarly argue that the Ottoman centre did not clearly see Dubrovnik as "outside" its borders, for it was a tribute-paying vassal.

[308] For several examples, see ch. 2.1.2.

[309] The standard work is Dejan Medaković, *Serbischer Barock*. Vienna: Böhlau, 1991; see also more recently Jelena Todorović, *An Orthodox festival book in the Habsburg Empire: Zaharija Orfelin's Festive greeting to Mojsej Putnik (1757)*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006.

Yet, ironically, it was the Macedonian-born painter Hristifor Žefarovič who produced, in Bođani (near Vukovar) in Habsburg territory, the frescoes that are usually regarded as the first work of the "Serbian Baroque." Dating to the same decade as that by Dionysios of Fourna's, Žefarovič also wrote an *ermēneia* in which he already advised his student readers to "paint after nature" and invited them to acquaint themselves with various artistic media and techniques (for which he uses German *termini technici*). Žefarovič had also read Western treatises on art, albeit in translations into Greek by his fellow-painter Panagiōtēs Doksaras, who had left his native Peloponnesus to work on (Venetian-held) Corfu.[310] Given Žefarovič's intellectual and artistic awareness and his work in various artistic media, it is perhaps not entirely anachronistic to call him a visual artist rather than a mere iconographer.

The "occidentalizing" efforts of the likes of Žefarovič or Doksaras were by no means universally welcomed, nor did their own work always reflect their horizons.[311] What gradually developed, first only north of the Habsburg-Ottoman border, was perhaps more an awareness of the possibility to produce or sponsor artworks in different modes. I have mentioned in chapter 2.1.2 the case of a painter from Voskopojë having been invited to work in the Buda eparchy in the 1770s, and consequently producing works in a rather conservative style. This was at the same time as the episcope of Buda, the Greek-born Dionisije, employed as his "court painter" Mihailo Popović, who been trained in Vienna and had embraced the "new style," that is, the Baroque. In the same region could be seen collaborations like that between a certain Anton Kuhlmeister and the aforementioned Nikolaos Iōannou Talēdoros, who had been born on Ottoman Naxos. Around 1800 they joined forces to produce icons and iconostases for churches in Eger, Miskolc, and Buda.[312]

Forms associated with the European Baroque do not end with the so-called Serbian Baroque on Habsburg soil, however. In the Ottoman Balkans between the mid-eighteenth century and mid-nineteenth century we come to find what can be identified as Baroque elements, emptied of the ideological content they had in non-Catholic

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[310] Bentchev, *Technologie*, pp. 154-6; on Doksaras, pp. 130-1.

[311] Moutafov finds that they themselves "failed to carry out in their own works the ideas they were popularizing." See Emmanuel Moutafov, "Post-Byzantine *hermeneiai zographikes*," p. 78.

[312] Davidov, "Serbische und griechisch-zinzarische Malerei," p. 173 (note 1), 177-8, 180; Nagy, "Nikolaos Iōannou Talēdōros."

contexts across in the Danube. We see them in murals of residences, churches, and mosques alike, but also in woodcarving and even in architectural design – if we choose to see the undulating forms of eaves and arches as Baroque-induced. But was the introduction of these elements in various media really part of one trend, as is usually claimed in the literature on phenomena described as the "Bulgarian" or "Turkish Baroque"? I should rather like to see the outcome as a synthesis of different forms, many of which were indeed of European origins, that entered various parts of the peninsula at different times, and for different reasons. There was, on one hand, the increasingly close connection with Habsburg centres like Vienna or Buda, which came to have an impact especially on merchant towns in the southwest Balkans (Voskopojë, Siatista, or Ampelakia) in the eighteenth century, or Plovdiv and the Central Bulgarian townships in the nineteenth. At the same time, the development of the wooden iconostasis into an artwork of its own accord, making it distinguished not only by the icons it holds but by the skilfulness of its plastic articulation, seems to have been impacted by developments in Russia and Ukraine, which both underwent a process of top-down cultural occidentalization in this century. Finally there is an echo in the provinces of what has been called the "Ottoman Baroque" in Istanbul, which we first see in the repaintings of mosque interiors. Perhaps it was from that type that this decorative style spread to residences and churches. Judging from murals repainted in eighteenth century, after the devastating Habsburg invasion in 1699, both a "classical" (in the sense of the court/imperial style of the later sixteenth-century) and a "Baroque" style were options to patrons and artists.[313] A similar dualism has been observed in wood-carving in what is today Bulgaria in the middle decades of the nineteenth century: a more "oriental" tradition connected with masters from nearby Trjavna rivals a more "occidental" mode attributed to masters from the Debar area in West Macedonia.[314]

[313] See Snježana Mutapčić, "Pola milenija zidnog slikarstva Sarajeva," in: *Prilozi historiji Sarajeva: radovi sa znanstvenog simpozija Pola milenija Sarajeva*. Ed. Dževad Juzbašic. Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 1997, p. 457-66. For a case study of various layers in one monument, see Andrej Andrejević, "Arhitektura i zidno slikarstvo XVI veka sarajevske Careve džamije," in: *Saopštenja*, XXVIII (1986), pp. 148-56.

[314] Péew, *Alte Häuser in Plovdiv*, p. 27, 42. See also Margarita Harbova, "L'espace culture de la ville balkanique entre l'Orient et l'Europe (d'après l'exemple de la ville de Plovdiv, XVIIIe-XIXe siècles)," in: *Etudes Balkaniques*, XXVIII/1 (2002), pp. 128-43, esp. p. 130.

2.5.6. The nineteenth century

The autonomous Belgrade *paşalık* ("Serbia") after 1830 is an interesting case, for it was because of the autonomy gained from the Porte that year that there occurred a small boom in the "restoration" (read: repair and enlargement) of churches and the building of residences for its new rulers. There also began in this period the parallel phenomenon of builders coming, as was the tradition, from the South and an influx of engineers and painters from Habsburg Hungary. These were frequently called "Swabians" even when their names betrayed a Slavic origin. The church of the Apostles Peter and Paul in Šabac completed in 1832 (according to an inscription which invokes Mahmûd II, Nicholas I of Russia, and Knez Miloš), for example, was embellished with oil paintings by Pavle Simić from the Habsburg Banat.[315] When Knez Miloš intended to built for his wife Ljubica a *konak* in the "Serbian suburb" (*varoş*) of Belgrade and was unable to find a passable carpenter locally, door and window frames were imported from Zemun, the Austrian town some kilometres up the Danube.[316] The new parish church (Saborna Crkva), also in the said *varoş*, was built by A. F. Querfeld from Pančevo, another Austrian town 15km down the Danube.[317] Yet, "Swabian engineers" were pricey and had the reputation of being unnecessarily diligent – or at least Kanitz was so told by the bishop of Užice, Joanikije, who prided himself for having undertaken the restoration of the Žiča monastery with "his Vlachs" instead.[318] When the task was, in the early 1880s, to build a mountain road in the same region, it was apparently cheaper to hire Italian builders from the Trentino to execute the plans drawn up by an engineer with the

[315] Kanitz, *Serbien*, I, p. 351 ("von dem Banater Künstler Simić mit Ölbildern geschmückt, die, weich und zierlich gemalt, durch elegante, glatte Pinselführung bestechen, doch des hohen Ernstes und grossen Linienzuges entbehren, welche die besseren altserbischen Fresken auszeichnen. ")

[316] Ibid., p. 87.

[317] See Zoran Manević, "Novija Srpska Arhitektura," in: *Srpska Arhitektura 1900-1970*. Ed. Zoran Manević. Belgrade: Muzej Savremene Umetnosti, 1972, pp. 7-38, cit. pp. 7-8 plus footnotes for other buildings from the 1830s and the involvement of agents from Zemun and Pančevo.

[318] Kanitz, *Serbien,* II, p. 4 ("Er erzählte, wie er allein mit seinen Cincaren das nun vollendete Werk ausgeführt, warf einige Seitenhiebe auf die grosse Kosten verursachende Gründlichkeit "schwäbischer" Ingenieure und forderte mich schliesslich auf, die wiederhergestellte Kirche in seiner Begleitung zu besichtigen.")

Czech-sounding name Matejka.[319] This already marks the integration of Serbia in the international markets of labour force and ideas.

There are also hints on foreigners working in construction in Bulgaria in the nineteenth century: a German mason was seen in Plovdiv,[320] while the famed Bulgarian builder Nikola Fičev is said to have begun his career wandering around with Italian masons – appreciated in the late Ottoman Balkans because they knew how to make waterproof mortar.[321] One wonders if these could have been the same Italian workmen who came to Bulgaria in the mid-nineteenth century to build, with funds from Vienna, new churches for the small community of Bulgarian Catholics in four villages near Svištov. The pompous churches with their belfries vertically projecting from humble villages, made possible by sultanic decrees owed to Austrian diplomatic influence, soon attracted the envy of the Orthodox Bulgarians. But the showiness did not last: when Kanitz saw them in the 1860s or 70s, they were practically ruined. Too much of the available money, administered by the local (Italian rather than local Catholic) clerics, who had chosen to bring in Italian builders rather than to use local workforce, had been channelled into adornment as opposed to structure.[322] The opposite had happened in Negotin, where some time before 1885 a local *dülger* had promised the townsfolk to build a water channel from a nearby mountain source. After using up considerable amounts of money it showed that he did not possess the necessary skills, and thus he was chased out of town. Instead, a certain engineer Jiraček (a Czech?) was hired. With clay pipes imported from Germany he fulfilled his promises and the frequency of fever and tuberculosis in Negotin soon decreased.[323]

The situation in Bosnia was quite similar. By the 1860s and 1870s we find names like Eichhorn (of Osijek), Ceciliani, and Dausch in documents relating the

[319] Ibid., I, p. 558-9 ("Italiener aus dem Trentino stellten die trefflichen Stützmauern am Šargan her. Der Strassen-Kurrentmeter kostete nur 12 d.")

[320] Emanuel Turczynski, *Die deutsch-griechischen Kulturbeziehungen bis zur Berufung König Ottos*. Munich: Oldenbourg, 1959, p. 25.

[321] Todorov, *Kolyo Ficheto*, p. 7, 40; Bichev, *Architecture in Bulgaria*, p. 73.

[322] Kanitz, *Donau-Bulgarien*, II, p. 164-7.

[323] Idem, *Serbien*, III, p. 436.

construction and adaptation at the Catholic monasteries at Tolisa and Guča Gora.[324] In the mid-1860s a Špiro Marić from the Dalmatian island of Vis worked on Catholic structures in Fojnica and probably also in Livno.[325] But at that time even the local Ottoman authorities hired Habsburg subjects for its projects: the *konak* of the Ottoman governor-general of Bosnia and the military hospital were built in the 1860s by Franjo Linardić and Franjo Moise from Split.[326] In chapter 2.4.4 has already been discussed the case of a Montenegrin and a "German" painting a room in the *konak* of the local Ottoman governor of the border town of Zvornik in the 1840s. This example, with the artists ending up in prison for suspected Serbian secessionist sympathies, also shows that working across the border brought with it some dangers, at least in this period and region.

A rather curious career seems to have been that of the Polish-born construction engineer Anton Terezínsky: he had entered the service of the Ottoman authorities at Sarajevo in 1875 as "Hurşîd," evidently having converted to Islam in the process. Upon the arrival of Habsburg rule in 1878 he seems to have reconverted to Catholicism and entered governmental service as the commander of the fire brigade.[327] Another interesting case of a convert from a much earlier period is that of an architect working for the secessionist ʻAlî Paşa of Iōannina. His story had been recorded by Pouqueville in the early 1800s, who found that the superintendent of works for the ruler's new fortress at Permeti "turned out to be a renegado from Calabria, in the south of Italy. So far did he carry his civilities," noted Pouqueville, "that though now a Mahometan he would present me to his wife, the daughter of a bey or gentleman of the country."[328] For this individual, the move across the Ionian Sea apparently resulted in upward mobility, as must have been the case for Anton/Hurşîd.

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[324] Mazalić, *Leksikon,* p. 19, 32, 37. Eichhorn was a resident of Osijek, a Slavonian city located only 80km north of Tolisa, where he worked in 1864-6.

[325] Ibid., p. 86.

[326] Ibid. p. 79, 99; see also Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 179.

[327] Mazalić, *Leksikon*, p. 136; see also http://www.vatrogasci-sa.org.ba/pvb/bhistorijat/terezinski.html.

[328] Pouqueville, *Travels in Epirus,* pp. 56-7.

2.5.7. Foreign artists in the Ottoman Balkans: patterns

In sum, it appears to be only after the 1830s that foreigners – especially builders, masons, and engineers – seem to have worked on a larger scale in the Ottoman Balkans. Starting from the 1860s, with a peak in and after the 1880s, different patterns emerge: with the independence of Serbia and Romania and the proto-independence of Bulgaria gained in 1880, monumental building or planning is taken over by architects and engineers either from or trained abroad, often in Vienna or Paris.[329] In the period before the 1830s, their agency may not have been significant; the widespread insecurity since the late eighteenth century may have played a part, making the work in this area not very attractive. But after the 1820s, with the appearance of "new" tasks in the construction industry, especially with regards to representative churches and residences, their presence may have become more widespread. At the same time the frequency of "archaeological travellers" increased, which was certainly in part a result of improved communications and security issues; it was also a reflection of an increased openness of the region to outsiders.

We can discern certain patterns that apply to all of the periods discussed here. These were: 1) the employment of artists from other Islamic polities, whose skills as masons, tile-makers, architects, manuscript illuminators, or calligraphers were appreciated in an early period at which Mamluk and Timurid forms still carried some prestige; 2) the presence of artists from the West, usually architecturally knowledgeable individuals from the Italian states, who supplied sophisticated designs for military architectural projects (probably Pylos and Kilid ül-Bahr, possibly Thessalonikē) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; 3) the activities of artists from neighbouring or relatively nearby non-Ottoman territories, such as Crete or Dalmatia (shared between Venice and Dubrovnik, eventually becoming Austrian), who provided services appreciated within the Ottoman realm; 4) the appearance of renegades who continued to work in the arts in their new home; 5) the proliferation of foreign artists after the 1820s

[329] For the Bulgarian case, see Grigor Doytchinov and Christo Gantchev. *Österreichische Architekten in Bulgarien 1878–1918*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2001, p. 59 (includes Austrian-trained Bulgarians); for Romania: Carmen Popescu, *Le style national Roumain: construire une nation a travers l'architecture*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004; for Serbia: Manević, *Novija srpska arhitektura* and Pantelić, "Nationalism and architecture"; for Greece: Eleni Bastéa, *The creation of modern Athens: planning the myth*. Cambridge: University Press, 2000.

because they mastered techniques and styles unfamiliar to locals, or possibly also because they offered some services at lower prices.

2.6. Artists' career choices and career paths: in search of patterns

2.6.1. From father to son and teacher to student

An answer to the question why individuals in the Ottoman Balkans opted for a professional career in the arts of building and/or decoration is, predictably, impeded by the lack of basic biographical data for even most of the best-known artists – or at least in a quantity and quality that would permit sound conclusions on the basis of comparison. It is clear, however, that in most professions it was simply customary to have certain skills handed down from father to son. Rarely is this as clearly illustrated as in the genealogical tree of one renowned family from West Macedonia: beginning with a certain Mirča of Tresonče in the late seventeenth century, it shows Andreja Damjanov, the best-known builder in the western half of the peninsula in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, as a representing the sixth generation in his family to pursue a career in building or decoration.[330] Damjanov's counterpart in the eastern half of the Pensinula, the Drjanovo-born Nikola Fičev, by contrast, was a newcomer in this regard: it was due to the untimely death of his father that his mother apprenticed him to itinerant masons, thus laying the foundations for a spectacular career.[331]

The pattern of the son following the father's line of work was certainly very widespread, but it was neither necessarily a rule, nor valid for all the arts. In the field of calligraphy, for instance, the training in and exercising of this art clearly depended less on inherited livelihood than on literacy, achieved through *medrese*-education. The case of the Hattât Hacı Hasan b. 'Abdullâh (d. 1769/70), an Egyptian merchant and calligraphy enthusiast who trained others in this art in Sarajevo (very probably free of

[330] Hadžieva Aleksievska and Kasapova, *Arhitekt Andreja Damjanov*, pp. 9-11.

[331] Todorov, *Kolyo Ficheto*, p. 7. On the way to become his own master, in most arts the aspiring artist had to go through stages of training, for which usually variants of the Turkish terms *çırak* (assistant), *kalfa* (apprentice), and *usta* (master) were used in the Balkan languages. This signalled the understanding of these arts – if commercially pursued – as relating to the general system of a guild-based local or regional economy, even if the artists were not necessarily members of guilds, which were an urban phenomenon.

charge),[332] also might suggest that the art of calligraphy depended less on a market than did, for example, construction. No detailed research into calligraphy diplomas, which are extant in some libraries and archives in the region, has been undertaken yet, but there has surfaced nothing to suggest that the handing-down of skills from father to son should have been a pattern of some consequence in the field of calligraphy. Such was presumably also not generally the case with Orthodox Christian painting, an art for which training often took place in monasteries, in part because the painters were frequently religious dignitaries themselves. This was the case, for instance, with Dionysios of Fourna (d. ca. 1745), whose father had been a bishop. Yet, Dionysios did not learn the art from his father, who did not paint. In his *ermēneia*, Dionysios informs us that it was because he had not managed to find a worthy trainer that he had to learn the art simply by studying and copying extant masterpieces. Future painters unable to find good trainers were advised to do the same.[333] From the *vita* of the Sofia-born painter-saint Pimen Zografski (d. 1610) by his disciple Pamfilije we learn that Pimen had been taught how to read, write, sing, and paint by his spiritual father Thomas of Sofia – all at a very young age. His training was interrupted, after six years of instruction, by Thomas' death.[334]

While builders, wood-carvers, and decorative painters were thus likely to have inherited their livelihoods from their fathers and a greater degree of deliberation may be noted among Islamic calligraphers and Christian iconographers, whose careers were more often than not based on training in *medreses* and monasteries rather than within a family, the rise to fame of Ottoman (royal) architects seems to have been more incalculable. Since only partly within the scope of this study,[335] I shall not foreground

[332] Koller and Ramović. "Die Integration eines ägyptischen Händlers."

[333] Dionysios of Fourna, *Painter's manual*, p. 2. In the roughly contemporary *ermēneia* by Hristifor Žefarovič is similarly stressed the necessary devotion of an individual seeking training from a master, here interestingly compared to the situation in other crafts: "Should anyone go to a shoe-maker with the desire to learn the craft of shoe-making, no matter how simple that may be, he will hardly be taken as an apprentice unless he is willing to sacrifice three years as his master's servant." (Cited as translated in Moutafov, "Post-Byzantine *hermeneiai zographikes*," p. 71.)

[334] Monah Pamfilij, *Žitie na Pimen Zografski*.

[335] No monument (other than the fountains discussed in ch. 1.3.1) in the Balkans is associated with Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa, but given his position all major projects from the period must have passed through his office. His term as royal architect coincides

this case, but it would be foolish to ignore the information provided about the career of Sedefkâr Mehmed Ağa, probably a native of Elbasan, in Ca'fer Efendi's *Risâle* completed in 1624. In the part of the text that may identified as the architect's *vita*, we read that its protagonist came to Istanbul as a result of the "blood tax" (*devşirme*) in his native Rumelia. Having entered the palace service as a page (*'acemî oğlân*) in the 1560s, the boy who was given the name Mehmed worked first as a gardener and guard. It was for music, however, that he developed a passion. Undecided whether to pursue this passion professionally, Mehmed consulted a popular Halvetî sheikh. Not without regret, the young man followed the sheikh's advice to pursue another career and began to associate with the mother-of-pearl-workers (*sedefkârlar*) at the palace, convinced that the common basis of the arts of music, mother-of-pearl-working, and architecture was a sound knowledge of geometry. It was also at the palace that he began to study architecture under the supervision of the chief royal architect Sinân himself. Sinân also advised Mehmed to send his best works in mother-of-pearl to the sultan as presents; a good piece of advice, it appears, for Mehmed was soon promoted to a job within the administration. Eventually he became an inspector of Ottoman fortresses in the Balkans, his first appointment related to architecture. This would be followed again by appointments to administrative jobs, in Istanbul as well as the eastern provinces, until in the late 1590s Mehmed was appointed waterways inspector (*su nâzırı*) of Istanbul. It was as a result of the chief royal architect Dalgıç Ahmed Ağa's being promoted to the post of *beğler-beği* at Silistra in 1606 that Mehmed became the empire's *mi'mâr-başı*. This career trajectory not only shows a considerable degree of incalculability; it also illustrates the differences in the careers of Ottoman and European architects around 1600.[336]

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with the last wave of monumental construction (including e.g. large mosques built in Prizren and Razgrad) in the Balkan region.

[336] Cafer Efendi, *Risâle*, pp. 24-41. Artan sees it as a novelty of the post-Sinân generations that "major figures were now required to prove their mettle in bureaucratic and military positions, in addition to devoting themselves to the arts of their choice." Rather than the deaths of epoch-making artists of the "classical" age, such as Sinân or Nakkaş 'Osmân, it was this change that henceforth determined the development of the arts and the position of the artist. See Tülay Artan, "Arts and architecture," in: *The Cambridge history of Turkey, III: The later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*. Ed. Suraiya Faroqhi. Cambridge: University Press, 2006, pp. 408-80, cit. p. 450.

2.6.2. Stockbreeders to artists: *topos* or pattern?

The remainder of this chapter shall be dedicated to the question of mobility between two very different professions, stockbreeding and the arts. More concretely, I shall examine the claim of a progression from shepherding to art-production that is occasionally hinted at in the literature. The individual whose professional focus may have shifted from shepherding to itinerant work in building or decoration, possibly as a gradual change, is predictably invisible in the textual sources of this period. Yet, although I have not found evidence for such a "conversion" in any single case, there are reasons not to discard the idea that – in certain circumstances – it may have made much sense for an individual initially engaged in shepherding to find work in the building industry, wood-carving and carpentry, or the production of handicrafts.

However, extreme caution is in order considering that the *topos* of "shepherd-turned-artist" has a certain prehistory in art history, a fact which may have informed modern accounts of this phenomenon. In their *Legend, myth, and magic in the image of the artist*, Kris and Kurz purport the existence of a considerable number of biographies that tell of how "the master first gave evidence of his gifts by sketching the animals he herded as a shepherd. Then a connoisseur happened to pass by, recognized the extraordinary talent in these first artistic endeavors, and watched over the proper training of this young shepherd, who later emerged as this or that far-famed genius."[337] The best-known example of, and the possible source for, later variations on this cliché is the *vita* of Giotto. In Vasari's version of his life, the painter who is praised for having "rescued and restored" the art of painting – despite his having been born in 1276 of very humble background and in an "incompetent age" – was discovered by the Florentine artist Cimabue by chance. Astonished by drawings on stone by Giotto, who looked after the sheep of his poor peasant father, Cimabue decided to support the shepherd's career as an artist in Florence.[338] Recent scholarship has questioned Giotto's relationship with Cimabue, for it appears that he entered Giotto's *vita* only in the sixteenth century.[339] So

[337] Kris and Kurz, *Legend, myth, and magic*, p. 8

[338] Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani, da Cimabue a' tempi nostri*. Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550, p. 139.

[339] Hayden B.J. Maginnis, "In search of an artist," in: *Cambridge Companion to Giotto*. Eds. Anne Derbes and Mark Sandona. Cambridge: University Press, 2004, pp. 10-31, esp. 12-3.

if Giotto was very probably not discovered by Cimabue while sheepherding, was he sheepherding at all? Considering Vasari's portrayal of Giotto's talents as little short of a miracle, one must not forget the symbolism of the shepherd in Christian culture – Jesus Christ's self-description as "the good shepherd," the shepherd as a metaphor for god, or sheep-shepherd/flock-pastor as an analogy in church hierarchy, David as a shepherd-turned-king – as a potential narrative device to account for the "miracle" of Giotto.[340]

That the *topos* of the shepherd-turned-artist did in fact have an impact on modern scholarship in a Southeast European context is perhaps best illustrated by the coverage of Ivan Meštrović. Hailing from the mountains of Dalmatia, Meštrović came to enjoy international renown as a Yugoslav sculptor in the early decades of the twentieth century. The artist himself complained that many of the stories told about him – many of which referring to Giotto's promotion from shepherd to artist as a parallel life-story – were not always entirely accurate. A contemporary biographer sought to correct these by claiming that Giotto's story, "the tale of a born artist," had repeated itself with Meštrović, but "in a far stronger and more genuine form, under much more unexpected and much less favourable conditions."[341] According to this biography (or *vita*?),[342] Meštrović grew up in a poor and patriarchal Dalmatian village community in the late nineteenth century. While his uncles ploughed the ground, Meštrović's father insisted to build houses instead, which had him considered "less useful for the community." It was from his father that Meštrović learned to read and write, "or, better still, to engrave letters in stone." Then, "wandering over the mountains behind his flock of sheep or goats," he began to "cut trees and small trunks into all sorts of shapes." After wood he turned to stone, a material "in which the country was rich. It was not very long before the shelves at home were covered with all kinds of odd carvings, the work of the little shepherd."[343]

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[340] One might add that Vasari was writing at an age in which the Pastoral was popularized as a literary genre. Its protagonist was often the shepherd in an idyllic natural setting, the utopian Arcadia.

[341] M. Ćurčin, "The story of an artist," in: *Ivan Meštrović: a monograph*. London: Williams and Norgate, 1919, pp. 15-23, cit. p. 16.

[342] For a discussion of these terms and genres, see ch. 4.3.1.

[343] Ibid., p. 17. Meštrović was not discovered by a fellow artist but by agents of national emancipation, who recognized his talent as a resource for their cause. For Meštrović's role in Yugoslavism, see Andrew Baruch Wachtel, *Making a nation, breaking a nation: literature and cultural politics in Yugoslavia*. Stanford: University

While in Meštrović's biography it is claimed that he had inherited some talent from his father, who worked as a builder, by choice, able-bodied males from mountainous areas were usually driven to itinerant work exactly because the local economic potential of these areas was very limited. In partial contrast to the general image of mountains as desolate, Braudel emphasized that they are frequently overpopulated – "or at any rate overpopulated in relation to their resources." When the tolerable level of population was surpassed, the "overflow" was sent to the plains.[344] Evidently, there were limits to the professional activity as shepherds in certain areas, set by the availability of grazing grounds. The demographic "overflow" had to resort to itinerant work (*gurbet*, *pečalba*) if it planned not permanently migrate. Those who had lost their livelihood, their (or somebody else's) sheep, had to do the same.[345]

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, several modern authors have made a connection between shepherding and wood-carving specifically. Drumev and Vasiliev claim that it was because of the time available to shepherds while on pasture that it was especially among this group that wood-carving as an art would develop.

Press, 1998. Meštrović's biography seems in part to have been dictated to the biographer, as had been those of Michelangelo and Mi'mâr Sinân. It is moreover claimed (see Ćurčin, "The story of an artist," p. 18) that his calling was revealed to the sculptor when he began to use his artistic skills to "put life into the legion of national heroes and characters of whom the little shepherd had so often heard during winter months from his father and from others, but which had up to then neither shape nor reality in his mind. His uncle had wandered through Bosnia and Herzegovina, he had been by sea to Rieka (Fiume) and Trst (Trieste), so he always spoke of something beyond the mountain tops which were the boundary of their vision at home. And he spoke of countries where there lived men of the same blood, and the same speech and the same traditions, who had the same past and a glorious past. He mentioned that there were churches and monasteries in Serbia and Macedonia as well as in Dalmatia, monuments of powerful emperors and kings of old, whose names were known to Meštrović from ballads. He then realised that all that was sung about by his fellow-peasants was not mere phantasy or something without substance, but that it had existed in truth, and that his uncle had seen at least its traces. Wandering among the rocks, his young eyes discovered figures of stone, figures with the gestures of heroes the very rocks transforming themselves into members and fragments of legendary figures." The revelatory nature of this development is underlined with biblical terminology – prodigy, prophecy, divine, godlike – used throughout the book to describe the man and his work.

[344] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*. Tr. Siân Reynolds. Ed. Richard Ollard. London: Harper Collins, 1992, p. 19.

[345] The connection between loss of flock and *gurbet* is made in Brunnbauer, *Gebirgsgesellschaften*, p. 261.

They first produced ornamented objects of everyday use and eventually engaged in the production of all kinds of ornamented wooden parts of houses or churches. According to these authors, it was not untypical for a shepherd to become a carpenter or builder as a result.[346] The historian Vucinich, who spent his childhood (in the 1920s?) shepherding on the pastures east of Foča, similarly remembers that besides caring for livestock, "the mountaineers spent time carving wood and making wooden spoons and forks, spindles, distaffs, flutes, bowls, cigarette holders, tobacco boxes, tool handles, boxes, canes, smoking pipes and other items." While the more talented would occasionally try themselves at carving *gusle* (one-stringed instruments), they more typically "carved the same kind of articles and in the same style," year after year.[347] Shepherds carving wood out of boredom were also observed by Weigand in the late nineteenth century. Their works – he mentions as example a spoon whose handle shows a snake fighting a stork – could not compete with the carvings in churches, he adds;[348] but the very fact that he makes this connection is interesting.[349] Another traveller observed in Thessaly at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the Muslims of Trikala rented out rooms to shepherds ("Vlachs") who came down to the plain with their flock in the harsh winter

[346] Drumev and Vasilev, *Die Holzschnitzkunst in Bulgarien*, pp. 6-7. Kanitz (*Donau-Bulgarien*, I, p. 219) too mentions lazing, carving, and music-making as three seemingly typical pastimes of shepherds.

[347] Wayne S. Vucinich, "Transhumance," in: *Yugoslavia and its historians: understanding the Balkan wars of the 1990s*. Eds. Norman M. Naimark and Holly Case. Stanford: University Press, 2003, pp. 66-90, cit. p. 81-4.

[348] Gustav Weigand, *Die Aromunen: ethnographisch-philologisch-historische Untersuchungen über das Volk der sogenannten Makedo-Romanen oder Zinzaren*. Leipzig: Barth, 1894, II, p. 64.

[349] One wonders if the increase in elaborately-sculptured animals and human figures on Orthodox Christian iconostases around 1800, as is perhaps best illustrated by the works of the western Macedonian carvers of the once-pastoral Mijak "tribe", may have been conditioned by their experience in the production of ornamented everyday objects of wood similar to the one described above. Such objects were certainly in part produced for use in shepherd households, in part to be sold off to townspeople for additional income. Exotic animals are also found carved in stone at some of the churches by the Damjanov workshop, whose family similarly hailed from Mijačija/Reka. They are foreign to the Byzantine tradition, as are many of the features of these churches.

months and took up employment as artisans or labourers.[350] A century later Wace and Thompson reported that among the Vlach muleteers of northern Pindus it was common for the young to learn a trade "and often in the summer instead of going about with his father and the mules will sit at his trade in Samarina, cobbling, tailoring or carpentering as the case may be."[351] In sum, there is plenty of evidence for people of shepherding background engaging in handiwork as an alternative to, or in addition to, their traditional line of work. But did this take place on a scale that it would have to be considered in an art history of the region?

While this question has to remain unanswered for now, another source provides information that might help explain why some shepherds may have been drawn toward the construction industry. Doda's monograph on his native Reka region (north of Debar in West Macedonia), completed in Vienna in 1914, portrays a confessionally and linguistically mixed region whose limited agricultural potential forced large parts of its population to earn their livelihood through shepherding and *gurbet*. While Doda does not mention the Slavophone master builders from villages like Galičnik or Tresonče, for they were not in the Albanian part of the valley that he described, the shepherding routine he records included tasks that required some basic "architectural knowledge." Arriving at their summer pastures the shepherds began to restore the cabin (*Sennhütte*) that had usually been destroyed in the course of winter. They erected a rectangular windowless building of stone covered with a steep roof of straw. In the interior was found a fireplace with an appliance for the suspension of kettles, clothes, and carpets; a small niche in the wall sheltered the coffee service. The description by Doda sounds like they were using an established set of measurements in this endeavour.[352] In any case, some building work, if of a primitive scope, seems to have been part of the shepherding profession, at least in some regions. In Herzegovina, if we follow Vucinich, such cabins

[350] Leake cited in Richard I. Lawless, "The economy and landscapes of Thessaly during Ottoman rule," in: *An Historical Geography of the Balkans*. Ed. Francis W. Carter. London: Academic Press, 1977, pp. 501-33, cit. pp. 525-6.

[351] A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The nomads of the Balkans: an account of life and customs among the Vlachs of northern Pindus*. London: Methuen & Co., 1914, p. 42.

[352] Bajazid Elmaz Doda, *Albanisches Bauernleben im oberen Rekatal bei Dibra (Makedonien)*. Tr. Franz Baron Nopcsa [1914]. Ed. Robert Elsie. Münster: LIT, 2007, pp. 69-70.

were traditionally built not by the shepherds themselves but by professional workmen from the Drina valley.[353]

If we look at "structural" evidence in the sense of dominant professions in certain micro-regions and change over time, Široka Lăka provides for a very interesting case. This village in the Bulgarian part of the Rhodopes was once so renowned for its builders that at some point even surfaced the (unfounded) claim that Mi'mâr Sinân hailed from there.[354] Yet, it was really only in the late nineteenth century that this village traditionally living on sheep-farming and shepherding came to be dominated by itinerant masons. In 1906 they represented 39% of its taxable population.[355] There are some similarities with another locale renowned for its builders working throughout the region, Galičnik in West Macedonia. This village at 1200m above sea level, distinguished by an almost of urban-type architecture owing to its renowned local but far-travelled builders, was very probably too originally a sheep-raising settlement. In fact, as late as 1912, local shepherds would drive around 60-70,000 sheep from Galičnik to the plains in the hinterland of the Aegean in Macedonia or Thessaly, and, furthermore, even in 1922 as many as 90% of its able-bodied males were *pečalbari*.[356] It is probably no coincidence that in both cases the change of dominant professions was one from shepherding to *gurbet*-based building work, or the coexistence of both in areas with limited agricultural potential.

There is another interesting overlap that seems to strengthen the connection between shepherding and certain crafts, namely the prominence in both of populations known as Vlachs – a somewhat ambiguous term used to describe either a Romance-speaking Balkan population, shepherds, or both.[357] Malcolm noted in surprise that

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[353] Vucinich, "Transhumance," pp. 81-2.

[354] See Hartmuth, "De/constructing a 'legacy in stone'," p. 704.

[355] Brunnbauer, *Gebirgsgesellschaften*, p. 262.

[356] Palairet, "Migrant workers," p. 44.

[357] According to one widespread theory (see e.g. Braudel, *Mediterranean*, p. 9), the Balkans' Vlachs are the descendents of Latinized populations pushed toward the mountains during the Slavic invasions, whereafter agriculture was left to the Slavs and Greeks in the plains. After shepherding and itinerant work in the arts, the third profession traditionally associated with Vlachs was (international) trade, especially in the eighteenth century and with Austria. All three professions, it should be stressed, necessitate a considerable degree of mobility.

among the Albanians of Prizren the terms "Vlach" and "Gog" (stone-mason) were used interchangeably, finding that the craft of stone-masonry was one "rather unlikely skill developed by Vlachs in this region," given their pastoral-"nomadic" traditions.[358] But if we look at the areas of Vlach settlement in the Macedonian-Epirote border region, from which so many of the travelling builders hailed, it appears very plausible that they were pushed into the building industry exactly because this region's economic resources were limited. Despite their partially mobile lifestyle, they developed skills in accordance with their experience as well as the market for such services. It may also not be entirely coincidental that, at least in the Rhodopes, *gurbetçi* assistants and apprentices were traditionally hired on the same days as shepherds: St George's day (April 23, OS) and St Demetrius' (October 26, OS).[359] This may strengthen the argument for a traditional overlap between these two lines of work.

In concluding, it remains difficult to track single cases of a shepherd taking to the arts, but, as we have seen, there were many factors involved that may have made such career path less anomalous than it sounds. The limited mountain economy periodically drove those who found no employment in shepherding into *gurbet*, very often as builders, carpenters, or wood-carvers. This may have had to do with the fact that at least some shepherding mountain populations were already acquainted with basic "architectural" skills due to the nature of their work, for their mobility necessitated the construction of temporary habitation on pastures. Moreover, significant amounts of time available to them while their sheep were grazing apparently helped develop their skills as carvers of ornamented objects made of wood, which was a resource easily available to them. Presumably, some shepherds were more talented in this art than others, making it easier for them – and perhaps even more lucrative – to find employment as *gurbetçi*s. By the nineteenth century this meant that mountain settlements like Galičnik or Široka Lăka, which were initially dominated by the shepherding profession, could sustain a tradition of excellence in the crafts of building and decoration that made their itinerant workpeople known beyond their immediate surroundings.[360] Certainly, there was no

[358] Noel Malcolm, *Kosovo: a short history*. London: Macmillan, 1998, pp. 203-4. "Nomadism" is a misleading term here and must be replaced by transhumant.

[359] Brunnbauer, *Gebirgsgesellschaften*, p. 259.

[360] The remarkable sophistication of wood-carving work done by masters from West Macedonia, as well as their background in stockbreeding, was in fact acknowledged by by R. F. Hoddinott in an article ("The tradition of wood carving in Macedonia") in *The Burlington Magazine* (XCVI/618 [1954], pp. 278-83), in which he

advantage to be gained for masons or carvers to reside in remote mountain locales. Instead, their residence there must have been conditioned by the fact that a part of their families were still engaged in professions depending on the economy of these areas, most notably shepherding.

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed a number of very different aspects of one phenomenon that may be best defined as the framework for the activity of artists in the Ottoman Balkans. I have begun by pointing to a number of factors that might be defined in broad terms as geographical, emphasizing the interplay between mobile and static factors as well as the considerable distances regularly traversed by many artists. I have also tried to show that there is a relation between the physical and the artistic geography of the region. At the same time, it must be stressed that the importance of a given place as a site of artistic production, display, and consumption did not necessarily depend on the convenience of its location in terms of easy access. Decisive was rather its integration into dynamic networks of exchange of goods, services, and ideas. The mobility customary in most artistic professions helped bridge the rugged terrain. It also made possible the rapid dissemination of novel forms over a wide region in the course of a very short time. As it was customary in many fields to gain experience in the capital, which remained an attractive destination for the provincial workforce, it was also the Ottoman metropolis that was often the source of trends. Work done in the provinces, it should be stressed, was not necessarily provincial, however. More than in architecture, this was visible in decorative and religious painting, but also in wood-carving, which is practiced almost

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wrote that: "The leading wood carvers, in fact, were a pastoral tribe, the Mijaks, who had their centre at Galičnik near Debar, close to the present Albanian border ... Wherever it is, the unvarying characteristics of Mijak craftsmanship are a free and naturalistic form, exuberant vitality and originality and complete freedom from Oriental stylization and monotony." The "use of high relief with free portrayal of the human form and scenes from the Bible and Church history" were, according to Hoddinott, the result of "a new and liberating development" that had spread from some Athonite monasteries through Macedonia at the end of the eighteenth century. This author thought that "the principal foreign influence appears to have been the once rejected Baroque, filtering across the mountains from the Adriatic coast." On the connections between Mijaci and Vlachs, see Asterios Koukodis, *Studies on the Vlachs*. Thessalonikē: Zētros, 2003, pp. 433-6.

like a fine art. Regarding architecture, where the gap between these local works and the works of the capital is more considerable, there is a major change between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries, relating to a number of shifts: the most remarkable projects are not anymore undertaken by architects producing designs for the provinces but by local, itinerant builders and carpenters. Next to a change in prominent architectural types, resulting from larger-scale changes in Ottoman society, a major factor in the genesis of the (vivid) artistic "scene" in the nineteenth century seems to have been the overpopulation of highlands that led to seasonal work migration. The reasons for the proliferation of itinerant over urban builders remain unclear. Perhaps it was their preparedness for mobility that not only greatly helped them stay informed of trends, thus possibly increasing the demand for their services, but also enabled to better responded to the market in an increasingly decentralized region and time.

Chapter 2.2 has sought to tackle the question of the place we are to give to people engaged in artistic production in Ottoman provincial society. Here a rather important conclusion drawn was that no easy generalization is possible. If status is to be measured over relative prosperity, then we must acknowledge that there were great divergences not only between the various arts but even among artists engaged in the same lines of work. We must moreover add the factors of place and time, and the impact of how much people in a certain place were ready to pay for certain services at a certain time. There are also differences that concern the education of people engaged in various arts, which certainly contributed to their perceived status, as did the perceived cultural importance of their work. Here, calligraphers and Christian iconographers are a case apart from builders, carpenters, and decorative painters. The latter must be assumed to have been generally illiterate at least until the later nineteenth century. The distinction between master builder and architect, stressed in one seminal essay, seems to not have been greatly relevant for our problematic, for no "architects" in the proper sense were present in the provinces – an important matter the discussion of which I shall resume in chapter 4.2. Interesting are also the observations by two Western travellers discussed, irrespective of their representativeness or accuracy: one implied that artists and craftsmen were more respected in Ottoman society than in the West, the other that some of them mastered tasks for which in the West a formal institutional training was necessary. This, in turn, would have qualified them for a higher social status in the West. Finally, I have also hinted at the likelihood that there may have been an increase in the status of artists in various lines of work in the late Ottoman period. The reason for

this may have been an increased demand for outstanding work among a growing entrepreneurial class.

Artists' own ambitions regarding the recognition of their work and status could be expressed in inscriptions and, far more rarely, in self-portraits. Both provide us with important hints as to these individuals' self-understanding and identities. In chapter 2.3.2 I have suggested that, at least in certain situations, regional or professional identifications appear to have been more important to contemporaries than "ethnic" ones, certainly before the nineteenth century. Even the religious divide was, with exceptions, usually easily bridged when it came to matters of business. Given that many artists' livelihood depended on the absence of barriers in a vast space between the Danube, the Adriatic, the Aegean, and the Black Sea that had become their traditional workplace, I suggest that artists were not likely to have been participants in nationalist-secessionist movements, although this is occasionally stated in the literature. While there are a few interesting cases (discussed in chapter 2.3.2) of artists engaging in what may be liberally defined as political-cultural activism I maintain that, on the whole, these were exceptional, isolated, and thus very possibly not representative. This, however, changes nothing about the fact that they did exist.

Artists who were foreign subjects, discussed in chapter 2.5, seem not to have worked on a large scale in the Balkans before the nineteenth century. Records of relatively frequent border-crossings on all frontiers – from Crete to Macedonia, from Macedonia to Hungary, and from the Peloponnesus to Corfu, Venice, and back – seem to suggest that, at least the before the nineteenth century, political borders did not constitute serious barriers for artistic exchange. If, as addressed in the following chapter, the Ottoman Balkans did not partake in European "movements" like the Renaissance or the Enlightenment and adopt their respective visual modules, and also their participation in the "Baroque" remains a debated issue, then this was more likely due to local sensibilities (see esp. chapters 3.1 and 3.2) than to larger schemes, that is, to a cultural policy deliberated at the Ottoman centre.

CHAPTER 3

ARTIST, PATRON, AND AUDIENCE: CHOICE, COMMUNICATION, AND FUNCTION

3.1. Social and cultural limitations to art as the producer's expression

3.1.1. The social regulation of form: degrees of visibility as a design factor

This chapter discusses the limitations and restrictions constituted by imperial or social codes and regulations to the free circulation and expression of artistic ideas. In the main, such were concerned with works of architecture – visible markers of presences – and not interiors. Not liable to interventions from the outside, sophisticated decorative programs found in interiors often stood in stark contrast to unassuming exteriors. While it is customary to treat under "regulated architecture" that by the empire's non-Muslim subjects, with architectural "decline" often employed to demonstrate the inferior position of non-Muslim subjects, we shall here also discuss buildings for use by Muslims, who also were not free to engage in constructions according to their fancy.[361]

Recent scholarship has stressed the intimate connection between the form(s) of buildings and the social status of their patrons. Certain elements, such as large domes, multiple minarets, or lead-covered roofs, were reserved for specific classes of patrons. Monuments could thus be read as expressive of a certain status or an ambition.[362] The "hanging" wooden dome on the interior of the mosque of Handân Ağa (1617/8) at Prusac, for example, concealed by the roof of the exterior of this massive structure, shows us that domes were apparently found desirable even by patrons not expected to build domes. This may have been the case with this provincial *ağa*, inferior in rank to the *paşa*s and *beğ*s who sponsored most domed mosques in Bosnia. It may have been understood as a compromise between ambition and feasibility for Handân Ağa to

[361] The necessity of permissions is emphasized by Kiel, *Art and society*, p. 191.

[362] See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, ch. 3

employ skilled carpenters to fabricate a faux dome that was invisible from the outside but recognizable from the interior.

Even more curious in this respect is the so-called Alaca Câmi‘ in Tetovo in NW-Macedonia (ills 24-5): both the exterior and the interior of this building, which in its present form dates to 1833/4, are lavishly painted. Money was not an issue for the local strongman who had it rebuilt and decorated, but instead of a lead-covered dome we again only see a wooden dome concealed under a roof. The patron actually was a *paşa*, at least in title, but may he have thought that a “real” dome would have only drawn unnecessary attention from the capital, from where he was already being watched?[363] Be that as it may, we must note that there are cases of patrons who evidently had the funds but who chose not to include in their buildings features like domes that were traditionally seen as markers of authority. The aforementioned *paşa*’s contemporary and counterpart in northeastern Bosnia, *kapudan* Hüseyin of Gradačac, evidently had fewer problems with this issue: his mosque with remarkable carved sufaces, foreign to the Ottoman tradition, featured a dome and a tall minaret, as did its sixteenth-century models.[364]

Better known is the dictate according to which newly constructed churches were not allowed to have visible domes (see ill. 26 and 27).[365] Practice shows that it really only applied in urban environments, where indeed no domed buildings appeared until the mid-nineteenth century when restrictions were lifted. It did not necessarily apply in monastic establishments, where we see many Ottoman-period churches with domes. Very probably this had to do with degrees of visibility: the religious hierarchy at work in the Ottoman Empire was translated into townscapes. Belfries (where they existed) were not to be higher than minarets and domes were largely the reserve of Muslims. These precepts also extended to the aural domain of public space: the *ezzân* was not to

[363] The most detailed study of this remarkable building is Mehmet İbrahimgil, “Kalkandelen (Tetovo) Alaca-Paşa Camii,” in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XXVI (1997), pp. 249-66. The milieu of the *paşa*s of Skopje and Tetovo in the 1830s is best documented in A. Grisebach, *Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa im Jahre 1839*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1841, ch. 17&18.

[364] For this mosque, see Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika*, II, pp. 173-6.

[365] For the legal aspects of this restriction, see Gradeva, *Rumeli under the Ottomans*, ch. 11.

be disturbed, or challenged, by the ringing of bells.[366] Again, these "rules" did not apply in some monasteries and in the vassal states, whose status of belonging to the *dârü'l-İslâm* was ambiguous. What mattered was not fact but visibility.

The possibilities of artists to use their work as a means of self-expression were thus not only curtailed by the agenda and finances of the patron but also by a set of sometimes unwritten rules. As a means of regulation, systems of permission-granting and design-production were centralized: both the construction of Friday mosques and the rebuilding of churches required permissions from Istanbul. The Muslim community of a given place would sometimes very actively follow interventions to Christian buildings for fear that the law (and their community's prominence) might be violated through the enlargement of buildings. When at Kreševo in 1767 the "schismatic" Herzegovinian builders conspired with the friars to do just that, as discussed in chapter 2.4.2, they had to be sure that at that moment nobody was watching.

3.1.2. Design before design: conventions and structures

Histories of art that attribute the product of artistic processes to the agency of individuals acting autonomously in their planning and design often downplay the continuities of forms and concepts that have informed these processes.[367] These we may refer to as artistic structures or simply as conventions: a (significant) part of the

[366] An Italo-Greek traveller of the seventeenth century (Leone Allacci [Leo Allatios], *The newer temples of the Greeks*. Tr. Anthony Cutler. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1969, pp. 5-6) recorded that bells had been used in the Middle Ages, but after the Ottoman conquest "the use of bells in the cities in which they lived was interrupted. The Turks feared that the sound might strike fear into wandering souls and destroy the peace which they enjoy … The priests, therefore, use a wooden instrument to summon the Greeks to church … Bells of brass or copper are very rare in Greece unless the town in which the Christians live is far removed from traffic with the Turks. But there are many very old bells on Mount Athos and timepieces which, without help, tell the hours by the noise they produce."

[367] In George Kubler's critique (*The Shape of time: remarks on the history of things*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965, pp. vii-viii, 5-6), the dominant definition of art as symbolic language neglects the recognition of art as a system of formal relations. Visual images from the past are present, and interfere, in almost all art; even the non-figural art form of architecture is guided by the ways of admired buildings of the past. Biological metaphors commonly employed to describe artistic periods – birth, flowering, death – are only waystations downplaying the continuous nature of artistic traditions.

outcome is determined even before planning and production. This chapter deals with those aspects of buildings and artworks that were unlikely to be bones of contention in the communication between artists and patrons over the physical outcome of their collaboration, as to them they were a matter of course. Save for iconographers' manuals, we have no contemporary sources specifying these "unwritten directives"; the best evidence is the material one.

A fairly obvious case is that of Orthodox Christian painting in the Ottoman Balkans, which adhered to the so-called post-iconoclastic system. Established in the ninth century in the wake of the iconoclast controversy, it responded to the perceived misuse of saintly representations for purposes of magic by codification. In contrast to the post-medieval tradition of representation in the West, which championed naturalist realism, the Orthodox convention was a different sort of realism: for these saintly representations to be "accurate" and "authentic," they had to follow their prototypes as closely as possible. Their functionality depended on the faithfulness of the copy and the recognizability of the represented. Not illusion but definition was the goal of the iconographer. Marks of distinction include strongly accentuated facial features, the colour of hair, or dress.[368] Moreover, certain spaces in churches were reserved for certain programs.[369] Of course, painting between the tenth and the nineteenth century did not remain unchanged, but the basic precepts of this art, their iconographical framework, did.[370]

The physical framework too did not change much after the ninth and tenth century, for the cross-in-square plan had proven the ideal shell for the iconographical program to be given adequate consideration. Nevertheless, the architecture would always be adapted to the occasion and specific program to be considered.[371] And even

[368] Military saints, for instance, may be identified by their being shown in armour and with shaven faces. Women would most often have their hair concealed, and would be portrayed while still at young age. Round faces, on the other hand, do not necessarily make reference to such features as a major sign of recognition but, considered the most beautiful face form, may have also contributed to the communication of a certain persona as beautiful. Monks or bishops might be represented in a less "corporal" way than, say, military saints.

[369] These are discussed in Kiel, *Art and society*, ch. VIII.B2.

[370] For an extensive survey of the problematic, see Henry Maguire, *The icons of their bodies: saints and their images in Byzantium*. Princeton: University Press, 1996.

[371] See e.g. Ousterhout (*Master builders*, esp. ch. 1), who insists on the "responsive" character of this architecture.

though limitations of sorts sometimes allowed for no more than a moderate single-naved structure, the cross-in-square plan's popularity throughout the Ottoman period seems to suggest that it remained the superlative.

The problem this poses for art history is perhaps best illustrated by the catholicon of the monastery outside the village of Kučevište near Skopje, built at an unknown date on a cross-in-square plan with a regular dome. Its remarkable frescoes are dated by inscriptions to 1591, 1630/1[372], and 1701; but this, of course, does not tell us whether the building as such is Ottoman, and thus an interesting case of relatively monumental architecture for the period, or pre-Ottoman, in which case it would not surprise. The masony too could be from the fourteenth or the sixteenth centuries. A hint for the possibility of its dating to the sixteenth century indeed is the fact that during the Ottoman centuries it stood on land taxed not by the state but by a *vakf*.[373] Practice seems to suggest that the restrictions on new churches did not always apply in such territories.[374]

Clearer is the case of the catholicon of Novo Hopovo in the Fruška Gora (near Novi Sad). An inscription reveals its construction to have been completed in 1576 with funds by the merchants Lacko and Marko Jovšić from Ráckeve (near Budapest). One of the most monumental post-Byzantine monuments, this church combines the cross-in-square plan with a tri-conch (ill. 29), thus following a model popular in Moravian Serbia in the fourteenth century that is thought to have been inspired by Athonite models. The same plan is seen at the rebuilt catholicon of the Bačkovo monastery near Plovdiv (rebuilt 1604; painted ca. 1643), which was similarly sponsored by merchants. Donor portraits of Kyr Geōrgios and his son Kōnstantinos, of Istanbul, in the narthex show them in in "oriental" garb.[375] The monumentality of Novo Hopovo and Bačkovo, which share, in addition to the "Athonite" plan, the representation of a series of ancient

[372] It was then that the narthex was rebuilt and repainted, including images of ancient philosophers.

[373] Kučevište belonged to the *vakf* of the illustrious fifteenth-century marcher lord 'Isâ Beğ. The *vakfiye* has been published by Elezović, Gliša. "Turski Spomenici u Skoplju [I]", in: *Glasnik skopskog naučnog društva*, I (1926), pp. 135-76, cit. 45-101.

[374] In the large village of Arbanasi (near Veliko Tărnovo), which belonged to the *vakf* of the famed Rüstem Paşa, were built in Ottoman times no less than five new churches and two monasteries. See Kiel, *Art and society*, pp. 111-7.

[375] Basic information about both churches is found in Kiel, *Art and society*, p. 139-142, pp. 196-7, p. 329.

philosophers in their narthexes, is indeed exceptional for the Ottoman centuries. What they demonstrate, however, is that some models remained relatively unaffected by time and events.

The case with Ottoman-Islamic architecture was not that different, although here the "ideal" prototype was established only in the fifteenth century. At the end of that century, the large single-domed mosque with a three or five-bayed portico and a single slender minaret was becoming a type replicated frequently in the southern half of the region. In the middle decades of the following century it would conquer the northern half, with the preserved examples in Bosnia-Herzegovina being almost exact copies of each other (ill. 18).

While the single-domed mosques are certainly the most monumental Muslim buildings following the abandonment of the "Great Mosque" at the end of the fifteenth century,[376] the vast majority of mosques and oratories were roofed and much more primitive. The single-domed mosque was a type whose construction was largely restricted to a certain class of patrons, the military-administrative elite (*askerî*). The vast majority of such buildings date from the sixteenth century, but examples from all periods until the demise of the empire show the continued attraction of the type, for instance as a marker of success and prestige.[377] Late Ottoman provincial strongmen would rediscover these forms when they chose to engage in architectural patronage.[378] At the Azîziye in Brezovo Polje on the Habsburg-Ottoman Sava border, built in the 1860s for refugees from Serbia, we see that the type seems to have proven resistant enough even to assimilate elements derived from Western European forms (ill. 34).[379]

Decoration, certainly compared to the Christian Orthodox case, was far less an issue in Ottoman-Islamic architecture, for there it did not have to respond to liturgical requirements. The fact that so few mosque interiors from the fifteenth and sixteenth

[376] Representative examples of such "cathedral mosques" are preserved in Sofia, Skopje, Plovdiv, and Didymoteichon.

[377] I discuss these shifts in my article "The history of centre-periphery relations as a history of style in Ottoman provincial architecture," in: *Centres and peripheries in Ottoman architecture*, pp. 18-29.

[378] For examples, see ch. 3.4.

[379] This very interesting building, destroyed in the recent war, has so far escaped the attention of architectural historians. For the basic data and some discussion, see Fehim Hadžimuhamedović, "Turski neoklasicizam Azizije džamije u Brezovom Polju," in: *Baština/Heritage*, V (2009), pp. 249-316.

century have survived in the Balkans makes their discussion tentative;[380] it seems safe to say, however, that the murals are and were purely decorative, not didactic. Even when landscapes became a popular subject of murals in the second half of the eighteenth century, providing an alternative to decorative programs traditionally dominated by geometric and vegetal forms, it was clear for patrons and painters alike that there would be no human figures in Muslim buildings. It is in the same century that there appeared forms clearly derived from the European Baroque. If we can take the decorative program of the Alaca Câmi‘ at Foča (ill. 20) as an example for how sixteenth-century buildings were originally embellished, one might say that landscape murals of the eighteenth and nineteenth century certainly display a greater degree of individualism. Due to later restorations it is hard to say anything about the decoration of Ottoman mosques before the sixteenth century. Large-scale calligraphy broadcast in a quasi-semiotic way, apparently typically set against a white background, can still be seen at fifteenth-century buildings in Edirne and Didymoteichon and may have been the rule at that time. Change over time can only be well tracked regarding the content of inscriptions, which gets gradually more detailed and less formulaic.[381]

Before turning to a discussion of the role of the patron in the work of the artist, it should be stressed that there were aspects of a building's, object's, or image's design that were socially and culturally determined before they could become a subject of discussion in the design process. This is most evident in the case of Orthodox Christian painting, where to be a successful painter meant more being an attentive observer than being inventive. In fact, too much innovation may have meant that the art had lost its purpose, its ritual and didactic function. The desires of patrons were, on the other hand, not only limited by the skills of the artists they employed but also by codes of decorum, as is most evident in the case of architecture, one of whose functions was to reflect social hierarchies.

[380] With residential architecture the problem of a lack of examples from before the nineteenth century is even greater, making the enterprise of tracking conventions and structures unfeasible.

[381] Klaus Kreiser, "Über einige Eigenschaften osmanischer Inschriften," in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, XXX (1980) pp. 279-87.

3.2. The artist as accomplice and service provider

3.2.1. Functions of the image and image-makers

This chapter discusses the services rendered by artists to patrons and the implications of this collaboration for the topic of this study. While the communication between these two parties pertaining to matters of style and execution will be discussed in chapter 3.3, I shall here approach the problem from the viewpoint of the "ideological" functions of the product commissioned from the artist. In recognizing that the product that we consider Art was not produced, as Belting distinguishes, in an "era of art" but an "era of the image,"[382] the question of whether to consider the producer as an executor or an accomplice, or both, seems relevant enough. For most of the art that is the subject of this study is not an art that was produced for a market, for a buyer purchasing a ready-made product, but one that was planned in concert with a patron.

The notion of the artist's co-responsibility for the form and content of the product paid for by a patron is, in fact, present already in the foundational discourses of Byzantine iconography. At the iconoclastic Synod of Hiereia, held in Constantinople in 754 was cursed "the painter, who from sinful love of gain depicts that which should not be depicted." Finally, the synod resolved that churches should do away with "every likeness which is made out of any material and colour whatever by *the evil art of painters*."[383] As is well known, the iconophiles proved victorious in the end; the

[382] Belting (*Likeness and presence*, p. 9) claims that the "era of the image" is difficult to be imagined by us, who are so deeply influenced by the "era of art." Effacing a crucial difference, art history, he argues, declared everything to be art "in order to bring everything within its domain."

[383] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, XIV. Eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1955, pp 543-45 (italics are mine). With "his polluted hands," thus the accusation, he tries to fashion "that which should only be believed in the heart and confessed with the mouth." Making an image and calling it Christ, he is "guilty of a double blasphemy – the one in making an image of the Godhead, and the other by mingling the Godhead and manhood."While much of iconoclastic rhetoric revolved around the question of the representation of the divine, theologians also took office in the function to which saintly portraits had been put, namely as signs working against evil powers. The support of the Byzantine emperor Leo III (r. 717-41) for the iconoclast cause, however, can also be seen as grounded in non-theological considerations. The power of monasteries had increased in Leo's age due to their increasing union with the commoners, which was seen as a threat to metropolitan authority by the emperor. Monasteries had become popular places of pilgrimage; people arrived there with questions, worries, requests, and gifts. Celebrated miracle-working icons earned monasteries not only fame and influence but also income, adding to the revenue from

outcome was a rigidly codified iconography of saintly representations. Churches became the shells for extensive iconographic programs that illustrated Christian tradition. Yet, also this art was not merely an expression of devotion to the faith; it was also useful.

The continuing "use value" of this art in the Ottoman Balkan context is perhaps best illustrated by the record of an encounter in 1659 of the Ottoman traveller Evliyâ Çelebi and an Orthodox priest at the monastery church of the Three Hierarchs at Iaşi, which was then fairly recently built, with geometric ornament decorating its exterior, by the Moldavian vassal prince (*voyvoda*) Vasile Lupu (referred to by Evliyâ as "Lipul Beğ"). Asked by the traveller for the reason why such "likenesses" (named here *tasvîr* and *sûret*) needed to be produced by and for use by Christians, the priest is reported to have replied:

> Truth be told, my lord, our infidel lot [*kefere tâ'ifesi*] is stupid. When we deliver sermons and counsels on our pulpits they don't understand our words; for, like your *şeyh*s, we speak in an eloquent tongue [*talâkat-ı lisân*]. Therefore, these images were made for us to show to our Christians during the sermon and explain what heaven and hell are like, what is the Last Judgment [etc.][384]

3.2.2. Representation and upward social mobility

Patrons often used art as an instrument to communicate their claim for status through the appropriation of certain forms for their purposes; they could be advised in this venture by the artist or he could merely execute the project according to the patron's own specifications. While the sultanic mosques of Istanbul rather blatantly did this on a larger scale by appropriating the forms of the Hagia Sophia that signified the legitimacy of the Ottomans as the holders of authority over a Balkan-Anatolian empire while discontinuing the original function of Hagia Sophia as a church, there are numerous

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their often extensive, tax-exempt land holdings. By forbidding the worship of images, concludes Hauser (*Social history of art*, I, pp. 126-7), who focuses on the realpolitical aspects of the iconoclast controversy, the emperor deprived the monasteries of their most effective means of propaganda.

[384] *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V, p. 183 [transl. MH].

examples for such processes on a provincial level as well. The increased upward social mobility of non-Muslim individuals in a late-Ottoman context, for instance, appears to have been communicated by their partaking in a trans-confessional visual culture: mansions of the wealthy in locales like Plovdiv were built and lavishly painted in a style that evidently took Istanbul as reference (see e.g. ill. 41). The "Baroque" elements in this style were not so much an expression of their owners' and painters' acquaintance with the visual culture of the West than with that of the Ottoman capital, which remained the principal reference among these elites. The surviving examples show that the painters must have been very well aware of the trends in the capital.[385] Very probably this was because of occasional working sojourns there, possibly as assistants of masters based in the capital. Could such experience, and the resulting privileged acquaintance with metropolitan trends, have increased the market value of certain artists?

An early, ambiguous, but highly interesting possible case of a rising group of patrons appropriating meaningful forms for their purposes is that of the funerary monuments of Bosnia-Herzegovina and adjacent areas known as *stećci* ("standers"). Traditionally seen as a legacy of a medieval Bosnian heresy and its adherents, many *stećci* were adorned with pictorial representations of, among other things, hunting and festival scenes. Yet, pointing to the fact that the earliest datable funerary block with figural representations dates only to 1477, Wenzel argued for the figural as opposed to the non-figural blocks, all commonly referred to as *stećci*, to be acknowledged as an Ottoman-period phenomenon. According to this author's interpretation, they were the product of a newly prominent group's appropriating the funerary art of fourteenth-century Herzegovinian noble families for their purposes. This group was that of the "Vlasi," whose background was in stockbreeding, and who had settled in the karst regions of Herzegovina. In the early Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, that is, in the second half of the fifteenth century, they rose to prominence as armed and mounted guards accompanying the caravans between the new and rich metal mines of East Bosnia and Dubrovnik. This may also explain the iconography of, for example, opposing horsemen found on some funerary blocks, in addition to the appropriation of

[385] Examples from the capital as well as the Balkans and elsewhere are compared and discussed in Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma döneminde Türk resim sanatı, 1700-1850*. Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1977.

an iconography local to the Herzegovina region to which they had resettled.[386] If this interpretation is correct, the figural *stećci* were the product of a new elite that had become wealthy providing security services for the lucrative mine economy's trade. Without an art of their own, their new home's monumental (funerary) heritage was reinterpreted in a way that must have made sense both to the locals (continuity of forms associated with distinction) and the ex-stockbreeders (iconography of battle scenes and animals).

A less ambiguous example of art expressing eminence is that of donor portraits. When in the pre-Ottoman period the patronage of Orthodox Christian art and architecture was in the main undertaken by sovereigns, the nobility, and high-ranking clergy, these foundation acts were usually recorded in inscriptions and often illustrated through donor portraits in the narthexes of churches, which often served funerary functions. The loss of these comfortably wealthy groups of patrons limited the potentials of Christian art under Ottoman rule, possibly even more so than the Ottoman-Islamic restrictions. While patronage and art continued after the Ottoman conquest, they did so under different premises. The traditional groups of patrons were replaced by a new class of non-Muslim office-holders in the Ottoman military/administrative system, where they held titles such as *sipâhî*, *knez*, or *voyvoda*, as well as by traders and craftsmen from very varied backgrounds.[387] The donor portraits they occasionally left behind are not schematic and occasionally betray something of the personalities of the patrons. The *sipâhî* Vojin, for instance, had himself portrayed at Pljevlja (100km SE of Sarajevo) in 1592 in a manner reminiscent of a monk. At Morača (near Podgorica), the "*veliki knez*" Vukić Vučetić, by contrast, chose to be depicted in 1574 as a man with short hair, moustache, and fine garb next to the Archangel Michael.[388] Of great interest

[386] Marian Wenzel, "Bosnian and Herzegovinian tombstones: who made them and why," in: *Südostforschungen*, XXI (1962), pp. 102-43. There are indeed inscriptions that can be interpreted as "dualist" in the sense of the mentioned sect, but this appears to simply mean that the style of tombstones was no exclusive to one faith. The extant examples, discussed in Wenzel, record both Catholic and Orthodox "owners."

[387] Next to merchants of all kinds of goods or goldsmiths can also be encountered in donor inscriptions goat hair weavers (*mutâfçı*) and even bakers (*simitçi*). For these examples, cf. Kiel, *Art and society*, p. 136-7, 307, 331-2 and Sreten Petković, "Art and patronage in Serbia during the early period of Ottoman rule (1450–1600)," in: *Byzantinische Forschungen*, XVI (1991), pp. 401-14.

[388] Petković, "Art and patronage," pp. 405-6, and plates I and II.

is also the portrait of an unnamed donor and his wife in the simple single-naved church at Divlje near Skopje, dated 1604/5: the portrait shows a relatively young, stylishly dressed couple, both sporting earrings. Lazaliska believes them to be "*plemenski knezovi*"[389] (clan leaders), but this is both vague and probably incorrect. Their garment, youth, and idleness may rather suggest that this man was a prosperous merchant of Skopje, keen to exhibit his wealth.

While in early modern Europe painted stand-alone portraits of living persons were already widely-used for purposes of image-making, they remained an exception in the Balkans until the nineteenth century. Some of the traditional reservations against this format were recorded by the Irish traveller Dodwell at the beginning of the nineteenth century: after he had his Italian painter draw a portrait of a "female black slave" at Corinth, who was "so astonished, and even frightened at the resemblance [between herself and the portrait], that she cried bitterly, and begged us to take back our money, and undraw her," he generalized that "most scrupulous and unenlightened Mohamedans have a kind of horror of their likeness being put upon paper" due to possibly harmful repercussions in the afterlife. Yet, Dodwell not only also knew of "a Greek painter [at Constantinople], whose business it is to take likenesses of the imperial family," but had made the acquaintance of "several Turks, and even Blacks, who have had no scruples on the subject."[390] The attitude toward representational art, it is implied, thus depended on class.

Half a century later the situation was already very different, as a snapshot of Bosnia in the 1860s would suggest. There is evidence for the painting of portraits not only within the Catholic community,[391] for which one might argue that the connections with their coreligionists abroad had them embrace certain forms foreign to the Balkans more willingly and rapidly,[392] but also in Orthodox and even Muslim circles. Zafir (a.k.a Stanislav) Dospevski from Samokov, for example, is on record for having painted

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[389] Sneška Lazaliska, *Hristijanskite spomenici na kulturata vo Skopje i Skopsko*. Skopje: Muzej na Grad Skopje, 2000, p. 92.

[390] Edward Dodwell, *A classical and topographical tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805, and 1806*. London: Rodwell and Martin, 1819, I, pp. 123-4.

[391] Cf. Mazalić, *Leksikon*, p. 80, 120.

[392] See the remarks on Stjepan Dragojlović in ch. 2.2.6 and 2.5.4.

a portrait of a member of the Jeftanović family of Sarajevo in this decade.[393] One should not dismiss the possibility that this artist, who was the son of the famous Samokov painter and pioneer of portraiture Zahari Zograf,[394] may already have travelled throughout the region on the lookout for commissions.[395] A more institutionalized position was held by a certain Mustafâ, known only to have been born somewhere in Anatolia; he had come to Sarajevo in or around 1860 as a *yüzbaşı*, teaching drawing at the local military school. Trained in Paris, he painted the portraits of several prominent Ottomans in Sarajevo at that time, such as Topal 'Osmân Pasha or Çerkez 'Alî Paşa.[396]

3.2.3. Didactics, image-making, and social commentary

While scholarship on Orthodox Christian church painting has traditionally been more concerned with a mapping of theological content of the often extensive iconographical ensembles, these works occasionally also contain profane messages and aspects and references not to the biblical age but that of patrons, artists, and the users of these spaces. Murals with "secular" content are typically found in the narthex of an Orthodox church, a space with a less rigorously codified program. Left of the entrance is usually found a representation of Heaven, to the right is Hell. In depicting the latter, artists and their patrons had a relatively free hand in choosing which kinds of wrongdoers would be left to be punished. Among which could count falsifiers of weights and measures, thieves of cattle, inn-keepers who diluted wine with water, peasants seeking to appropriate their neighbour's land, sorceresses, those guilty of adultery or bestiality, etc.[397] No doubt that these were echoes less of the wrongs seen by Christ but of the communities that inhabited the areas. Given the didactic function of Last Judgment

[393] Mazalić, *Leksikon*, p. 40.

[394] For this connection, see Vasiliev, *Bălgarski văzroždenski majstori*, p. 394.

[395] Dospevski also painted a self-portrait (cf. Vasiliev, *Bălgarski văzroždenski majstori*, p. 400), which shows him as a maybe forty-year old gentlemen, and may thus be dated to the 1860s.

[396] Mazalić, *Leksikon*, pp. 100-1.

[397] For these examples, see Kiel, *Art and society*, p. 275; Petković, "Art and patronage," p. 412.

representations, one might even suggest that some of these sins were not generic but may have been commissioned specifically as a response to local problems. Such representations would make clear to potentially viewing sinners (or those communicating with them) that punishment would await them not only in this world. Yet, if we take the example of the Samokov painter Zahari Zograf's representation of the non-Muslim *çorbacı*s of Plovdiv and adulteresses dressed in the fashion of the day in the context of the fresco depicting the Last Judgment in the catholicon of Bačkovo monastery (near Plovdiv),[398] it is not entirely clear whether the inclusion of this feature was due to the artist's initiative or desired by the patron(s).

Chapman has given artists more credit as "social commentators" in the case of a theme found in a number of eighteenth-century churches in the Mani peninsula of the Peloponnesus. In a relatively compact area could be identified fifteen examples of the *Ainoi* (Lauds) in which, in reference to a phrase from Psalm 148:11 ("Kings of the earth, and all people; princes, and all judges of the earth"), as judges (*krites*) are depicted a Venetian and an Ottoman, yielding authority over a celebrating crowd often dressed in local costumes and playing instruments specific to the area (see ills. 32-3). In a region traditionally priding itself on its independence, even under Venetian and Ottoman rule, this is certainly peculiar. Chapman suggests that the area's inhabitants may have regretted "the disappearance of a (relatively) neutral legal structure that brought some sort of impartiality to the inter-village and inter-family feuding which appear to have been endemic to the area." The tyranny of local oligarchs (known in the Mani as *kapetanoi*) was consistently remarked upon by Western commentators. Chapman thus suggests that the painters were giving voice to this discontent. "Stern moralists," the artists of the so-called School of Koutifari, named after a Mani village that supplied the peninsula with painters in this period, usually also included a depiction of a priest in contemporary dress being swallowed by a beast. This happened, as an accompanying inscription explains, because he was a "foolish and heretical Arius." Since these paintings were located in the sanctuary, reserved for priests, it is obvious that the (painters') message was intended for them.[399]

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[398] Cf. Macdermott, *A History of Bulgaria*, pp. 305-6.

[399] John Chapman, "The strange case of the Turkish and Venetian judges in eighteenth-century Mani wall paintings," in: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, XXX/2 (2006), pp. 151–66, esp. pp. 165-6.

Images like the aforementioned would have been unthinkable in a mosque, of course, but that does not mean that in Islamic contexts – in the broadest sense – the utility of images publicly displayed for didactic purposes was not recognized. A curious and certainly exceptional example of such display could once be found on the palaces of ʻAlî Paşa and his sons at Iōannina, which was seen and described by Pouqueville in 1798. Reporting its buildings to be "constructed in the general mode of Turkey," the Frenchman stressed the peculiarity of their adornment "with paintings in fresco, executed by Armenians."[400] Their content, he ridiculed, echoed the absurd taste of their patrons. Scenes painted in an undisclosed location in the palace of ʻAlî Paşa's son Velî Paşa, for example, showed "camps, piles of human heads, colours, sieges in which the bombs are larger than the houses." More interesting yet is the record of a mural over the entrance to the palace of ʻAlî Paşa's other son, Muhtâr, which represented him "surrounded by his guards, assisting at the execution of a man suspended on a gibbet."[401] Location and subject here strongly suggest that this painting was intended to instruct.

Interesting examples of image-use were also reported from the autonomous *paşalık* of Belgrade, i.e. the Principality of Serbia. In Šabac, a town around 60km west of Belgrade, the British traveller Paton was in the 1840s led into "a house which contained portraits of Kara Georg, Milosh, Michael, Alexander, and other personages who have figured in Servian history." Most curious he found an oil-painted portrait of Miloš Obrenović which, although lacking the realism expected of European painting at the time – Paton judged that it was "altogether without *chiaro scuro*" – was exceptionally detailed what regards Miloš's "decorations, button holes, and even a large mole on his cheek." More than a mere portrait inspired by egotism, this portrait was evidently sent to the western Serbian town to broadcast the former prince's claim for legitimacy, however. According to Paton, the painting showed Miloš pointing with one hand toward "a scroll, on which was inscribed *Ustav*, or Constitution,"[402] the forefinger of the hand being adorned with a noticeably large diamond ring. Apparently, Miloš not

[400] For these Armenian painters, see also ch. 2.4.4.

[401] Pouqueville, *Travels in Epirus*, p. 70.

[402] This must have either been the draft of 1835 (called "Sretenjski ustav") or the constitution of 1838, which was recognized by the sultan (and hence known as "Turski ustav").

only sought to visualize his role as a liberator and law-giver but also as a conspicuous consumer, as expected of a man of authority.[403]

To some extent, also the Ottoman architect could be discussed in his role as an image-maker. The product of his work was a certain architectural stereotype of the Ottoman city, perceptible in both Western and Ottoman sources of already the sixteenth century.[404] This stereotype was manifest less in individual buildings, which rarely featured in such descriptions, but in silhouettes. These were dominated by the lofty Ottoman minarets, which announced Ottoman sovereignty already from afar. Minarets were among the first structures to be built upon Ottoman conquest and, unsurprisingly, the first structures to be toppled upon its overthrow. Taller than the existing bell-towers of churches, where not demolished or turned into minarets, also here a "hierarchy of the cityscape" was observed in terms of the height of minarets (vis-à-vis bell-towers) as reflecting the dominance of one group over another. Similarly important were the, usually hemispherical, domes covered with lead.[405] In urban panoramas, they identified the locations of institutions serving the public: mosques, bathhouses, commercial and educational structures. The quantity of domes, often reproduced generically irrespective of structural necessity, signified the prosperity of towns through their association with

[403] Paton, *Servia*, pp. 114-5. This traveller also visited the residence of *knez* Aleksandar Karađorđević outside Belgrade's "Istanbul-gate," where Paton (p. 289) saw a room "where the portrait of his father [i.e. Aleksandar's father Karađorđe], the duplicate of one painted for the emperor Alexander [presumably: of Russia], hung from the wall. He was represented in the Turkish dress, and wore his pistols in his girdle; the countenance expressed not only intelligence but a certain refinement, which one would scarcely expect in a warrior peasant." It is interesting that Aleksandar kept a duplicate of the portrait sent to the Tsar; perhaps in order to show it to visitors?

[404] Cf. Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The image of an Ottoman city: imperial architecture and urban experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2004, ch. 6; Ludá Klusákova, "Between reality and stereotype: town views of the Balkans," in: *Urban History*, XXVIII/3 (2001), pp. 358-77.

[405] Denny ("Provincial Ottoman architecture and the metropolitan style," pp. 243-4) defines the Ottoman "imperial style" as set of distinguishing characteristics that includes: 1) an "aesthetic muscularity of structure and an acute sense of site and silhouette"; 2) the dome as a structural centerpiece and "repetitive modular unit that gives a building scale," thus being both a motif and a signifier of scale and meaning as well as a structural component; 3) an "enormous clarity of interior space"; 5) most characteristically, the cylindrical minaret, the primary signifier of the Ottoman style in far-flung provinces, even if the rest of building is "un-Ottoman."

an Islamic, social, and commercial infrastructure.[406] With regards to these two elements, so strongly coded, patrons and their builders had little room for variation, despite the availability of related forms in both Western and Islamic architectures that could have served as models for distinction.[407] What mattered was the clarity and recognizability of these forms by friend and foe alike. Established signifiers of prosperity and authority, they were even used in the period ca. 1750-1850 by provincial strongmen antagonistic to Istanbul. By that time they had, apparently, become independent of their previous role as markers of a self-imposed allegiance to Istanbul.[408] Now they were appropriated as mere expressions of their patrons' power. Their architects were no longer members of the Corps of Royal Architects in the capital, dispatched to the provinces where necessary, but, presumably, local builders commissioned by local strongmen to copy forms associated with authority as closely as possible.

In sum, we can assert that the artist – whether a painter, carver, or architect – did not merely produce art but products that served certain functions benefiting those who paid for them. While the artists cannot really be held accountable for the use to which their products were put, they were certainly aware of the fact that their clients' aim was often not merely the adornment of a structure or object as such but to underline the patrons' prominence or promote their agendas in other ways. To guarantee the utility or efficacy of the output, patrons may have intervened during production. In many cases the product was certainly that of a thorough process of deliberation, in which the artist's role was that of a medium for the (visual) communication of the intentions of others, not of what Hauser would call a "free intellectual worker." [409] Rather than an exception, as it would be now in most cases, this aspect was simply part of these pre-modern artists' trade.

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[406] On the hierarchy of Ottoman cities according to institutions found in them, see Watenpaugh, *Image of an Ottoman city*, ch. 6.

[407] In the Arab provinces, Mamluk forms (including types of plans and minarets) continued throughout the Ottoman period, coexisting with Istanbulite types. The latter were usually sponsored by agents close to the central administration in the Ottoman capital. There existed no such dualism in the Balkans.

[408] For the question of models, see ch. 3.4.

[409] Hauser, *Social history of art,* II, p. 46.

3.3. Reconstructing communication between artist and patron

3.3.1. Likeness and choice: evidence for notions of regional, personal, and period styles

This chapter is concerned with the question of the existence of such thing as an awareness of style and styles in the Ottoman Balkans. More specifically, it is interested in the extent to which notions of style may have informed the communication between patrons and artists about the envisioned product. There is, needless to say, a gap between the names of styles as used by art historians and ways of describing the same modes by contemporaries, with some examples from our geography to be discussed below. Regarding the definition of style as a concept, there is certainly less of a gap in perception. Whichever term is employed, style is commonly explained with reference to likeness.[410] In descriptions of art, then, the concept of style is used to characterize relationships among works of art made at the same time, in the same place, or by the same person or groups.[411] Gombrich diverges from the more formalist definitions of style by Ackerman and Focillon in his emphasis on a linkage between style and choice, and thus the act of giving an expressive character to distinction.[412] Ultimately,

[410] Ackerman thus defines as style a distinguishable ensemble of "certain characteristics which are more or less stable, in the sense that they appear in other products of the same artist(s), era or locale, and flexible, in the sense that they change according to a definable pattern." Cf. James S. Ackerman, "A theory of style," in: *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, XX/3 (1962), pp. 227-37, cit. p. 227.

[411] Ibid. This process may be inverted "to allow hypotheses that works of the same style are from the same time, place, or person(s)," whereby style is not only an "indispensable historical tool" but also the most comprehensive of all structures for the history of art, "since it is the only one that can be built with minimal external documentation on the evidence of works of art alone." Focillon similarly sees a style constituted by the "index value" of formal elements, "which make up its repertory, its vocabulary and, occasionally, the very instrument with which it wields its power." Cf. Henri Focillon, *The life of forms in art.* Tr. Charles B. Hogan and George Kubler. New York: Zone books, [1934] 1989, p. 46.

[412] Ernst Gombrich, "Style" [1968], repr. in *The art of art history: a critical anthology*. Ed. Donald Preziosi. Oxford: University Press, 1988, pp. 150-63, cit. pp. 150-1. He provides the following example: "The girl who chooses a certain style of dress will in this very act express her intention of appearing in a certain character or social role at a given occasion. The board of directors that chooses a contemporary style for a new office building may equally be concerned with the firm's image. The laborer who puts on his overalls or the builder who erects a bicycle shed is not aware of any act of choice, and although the outside observer may realize that there are alternative forms

Gombrich holds that there can be no question of style "unless the speaker or writer has the possibility of choosing between alternative forms of expression." Significantly, he moreover points to the doctrine of decorum, that is, the appropriateness of style to the occasion.[413]

In the discussion of the visual arts, the word "style" came into usage only fairly late. A history of (western) art constituted itself as a sequence of period styles, with names for styles denoting either the dependence on or the derivation from a classical norm.[414] This process has worked in similar terms in the discussion of the artistic traditions relevant to the Balkans, as can be seen in qualifiers like "Byzantine," "post-Byzantine," or "early," "classical," and "post-classical" or even "Baroque" Ottoman architecture. Here, the locus of what is normative in the artistic heritage of Balkan-Orthodox Christianity is the pre-Ottoman period; the continuation of the tradition in the Ottoman period becomes "post" in reference to its succeeding the (normative) medieval period. Similarly, the "classical" in the Ottoman case refers to the period between the late fifteenth and the early seventeenth centuries; it is from there that an "early" and a "post-classical" period are constructed. All these, to be sure, are modern categories. But as some stylistic signifiers were used in the communication between artist and patron in the West,[415] it is certainly justified to ask if such too was the practice in the Ottoman Balkans.

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of working outfits or sheds, their characterization as 'styles' may invite psychological interpretations that can lead him astray."

[413] Ibid. Style is defined by Gombrich as "any distinctive, and therefore recognizable, way in which an act is performed or an artifact made or ought to be performed and made." The term functions to describe and classify "the various ways of doing or making, according to the groups or countries or periods where these were or are habitual." It may also take its name from a particular person or institutions with "a distinctive way of procedure or production."

[414] Gombrich, "Style," p. 152. Despite a number of instances from the late sixteenth century and thereafter, "style" became established as a term of art history in the eighteenth century, largely through Winckelmann, whose treatment of "the Greek style" as an expression of the Greek way of life paved the way for others doing the same for the medieval Gothic.

[415] While the Romanesque or the Rococo began their careers as art-historical categories only around 1800, there is evidence for that also in earlier times stylistic signifiers were used in the description of art. The Gothic was known as the "French style" (*opus francigenium*), and one might assume that when elements of it entered pre-Renaissance Italy, these were identified as "French." In Vasari (*Le Vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori italiani*, p. 139), a distinction is made between

The very existence of such thing as "art criticism" pertaining to style is most easily found in the case of calligraphy. In Mehmed Ağa's *Risâle*, for instance, is found a section in which his biographer Ca'fer Efendi remembers details of a meeting between the Albanian-born chief royal architect (then the waterworks inspector of Istanbul) and a second-hand book dealer. Interestingly, he is said to have carried a book "with calligraphy in the style of Yâkût [*Yâkût hattı*], paper from Daulatabad [in India], verses in the borders throughout in the Ottoman manner [*resm-i 'osmânî*], some letters resembling the monumental cursive [*celî*] of the *şeyh* [Hamdullâh] and some tending toward Ibn Mukla's."[416] Evliyâ Çelebi used similar labels to describe the art he encounter during his travels in the Ottoman Balkans. In Babadag, for instance, he saw "a thin lining [*hatt-ı reyhânî*] in the style of the [seventeenth-century] calligrapher Demircikulı, similar to the style of Yâkût-ı Musta'sımî."[417] In the Red Mosque of Esztergom (a converted cathedral) and the inscription on the Ergene bridge at Svilengrad he saw "Karahisârî tarzı celî"[418] and "Karahisârî Hasan Çelebi hattı"[419] respectively, that is, calligraphy in the distinctive style of the sixteenth-century calligrapher Ahmed Karahisârî (or his manumitted slave, adopted child, and fellow calligrapher Hasan b. 'Abdullâh, similarly known as Karahisârî). The Karahisârî style he also recognized at mid-sixteenth-century mosques at Čajniče and Foča (ill. 19), southeast of Sarajevo.[420] Though more rarely so, Evliya did not only use stylistic signifiers to describe calligraphy. At Esztergom, for instance, he reported to have seen a painted cupboard cover that looked like it had been done by the sixteenth-century court designers Şâhkulı and Ağa Rıza.

"the great art of painting as we know it today," that is, "drawing accurately from life," and the "crude Greek style" (*greca goffa maniera*). At the same time in the North came into fashion the *stile all'Italiana*, *stile all'antica* or *alla Romana* (cf. examples of use in DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art*, p. 207f.) These were not analytical categories but references to certain formal characteristics, equipped with a label understood by contemporaries.

[416] Slightly adapted from Cafer Efendi, *Risale* (tr. Crane), p. 36 and 21v of facsimile..

[417] *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, III, p. 206.

[418] Ibid., VI, p. 166.

[419] Ibid., III, p. 236.

[420] Ibid., VI, p. 166 and p. 253.

Iconographers' manuals of the same period discuss styles in a not dissimilar way, usually in relation to famous individual artists, such as Theophanēs Strelitzas (a. k. a. *o Krēs*, "the Cretan") or the enigmatic Manouēl Panselēnos.[421] The fact of the contemporaneity of different modes in the same regions also suggests that interested patrons could choose from alternative options. In Dionysios' *ermēneia* is moreover found the recognition of two styles distinct from his own (conservative) tradition, which he defines according to groups of painters from a certain region: the Russians ("Muscovites") and the Cretans.[422] By implication, Dionysios appears to have seen himself as working in the stylistic tradition of Panselēnos. In his *vita* is moreover found what appears to be a dispute concerning his style: the monk Hristoforos denounced him for the alleged unseemliness of the icons he painted for the Athonite Karakalou monastery. Eventually, a higher-ranking monk, Pafnoutios, came to the painter's defence and accused Hristoforos of complete ignorance with regards to this art. Dionysios, he claims, painted as he ought to. In other words, what Pafnoutios had criticized was Dionysios's style.[423]

In Evliyâ's ten-volume *Seyahâtnâme* are moreover found some phrases used in the classification of architectural monuments, which correspond to what we call style. A basic distinction was made between the style of the "core territories" of the Ottoman state in the Balkans and Anatolia (*Rûm*) and that specific to the Arab provinces. The latter differed in plan, the execution of walls, and the forms and importance given to features such as domes or minarets. Although this difference is implied – there is mention of a *tarz-ı Rûm* indeed, but not of something like an "Arab style" – Ottoman commentators also applied this label to the monuments built under Ottoman rule but not in the style of Istanbul or *Rûm*.[424] In the Balkans, all monuments were in the "*rûmî*" style anyway, so that this needed no stressing.[425] Evliyâ sometimes (and sometimes

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[421] Cf. Bentchev, *Technologie*, p. 67.

[422] *The 'painter's manual' of Dionysius of Fourna* (tr. Hetherington), pp. 11-2.

[423] Dēmaras, "Vios Dionysiou tou ek Fourna," p. 249.

[424] Çiğdem Kafesçioğlu, "'In the image of Rūm': Ottoman architectural patronage in sixteenth-century Aleppo and Damascus," in: *Muqarnas*, XVI (1999), pp. 70-96.

[425] Typically, *rûmî* ("Balkan-Anatolian") was contrasted with *acem* (i.e. Persian[ate]) and *arab*. See Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of one's own: reflections of

erroneously) attributes buildings to Sinân, but this seems to be more an index of perceived quality than a reference to a personal style. As one stylistic qualifier for a particularly stately mosque in the provinces he occasionally refers to monuments with something to the effect of their appearing "almost like a sultanic mosque" (*gûyâ bir câmi'i selâtîndir*).[426] Why he chooses to highlight some and not other mosques like this remains unclear. A phrase to this effect is used, for instance, in the case of the late-sixteenth-century "Zincirli mosque" at Serres, which with its octagonal baldachin dome support and lateral galleries indeed features a sophisticated, unusually Istanbulite plan. Evliyâ also uses this phrase in the case of early-seventeenth-century mosque of Koskı Mehmed Paşa, however, which is a completely generic building.[427] Both buildings once had a number of dependencies (such as, notably, *medrese*s) around them. It may be the case that an "almost sultanic mosque" for Evliyâ was one which was even statelier due to its position in a complex or cluster of buildings. Few of such "*külliye*s" are preserved in their entirety today; at Serres, for instance, the *medrese* disappeared but the mosque remains. This makes it hard to arrive at a definite conclusion as to the import of Evliyâ's usage of this phrase. "Style," in this case, may have simply referred to scope.

There is another phrase frequently used by Evliyâ which appears to most closely approach our modern definition of a stylistic signifier: *tarz-ı kadîm*, or the "old style."[428]

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cultural geography and identity in the lands of Rum," in: *Muqarnas*, XIV (2007), pp. 7-25.

[426] Thus, or similar, he refers to the Kara Ahmed Ağa mosque at Florina (*gûyâ câmi'-i selâtîndir*; cf. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V, p. 310), the mosques of Bulehnikli Hasan Paşa at Pljevlja (*gûyâ bir câmi'-i selâtîndir*; VI, p. 251), the Ferhâdiye at Banja Luka (*câmi'i selâtîn gibi*; V, p. 267), the mosque of Sokolluzâde Kurd Beğ at Havsa (*gûyâ câmi'-i selâtîndir*; III, p. 270), that of Koskı Mehmed Paşa at Mostar (*gûyâ bir ma'bedgâh-ı selâtîndir*; VI, p. 288), or the Selçuk Hâtun mosque in Serrres (*bu dahi hakkâ ki câmi'-i selâtîndir*; VIII, p. 58). Of the Sokollu Mehmed Paşa mosque at Istanbul-Azabkapı he writes: "He [the patron] was from among the viziers of the sovereign, but it resembles a brilliant mosque built by sultans." (*Hân vüzerâlarındır, ammâ Selâtin câmi'i misâl bir câmi'-i rûşendir;* I, p. 183.) Similarly he judges the mosque of Kara Ahmed Paşa in Istanbul-Fatih as follows: *selâtin câmi'i misâl bir câmi'dir* (I, p. 127).

[427] For references to Serres and Mostar, see the previous footnote.

[428] Of the mosque at Küçük Üsküb near Vize (*Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, p. 70) he writes that it was in the *kâr-ı kadîm*, which may or may not refer to the same features.

What exactly this refers to is similarly somewhat unclear.[429] There still appears to be a certain consistency in his use of the term. In the four *Seyahâtnâme* volumes I have perused he never uses this phrase in the context of a building later than the period of sultan Bâyezîd II (r. 1481-1512). By implication, the/a "new style" (hence *tarz-ı cedîd*?) began with Selîm or Süleymân in the sixteenth century. More probably, Evliyâ more specifically refers to the "classical" style of the Süleymân/Sinân overlap, which emerged by 1550. This style he evidently saw as extending into his own age, for, unlike with the *tarz-ı kadîm*, he did not find it worth mention. His constant highlighting of Sinân's buildings, even when they actually weren't his, similarly points to Evliyâ's probable identification of Sinân as the father of what he appears to have understood as the "contemporary style." Concerning the question of use of stylistic labels in the communication between patrons and architects, it appears rather unlikely that a monument in the *tarz-ı kadîm* would have beem desired, especially given the renown of Sinân.[430]

There are other instances of stylistic labels applied to forms by Ottoman authors. As early as the Fâtih period, this ruler's chronicler Tursun Beğ showed an awareness of the *rûmî-hatayî* types of decorative patterns, apparently as opposed to others. The same writer described towers in the Topkapı palace as in the "Frankish" (*frengî*) and a

[429] Lowry (*Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, pp. 18-9) has recently suggested that it may refer to mosques the domes of which were covered with shingle as opposed to lead. This theory seems to be disproved by the case of the Hacı Kâsım mosque of Ohrid: Evliyâ (VIII, p. 328) described it as being in the *tarz-ı kadîm* but also reports a led-covered dome. Also of the Fâtih mosque at Smederevo (V, p. 317) he writes: "It is in the old style, but whether it[s dome] is leaden is not clear" (*tarz-ı kadîmdir, ammâ kursumlu mıdır, ma'lûmum değildir*). This seems to suggest at least that Evliyâ thought it not to be an antagonism to have a mosque "in the old style" that was covered with lead. Unfortunately, both these buildings, as well as most other buildings whose style was qualified by Evliyâ as "old," did not survive. As a result, any conclusion as to what exactly meant by this term is tentative. A suggestion can be voiced, however, based on the three surviving exceptions: the so-called Hüdâvendigâr Mosque of Kjustendil, the Bâyezîd mosque of Drama (now a church), and the well-preserved *zâviye*-turned-mosque of Gâzî Mihal in Edirne – the latter again a mosque whose three domes are covered with lead rather than shingles. With the Edirne building T-shaped and of ashlar, and the one at Kjustendil a single-domed mosque in the cloisonné technique of construction, Evliyâ apparently referred to neither construction technique nor plan type.

[430] It is still interesting that in the Ottoman case there appears to have existed the understanding that an earlier style not only existed, but also that it had been overcome. At exactly the same time, Renaissance authors like Vasari expressed relief that the Gothic and Byzantine styles current in pre-Quattrocento Italy had been overcome.

"Turkish" (*türkî*) manners.[431] That "Frankish" was indeed a stylistic option for Ottoman patrons and architects is further suggested by official documentation relating to the construction fortress of Pylos on the Peloponnesus: as discussed before, that structure's Italianate plan was referred as in the "*fîrenk üslûbı*."[432] By contrast, it is highly unlikely that "old style" or perhaps even "new style" were used as explanatory terms in the communication between patron and architect. A patron may have desired his building to "appear like a sultan's mosque," but what exactly that could have translated into is unclear.

We may conclude that there is ample proof for the existence of stylistic labels in an Ottoman Balkan context. By implication, notions of form as carried by these must or may have been used in the communication between patron and artist, even where, as in the vast majority of cases, this exchange has not been preserved in writing. The use of stylistic labels is most evident when it comes to painting and calligraphy. Representatives of an Ottoman-Muslim learned elite, and certainly those whose careers evolved around the capital in the fifteenth-seventeenth centuries, would have been aware of, and be able to identify, the styles of renowned calligraphers such as Yâkût-ı Musta'sımî, Şeyh Hamdullâh, or Ahmed Karahisârî. As the excerpts from Evliyâ show, there was also awareness of distinctive decorative styles, like that of the sixteenth-century painter Şâhkulı. While we now refer to the style popularized by him as "Saz style,"[433] contemporaries seemed to prefer to identify it with an artist.

The situation is quite similar when it comes to icon-painting: famous predecessors, such as Theophanēs or Panselēnos, were known to later painters, their (or

[431] Halil İnalcık, "Mutual political and cultural influences between Europe and the Ottomans," in: *Ottoman Civilization*. Eds. Halil İnalcık and Günsel Renda. Istanbul: Ministry of Culture, 2003, II, pp. 1090-121, cit. p. 1055; Necipoğlu, *Topkapı palace*, p. 14; Tursun Bey, *Fatih'in tarihi = Tarih-i Ebul Feth*. Tr. Ahmet Tezbaşar. Istanbul: Kervan Kitapçılık, 1973, p. 62.

[432] Cf. transcription of doc. in Kiel, "Construction of the Ottoman castle of Anavarin," p. 276.

[433] See Walter B. Denny, "Dating Ottoman Turkish works in the Saz style," in: *Muqarnas*, I (1983), pp. 103-21; Banu Mahir, "Saray nakkaşhanesinin ünlü ressamı Şah Kulu ve eserleri," in: *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık*, I (1986), pp. 113-130; *eadem*, "Osmanlı sanatında saz üslubundan anlaşılan," in: *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yıllık*, II (1987), pp. 123-140.

their pupils') styles serving as models.[434] At the same time, there was an awareness of stylistic difference regarding different regions within this, Christian or Islamic, tradition. Dionysios acknowledges that Crete and Muscovy had traditions different from his own, and so did Evliyâ when he wrote of the architecture outside *Rûm* proper. The very fact that Dionysios includes explanations of "how to paint like" the Cretans and the Muscovites, may suggest that he, as other painters of the time, were expected to adapt to certain stylistic prerequisites, even when they had their preferred "personal" style (as did Dionysios). Finally, there is *ex silentio* evidence in the visible coexistence of different styles at the same time, such as in the example of different styles of wood-carving used in the embellishment of late Ottoman residences in Plovdiv. By consequence, patrons had the choice of various styles, but we do not know in all cases how they would have described them to others. We can suggest that place-names – such as "Debar," "Athōs," or "Samokov" – were often used in lieu of (non-geographical) stylistic terms to describe certain artists' output.

3.3.2. Instruments of communication between artist and patron: plans, three-dimensional models, contracts, or the lack thereof

Masons in medieval Anatolia and the Balkans did probably not use architectural drawings, as would the Roman and early Christian architects, who had still been trained in the classical tradition. It may have been the standard that, when on site, the plan was marked with stones and then laid out with a rope.[435] There is little reason to assume that such practices changed from Byzantine to Ottoman rule, at least for most projects. A master had to interpret his patron's wishes into brick, stone, or wood. Plans or designs might still change after construction had begun.

While no plans relating to Balkan buildings from before the nineteenth century survive, we know that they were used at least in those cases where the Corps of Royal Architects in Istanbul undertook the design and/or supervised the construction of

[434] For the art-historical construct, largely corresponding to this division, into a "Macedonian" and a "Cretan" school of Byzantine art, see Anthony Bryer, "The rise and fall of the Macedonian school of Byzantine art (1910-1962)," in: *Ourselves and others: the development of a Greek Macedonian cultural identity since 1912*. Eds. Peter Mackridge and Eleni Yannakakis. Oxford: Berg, pp. 79-87.

[435] Ousterhout, *Master builders*, pp. 58-62.

projects in the Balkans. These were usually projects connected to the sultan or his administrators, not those of locals. Ground plans, referred to in contemporary documents as *resm*, have survived in very few numbers, probably as a result of a fire that destroyed the archives of the Corps at Istanbul-Vefa. One *resm* is mentioned as being dispatched from Istanbul to Pylos in 1573 when a new fortress was to be built there. In the same year a *resm* for interventions at Buda was sent to Istanbul for approval and also a *resm* for a barbican to be built in Thessalonikē is documented. There existed, alternatively, working drawings, referred to in sources as *karnâme*s. One such was sent from Istanbul to Svilengrad in 1559, where the mosque of Hürrem Sultân was to be built.[436] There are preserved a relatively large number of drawings from the middle and later nineteenth century – usually infrastructural projects by the state, or church constructions – but even these are surprisingly primitive (ill. 38).[437]

There is also quite some evidence that three-dimensional models made of wood, wax, or other material were occasionally used in the conveyance of ideas between artists and patrons. As neither royal Ottoman architects nor their provincial counterparts were trained in perspectival drawing,[438] such models were possibly the only means to

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[436] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 167-75, 270, 430. In this document the plan is alternatively referred to as *resm* as well, leading to some confusion over the exclusivity of these terms.

[437] Seven such plans are published in *Osmanlı arşiv belgelerinde Kosova vilayeti = Vilajeti i Kosovës në dukumentet arkivore Osmane*. Ed. H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu. Istanbul: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2007, docs. 62, 65, 67, 76, 78, 90, and 93.

[438] This was, according to Gülru Necipoğlu (*The Topkapı scroll: geometry and ornament in Islamic architecture.* Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995, p. 161), because unlike their Renaissance European counterparts, who were abandoning geometry in favour of "based on numerical proportions, architects in the early modern Islamic world remained loyal to Pappus of Alexandria's definition of architecture as a branch of practical mechanics. Even though the importance of geometry prevailed in Europe, Renaissance theorists increasingly divorced architecture from its earlier subordination to mechanics in an attempt to assert its independence and higher status as a liberal art. By contrast architects in the Islamic world continued to uphold the ideal image of the well-rounded mechanicus (muhandis) whose mental universe was colored by practical geometry, with its still-prestigious connection to the liberal art of mathematics." For the logical relation of component parts according to geometry in Ottoman and Gothic architectural practice, see Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "Plans and models in 15th- and 16th-century Ottoman architectural practice," in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XL/3 (1986), pp. 224-43, cit. p. 242-3.

visualize three-dimensional designs.[439] In the 1760s, for instance, a wooden (scale) model was produced by the royal architect Kōnstantinos and sent from Istanbul to be executed by another builder at the Xēropotamou monastery on Mount Athōs.[440] For his contribution to the fortifications of Thessalonikē in the late 1530s, a tower, Mi'mâr Kosta produced a model from cardboard and glue, the costs for the materials of which were recorded in accounts.[441] A wooden model was used in 1740 in order to convey the significance of Belgrade's (Habsburg-built) Vauban-type fortifications to the sultan.[442] But three-dimensional models were also used for provincial projects that were conceived independently of the planning institutions of the capital. Nikola Fičev is said to have presented the Tuna *vilâyet*'s governor Midhad Paşa with a wax model of the bridge he was to build over the Jantra River near Ruse, that province's capital, in the mid-1860s.[443] One of Fičev's assistants during that project was Genčo Kănev, who is known not to have continued this way of presentation. Later crossing the Danube to work in Romania, Kănev learned there from foreigners how to produce blueprints for buildings. He applied these new skills when he returned to Bulgaria.[444]

There have been preserved drawings of buildings such as of the so-called New Orthodox Church at Sarajevo by Andreja Damjanov (ill. 36), but rather than as blueprints these must be understood as instruments of conveying images, probably to patrons and not for the aid of the artists. Concerning the same architect a story was related that, when negotiating with the priests of Sarajevo about the design for the church he was to build, and apparently confronted with the desire for some kind of visualization of what to expect, he advised them to go see his work in Niš or

[439] Neciopoğlu-Kafadar, "Plans and models," p. 236.

[440] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 175. In the same decade was used a wooden model in the construction of the Fâtih complex. A century earlier was seen by a traveller a wooden model of the mosque by Ahmed I. Around the same time an ivory model of the Yeni Vâlide mosque was spotted in that very monument. For the dissemination of wooden models of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as part of a tourism industry, see Faroqhi, *Artists of Empire*, p. 181.

[441] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 167.

[442] Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "Plans and models," p. 239.

[443] Cerasi, "Late-Ottoman architects," p. 94.

[444] Bichev, *Architecture in Bulgaria*, p. 78. On Kănev see also Margarita I. Koeva and Nikolaj L. Tuleškov, *Părvomajstor Genčo Kănev*. Sofia: Dărž. izd. "Tehnika," 1987.

Smederevo. Commissioned to build a church in Mostar years thereafter (destroyed in 1993), he advised the patrons to go see his work in Sarajevo. For the barracks he was commissioned to build in Sarajevo, however, he had to produce a wooden model to be sent to Istanbul for approval.[445] In sum, it appears that what kind of image was made available to patrons – a sketch, an architectural drawing, a three-dimensional model of wood or wax, or none at all – depended on the occasion and the demands of the patron.

Sometimes also words were enough to describe the required forms, irrespective of the level of the undertaking. In a letter from the chief architect's office to the governor of the Morea of 1576, for instance, we read instructions such as: "At every 400 cubits of the total length of 1,200 cubits, according to my order, you should erect a tower." A year later both would agree that within the walls of Pylos there could be built 700 houses on plots of 12x16 cubits.[446] When the church of the Kreševo monastery was to be rebuilt in 1767, the local Muslims similarly recorded the maximum dimensions the new building was allowed to have as follows: "length of the wall of the church's porch [as seen] from Kreševo [?] - 31 arš[in], 5 g[reh]; // height of the wall near the door - 3 arš[in], 6 č[erek]; [etc]."[447] Two contracts made between patrons and builders in Northwest Greece in the 1840s and published by Moutsopoulos similarly make no reference to style or form; instead, they record the numbers of storeys, doors, and windows.[448] When the clients had specific forms in mind, they may have more likely articulated them with reference to existing buildings. In a contract dated 1741 between the monks of Kovilj (near Novi Sad) and the builders Teodor Kosta and Nikola Krapič from "Lange" (Lagkadas?) near Thessalonikē, the latter agreed to build a church based on the model of the catholicon of Manasija (early fifteenth century).[449] Joan Paškula

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[445] Milenko Filipović, "Andrija Damjanović iz Velesa, zograf i neimar (oko 1813-1878)," in: *Muzeji*, II (1949), pp. 33-40.

[446] Kiel, "Construction of the Ottoman castle of Anavarin," pp. 272-3.

[447] Bogdanović, *Ljetopis kreševskog samostana*, p. 70. Since this part of the chronicle was not composed in Latin but in Slavonic in the Cyrillic script, we may presume that this was indeed the transcript of an official document between the friars and the local Muslim authorities.

[448] Three such contracts are reproduced in Moutsopoulos, "Oi prodromoi tōn prōtōn ellēnon tehnikōn epostēmonōn," pp. 366-8.

[449] See Medaković, "Die griechisch-serbischen Verbindungen," p. 189. One wonders whether the two simply made the travel to Manasija, around 170km SE of Kovilj.

(Yiannis Paskoulēs) from Metsovo contracted in 1836 to produce an iconostasis for the church of Constantine and Helen in Plovdiv "in the Viennese manner," whatever that meant.[450] But such instances, and more generally preserved contracts or visualizations from before the nineteenth century, are rare.

For the decorative painting found in late Ottoman interiors of mosques, churches, and residences alike, one wonders if there was really much pondering about the quantities and forms of cartouches and garlands between patron and artist. Clearly, there was a larger degree of communication when it came to specific objects (such as ships) or cities to be depicted. Renda has suggested that the great similarity between panoramas of Istanbul (the most widespread motif) painted in elite residences between Macedonia and Syria in the nineteenth century probably means that the painters had at their disposal photographs and/or postcards.[451] Similarly, illustrated bibles from Western Europe appear to have been used by Orthodox Christian painters in the Balkans,[452] thus contributing to the dissemination of certain forms beyond their "natural" environment. An entire "archive" of drawings, engravings, and prints – both from Catholic and Orthodox backgrounds – has been found in Samokov, where they served the local painters as models.[453] There are also occasionally preserved the blueprints for portable icons and frescoes. This is the case, for instance, with some drawings made by Damjan Jankulov Renzov (ill. 37), the father of Andreja

[450] Vasiliev, *Majstori*, pp. 271-2.

[451] Günsel Renda, "Westernisms in Ottoman art: wall paintings in 19th century houses," in: *The Ottoman House. Proceedings of the Amasya Conference, 24-27 September 1996.* Eds. Stanley Ireland and William Bechhoefer. London: British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, 1998, pp. 103-9 (plus plates), cit. p. 106.

[452] See e.g. Medaković, "Die griechisch-serbischen Verbindungen," pp. 189-90 for the example of Jovan Četirević Grabovan. Born in present-day Albania, he came to work in Slavonia in the late eighteenth century, apparently using the illustrated bible of 1695 by Christoph Weigel. For the example of Žefarovič using illustrated bibles as aids at Bođani in 1737, see ibid., p. 187.

[453] See Claire Brisby, "The Samokov archive: nineteenth-century icon-painters' practice and the perception of Western art," in: *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, III. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006, pp. 272-3 and forthcoming dissertation by the same author.

Damjanov.[454] Whether these works were used as studies by the artist or (also) as means of conveying ideas to patrons is not clear in this case.

For the examples of more "formal" decoration of Islamic interiors we know that blueprints existed for use by the painters. Drawn on paper, outlines were perforated with pinholes; these stencils with outlined motifs were then transferred to the wall, for example by rubbing coal dust through the perforations.[455] This is very probably what happened at the extensive decorative program of the Alaca Câmi' of Foča, which prior to its destruction in 1993 was one of the few well-preserved sixteenth-century mosque interiors (ills. 18-20). In some cases it has been attempted to retrace the geometric origins of certain motifs found in Balkan mosques; a successful example by Začinović, working in the Ferhâd Beğ mosque of Sarajevo, is shown in ill. 21.[456] Rather than a reflection of the patrons' or artists' fancy, perhaps the lack of blueprints for how to produce sophisticated geometric ornament after the sixteenth or seventeenth century led to a new tradition in decorative painting that was, on the whole, more intuitive and depended more on the painter than before. Sixteenth-century spectactors may have marvelled at the intricacy of geometric ornament, appreciating the cerebral pursuit behind their design (and not necessarily the skills of the painter whose task it was to transfer them from paper to wall and colour them), while eighteenth-century interiors often merely feature accentuations of architectural elements like windows or doors. On the other hand, the landscapes and monuments we see in murals of nineteenth-century mosques and residences are likely to constitute very personal choices by the patrons. This is very clear when, as at Plovdiv or Kastoria, we find in merchants' houses panoramas of faraway cities in Germany or Sweden, with which they had dealings. Evidently, they supplied the artists they hired with drawings or prints depicting what they were expected to produce.

[454] For a drawing outlining the design of an icon depicting St George by the Sarajevo painter Tudor Vuković-Desisalić (see ch. 2.1.2), see Mazalić, *Slikarstvo*, p. 21.

[455] Serpil Bağcı, "Painted decoration in Ottoman architecture," in: *Ottoman civilization,* II, pp. 737-59, cit. p. 737.

[456] For the use of blueprints and aids in geometric ornamentation in the Ottoman and broader Islamic context, see Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Scroll*.

3.3.3. The question of models as reference in the communication between patron and artist

Having thus established that plans and drawings were used on certain occasions, and that there also existed terms (associated with certain persons, periods, or places) that may have been used to describe forms,we must finally consider that in the field of architecture reference to existing buildings may have been most common. This is suggested not only by examples mentioned above – the monks at Kovilj contracting the builders to erect a church on the model of Manasije or Andrej Damjanov using his own works as indicators for his style and capability – but also by the material evidence: in places such as Prizren, Sarajevo, or Mostar we see monuments of very similar appearances, although at times there are decades or even centuries between their construction dates. It may have happened for practical purposes that existing buildings were taken as models, for the building and its construction could be studied by builders on the spot. This was certainly helpful in locales which had not seen monumental construction for a longer period of time, whereby local builders may not have been exposed to certain architectural-structural challenges (such as the inclusion of a dome), and certain skills and techniques had not been transferred from one generation to the next. Existing buildings had already proven "successful," both in structural as well as often in aesthetic terms, at least for the inhabitants of a given locale who were used to their sight. Alternatively, reference to older buildings could "mean," in the sense of this reference being deliberate rather than practical.

A number of important questions can be raised looking at the case of three almost identical mosques that were built in Sarajevo in the years around 1560.[457] Did their patrons not want to endow their buildings with an individual character? The identity between the three mosques may well be conditioned by practical concerns: a model, perhaps even a plan or a royal architect, for an appropriate mosque was available on site, and so were perhaps even the (now employment-seeking) builders, who could be commissioned to build something very similar to that which they had just finished (perhaps even *without* the supervision of a royal architect). Alternatively, the "copying" of an existing model on site may have followed the patron's conviction that this "model

[457] For these buildings, see also Hartmuth, "The history of centre-periphery relations as a history of style," pp. 24-5. I date the mosque of Hoca Durak, at least in its present form, to ca. 1560 rather than to the 1520s.

building" was appropriate in terms of its representative value and ambition. Overall, the material suggests that for most patrons it was more important to sponsor a building the forms of which were meaningful to those who would see and use it than to make a statement through deviation. Individualism, it follows, was seldom reflected in the architecture of the mosques.

Rather, one may suspect the patron's "personal choice" to have been reflected more in the specifications of his endowment, possibly the site, but most notably the content of (sometimes personalized) inscriptions and decoration of the interior. For the architecture of mosques and other monumental structures, at least in most cases, what patrons commissioned from architects and builders was not an innovative design but a type. In the case of the three almost identical mosques at Sarajevo, perhaps the fact that two of them appear to have been built posthumously, whereby the project would have been engineered by the *mütevellî* of the patron's *vakf* rather than the patron, may have been a vital factor.[458] It does not entirely explain these buildings' identity, however, which is perhaps better explained in terms of practical concerns, such as a team of builders just having completed a monument that looked "as it should."

More distant, but more prestigious, models seem to have been decisive in the case of the so-called Kurşumlu Câmi' at Shkodër (ill. 22), built in 1773/4 by Buşatlı Mehmed Paşa, a provincial strongman with high ambitions.[459] The layout of a domed mosque fronted by an arcaded courtyard must have stemmed from the patron's wish to emulate, at least in a provincial variant in line with the patron's finances, a sultanic mosque in Istanbul. The arcaded courtyard is already very unusual for a provincial mosque; even in the capital this feature is largely limited to mosques patronized by sultans. The prayer hall of the Kurşumlu Câmi' features a projecting *mihrâb* niche that reminds of the mosque of Dâvûd Paşa (1485/6) at Istanbul.[460] Overall, all formal solutions seen at the Shkodër mosque have precedents. It is their combination, not the elements as such, that is the "creative" element – in the sense that it produced a plan

[458] This argument is only valid if we accept the dating of all mosques to ca. 1560. See previous foonote.

[459] For this building, see Machiel Kiel, *Ottoman architecture in Albania*. Istanbul: IRCICA, 1990, pp. 231-3.

[460] The projecting *mihrâb* niche is by no means exceptional in the eighteenth century. The semi-open domed side-rooms of the Kurşumlu, again reminding of the Dâvûd Paşa mosque, may suggest, however, that this older building inspired them.

otherwise not found in Ottoman architecture, doubtless due to the patron's fancy. While this combination of forms, especially of a domed space and arcaded courtyard, is relatively easy to decipher for modern historians, this cannot have been the case for the locals. The vast majority of the building's intended "users" had obviously never seen a sultanic mosque in Istanbul – and in 1773/4 also not even representations of such on postcards or engravings. This is why the information that the building was indeed modelled on a sultanic mosque seems to have been transmitted orally, possibly deliberately since the time of the monument's foundation.[461] Differently stated, forms were given meaning through discourse.

A related, though very different, case is found at Prizren, where in 1831/2 the local strongman Mehmed Emîn Paşa built a mosque. Doing so, he apparently chose to deliberately emulate the plan with the abnormally protruding *mihrâb* niche of Prizren's principal monument: the Sinân Paşa mosque, which had dominated the townscape since the early seventeenth-century. The idea of an intentional reference is strengthened by the fact that this ruler had both mosques redecorated in the same style and (evidently) the same artists at presumably the same time. The idea of a deliberate "localism" is further strengthened by the self-reference of the patron in his mosque's inscription as "from Prizren" (*Perzerînî*), this being something far more typical in locales where the patron was *not* a local.[462] In sum, Mehmed Emîn Paşa appears have told builders to construct him a mosque in the mode of the town's most important monument (which they could study on site), requested from the poet composing/designing the inscription to stress that he was indeed a local, and finally hired decorative painters to embellish both these buildings at the same time in the same style, thus possibly trying to visualize a connection between his and the older building.

While the latter appears to have been a project geared toward a local audience, after the mid-nineteenth century to build "in the style of the old monuments" became a particular concern. Now it was not practicality or localism that induced patrons to desire a visible reference to old, and in the case of church architecture usually pre-Ottoman, buildings; it was part of a project of "revival,"[463] which must be treated separately from

[461] Cf. Theodor A. Ippen, *Skutari und die nordalbanische Küstenebene*. Sarajevo: Kajon, 1907, p. 35, who appears to refer to a local tradition.

[462] M. Kemal Özergin, and Hasan Kaleşi and İsmail Eren, "Prizren kitabeleri," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, VII (1968), pp. 75-96, cit. p. 87.

[463] Bratislav Pantelić, "Nationalism and architecture," p. 20f.

those cases where reference to older buildings was made because their forms were still meaningful for the communities seeing and using them.

3.3.4. Intermediaries

Another group of individuals that had a part in these processes, usually neglected, were those people I shall refer to collectively as "intermediaries." Their role was that of middling communication between the interests of the patron and the artists. In building work in the Byzantine Middle Ages such persons were known as *ergolaboi*. The responsibilities of an *ergolabos* were the receipt and distribution of payments and the provision of building materials.[464] In larger-scale Ottoman building projects between the sixteenth and eighteenth century we find a *binâ emîni* (superintendent of building works) serving the same purpose.[465] While most of the available documentation is from the capital, there are also some cases from the provinces. As *binâ emîni* in the project for the Old Bridge at Mostar, for example, was installed the large-scale fief-holder (*zâ'im*) Karagöz Mehmed Beğ, the brother of a grand vizier.[466] In northern Bosnia in the 1770s and 1810s are documented three cases of frontier commanders (*kapudan*s) being appointed as *binâ emîni*s.[467] In Gradiška, similarly on the frontier with Habsburg

[464] Ousterhout, *Master builders*, p. 46.

[465] To what extent this reflects general practice and is thus of relevance to our discussion is not clear, but at the Nûr-u 'Osmâniye site the practice was as follows (see also ch. 1.3.2): the sultan appointed a *binâ nâzırı* (Derviş Mustafâ Efendi), who in turn appointed a *binâ emini* ('Alî Ağa), whose responsibility included the appointment of a *binâ kalfası*. The latter apparently was expected to be well-versed in scientific matters (*fenn san'atında*), and is in this case believed to be responsible for the ultimate stylistic identity of the building. If this was indeed the case, the *binâ emini*'s role must not be understressed. The *binâ nazırı*, on the other hand, was appointed as the sultan's advocate on site, constantly informing him (and, presumably, communicating the sultan's wishes), while the *binâ emini* must have taken on more practical matters eventually. Cf. Hochhut, *Die Moschee Nûruosmâniye*, p. 14-21.

[466] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 440.

[467] In 1776 Ahmed Beğ, the *kapudan* of Tuzla was put in charge of the works at the important (and nearby) fortress of Zvornik; a year later Mehmed, the *kapudan* of Gradačac was appointed *binâ emini* in the repair of the fortresses of Sokol and Srebrenik. When in 1817-9 a fortress was built in Gradačac, the local *kapudan*, Murâd, was appointed *binâ emini*. These cases are documented in Hamdija Kreševljaković,

Croatia, a Hasan Ağa was installed in or around 1767 to oversee the construction of a new fortress. Through the vizier, contacting the *kadı* of Mostar, he organized for 100 bricklayers to come to Gradiška.[468] Then in 1717 when Niš became for a while a border fortress between the Ottoman and Habsburg domains none other than Köprülü-zâde ʻAbdullâh Paşa was appointed as *binâ emîni* for this important project.[469] What these examples illustrate is that these *binâ emini*s were not necessarily – and possibly never – artistically or technically trained,[470] or involved in the formal aspects of the work. Their task was important, however, in the sense that their responsibility was the completion of projects without major setbacks, especially in terms of the provision of funds and materials.

For the late period there is much mention of individuals perhaps best described as "team managers." Referred to by contemporaries as *dragoman*, *neimar* (which, of course, is a corruption of *miʻmâr*), or more generally as *usta-başı*, *baš-majstor*, or *protomastoras* – terms apparently used in reference to guild organization, despite the fact that the itinerant teams seemed to not have belonged to guilds – their task was to solicit building work for their teams before the start of the season.[471] Sometimes these "team leaders" were artists themselves; in other cases they were not. The *usta-başı* Petre Filipovič "Garkata" (from Gari in the Debar area, but relocated toward Kruševo in 1770), for instance, signed himself on an iconostasis in Skopje (1824) as the "*pervi majstor*" (first master), and it is well-known that he himself excelled in the art of

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"Prilozi povijesti bosanskih gradova pod turskom upravom," in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, II (1951), pp. 115-45, cit. p. 120.

[468] Ibid.

[469] Cf. Göyünç, "Procurement of labour," p. 331.

[470] Mazalić (*Leksikon*, p. 17), for instance, was sure that ʻAbdi, the *binâ emîni* of a bridge renovation project in 1793, was a builder by profession, not just anyone.

[471] Like in the guilds (cf. Kreševjlaković, "Esnafi," p. 46), the *usta-başı*s of *tayfa*s would be elected. Thus was the case with Nikola Fičev, for instance, whose career peak began when at the construction site of the St Nikola church in Tărnovo he replaced the sick master that headed his *tayfa* after being elected into this office by his co-workers. This also resulted in his promotion to *usta*. See Todorov, *Kolyo Ficheto*, p. 10. The same happened in the case of Andreja Damjanov, whose father Damjan died while working (with his son) in Skopje in 1835. Andreja was then appointed the head of the team. See Hadžieva and Kasapova, *Arhitekt Andreja Damjanov*, p. 12.

woodcarving.[472] In the Kreševo chronicle, by contrast, Fra Bogdanović recorded that when in 1767 the builders arrived from Herzegovina it was somewhat surprising that Mihajlo Bovanić from Mostar was considered the leader, while the "real master" was Panto from Stolac.[473] In both cases, these *tayfa*s were corporations. Jireček likened them to the *artel*s of Russia, for in both cases revenues were divided among its members, by the team-leader, at the end of the season.[474] While this organization seems to have been replaced eventually by wage labour, the members of such corporations, writes Palairet "lived, worked, slept, and ate communally, their maintenance being treated as an overhead charge against gross receipts."[475]

Whether or not they took part in the work themselves, these team leaders' role in negotiating with customers and their authority over the finances certainly put them in a privileged position. Brunnbauer thinks that they eventually came to constitute a relatively wealthy class of their own. Not only did they probably usually receive a larger share of the dividend; in the late period they even began to rent flats in towns their *tayfa*s regularly worked in. Eventually they stopped eating communally with the rest of the team. Here Brunnbauer sees the shift from a patriarchal to a capitalist organization form.[476] The switch from payment through dividend to wage labour must have been part of this change too.

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[472] His *tayfa* included, inter alia, Petre's brother Marko and a Dimitar Stanišev from Kruševo, whose family originally hailed from Tresonče (near Debar) and who became the *usta-başı*'s later brother-in-law. In addition to that, forces were occasionally joined with Simon Makevski from Trebište (near Debar), Makarije Frčkovski from Galičnik (near Debar), or Avram Dičov from Osoj (near Debar), who eventually went on to form his own *tayfa*. See Ќornakov, *Petre Garkata*, pp. 15-6, 51, 54; Vasiliev, *Bălgarski văzroždenski majstori*, p. 190.

[473] Bogdanović, *Ljetopis kreševskog samostana*, p. 71.

[474] Jireček, *Fürstemtum*, pp. 212-4

[475] Palairet, "Migrant workers," p. 26.

[476] Brunnbauer, *Gebirgsgesellschaften*, pp. 258-60. This author's remarks are not about builders-decorators specifically but itinerant corporations in general.

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter has sought to hypothetically reconstruct an important aspect of artists' work in the Ottoman Balkans toward which only in isolated cases hints have been preserved: the communication between patron and artist about the service the latter was to render to the former. This communication was facilitated through the use of various media. Existing works certainly served as an important point of reference in the communication between both parties, whether or not they were also identified with a stylistic term or iconic individual artist and his followers or school. Drawings or three-dimensional models, made of wax, cardboard, or wood, could also be used to visually communicate to the patron the artist's intentions. Conversely, patrons might show to artists prints, postcards, photographs, or other portable media carrying images to illustrate their wishes. Moreover, blueprints for complicated geometric ornament may have been used as an aid by painters, who were not necessarily their designers. Could the patrons have acquired such blueprints to be used by painters not necessarily versed in things mathematical? Fundamental issues, such as measurements, were occasionally recorded in contracts. These are, however, records of responsibilities agreed upon by both parties, not records of what may have been a detailed negotiation about the iconography of a work, secular or ecclesiastical. Finally, in some projects there were intermediaries who smoothed the interaction between artists and patrons and moreover coordinated access to funds and materials. Their impact on the outcome eludes us, but we cannot ignore the likelihood of their having played an important part for those involved in the funding, conception, or production of monuments, objects, or images.

As I have tried to emphasize in chapter 3.1, many if not most aspects of a building's or object's design were probably never talked about, for they were culturally or socially regulated. Radical changes to established Christian iconographic programs were out of the question, as were products that were not in accordance with the patron's finances or the artists' capabilities. Since art, especially architecture, was used by individuals to reinforce their status in a certain community or to express their ambitions to adjust it, perceived appropriateness too was a vital factor. Most important, however, was the adherence to established traditions, a conservatism that did not only affect religious painting. In architecture, no radically new models emerged between the late fifteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As discussed in the case of the catholicon of the Kučevište monastery, this formal conservatism sometimes make it hard to determine

whether a building dates from around 1300 or from around 1600 – a problem not shared by researchers of architecture in, say, Italy. On the other hand, we can be sure that patrons and builder did not have disputes about whether or not a church or mosque was to be built on a cross-in-square or centralized single-domed plan, an ideal that remains basically unchallenged in the region's Muslim architecture until today. In most cases, however, limited finances and/or ambitions brought about much simpler solutions.

Another question raised was that to what extent the product may be seen as representative of the artist's rather than the patron's input – a question impossible to answer conclusively, for these negotiations were not recorded. We must presume that the artist rarely did something he knew the patron would disapprove of, for that may have meant that he might not get paid. We cannot exclude the possibility, however, that certain artists were in fact appreciated for their creativity, and thus not only for the quality of their work along established lines. Discussed has been the case of church narthexes, in which painters had the chance to express themselves more than in other spaces. (Some scholars, as mentioned, go as far as to speak of "social commentary.") Architecture is perhaps at its most "creative" in a period between the mid-eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century in which new groups of patrons rose to the fore. The lift of the ban of architecturally ambitious non-Muslim architecture in 1856 resulted in two decades of untamed experimentation by very talented builders such as Fičev and Damjanov, who seemed less interested in the pre-Ottoman architectural heritage of Balkan Christianity than modern authors would have liked. It is very probably in the course of their extensive travels throughout the region as well as through portable images (prints, photographs) that they could develop a hybrid vocabulary of forms from which they chose liberally. Probably they did so after consultation with the patrons, who were now often industrious guildsmen rather than religious or administrative functionaries.[477]

The examples of the Kurşumlu Câmi' at Shkodër, 'Alî Paşa's sons' palaces at Iōannina, or Knez Miloš's didactic imagery seem to represent instances in which patrons and artists together found "creative" solutions to very specific challenges. The Kurşumlu Câmi' borrowed forms from existing works of architecture, without inventing something new, but it reassembled them in a unique way. The story that it was built on

[477] This "last Balkan style" before the age of conscious revivals dies with the institutionalization of architectural education and the import of western models after 1875.

the model of a sultanic mosque in Istanbul – something only evident in the colonnaded (frontal) courtyard, which is otherwise not found in the Balkans – was probably circulated from around the time of its construction. Story and forms together visualized its patron's challenging of sultanic authority in his home region. Similarly, apparently with the help of Armenian painters from Istanbul, at 'Alî Paşa's palace at Iōannina was appropriated a teleological public imagery that was absolutely foreign to Islam's aniconic tradition. Alî Paşa was certainly aware of that, but practical concerns were evidently more important to him. Knez Miloš, finally, similarly used a didactic imagery that was foreign to his own visual tradition. In cooperation with painters, who may have come from the nearby Habsburg territories across the Sava and Danube, he developed images that were thought appropriate for the audience to whom the message was to be communicated (of Miloš's being the legitimate hegemon).

If we also consider the rise in artist signatures and the appearance of artist portraits in the same period between the mid-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, which saw the decay of the old system and the rise of rural violence, a proto-bourgeois class, and systems of rule decentralized to the extent that historians have had problems to reconstruct power structures in various locales, then one might go as far as to suggest that it was in works from this period that it is easier to see the artist in the product than it was before. The case of the three mosques at Sarajevo from around 1560 seems to exemplify a setting in which not individualism but solutions in line with certain expectations and local possibilities were decisive. Just as historians of Ottoman architecture have tended to prefer the confidently monumental but comparably predictable monuments of the sixteenth century, so have historians of Byzantine and post-Byzantine painting interpreted the change between the fourteenth through sixteenth century and the century after the mid-eighteenth as a descent into "folk art." If art historians can thus be said to have preferred the study of periods in which the individual was less visible, we should not be surprised that the artist has thus far not played a major role in the historiography of this heritage.

CHAPTER 4

ARTIST AND PRODUCT: CASE STUDIES IN AGENCY

In chapters 2 and 3 I have largely sought to arrive at conclusions based on generalizations from evidence preserved for a variety of documented cases. The present chapter will be different in the sense that it consists of the more detailed analysis of four cases studies. The goal is not to track patterns but to ask questions that elude ready answers in light of the nature of the source material. Most importantly, these case studies will inquire into the extent of the credit we are to give to the various individuals involved in the design and construction processes of buildings and their ornamentation. I am specifically interested in the question of to what degree they could influence practices that were, as discussed especially in chapter 3.1, already determined to a very large extent by limitations and customs.

Chapter 4.1 seeks to hypothetically reconstruct the design processes, and the various levels and agents involved, that led to the coming-into-being of three important buildings. These monuments are chosen not because the documentation of their construction is more instructive in this regard, but because each building features components that make them extraordinary. In a system in which form, rank, and place were intimately connected, I consider this to be meaningful enough for a tentative reconstruction of these processes. Due to the fact that, in all three cases, I disagree with the date or function assigned to these buildings in the available literature, a large part of this sub-chapter will be dedicated to the clarification, to the extent possible, of this data. This will facilitate a reassessment of the significance of certain forms and features in the given temporal/spatial context. This "new" data, in turn, will help us to propose hypothetical reconstructions of work processes.

Chapter 4.2 inquires about the contribution of the so-called provincial architects or town architects to the design and construction of monuments in the provinces. I hope to be able to conclusively put forward my conviction that holders of this position have been given too much credit in this respect in the available literature. Their job profile

and backgrounds, I maintain, will have to be reassessed. Exploring a source that has been neglected in this regard, I also inquire in this context how far the habitual translation into English of the term *mi'mâr* in this context may wrongly resound with certain skills, backgrounds, and duties.

Chapter 4.3 does what this study has otherwise avoided: it tries to reconstruct the works of one individual artist and their meaning within his oeuvre in general. This exercise is made attractive by the fact that the source on which it is based – Mi'mâr Sinân's lists of buildings appended to various versions of his *vita* – is the only one of its kind and contains an unusually straightforward claim for authorship. Given that many important Balkan monuments are found on various versions of this list, an excursus into the work of a Royal Architect seems justified. I will also discuss his criteria of selection and the implication for the study of this heritage, especially in relation to the architect's contribution. Lastly, I point to the potential significance of at least three buildings not found on this list that may be attributed with a considerable degree of confidence to this architect.

Chapter 4.4, finally, looks at two cases of divergence from metropolitan models in Herzegovina, a region on the Venetian-Ottoman frontier. Should these divergences be seen as regional styles, premeditated aberrations, or even as simply due to the agency of the artists involved? Given not only the relative obscurity of these cases but also the possibility of at least hypothetically reconstructing the causes for these aberrations (and the contribution and intentions of the individuals involved), these little-known examples of mosques from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which display forms and elements generally associated with the Catholic architecture of the coast, certainly provide for an interesting test case.

4. 1. Planning and design: three hypothetical reconstructions of work processes

While, as discussed in previous chapters, occasionally there are preserved the names of individuals involved in the design, construction, or decoration of architectural monuments, their exact role in the work process is usually far from clear. This, of course, owes much to the fact that the work process as such remains little explored, for only parts of it were recorded, leaving considerable gaps. This chapter seeks to hypothetically reconstruct such processes and the roles of various individuals in it for the cases of three outstanding monuments in northern Greece. The very fact that all

three differ in certain regards from mainstream production makes feasible such hypotheses. Except for their location in an area between the Ottoman metropolises of Thessalonikē and Edirne, and the fact that all three were by and large introduced to an international academic audience in a pioneering study of 1971 by Kiel,[478] the three buildings have little in common. Unfortunately, none of them features an original and legible inscription informing us about their date and patron, thus a considerable part of this chapter must be dedicated to the clarification of such basic data. This is obligatory given that, as has been argued in chapter 3.1, the identity of the patron, especially his rank, was a vital factor in the planning and design of monuments, especially in the sixteenth century. Monuments were a chance for patrons to express their accomplishments or ambition; but their design was also regulated by codes of decorum. Thus, the presence of certain features may tell us more about a patron's access to certain resources than about his personal fancy. Next to the patron, the identification of a monument's construction date, even if approximate, is crucial in determining what certain features could have meant in a given temporal and spatial context. As a last step, hypothetical reconstructions of the processes that led to these monuments' becoming will be suggested. It will become clear why this is not possible without a detailed investigation of a building's construction history. Needless to say, in none of the cases studied here has there been preserved the name or any association with an architect, builder, or workshop. This lack of historical evidence forces us to look closer at the material one.

As discussed in previous chapters, many if not most of the architectural designs for monuments erected in the Ottoman Balkans follow certain conventions according to building types and functions which change remarkably little between the fifteenth and the mid-nineteenth century. Even more, most mosques built after ca. 1490 reproduce a single "standard" or "generic" plan for a monumental provincial mosque: the domed cube with portico and tall minaret (see e.g. ill. 18). Before that, the most common types of monumental structures, next to *hân*s, *hammâm*s, and bridges, were the T-shaped *zâviye*s/*'imâret*s (usually described as "dervish lodges" and/or "public kitchens" in the literature) and the "Great Mosques" for the communal prayer of large congregations,

[478] Machiel Kiel, "Observations on the history of Northern Greece during the Turkish rule historical and architectural description of the Turkish monuments of Komotini and Serres, their place in the development of Ottoman architecture, and their present condition," in: *Balkan Studies*, XII/2 (1971), pp. 415-62, reprinted in *Studies on the Ottoman architecture of the Balkans*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1990, art. III.

patronized by sultans and built on a rectangular plan surmounted by more than one dome. While there is practically no monumental Catholic or Jewish architecture to speak of before the mid-nineteenth century, Orthodox churches continue pre-Ottoman patterns. The fact that, theoretically, no new churches were to be built and new constructions on sites of pre-existing but ruined or decrepit buildings were to be rebuilt within the dimensions of the predating the Ottoman conquest may not have invited major innovations. Churches which appear to be entirely new are typically very inconspicuous, often single-naved and domeless. For this reason, this chapter is focused on three Islamic monuments, each of which being extraordinary in some respect. Given the typecasting addressed above, it will treat this difference as a potentially meaningful fact.

The first sub-chapter will deal with the case of the Zincirli Câmi‘ at Serres in Greek Macedonia. This mosque is distinguished from the standard provincial architecture of its period by the use of a structural solution typically found only in Istanbul. This helps us to assign a date to the thus far insecurely dated building. In total, enough circumstantial evidence seems to be available for us to endeavour to tentatively reconstruct the work processes that led to its materialization, including the role of the architect (who in this case may be identified with some certainty even in the absence of pertinent documentation). The second sub-chapter will discuss the so-called *‘imâret* in Komotinē in Thrace, which is perhaps the oldest Ottoman building in Europe. After proposing that this specific building is likely to have served an original function different from that of the contemporary T-shaped *zâviye*s/*‘imârets* in Anatolia with which it is usually compared, I shall also offer a suggestion as to the work processes and actors involved in this project. The third case, finally, will deal not with architecture but with the decoration of a mosque from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, the Yeni Câmi‘ at Komotinē. It is distinguished by the high quality of the tiles in its interior, which set it apart from all other mosques in the region.

4.1.1. The Zincirli Câmi‘ at Serres: provincial anomaly or Istanbul transplanted?

The structure in question is a monumental single-domed mosque with a five-bayed portico. The domed prayer hall with a projecting *mihrâb* niche is made rectangular by two lateral galleries (ill. 23). The first learned opinion of the dating of the building was voiced by Anhegger, who provided a hasty survey of the town's Ottoman monuments following a visit in 1955. While not being able to see the interior, he suggested that the portico, built of ashlar, may date to after the mid-sixteenth century while the ritual space, enclosed by walls built in the cloisonné technique, may date from before that. Given the provincial location, he also found it possible that both parts date from the same period and reflect archaisms.[479]

The standard account of Serres' Ottoman monuments was published in 1971 by Kiel, who added to the existing knowledge a tentative dating to "between 1577 and 1585," based on comparison with similar mosque plans in the capital.[480] In a 1990 postscript to a reprint to that article he added an attribution: based on a list of Serres' mosques in Evliyâ Çelebi's *Seyahâtnâme*, in which a mosque built by a certain Zeynî Kadı is listed right after the important Eski Câmi‘ of 1383, Kiel, confident that Evliyâ listed mosques in order of their importance, proposed that this *kadı*'s mosque must be identified with the Zincirli Câmi‘. As its patron he identified "the scholar, Kadi and poet, Kâtibzâde Zeyn ül-Abidin," who was the son of a secretary of two famed grand viziers of the later sixteenth century (Sokollu Mehmed Paşa and Lâlâ Mustafâ Paşa).[481] The dating was revised slightly upward, with Kiel now suggesting the building to have been constructed in the 1580s and 1590s. This Kiel also thought to fit with the mosque's "hexagonal" (octagonal!) dome-support, which he accurately associated with the "late-

[479] Robert Anhegger, "Beiträge zur osmanischen Baugeschichte III: Moscheen in Saloniki und Serre; zur Frage der Planmoscheen," in: *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, XXVII (1967), pp. 312-30, p. 319.

[480] Kiel, *Studies,* art. III, pp. 442-4

[481] This man, purported to have died in Istanbul in 1603, was indeed a good candidate for patronage, as prior to a prestigious position as *kadı* in Mecca he had also worked in Serres. This attribution is indebted to Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall (*Geschichte der osmanischen Dichtkunst*. Pesth: [s.n.] 1837, III, p. 313) who writes of a poet named Zeynî Çelebi ("Seini-Tschelebi"), a.k.a Kâtib-zâde Zeyn ül-‘Abidîn, and who is identified as the son of the secretary (hence "Kâtib-zâde") of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.

Sinan school."[482] In a 2002 article Kiel revised both attribution and dating in line with new information available to him, now suggesting the young poet and *kadı* Zeynî, a Serres-born student of the better-known *kazasker* of Anatolia, Muallim-zâde. From the available biographical data, Kiel calculates a birth date in the first half of the 1540s and assumes that he made his endowment no earlier than in his late 50s, hence suggesting a construction date at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[483] Irrespective of the exact date, Kiel has since the 1970s advocated that the Zincirli Câmi' was built by a *kadı* at some point in the later sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

A different date and patron have been recently suggested by Lowry, who puts forward his conviction that the structure was built in the 1490s by Selçuk Sultân, a daughter of Bâyezîd II. She resided in Serres during the tenure as the district's *sancak-beği* of her husband Mehmed Beğ, the son of the famous Gedik Ahmed Paşa, and is known to have founded there a *mescid* and *medrese*, as evidenced by a *vakfiye* notarized in the early sixteenth century. Lowry presents a series of arguments for his alternative dating and attribution, the most important for our discussion being: 1) the fact that Evliyâ Çelebi writes of a mosque of "Selçuk Hâtûn" as being "more in the mode of a sultanic mosque" (*bu dahi hakkâ ki câmi'i selâtîndir*), a statement that may well describe the stately monument in question; 2) the existence of archival documents (mentioned in a study by Uluçay) that record not only a *medrese* and a *mescid* associated with Selçuk Sultân in Serres but also a mosque; and 3) the dating of dendrochronological samples taken from that mosque to 1492 by international experts.[484]

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[482] Kiel, *Studies*, art. III, p. 444a.

[483] Machiel Kiel, "Die Rolle des Kadis und der Ulema als Förderer der Baukunst in den Provinzzentren des Osmanischen Reiches," in: *Frauen, Bilder und Gelehrte: Studien zu Gesellschaft und Künsten im Osmanischen Reich*. Eds. Sabine Prätor and Christoph K. Neumann. Istanbul: Simurg, 2002, pp. 569-601, cit. pp. 590-4. In this recent article, Kiel based his attribution on data providen in the biographical dictionary of poets by 'Âşık Çelebi completed in 1568/9.

[484] Lowry, *Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, ch. 4. In a 2007 article, the first specifically themed on the Zincirli Mosque (though concerned more with aspects of restoration), Eleni Gavra ("The Zincirli mosque in Serres," in: *The Ottoman Empire, the Balkans, the Greek lands: toward a social and economic history: studies in honor of John C. Alexander*. Eds. Elias Kolovos et al. Istanbul: ISIS, 2007, pp. 135-55, cf. p. 140f.) accepted Kiel's dating of the monument to the "last quarter of the sixteenth century." An ambitious (but ultimately disappointing) "inventory" of Ottoman monuments in Greece published by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture published in the following year already put forward a dating to the end of the fifteenth *or* the second half

Despite this evidence, and for reasons to be explained below, I shall posit a date of around 1590, hence closer to the earlier date(s) suggested by Kiel. That author's most recent suggestion of the early seventeenth-century seems late for the mosque in question and is conditioned by a hypothetical attribution to a patron. I have found that Evliyâ does not necessarily list a given locale's mosques according to their architectural significance; rather, he more typically lists monuments hierarchically according to the rank of their patrons: sultanic mosques come first, followed by mosques of other dignitaries.[485] Yet, Lowry's strongest piece of evidence for his attribution to Selçuk Sultân is exactly Evliyâ's short-spoken comment that it resembles a sultanic mosque, for we know of "only" three remarkable mosques to have existed in Serres (which is already quite a large number for any provincial locale): the Eski Câmi' (not extant), the Zincirli Câmi', and the Mehmed Beğ mosque. All but the Zincirli are separately treated and unambiguously identified by Evliyâ.[486] For this reason, the Zincirli Câmi' is very probably rightly identified with the building Evliyâ referred to as the "Selçuk Hâtûn Câmi'i." At the same time, a dating to the late fifteenth century, and thus to Selçuk Sultân's lifetime, is little short of impossible considering the architectural features of the mosque: square, hexagonal, and octagonal baldachin dome supports, facilitating lateral galleries, are a distinct feature of Ottoman architecture in the second half of the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century.[487] They are intimately connected with architectural innovations in the late work of Sinân, continued for a while by his students. Even more, their structural solution was seen as a "trademark of prestige

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of the sixteenth century (Ersi Brouskari [ed.], *Ottoman architecture in Greece*. Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture, 2008, p. 284), already knowing of the study by Lowry published only a few months earlier. The inventory entry adds to the building's history the discovery of remains of mural which they date to the "Tulip Period," that is "the first half of the eighteenth century," which they moreover suppose to have been produced in tandem with a major repair to the dome.

[485] In many cases he also seems to not list monuments in any systematic way.

[486] There is, of course, the possibility that Serres had another outstanding monument at the time of Evliyâ's visit that has not survived into the twentieth century, but I find this rather unlikely.

[487] For a survey, see Selçuk Batur, "Osmanlı camilerinde sekizgen ayak sisteminin gelişimi üzerine," in: *Anadolu sanatı araştırmaları*, I (1968), pp. 139-66; Doğan Kuban, "Les mosquées à coupoles a base hexagonale," in: *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte Asiens: in Memoriam Ernst Diez*. Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi Enstitüsü, 1963, pp. 35-47.

mosques in the capital."[488] The first example of a mosque in which the baldachin is completely unsupported by the side walls but by piers (which likewise support the lateral galleries) is the Rüstem Paşa mosque in Istanbul, completed in the early 1560s. The combination of a domed baldachin, lateral galleries, and a projecting *mihrâb* niche (supporting the baldachin on two points), as we see it at Serres, becomes popular only with the Selîmiye (completed 1574) at Edirne, however. Lowry correctly notes that projecting *mihrâb* niches are a widespread feature in late fifteenth century mosques; but in this combination they are specific to post-Selîmiye projects, ending with the mosque of Nişâncı Mehmed Paşa in 1588/9. It is only in the eighteenth century that octagonal and hexagonal supports saw a revival.[489]

We may move further toward a tentatively definitive dating, and possibly even an attribution to an architect, if we consider that no mosque in Serres is mentioned in any of Sinân's lists of buildings.[490] These sources in fact suggest that Sinân was quite proud of the innovations introduced by him (among which, notably, was the baldachin dome support), and would claim a mosque featuring such a feature as his whenever he could, even if his "authorship" (see chapter 2.2.6) was ambiguous. This seems to be evidenced by the case of the Mehmed Ağa mosque in Istanbul-Çarşamba: it is mentioned in one of Sinân's lists, but its inscription names his student and assistant Dâvûd Ağa as its "perfect architect" (*mi'mâr-ı kâmili*). Dâvûd probably designed or planned the structure while working under Sinân, hence providing an excuse for the latter to claim it on occasion. The absence of the Serres mosque in Sinân's *vitae* thus very probably means that it dates from after Sinân's death in 1588. Dâvûd Ağa, Sinân's successor as chief royal architect between 1588 and 1598 (?), is a good candidate as the Serres mosque's architect/planner for reasons beyond his mere appointment to this office: to him are generally attributed also two 1580s mosques in Istanbul – both featuring octagonal baldachin supports. These are, like the aforementioned mosque of Mehmed Ağa, only mentioned in one version of Sinân's lists of buildings, the *Tuhfetü'l-mi'mârîn*. Dâvûd Ağa eventually proved his mastery of baldachin support systems on a larger scale in the Cerrâh Paşa mosque (inaugurated 1594) – the last such complex in

[488] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 13, 119

[489] See Batur, "Sekizgen ayak sisteminin gelişimi," pp. 151-3. For the Nişâncı's mosque, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 409f.

[490] Cf. *Sinan's autobiographies*, passim.

Istanbul for more than a century – which featured a hexagonal baldachin dome support.[491] As the structural sophistication of the Zincirli indeed makes indispensable the involvement of the Corps of Royal Architects in its realization, which may also be evident in the relative structural clarity of the mosque's interior as opposed to the somewhat simple exterior, it seems to be safe to assume that Dâvûd Ağa, an architect well-versed in the design of octagonal and hexagonal baldachin supports, must be credited with the mosque. It certainly seems unlikely, given this evidence, that it was *not* built in the 1580s or 90s and, given the formal trends of this period a date of ca. 1590 sounds highly reasonable.

Without the documentation of building work at Serres at our disposal, we may take the 1570s construction accounts of the Semiz 'Alî Paşa mosque in Babaeski as an indicator, for it is the only example outside Istanbul of a Friday mosque with a (hexagonal) baldachin dome support, a significantly protruding *mihrâb* niche, a five-bayed portico, and (though narrow) lateral galleries. This building is claimed by Sinân in all versions of his *vita*, and there is no reason to assume that it is not principally owed to his agency. In the mentioned administrative documents are found the names of Hüseyin and Mustafâ as having built the mosque portal, a certain Süleymân as having carved the inscription, the *usta*s Hızır and Hüsâ (who appear to have played a leading role as master masons), and the painters 'Osmân and Mahmûd, who were brought from Edirne (perhaps "borrowed" from the construction site of the Selîmiye).[492] Despite the availability of detailed documentation, recording various names and even professions, the insight offered into work and design processes is very limited. Were these individuals chosen because of their style, their sophistication, or perhaps simply their availability? Did they execute designs prepared by others or did they contribute to the building and its decoration according to their own taste and experience?

The extant documentation allows no such conclusions for the case of the Zincirli Câmi', but the processes that led to its materialization can be relatively well reconstructed, if hypothetically, on the basis of formal analysis, contextualization and an investigation of building chronology. As argued above, a date around 1590 appears

[491] For Dâvûd Ağa and his work, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 500, 507f. In the case of Mehmed Ağa's mosque, where Dâvûd is mentioned as architect on the inscription, Necipoğlu proposes that this was in acknowledgment of that architect's authorship.

[492] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 386-9, p. 546 (note 64).

most likely given the octagonal baldachin dome support and the fact that it was *not* claimed by Sinân, hence probably dating to after his death in 1588. In any case it must have happened after 1568/9, when the last preserved cadastral survey of Serres was undertaken and no mosque called Zincirli or Selçuk Hâtûn was recorded.[493] Though the patronage by a *kadı*, as suggested by Kiel, is not unlikely if we consider other examples of large mosques patronized by members of this profession in the second half of the sixteenth century (such as at nearby Bitola and Sofia, but also two examples in Istanbul),[494] that by a princess appears more likely. A date of construction in the 1490s, thus in Selçuk Sultân's time, must be entirely ruled out for the reasons outlined above. However, there are reasons for not excluding from the discussion the idea of an association with this patron. According to her *vakfîye* of 1508, the year of her death,[495] she built in Serres a *medrese* with twelve rooms and a *zâviye* with (or and) a *mescid* with two *tabhâne* rooms attached to it. [496] Lowry fails to note that the documentation cited by him (as published by Uluçay) mentions not that a mosque was built around 1500, but that at some point after 1584 a mosque and a *ribât* (here: a caravansary?) in Serres are recorded as being supported by endowed properties.[497] Tax and population registers from the period of Süleymân similarly mention merely a *medrese*, but no mosque.[498] We must conclude that the mosque associated with Selçuk Sultân was built only posthumously with means provided by her *vakf*. This does not seem impossible considering also the fact that in 1530 two of her children, Neslişâh Sultân and Gâzî

[493] Cf. Evangelia Balta, *Les vakıfs de Serrès et de sa région (XVe et XVIe s.): un premier inventaire*. Athens: Centre de Recherches Néo-Helléniques, 1995, passim.

[494] For Istanbul, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 479-82; for the provinces, see Kiel, "Die Rolle des Kadı."

[495] For her biography, see Mustafa Çağatay Uluçay, "Bayazid II. in âilesi [sic]," in: *Tarih Dergisi*, X/14 (1959), pp. 105-24, cit. pp. 123-4.

[496] The *vakfîye* has been published by M. Tayyib Gökbilgin in his *XV-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası: vakıflar-mülkler-mukataalar* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 1952) app. pp. 185-93. There is also no *hatîb* mentioned, again confirming that a Friday mosque was not part of this *vakf*.

[497] See Uluçay, "Bayazid II. in âilesi," p. 123, note 151. Lowry appears to have misread the information provided on this page as referring to the period around 1500.

[498] Cf. Balta, *Les vakıfs de Serrès*, p. 26, 29, 55-6, 133 on the functioning of Selçuk Hâtûn's *vakf*.

Hüsrev Beğ, the latter exceedingly wealthy,[499] chose to donate additional funds to their mother's *vakf*. [500] This might suggest that the means she bequeathed prior to her death for the upkeep of her institution in Serres had proven insufficient. The 1530 additions by her children may have been sufficient not only to ensure the survival of her *vakf* but even to generate surpluses, thus making possible the construction of a Friday mosque next to her *medrese*.[501] The design, the *vakf*'s manager (*mütevellî*) may have made sure, would be commensurate with the deceased patron's social rank as a princess. Her membership in the royal family certainly allowed her to benefit from the services of the Corps of Royal Architects. The result was a fashionable design with an octagonal baldachin dome support, probably even from the desk of the chief royal architect Dâvûd Ağa himself.

There remains the question of why this monumental mosque lost its association with Selçuk Sultân at the expense of the non-specific or even generic name of Zincirli Câmi'. As Evliyâ mentions no mosque by that name in 1668, only a mosque by Selçuk Sultân, the name must date from after that. A literal translation of Zincirli Câmi' as "chained mosque" or "mosque with chain" (or, as Lowry writes, "fettered mosque"), makes little sense, as there is no sign for a chain or chain-like element that could have resulted in such an association. There is, however, one oral tradition according to which the mosque acquired its name after an eighteenth-century restoration that was paid for with gold coins of the type known as *zincirli*.[502] Replacing the older *sultânî*, this was a coin introduced at some point between 1697 and 1707. Still being exchanged in 1731, it was not in circulation anymore by mid-century.[503] This fits well with the suggestion by Greek restorers that a major repair took place in the first half of the eighteenth

[499] He also built a *medrese* (extant) in Selçuk's name in Sarajevo; this institution was supported by his own *vakf*, however.

[500] Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsı*, app. p. 186.

[501] Lowry (*Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, p. 163) reports foundations of a structure excavated next to the mosque, which may be that of a *medrese*. This may indeed suggest that the mosque was part of a cluster of buildings the first of which had been the *medrese* she had built around 1500. I must note that I did not detect the remains of any other buildings on site during my visit in March 2011.

[502] Brouskari (ed.), *Ottoman architecture in Greece,* p. 286.

[503] Şevket Pamuk, *A monetary history of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge: University Press, 2000, p. 164, 167-8, 174.

century.[504] This intervention to the dome and the upper parts of the walls may be suggested to have been caused by some sort of incident. Given the textile-based economy of Serres, this is quite likely to have been a fire. From a (non-extant) inscription on the Eski Câmi‘ at Serres we know that the building saw major repairs in 1719 following a large-scale conflagration.[505] This must have been the fire of 1714, mentioned in a document in the archives of Prodromos monastery near Serres.[506] There is some reason to assume that the intervention to the Zincirli Câmi‘ similarly took place in 1719: Serres’ Eski Câmi‘ was in the majority financed through the *vakf* of Murâd I,[507] and one may assume that its 1719 restoration was paid for by funds allocated by this *vakf* administered from Istanbul. Given the royal connection of Selçuk Sultân – repair records of 1859 prove that even then the mosque was administered by the *vakf* of this patron,[508] despite its new name – it is perhaps not all too unlikely to assume that when an estimate was made for the costs for the repairs to the Eski Câmi‘ by an agent commissioned by the administration, the “other” royal mosque in town was surveyed as well. The *zincirli* coin was still used in 1719, and so the aforementioned oral tradition may relate an actual event.[509]

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[504] Brouskari (ed.), *Ottoman architecture in Greece*, p. 285-6. According to the restorers, the intervention in the eighteenth century also resulted in a new painted decoration in the style typical for that period. I was not able to see this mosque’s interior during my visit to Serres in the March of 2011. Despite a long completed restoration project, the building has not been opened to the public, nor has it been given a new purpose.

[505] Petros N. Papageorgiou, “Ai Serrai kai ta proasteia, ta peri tas Serras kai ē monē Iōannou tou Prodromou,” in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* III (1894), pp. 225-329, cit. p. 292

[506] Cf. *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos, prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVIIe siècle)*. Ed. and tr. Paolo Odorico. Paris: Editions de l’Association “Pierre Belon,” 1996, p. 340.

[507] Balta, *Les vakıfs de Serrès*, pp. 91-4.

[508] Neval Konuk, *Yunanistan’da Osmanlı mimarisi*. Ankara: SAM, 2010, p. 318.

[509] Another possibility for the name “Zincirli”, so far overlooked, is a possible association with the branch of the Kadirî dervish order known as the Zincirli (a.k.a. Zincirî). Perhaps not incidentally, it enjoyed its greatest popularity in Macedonia and Kosovo. Headquartered in Baghdad, a city (re-)conquered by the Ottomans in 1639, the Kadirî spread in the Balkans in the seventeenth and especially in the eighteenth century. The Zincirli branch appears to have been introduced by a dervish from Crete, Mehmed Rafi Giridî Zincirî, among whose three pupils listed in a *silsile* are found a *baba* and a *şeyh* from Macedonia (Giannitsa and Skopje, respectively). There are known to have

The hypothetical chronology that thus emerges is as follows: Around 1500 Selçuk Sultân built a *medrese* and other buildings in Serres and set up a *vakf* for their support. The means she endowed for which were insufficient, however, whereby in 1530 two of her children increased their mother's *vakf*'s assets. This possibly resulted not only in an adequate support structure for the endowed institutions but also generated a surplus. By the late sixteenth century this was enough for the *mütevellî* of the *vakf* to contemplate the construction of a new building, a mosque – or perhaps the conversion of the foundation's *mescid* into a Friday mosque. This might explain the presence of building material from the early 1490s, as demonstrated by way of dendrochronology. The *mütevellî* of the *vakf* would have corresponded with Mi'mâr Dâvûd Ağa about the project, who would send from Istanbul to Serres an assistant to inspect the site and estimate the costs for a monument according to a plan that was in keeping with the princess's eminence. The plan with the fashionable octagonal baldachin dome support may have been a deliberate choice, just as it may have been conditioned by the existing buildings, which were to be converted rather than torn down. The *vakfiye* describes what may well have been a T-shaped *zâviye* with a *mescid* and two *tabhâne*s. Did the baldachin dome support, which supports the dome relatively independently from the carrying walls, thus allowing for additional spaces such as lateral galleries, prove to be the best solution for a building that was large enough but rectangular and previously divided into smaller spaces serving different functions?

Further observations as to possible considerations and decisions in the design process can be voiced on the basis of the examination of the materials, the construction and the use of comparison. The five-bayed porch, for instance, is relatively grand for a

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existed two Kadirî *tekye*s in Serres, but their association with that particular branch is not known. Could the mosque and possibly the *medrese* have been entrusted to the Zincirli order and thence have acquired its name? That "orthodox" Sunni institutions like a Friday mosque and an adjacent *medrese* were certainly not uncommon among the Kadirî is proven by the example of the Veli Paşa complex (ca. 1650) in Rethymno on Crete, which had been entrusted to this order by its founder (who may have taken a liking to this order while serving in Baghdad). The fact that the Zincirli evolved from a Kadirî dervish from Crete winning followers in the Balkans may in fact further strengthen the connection between those two remarkable mosques. For the Kadirî in the Balkans, see Alexandre Popovic, "La Qâdiriyya/Kadiriyye dans les Balkans: une vue d'ensemble," in: *Journal of the History of Sufism*, I/II (2000), pp. 167-211, esp. pp. 170-3. This author (p. 174) was not aware of a document from the court registers of Rethymnon that proves that the complex belonged to the Kadirî from its very inception. Cf. Mustafa Oğuz, "Girit (Resmo) şeriyye sicil defterleri (1061 - 1067)," dissertation (Marmara University, Istanbul), 2002, docs. no. 540 (1656?), 943 (1652), 952 (1651).

provincial mosque. It is built of ashlar rather than in alternating brick and stone, as are the rest of the building's exterior walls. This was very probably in order to embellish the frontal aspect of the monument, incorrectly suggesting to spectators that the entire building may have been built of this costlier material. The structural support of the dome in the interior and the connected lateral galleries display a clarity and sophistication that must lead one to suggest that this building stage was not only left to be undertaken by a highly skilled group of masons but also that they were closely supervised by an architect dispatched from Istanbul. Intricate ornament of stone or marble is largely lacking; this might in fact be seen as in keeping with its late-sixteenth century date. Instead, some painted (?) red and white geometric decoration is found in the lunettes. The relative colourfulness achieved by the alternation of grey and red elements in fact reminds of the roughly contemporary Kazasker 'İvâz Efendi mosque in Istanbul-Eğrikapı (1586), which is also not claimed by Sinân (though built during his lifetime) and thus possibly similarly attributable to Dâvûd Ağa.[510] Both mosques also share an extensive covering with lead and a polygonal baldachin dome support (which is far less adventurous at Eğrikapı than it is at Serres). This latter feature distinguishes the Zincirli from all other "classical period" mosques outside Istanbul; and the fact that it was not repeated in any of the (admittedly, increasingly rare) examples of domed provincial mosques from after the late sixteenth century almost certainly means that the involvement of agents from Istanbul, very probably Mi'mâr Dâvûd Ağa himself, was much greater in this mosque than in other cases. There should be little doubt that this is a reflection of the original patron's status and possibly the liquidity of her *vakf*. Both factors facilitated the project patron's (the *mütevellî*'s?) access to privileged instruments of planning and execution, as reflected in the anomaly of some of the Zincirli's features in a provincial setting around 1590.

4.1.2. The Evrenos *'imâret* at Komotinē: replication or modification of a type?

The Komotinē building known as "the *'imâret*" (ills. 42-3) belongs to the better-known Ottoman monuments in the Balkans. This is largely due to its early date: commonly believed to have been built in the 1370s, that is, after the Ottoman conquest of Edirne

[510] For this mosque, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 480-1; Godfrey Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1971, p. 259, 261.

and Thrace and before the establishment of the raider-lord Gâzî Evrenos at Serres (and eventually Giannitsa) after having had his "headquarters" at Komotinē, the *'imâret* is perhaps the oldest Ottoman-built structure in all of Europe.[511] Long connected to Evrenos by tradition and textual sources, the building's only surviving inscription (in the tympanum of the entrance to one of the lateral rooms) has been made illegible in the course of the building's conversion into the "Church of Emperor Saint Boris" during the Bulgarian occupation in the 1910s. The building's somewhat hybrid appearance may have led the occupiers to believe that, as they claimed, it had been converted from a church.

The Komotinē *'imâret* has long been connected to a group of T-shaped buildings exclusive to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, due to its plan and many features of its formal arrangement. The fact that many of them were converted into mosques in the decades around 1500, when it was feared that they might harbour heterodox elements sympathetic to the Safavid enemy to the East, led generations of researchers to believe that there existed a building type of a T-shaped early Ottoman mosque. Since the 1960s it has been common to link this form to the function of *zâviye*s, that is, institutions providing lodging and boarding to dervishes and other visitors. These institutions, it is claimed, had played a major role in the colonization of the Balkan-Anatolian region with Islam. Often they provided the nucleus for a new settlement as a basic infrastructure of communication and ritual.[512] This appears to have been the case with Komotinē, where Evrenos' *'imâret* presumably was the nucleus for the Muslim extra-mural settlement.

At Komotinē we see a T-shaped building that consists of a domed central space open on one side and is extended by a small projection beyond the other rooms' walls on the other side. It is flanked by smaller domed spaces entered through lateral doors in the central space and probably once used for the lodging of guests or staff. The ornamentation that has survived is minimal; the building's aspect is vivified by the use of various building materials (exposed on the exterior, apparently originally plastered in

[511] The basic study is Kiel, "Observations on the history of Northern Greece."

[512] Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bir iskân ve kolonizasyon metodu olarak vakıflar ve temlikler," in: *Vakıflar Dergisi*, II (1942), pp. 279-386; Semavi Eyice, "İlk Osmanlı devrinin dini-içtimai bir müessesesi: zaviyeler ve zaviyeli camiler," in: *İ.Ü. İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası,* XXIII/1-2 (1963), pp. 3-80; Sedat Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında çok-işlevli yapılar: kentsel kolonizasyon yapıları olarak zâviyeler*, 2 vols. Izmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1994.

the interior), such as brick, stone, and a yellowish stone local to Thrace. In terms of its construction, the *'imâret* shows continuity with pre-Ottoman traditions, as is visible here perhaps more than in the cases of many other early Ottoman buildings in Asia Minor. The fact that the three arms of the T culminate in small triangularly arched protrusions – a feature with no apparent structural purpose – seems to suggest, on one hand, that this was to be more than a merely utilitarian structure in an unstable and possibly partially devastated frontier region, but also that the builders were given some freedom in embellishing the structure beyond Anatolian prototypes on the other. Noteworthy plastic ornament is only found around the entrance to the lateral room to the East; the same kind of ornamentation may have once decorated the opposite door but has not survived. Curious are scratches in the plastered walls of the central as well as lateral spaces which depict motifs such as ships, axes, and castles. It has been suggested that they might date to the building's early period, and that they may have been produced by dervishes lodged here.[513] While not impossible, the link between early Ottoman dervishes or frontier raiders and ships certainly seems feeble. Another curious feature is a Roman *spolium*, a female head of gypsum, which has been placed in the tympanum of the rear projection on the southern side of the building. It is unknown whether this was an original feature of the building, whereby it must be treated as potentially not an integral part of its iconography. In any case, its inclusion is likely to have been "iconographical" only in the apotropaic sense.

Lastly, some unusual features of the construction are of interest as well. The walls are cloisonné, but the stones framed by thin bricks are not ashlars but boulders; the areas left empty by their uneven not-rectangular shape were filled up with mortar. Interesting is similarly the use of a local yellowish stone that appears to have been easily carved.[514] As it dominates some parts but not others, where it is apparently used without structural purpose, some thought must have gone into its utilization: either its colourfulness was appreciated, or its use was made opportune by the fact that the construction was to proceed quickly. Perhaps it was for the same reason that boulders with mortar around them replaced ashlars to be framed by bricks, for their cutting for this purpose would certainly have taken more time and presumably more funds.

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[513] Lowry, *Shaping of the Ottoman Balkans*, pp. 86-90.

[514] This may be the same kind of yellowish stone from which dwellings were carved out in the rock below the fortress of nearby Didymoteichon.

As was mentioned before, in terms of plan and function, the Komotinē *'imâret* is usually discussed as part of the phenomenon of the early Ottoman T-shaped *zâviye*s/*'imâret*s, which are believed to have functioned as dervish lodges, guesthouses, and poorhouses. While the non-domed annex space is far less pronounced at Komotinē that in other examples of T-shaped structures (where it is occasionally enlarged to a domed space), the layout with the lateral guestrooms is indeed very similar to the typical examples of this type. On the other hand, there are certain features that set it apart from other early Ottoman T-shaped structures, most of which appear to have been converted into Friday mosques in the sixteenth century. These conversions were facilitated by these buildings' habitual orientation toward the Southeast, which was obviously due to the fact that one of the spaces served ritual purposes, as a *mescid*. The conversions necessitated major interventions: minarets, porches, *mihrâb*s, and *minber*s were added, and separating walls were torn down to create a large space for congregational prayer.

This was not what happened at Komotinē: the walls between the central space and the lateral guestrooms are preserved, and there are no signs of *mihrâb*s, in any of the rooms. It is clear that this building never served as a mosque; it may have been spared conversion at the time when this was the general trend exactly because it was not oriented toward the Southeast, hence impeding such a conversion. While this is the first major divergence from the group of early T-shaped buildings, the other is the fact that the entrance to the central space is articulated as an *eyvân*, that is, a room open to one side, and not as a wall with an opening for a door. This makes the Komotinē building unique in the context of early Ottoman T-shaped structures. Even more, this solution seems to be contrary to these buildings' principal purpose of providing shelter. Thermodynamically, architecture including one half-open room seems imprudent. There is also no indication of there ever having been a large door or a hearth in the central space. We must conclude that the building was indeed planned as an *eyvân* with two lateral guestrooms. The location of their doors at the very margin of the room seems to suggest that, though again unwise in thermodynamic terms, they were to function independently of the *eyvân*. These doors' location faciliated the three spaces in question to function relatively independently, with their "users" disturbing each other as little as possible. While, in sum, the Komotinē *'imâret* may be regarded as an example of the T-shaped group in terms of form and partly also in terms of function, its anomalies,

especially the *eyvân* and the lack of south-eastern orientation, must make us reconsider its original function, as shall be my attempt hereafter.

Both the dome and the *eyvân* are not only widely used forms in medieval Islamic architecture but also common signs of authority. The best-known fourteenth-century building where they were used in such combination was the (not extant) Īwān al-Nāsiri of Mamluk Cairo, dating to the early decades of that century. Institutionally, it formed part of a tradition of *dūr al-'adl* ("houses of justice"), which functioned as sites where sultans dispensed justice in a semi-public manner – hence the *eyvân*-solution (at least also at the Īwān al-Nāsiri, though it may have been more widespread) – to bolster respect in them as decision-makers even where other forms of arbitration were available for subjects.[515] The potent but loyal Gâzî Evrenos did certainly not intend to imitate the Mamluk sultan, but he may have chosen an architectural type that was more widespread in his day than the scant surviving remains of palatial and administrative architecture in Anatolia and the Middle East might suggest. In newly-conquered Thrace around 1375, there should be no doubt that he, the principal conqueror and first man after the Ottoman dynast, was considered the foremost authority among his raiding forces as well as the subdued non-Muslim populations alike. Such a position very probably necessitated the frequent holding of audiences. It is likely that the *'imâret* was conceived as the site for his dispensation of justice in a place which was his and his troops' first headquarters in Europe. The *'imâret* also functioned as a guesthouse for distinguished visitors and as the core of an institutional structure (later turned into a *vakf*) that provided the nucleus of Muslim life in Komotinē. The fact that it was built outside the city walls rather than in a dominant location in the centre of the city, which was spared destruction, may reflect the rather conciliatory attitude that also had an echo in the demonstratively public nature of justice dispensed at the raider lord's audiences in the *eyvân* of the *'imâret*.

This proposed function, along with an analysis of the forms, makes possible a hypothetical reconstruction of the planning process. After the conquest of the area following repeated raids in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, Evrenos decided to make Komotinē his headquarters for raids into Macedonia and other territories. This presence he sought to underline with the development of a basic infrastructure, of which

[515] For this institution, see Nasser O. Rabbat, "The ideological significance of the Dār al-Adl in the medieval Islamic Orient," in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, XXVII/1 (1995), pp. 3-28.

the *'imâret* is the most visible legacy.[516] Its co-function as an audience hall explains the considerable amount of "design" that went into its making; this makes it compare favourably with most (usually much simpler) *zâviye*s in Asia Minor, from whose plan it was certainly derived.[517] The elaboration of walls, and possibly the location, may suggest that an itinerant workshop of (almost certainly non-Muslim) builders from Thrace or Macedonia was employed. They embellished with details a form determined in rough terms by someone close to Evrenos, who was maybe no "architect" but certainly sufficiently cognisant of the forms, functions, and measurements of buildings of Islamic Anatolia (and possibly beyond). It was in concert with this man that Evrenos planned the structure according to its intended functions; the premeditated layout of the rooms was then communicated to the builders.

The monument was certainly intended to be a representative structure; its domes and conspicuous polychromy certainly stuck out in the plain before the walled town of Komotinē. At the same time, it responded to a need of arbitration that had become urgent or that was already taking place in an inappropriate setting. Rather than producing rectangular cut stones, patron and builders agreed on using unshaped boulders and mortar to make them fill the rectangular spaces to be framed in the cloisonné technique. In this way, less brick was used (as opposed to a banded *opus mixtum*), as may have been found desirable, and no time was lost cutting stone. At the same time, features like the gable-like top sections of the non-functional protrusions attached to the lateral rooms seem to suggest that, despite the haste, a certain representativeness was expected. The forms the *'imâret* shares with fourteenth-century Balkan church architecture are, again, less the outcome of iconographic considerations than conditioned by the likely employment of builders previously having worked in the construction of Christian ecclesiastical architecture. At Komotinē we see their techniques applied to a plan that was not only foreign in source but also ingeniously modified by the patron and his advisor(s) to correspond to the specific challenges on site.

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[516] While no *vakfiye* has been discovered, the record of the *'imâret*'s *vakf* in the 1568/9 tax register reveals a staff of 39 individuals connected to it! Cf. *Turski dokumenti za istorijata na Makedonija XI/1: opširen popisen defter za vakafite vo Paša sandžakot od 1568/69 godina*. Tr. Aleksandar Stojanovski. Skopje: Arhiv na Makedonija, 2007, p. 485.

[517] For these, see Emir, *Erken Osmanlı mimarlığında çok-işlevli yapılar*.

4.1.3. The Yeni Câmi‘ at Komotinē and its tiles: provincial sophistication or opportunistic spoliation?

While it is comparatively straightforward to discuss architecture, since what has survived has largely remained in a way that enables us to visualize the character of a building at the time it was built, the situation is very different when it comes to the original embellishment of surfaces and details. While ornament carved from stone or marble has generally survived, the processes that led to its production are far from sufficiently understood. Concerning the intricate ornamentation of many fifteenth and sixteenth century buildings, most prominently mosques and *hammâm*s, it is certainly interesting to ask at which point in the planning process were its details discussed – or was ornamentation added only as an afterthought. Were certain parts of buildings carrying ornament “outsourced” to specialists not working on site? Would, for instance, an intricately carved *mihrâb* of marble be ordered from Istanbul or other urban centres rather than produced on the spot, for it must have cost more to have a carver work abroad and to send a slate of marble that has not been worked? Or were parts of buildings, such as capitals, perhaps prefabricated or reused and have thus entered the orbit of the building only by chance or necessity?

Harder even is such discussion when not pertaining to decorative elements made from stone or wood, for such are not only relatively resistant to change over time but, especially in the case of stone, usually also contemporary to the building. This facilitates precise dating and, by extension, makes possible a formal comparison of architectural monuments in a vast region over a long period of time, based on chronology. Painted decoration, on the other hand, is especially elusive: it is easily destroyed (usually by fire) and, as far as can be suggested from surviving examples, more prone to a renewal in line with the style of the period. The walls of the Şerîf Halîl Paşa mosque in Šumen, for instance, were painted no less than three times in the century after its completion in 1744/5![518] In other cases the oldest layer was repeatedly repainted on the basis of the existing decoration and was thus preserved. This appears to have been the case with the well-known Alaca Câmi‘ of Foča (1550/1), which must have been embellished with murals at some point in the second half of the sixteenth

[518] The restoring agency has informed me of three layers of murals. The first must date from the mid-eighteenth century; another looks from about a century after that.

century. This was possibly done by painters sent to the area for that purpose from Istanbul or Edirne, or by more local painters who worked according to designs dispatched from Istanbul.[519]

Building upon this problematic, this chapter seeks to reconstruct the processes that led to the conception of the decoration of the so-called Yeni Câmi‘ of Komotinē (ills. 44-6). As with the Alaca Câmi‘ of Foča, its decorative program sets it apart from the mainstream. It is also the only Ottoman building west of Edirne to have preserved interior decorative elements that include Iznik tiles and lacquer painting on wood.[520] These features were already praised by Evliyâ Çelebi in 1668,[521] whose testimony is important because it proves that these elements, which on the basis of stylistic features must be dated to the last quarter of the sixteenth century, are not among more recent pseudo-historicizing interventions.[522] The mosque and its decorative features were introduced to an academic audience in 1971 by Kiel, who first suggested its patron to have been the early-seventeenth-century *defterdâr* Etmekçi-zâde Ahmed Paşa.[523] This man was the son of the Albanian baker (*etmekçi*) Hacı Mehmed, the head of the bakers' guild in Edirne.

Ahmed made some money in the Edirne marketplace and became involved in the collection of taxes. Upon this experience he built a career in financial administration. He became a long-time *defterdâr* ("finance minister") and was even

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[519] The Alaca is also an isolated case, so unique that it is hard to compare. Only the decorative murals embellishing houses, churches, and mosques in the southern Balkans between the late-eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries form a relatively unified group (ill. 41). To some extent, this enables us to trace forms and features, and occasionally even names of painters, or at least the names of the places they hailed from. This being a specific period with its own dynamics, in patronage as in artistic production, conclusions as to the workings between the mid-fourteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries are not permissible.

[520] I should like to acknowledge the support I have received from Walter Denny and Tülay Artan with regards to the analysis of these features. They were so kind as to agree to inspect the material and confirm what until then was a mere suspicion of mine: that the tiles were produced long before the mosque was built, as shall be detailed below.

[521] *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, VIII, p. 38.

[522] These included the covering of parts of the building with machine-produced tiles, a repainting of murals in the dome, and possibly a historicizing (or "fake") inscription (see below).

[523] Kiel, *Studies*, art. III.

promoted to the rank of *vezîr* under Ahmed I (r. 1603-17).[524] Before his death in the same year as his sultanic namesake in 1617, Etmekçi-zâde Ahmed engaged in the patronage of works of architecture centred in his native region of Thrace. They include a mosque, *hân*, and *hammâm* in Genisea (near Xanthi), a *tekye*, a *hân*, and a *hammâm* in Traianoupoli/Feres, and the Havlucular Hân (1601) and the Etmekçi-zâde *kervânsarây* (1615/6) in his hometown Edirne.[525] His career peaked in the early seventeenth century, and it is for this reason that an inscription presently over the front entrance to the mosque must be treated with much suspicion. Located in a part of the building that dates to an enlargement in 1902/3, the inscription names as the building's patron the *defterdâr* Ahmed Paşa, cites as the reigning sovereign Murâd III (r. 1574-95), and provides as the building's construction date – both in a chronogram and in numerals! – the year H. 994 (i.e. 1585/6 CE).[526] Although such date could be possible judging solely from the formal features of the mosque and its decoration, it is much too early – perhaps by as much as two decades – for Etmekçi-zâde to have engaged in patronage on this scale.[527] His career coincided with the reigns of Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) and Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), and the title of *paşa* was only awarded in the reign of the latter. Rather than 1585/6, a date in the first or second decade of the seventeenth century must be assumed. It will soon become apparent why this date is important in the discussion of that monument's decoration.

The architecture of the mosque itself is generic: we see a domed cube of 11.4m square, once preceded by a five-bayed portico. The latter was covered during an

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[524] Baki Tezcan, *The second Ottoman Empire: political and social transformation in the early modern world*. Cambridge: University Press, 2010, p. 14f.

[525] Machiel Kiel, "Un héritage non désiré: le patrimoine architectural islamique ottoman dans l'Europe du Sud-Est, 1370–1912," in: *Études balkaniques*, XII (2005), pp. 15-82, cit. p. 55. The endowment deed of this patron has, to the best of my knowledge, not been discovered by scholars. From an extant (but undated?) *evkâf defteri* of Komotinē (published in *Osmanlı belgelerinde Batı Trakya*. Ed. H. Yıldırım Ağanoğlu. Istanbul: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 2009, app. 2, see esp. pp. 482-84) we learn that the "*vakf* of the mosque of Defterdâr Ahmed Efendi" included more than fifty shops and other assets (such as a windmill).

[526] For these inscriptions, see Berrin Yapar, "Yunanistan'daki Türk eserlerinde kitabeler (Dedeağaç, Dimetoka, İskeçe, Gümülcine, Selanik, Kavala, Yenice-Karasu)," MA thesis (Mimar Sinan University), 2007, pp. 36-42.

[527] A more detailed biography of Etmekçi-zâde Ahmed is found in Mehmed Süreyya's *Sicill-i 'Osmânî* (ed. Nuri Akbayar, tr. Seyit Ali Kahraman. Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1996, p. 208).

enlargement of the mosque a little more than a century ago, when two-storied extra spaces were built adjacent to the SW and NW sides of the mosque, and an extra *mihrâb* was added. This conversion also seems to have affected a part of the interior decoration, as shall be discussed below. More than the architecture, the mosque is made interesting by what Kiel claimed in 1971 to be "examples of oriental decorative art which are unrivalled, even in the old Ottoman capitals and the cities of Asia Minor."[528] The fact that the tiled panels and the painted wooden ceiling of the *mahfil* in the Yeni Câmi' are at least without parallels in Southeast Europe outside Turkey encourages speculation about processes of work and thought.

In the former porch and in the prayer hall are found nine lunette-formed tile panels featuring calligraphy in white (with occasional red dots) on blue ground. They are framed by narrow polychrome bands running around the panels. Their upper parts are shaped like pointed arches imitating a typically Ottoman form, despite (or because of) the rectangular form of the windows. The calligraphy is in Arabic and consists of citations from the scriptures. Yapar has recently pointed out their likeness to lunettes in the Kılıç 'Alî Paşa mosque (1580/1) in Istanbul-Tophane, which the panels at Komotinē seem to imitate not only in style – the calligraphy at the Istanbul mosque is ascribed to Demircikulı Yusûf Efendi (d. 1611), a student of a student of Ahmed Karahisârî – but also in calligraphic design.[529] We may go as far as to suggest that the Komotinē panels, which are somewhat smaller than the ones at Tophane, were produced according to the same calligrapher's designs, perhaps even at the same time.[530] This, of course, stands in contrast to the fact that both mosques' construction dates appear to be three decades apart. To this must be added two more oddities: firstly, on the south-western wall of the mosque we find not two (as on all others) but three such panels, one not even placed over a window; secondly, the panels appear to be slightly broader than the breadth of the marble window frames. This, on close look, appears rather unseemly. It may also simply suggest, as is most likely, that the tiles were originally not fabricated for this particular building. The ninth panel may have been included simply because it was

[528] Kiel, *Studies*, art. III, p. 422.

[529] Yapar, "Yunanistan'daki Türk eserlerinde kitabeler," pp. 45-51; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 435 for the mosque in Istanbul.

[530] In style and form, they can also be related to tiled lunettes of the earlier mosque of Hadım İbrâhim Paşa at Istanbul-Silivrikapı (1551), for which cf. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, p. 243.

available; and since it was probably expensive, the patron may have wanted to use it even if there was no ninth window above which it could be placed. All in all, it seems not too unlikely that the patron, possibly around 1610, sent to Komotenē from Istanbul lunette-shaped tile panels produced in the 1580s for reuse in his newly-built mosque. Another possibility, far less likely given the late date (which coincides with a period of shortage and relative decline in Iznik), is that he commissioned from Iznik tiles following designs by the calligrapher Demircikulı, possibly even the designs he made for the Kılıç ʻAlî Paşa mosque. In any case, the quality of the tiles leaves no doubt that their place of production was Iznik, and their style strongly suggests Demircikulı's participation.

The lunette-shaped tile panels are not the only Iznik work in the mosque, however. To either side of the marble *mihrâb* are found rectangular tile panels with *sâz*-style ornamentation dominated by red, blue, and turquoise. They are different in character from the lunette-panels described above, but they seem to date to a similar period in the late sixteenth or seventeenth centuries and may have reached Komotenē in a similar way as the above. Above them are niche-shaped smaller tile panels, ostensibly from a different production phase or workshop, which are of a similar design (though they, notably, include tulips).

Besides the stained glass windows, which I shall not discuss, the other principal decorative feature of note in the Yeni Câmiʻ are the painted wooden panels functioning as the ceiling of the semi-open space under the *mahfil*.[531] They feature vegetal ornament that includes lotus flowers. The dominating colours are red, gold, and black, creating an ambience very different from the bright colours in the rest of the prayer hall. We see three different areas: a central one over the entrance section, featuring a circular ornament, and two identical longitudinal ones on the sides. The exact measurements suggest that here, unlike possibly with the tiles, the wood panels were commissioned to be made specifically for this mosque.

The events that led to the materialization of the Yeni Câmiʻ and its decoration may have taken the following course: Around 1610, at the peak of his career, the *defterdâr* Etmekçi-zâde Ahmed Paşa decided to build a mosque in Komotinē. This was not to be a large mosque, for that may have been contrary to the needs of that town or the patron's ambition. Nonetheless, he wanted to make sure that the mosque would be

[531] Kiel thought the gallery to have been reserved for women, but Evliyâ (*Seyahâtnâme*, VIII, p. 38) clearly identifies it as a *mahfil*.

noticed and remembered. Rather than by its architecture, which is unspectacular, memorability was to be achieved through the sophistication of its decoration. More concretely, this middle-sized mosque built by a *defterdâr* in the provinces was to be distinguished by features befitting a grand vizier's mosque in the capital, however reduced.

The patron certainly started his project by petitioning the sultan for the permission to build a Friday mosque. As a next step, he must have communicated with the Corps of Royal Architects and its head, Mehmed Ağa (who was, like the patron, of Albanian origin)[532] for a suitable plan. Mehmed Ağa probably dispatched one of his assistants to the site and had him draw up a budget estimate for the construction of a medium-sized mosque there. This mosque, it must have been agreed on beforehand, was to be in the range of a cube ca. 11.5m square on the inside, have a dome, and a portico. That the latter element was to feature five rather than three bays was a divergence from the monumental provincial standard, possibly in recognition of the patron's prominence. Construction may have begun soon thereafter, with workmen, probably from Thrace, operating under the supervision of one of Mi'mâr Mehmed Ağa's assistants dispatched from Istanbul.

The painting of the *mahfil* was probably done on the spot by artists unlikely to have been from Komotinē. They were familiar with the Ottoman court style, probably through work in Istanbul or, perhaps more likely, Edirne. Relatively close to Komotinē, Edirne may still have seen enough high-level patronage to sustain such crafts locally. Another possibility is that the patron had the work done in Edirne (or Istanbul) and had it sent to Komotinē. This was possible if the building's exact measurements were recorded in writing (and possibly visually) and sent to a place where a work of this kind could be commissioned from artists working according to data (such as measurements) communicated to them. Three panels were to be painted, with ornament radiating from their centre. In this case, the design may have been left to the painters; it broadcasts sophistication but ultimately draws upon a small and well-established vocabulary. They were meant to be exceptional, if only for the intended location, but still representative of a certain "metropolitan" style and quality.

[532] For the possible implications of this fact for the work relationship, see Metin İ. Kunt, "Ethnic-regional (*cins*) solidarity in the seventeenth century Ottoman establishment," in: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, V/3 (1974), pp. 233-9.

A different matter yet was that of the Iznik tiles. Three imperial decrees referring to letters by Mehmed Ağa from the period 1608-13 show that it had become increasingly difficult even for the state to enforce a privileged treatment in the production of tiles at Iznik. The local tile-producers, working according to designs sent from Istanbul, had begun to favour the more lucrative private commissions.[533] To include tiles as the ones we see at Komotinē in buildings of the early seventeenth century was thus already something quite extraordinary; potentially, it meant that a patron had the means or connections to convince the producers to delay a commission by the state. This may not have been the case with the *defterdâr* and his Komotinē mosque. As stated before, these tiles not only display characteristics perhaps more typical of works from the 1580s than from around 1610, their measurements also suggest that they had not been produced for this monument. Clearly, however, they were produced in Iznik. It is also very likely that they were intended for use in Istanbul, where they were either not used in a building or salvaged from a building that was destroyed. In any case, the patron must have viewed the inclusion of such works as something highly desirable, even more so as they had become rare. He probably purchased in Istanbul tile panels approximately (but not entirely) fitting the dimensions of his planned mosque, as can still be seen in situ. While their slightly clumsy positioning may have been a source of ridicule in Istanbul, where these tiles would have been compared with some of the best examples of such work found in older mosques, worshippers at Komotinē had seen nothing of the like.

In sum, the Yeni Câmi‘ seems to reveal artistic production that, while the result of communication between various locales (Istanbul, Edirne, Iznik), could largely do without truly local resources, except in the use of unskilled labour. While conceived by agents centred in Istanbul, resources in the capital as well as possibly Edirne or Iznik were mobilized for a monument to materialize in Komotinē.

[533] For these decrees, see Robert Anhegger, “Quellen zur Osmanischen Keramik,” appendix to Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Das Islamische Iznik*. Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1941, pp. 165-95, cit. pp. 171-3.

4.2. The duties and qualifications of *mi'mâr*s resident in provincial centres

4.2.1. "Provincial architects" in the light of scholarship since the 1970s

For most of the period of Ottoman rule, as discussed, there existed in the Balkans no "architects" in the sense of liberally-trained professionals working on independent commissions. There are found in sources of the sixteenth to eighteenth century, however, resident professionals referred to as *mi'mâr*s. This chapter seeks to question the contribution of these individuals to architectural production and especially to matters of design. Their activity in the latter field is indeed implied in studies of the phenomenon of what have been called "city architects" or "town architects" (*şehir mi'mârları*), "provincial architects" (*vilâyet* or *eyâlet mi'mârları*), or, most recently, "provincial city architects" and "city architects stationed in provincial capitals."[534] These individuals with the professional title of *mi'mâr*, permanently residing in the provinces, have been a subject of scholarship since the 1970s. Orhonlu believed their emergence to be a phenomenon of the seventeenth century and suspected that they were installed as provincial functionaries of the Royal Corps of Architects as a result of the "urbanization movement" of that century. Stationed there, they were, Orhonlu concluded, "responsible for checking the guilds of construction (artisan guilds) as well as the technical aspects of construction business in their regions or cities." Any construction enterprise would require certification by them as the official authority in these matters.[535] Dündar contributed to the discussion by, inter alia, putting back the emergence of these offices to the sixteenth century.[536] Most recently, Necipoğlu has depicted the same process as conditioned by the "administrative acumen" of Sinân and the "increasing centralization of the empire" in the age of Süleymân. Stressing the context of provincial *mi'mâr*s as part of institutions rather than as the result of local processes, she writes of the "creation of auxiliary branches of the corps of royal architects in major provincial cities" as

[534] Cengiz Orhonlu, "Town architects," in: *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*. Ed. G. Fehér. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978, pp. 705-9; Abdülkadir Dündar, "City architects in the Ottoman architecture," in: *The great Ottoman-Turkish civilisation*. Ed. Kemal Çiçek. Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000, IV, pp. 471-9; idem, "Osmanlı döneminde şehir mimarı bulunan bazı Avrupa şehirleri," in: *Thirteenth International Congress of Turkish Art*. Eds. Géza Dávid and Ibolya Gerelyes. Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2009, pp. 231-42; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 157 and ff.

[535] Orhonlu, "Town architects," pp. 707-8.

[536] Dündar, "City architects," p. 471.

having been part of an agenda of establishing "an empire-wide network with tentacles reaching out into distant provinces." In the seventeenth century many more "local architectural bureaus" emerged, less frequent ties with the capital resulting in what she diagnoses as a "growing autonomy and independence of city architects" in the "post-classical age."[537]

The documentation published by these three scholars is unequivocal about at least some tasks and features of this office. Appointees appear to usually have been locals rather than architects dispatched from the capital. They appear to have been responsible for tasks that were elsewhere (perhaps where there was no *mi'mâr*) undertaken by the *kadı*, such as the mobilization of a skilled workforce for state-led (or state-supported) construction enterprises elsewhere, usually in Istanbul. Typically, it seems that a given city's *kadı* had to request the appointment of a certain (qualified) individual from the head of the Corps of Royal Architects in Istanbul, who remained the ultimate authority on the matter. Like the head of this institution in Istanbul, his "deputies" in the provinces would similarly exert their authority over the construction-related guild(s) in their jurisdiction. Death or dissatisfaction with his work by the authorities or local agents seems to have been the main reason for their removal of office. In some places, a succession from father to son, if qualified, seems to have been welcome and resulted in the emergence of veritable "local architects' dynasties."[538] Significant is moreover that, in principle, the office was also open to non-Muslims.[539] Appointment documents merely stress their qualifications as skilled in the relevant sciences, such as geometry. Very often, their names/offices appear in the context of construction or repair works of fortresses.

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[537] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 160.

[538] This was, for instance, the case with Jerusalem, where in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries the post of *mi'mâr-başı* was held by members of a single family. Cf. Amnon Cohen, *The guilds of Ottoman Jerusalem*. Leiden: Brill, p. 154 (for the eighteenth century) and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 159 (for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries); the names mentioned by Necipoğlu and Cohen are the same.

[539] Cf. the examples of Kosta and Yorgi below. Data collected by Fatma Afyoncu (*XVII. Yüzyılda hassa mimarları ocağı*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001, pp. 37-9) shows that during most the seventeenth century between a quarter and a half of the members of the Corps of Royal Architects in Istanbul were non-Muslims. For unexplained reasons their numbers dramatically decrease after 1685 from 9 to 1 while that of Muslims decreases from 25 to 12.

4.2.2. Evidence of their activity in the Balkans and their relation with royal architects

The seemingly most complete (but hitherto overlooked) description of the tasks of a provincial *mi'mâr ağa* in the Ottoman Balkans is provided by Evliyâ Çelebi, who in 1660 wrote of the holder of that office in Skopje as one of the city's "functionaries" (*hâkiman*). His responsibilities were, or included. "the repair [*ta'mîr*] and restoration [*termîm*] of the fortress and all the mosques, *hân*s, *hammâm*s, and other public buildings [*imârâtlar*]."[540] While helpful, this elaboration must be treated with caution. In volumes V through VII of his *Seyâhat-nâme*, Evliyâ reports of no less than 60 locales whose functionaries included a *mi'mâr*, a *mi'mâr ağa*, or a *mi'mâr-başı*.[541] From the context in which he mentions them it is clear that these refer to one and the same function, namely that of what scholars have identified as "city architects." The fact that only in the case of Skopje he provides a detailed job profile may well mean that Skopje, where (as in Buda and Sarajevo) we already have a resident architect attested in the sixteenth century, was an exception rather than a representative example of the tasks usually undertaken by such *mi'mâr*s.[542]

Relatively more information is available for Bosnia, where the institution of an architect is attested as early as 1516. In the Ottoman law code (*kanûn-nâme*) for Bosnia devised that year it is ordered that a *mi'mâr* be equipped with a fief (*timar*) for the services he rendered to the state in the construction of fortresses on the frontier (*uclar*).[543] Perhaps this was merely an institutionalization of a practice that existed previously in a different guise. An entry in the tax register of the Herzegovina *sancak* from 1477 reveals, for instance, that the maintenance of fortresses was at that point, immediately after the conquest, entrusted to local masons and carpenters, who were

[540] *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, V, p. 296.

[541] See table 4. The implications are discussed in ch. 4.2.4.

[542] For the cases of Sarajevo and Buda, as well as the sixteenth-century evidence for Skopje, see below.

[543] A transcription of the law-code is offered in Ömer Lütfi Barkan. *XV ve XVIıncı asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, I, *kanunlar*. Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi, 1943, pp. 396-7. For a translation into Serbo-Croatian, see *Kanuni i kanun-name za bosanski, hercegovački, zvornički, kliški, crnogorski i skadarski sandžak*. Eds. Branislav Đurđev et al. Sarajevo: Orientalni Institut, 1957, p. 29.

exempt from taxes in return.[544] Other than the entry in the 1516 law-code the evidence for the Bosnian *mi'mâr*s is indirect. In the 1528 tax register are mentioned two *mescid*s built by individuals associated with this office: one was built by a certain *mi'mâr* called Sinân (not to be confused with his famous namesake), the other by a certain Mi'mâr-zâde Dâvûd Çelebi.[545] Both appear to be related to the institution of architect established in Bosnia in 1516, for there is neither reason to assume the existence of independently working architects in Sarajevo around that time, nor are their names connected to any known buildings from this period. Sinân must have been one representative of this office at some point in the 1520s; Dâvûd was, presumably, the son of one such *mi'mâr*, as the "patronymic" suggests – perhaps even Sinân's. Both cases establish the office, paid from state funds, as one that allowed them a certain elite status in their respective community.[546] In 1558 also a Mi'mâr Yûsuf appears in the *vakfiye* of Hüseyin Beğ b. İlyâs for an architectural foundation in Rogatica near Sarajevo.[547] As it is unlikely that this backwater could support a resident architect, we may presume that this was really the *mi'mâr* of Sarajevo. If their hypothetical identification with the "city architect" is correct, we are able to identify three architects by name for the period 1516 to 1558: Sinân, Yûsuf, and the unnamed father of Dâvûd. While this was indeed a

[544] This register has been published by Ahmed S. Aličić as *Poimenični popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina.* Sarajevo: Orijentalni Institut, 1985); the relevant section is found on pp. 599-600. It must be stressed that Bosnia in 1516 was still an outpost in the empire's borderlands. Conquests in the following decade would push the frontier northward. It is around these years that Sarajevo began to be equipped with a "monumental infrastructure," a development culminating in the 1530s.

[545] Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika*, I, p. 275f.

[546] This is evidenced by their founding of *mescid*s (and in the case of Sinân, also a *mekteb*). Dâvûd's use of the "patronymic" Mi'mâr-zâde also seems to suggest that this was a somewhat prestigious office, for not his father's given name but his profession became the principal denominator in his "surname." The epithet *çelebi* moreover may suggest his belonging to an educated elite, perhaps due to the relative wealth acquired by his architect father.

[547] *Vakufname*, p. 135. Kreševljaković ("Esnafi," p. 358) thought that Yûsuf was an architect living in Rogatica, which is highly unlikely. Necipoğlu (*Age of Sinan*, p. 564) and Yerasimos ("Osmanlı mimarları," p. 155) record two royal architects by the name of Yûsuf as having worked in the 1520s and 30s, among whom one "Yûsuf Bosna," last mentioned in 1536/7. Given the popularity of the name, there is little to make the case for any of these having been identical with the architect mentioned in Rogatica two decades later.

spectacular boom period for Sarajevo, no known source connects these architects' names to any of the major buildings from that time.

Greater insight about the duties of a provincial architect in Bosnia, and possibly elsewhere, may be gained from information about activities for which they apparently did not have a mandate. In the years around 1560 we have documentation for two more individuals identified as *mi'mâr*s but who were not residents of Sarajevo. The first is a Mi'mâr Ferhâd b. 'Abdullâh; he was dispatched from Istanbul by Sinân to supervise the construction of the 'Alî Paşa mosque in and after 1558/9, and possibly another very similar mosque, built posthumously for Ferhâd Beğ.[548] A Mi'mâr Mehmed is mentioned a few years later, when after a destructive enemy raid in 1563 some of Sarajevo's Islamic infrastructure was damaged and an architect was sent from Istanbul for the repair or reconstruction of some buildings belonging to the *vakf* of İskender Paşa (including a *zâviye* and some mills). After Mi'mâr Mehmed prepared a budget estimate, the interventions were undertaken – not with funds by the state but from the mentioned *vakf*.[549] The central conclusion from these two cases is that the provincial *mi'mâr* installed in Sarajevo after 1516 was apparently not automatically responsible for the

[548] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 184-5, 565-6. An earlier case of a royal architect dispatched to Bosnia to oversee the building of a domed mosque patronized by a high-ranking administrator was, if we choose to believe Evliyâ Çelebi (*Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, VI, p. 255f.), that of Mi'mâr Ramazân Ağa, to whom he attributes the so-called Alaca Câmi' of Foča (completed 1550/1; cf. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika*, II, pp. 35-45 for the relevant inscriptions). Excelling in its decoration, that building's architecture, while monumental and harmonious, is completely generic. It is, perhaps, of interest in this regard that Evliyâ claims that Ramazân Ağa (whom he names the "main assistant" [*başhalifesi*] of Sinân) had already designed or built 21 mosques. This case must be treated with some caution, as the name of such an architect under Sinân has not been established in any other source (cf. Yerasimos, "Osmanlı mimarları" and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, esp. index and appendix). At the same time it deserves highlighting, for Evliyâ does not mention any other architect (other than Sinân) by name during his European travels. The connection with Ramazân Ağa was probably made on the spot by one of Evliyâ's local informers. That said, for the mosque in question it is indeed unlikely that, at some point in the late 1540s, an architect working under Sinân would not have been dispatched to Foča to oversee the construction of this building. This may well have been the Ramazân Ağa Evliyâ mentions.

[549] Norman, "An Islamic city," pp. 241-2 (doc. 8) for a transliteration of the document in question; pp. 133-4. for the context. Perhaps this is the same Mi'mâr Mehmed that was used to deliver a sultanic decree to Livno in 1565 (without being involved in the case of "*timar* fraud"): cf. Ešref Kovačević, *Muhimme defteri: dokumenti o našim krajima*. Sarajevo: Orientalni Institut, 1985, p. 194. Was Mehmed sent from Sarajevo to Klis that year, perhaps to inspect that frontier town's (important) fortress on the eve of war with Venice?

execution of new architectural projects by the Ottoman elite in areas under his authority, even in cases where the plans were generic examples of provincial mosques. Nor was he automatically responsible for repairs, as is illustrated by the case of an architect sent from the distant capital for this purpose.[550]

4.2.3. The careers of "provincial architects": Hayrüddîn, Kosta, and others

The backgrounds of *mi'mâr* appointees are difficult to trace for the general lack of biographical information. In many cases they must have been prominent local builders, acquiring the title *mi'mâr* not through training in the palace school but through their appointment as a "state employee." There is one case for which such an architect's career may be reconstructed to a good extent. This is that of the one-time *mi'mâr-başı* of Skopje, who in a document of 1568 is identified with the name Hayrüddîn.[551] There

[550] We may have a third such case with a Mi'mâr Hızır b. 'Abdullâh whom Kreševljaković ("Esnafi," p. 171) – unfortunately without revealing his source – places in Sarajevo in 1556. This man is very likely to be identical with a royal architect of the same (relatively rare) name, who was in 1552 sent to Mut (60km south of Karaman) to requisite marble for the Süleymâniye project. Two decades later he reappears as a witness in the *vakfiye* of Mi'mâr Sinân. (Cf. Yerasimos, "Osmanlı mimarları," p. 45.) This establishes Hızır as one of Sinân's most trusted assistants indeed. It is unclear which project could have had him dispatched to Sarajevo around 1556. While still a period of expansion for Sarajevo, none of the city's major monuments was built in that decade. Rüstem Paşa's *bedesten* was completed in 1551 by builders from Dubrovnik (cf. Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," II, p. 170) presumably under the guidance of an Ottoman architect, though very probably not Hızır's. Three, probably four, major domed mosques were built in the years after 1559 – in addition to the securely dated domed mosques of 'Alî Paşa and Ferhâd Beğ, as well as the rebuilt (by Süleymân) "Hünkâr Câmi'i," the so-called "Baščaršija mosque" must, on stylistic grounds, also be dated to the 1560s – but there are names of other architects connected to these projects, as discussed above. Our apparently sole candidate meriting the consultation of an Istanbul *mi'mâr* like Hızır was the small but somewhat stately mosque-cum-*mekteb* complex sponsored by Bozacı Hacı Hasan, who is generally said to have been a local trader. The domed mosque was completed in 1555/6 according to an inscription (which does not identify the patron; cf. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika*, I, pp. 375-6.; see also Ayverdi, *Avrupa*, II, p. 318.) Though smaller than the rest of the domed mosques of sixteenth-century Sarajevo, it is indeed an example of the "metropolitan style." This makes somewhat unusual its attribution to somebody without a title like *paşa* or *beğ*, thus betraying a background as a soldier-administrator, and without an obvious connection to Istanbul and the Corps of Royal Architects.

[551] Dündar, "Şehir mimarı," pp. 238-9; *idem*, "Osmanlı mimarisinde vilâyet (eyâlet) mimarları," in: *Electronic Journal of Ottoman Studies*, IV (2001), art. 49. p. 4f.;

is a very good possibility that this man is identical with another *mi'mâr* by that (relatively rare) name known to have lived in the 1560s: Mi'mâr Hayrüddîn, the architect responsible for the famous bridge of Mostar (1557-66). If these two individuals are indeed the same person, a hypothetical reconstruction of his life and career would start at the end of the fifteenth century, when he must have been born.[552] If we give credit to an oral tradition, recorded first in the late sixteenth century, according to which the builder of the Mostar bridge hailed from these parts of the empire,[553] then Hayrüddîn may indeed have been born somewhere in the Western Balkans. The man who may be presumed to have been a Slavonic-speaker thus probably reached the capital as a *devşirme* recruit.

In documents from 1536/7 and 1548/9 Hayrüddîn is mentioned as a marble-cutter (*mermerî*) and *mi'mâr* in the service of the Corps of Royal Architects in the capital. In 1557 he appears to have been entrusted with the project at Mostar, in 1564 he was present in Istanbul, and in 1568 we see him requested for the construction of a fortress in Makarska (50km SE of Split) and mentioned as the *mi'mâr-başı* of Skopje.[554] Hayrüddîn's work radius, with apparently a focus in the Western Balkans, may indeed indicate that he hailed from these parts and was entrusted with jobs there possibly because his mother tongue made communication with the locally-recruited workforce more efficient.[555] The fact that for the project at Makarska the already aged Hayrüddîn

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Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 157f., see also 529 note 67. This document also mentions that he was assisted by the *üstâd* (masters) Memi and Yûsuf.

[552] A document dated 1564 places him in Istanbul at that time and his age already at an advanced stage. Cf. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 564-5.

[553] Âşık Mehmed, *Menâzırü'l-avâlim*. Ed. Mahmut Ak. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2007, p. 322.

[554] Yerasimos, "Osmanlı mimarları," p. 45; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 564f.; Anhegger, "Römerbrücke," p. 95.

[555] Âşık Mehmed (*Menâzırü'l-avâlim*, p. 322; see also Anhegger, "Römerbrücke," p. 95, 99) purports the architect to have been "a faultless master from among the carpenters and engineers of this region" (*ol diyârun neccâr ve mühendislerinde bir üstâd-ı kâmil*). How local he was, or local to what, is not clear from this wording. The range of the term *diyâr* (realm, clime, region) is exemplified by its both being used to designate the entire Ottoman realm (as in *Diyâr-ı Rûm)* or a relative small district (as in *Diyâr-i Bekr*). It may refer to Mostar or Herzegovina, the north-western Balkans ("Bosna"), the European half of the empire, the Slavophone provinces, etc. One reason to not immediately dismiss this tradition as a myth is its early date – the 1590s were no later than three decades after the construction of the bridge – and Âşık

was specifically requested by Hüseyin Paşa, the *sancak-beği* of Herzegovina,[556] seems to reflect a certain degree of fame achieved as the architect of the Mostar bridge, which is specifically mentioned in the request of Hüseyin Paşa. In any case, he must be considered an experienced architect. A document from 1564, when he was resident in Istanbul, also mentions him as an elderly architect. It is thus somewhat surprising that four years later he is mentioned as the *mi'mâr-başı* of Skopje, with two assistants. Could this mean that this office may have been given to him as a retirement post? There is no known record of him after 1568, and the abovementioned relative renown as the architect of a quickly legendary monument makes it unlikely that he was demoted to what for a man like Hayrüddîn must have been a rather meagre post. Most probably Skopje was attractive to him exactly because it lay in his native region. Alternatively, from the case of the poet Vâlihî we may infer that Skopje, then a flourishing Ottoman metropolis with an impressive Islamic cultural infrastructure, seemed indeed an attractive place to retire even for somebody who had made a career in Istanbul.[557] In sum, it appears not unlikely that Hayrüddîn, after a career in Istanbul, was appointed the *mi'mâr* of a provincial locale meaningful to him, at least for the last years of his life. As is the case with the *mi'mâr*s of Sarajevo discussed above, Hayrüddîn's name is not connected to any significant building works in Skopje in the second half of the 1560s, when he appears to have been that town's *mi'mâr*; but this may also be because after 1565 no truly remarkable monuments were built in the city on the Vardar, for almost three centuries. This, in any case, seems to prove that Hayrüddîn was not merely

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Mehmed's source, identified by that traveller as "the most credible" Mevlânâ Derviş Husâm (believed by Anhegger to have been the *kadı* of Mostar). The oral tradition otherwise claims that the project had been turned down by Sinân as impossible, and that it was only resumed by the local who was ready to take up this responsibility. It is, of course, rather unlikely that 1) Hayrüddîn's skills exceeded those of Sinân, and 2) the Ottoman state would agree to fund a project the success of which was hardly likely. Clearly, Hayrüddîn took up the project as a royal architect working under Sinân. That he was originally from Rumeli is far from unlikely, given the patterns of recruitment of *devşirme* at that time. Local pride may have embellished Hayrüddîn's taking up the task as *instead* of Sinân.

[556] Anhegger, "Römerbrücke," p. 98 (doc. 1).

[557] For whom see Machiel Kiel, "Traces in stone: some notes on a 16th century Ottoman poet from the Balkans, Vâlihî-i Üskübî, and the background of his life and work," in: *Journal of Turkish Studies*, XXVI (2002), pp. 31-41, esp. p. 41

dispatched to Skopje to oversee important building projects, for such took place long before his move there from Istanbul.[558]

All this may also induce us to conclude that that the career of Hayrüddîn was quite exceptional. Perhaps more typical of a provincial architect's career was that of Mi'mâr Kosta, the architect responsible at Lefkada on the Ionian coast between 1564 and 1574. Presumably a local Greek, Kosta's initial task was to build waterways to supply the isolated island fortress with the necessary freshwater. Yet, it seems that he stayed on after this project was successfully completed and was eventually put in charge of the maintenance of this important fortress (which indeed withstood a Venetian siege in 1571). In 1574, we also learn, his salary was raised to one silver piece per day.[559] It is certainly interesting that, even at time of war with Christian Venice, the Ottomans had no reservations about giving the responsibility over vital resources like freshwater for the garrison and maintenance of this important fortress to a non-Muslim.

More unusual may have been the long period during which Kosta held this post, if we compare it, for instance, with Sofia in the 1670s, for which we can reconstruct an unusually long sequence of appointments. In early 1673, the *mi'mâr-başı* of Sofia, Mehmed, became seriously ill and was eventually unable to perform this job. Following procedure, the *kadı* of that city sent a petition to the imperial *dîvân* requesting his replacement, for which a certain Mahmûd was proposed. We may assume that this proposition was granted. Two years later, however, we already find a certain "Esîr Yorgi," obviously a non-Muslim, assigned to this post; it is stressed that he is proficient in the science of geometry (*ilm-i hendese*), but it may be unlikely that this really signified a formal institutional training. In early 1677 we already find an Ahmed as the

[558] A major restoration of the Murâdiye mosque there was completed in 1542. Around 1550 (date of *vakfîye*), Muslihüddîn 'Abdülganî built in Skopje the massive Kurşumlu Hân with the adjacent Şengül Hammâm, the Dükkâncık mosque, and a watercourse. In 1553/4 was moreover completed the monumental mosque of Hüseyin Şâh in the village of Saraj, and in 1565/6 the nearby *türbe*. Only the clock-tower, though in its simple sixteenth-century state, was completed ca. 1570. For these buildings and their dates, see Lidiya Kumbaracı-Bogoyeviç, *Üsküp'te Osmanlı mimari eserleri*. Tr. Suat Engüllü. Istanbul: Mas Matbaacılık, 2008, p. 45, 58, 138f., 163, 284, 347, and 375. Skopje had suffered a major earthquake in 1555. This may have made necessary the installation of a reconstruction supervisor, but does not explain the appearance of Hayrüddîn in 1568.

[559] The relevant documents are published in Kiel, "Remarks on some Ottoman-Turkish aqueducts," p. 120, 122-3, 138.

mi'mâr-başı of Sofia, and a *kadı*'s request to replace him with a certain İbrâhîm.[560] This incomplete chronology suggests at least four reappointments in the same number of years. That Kosta of Lefkada stayed in his post for a decade or possibly more may thus easily have been an exception. Perhaps the difference is due to the greater competition for such posts in metropolises like Sofia as opposed to presumably very limited competition in an isolated fortress town off the Ionian coast.

4.2.4. From a mapping of appointees to a revised job-profile

Most of the documentation (other than for Bosnia and Skopje) published by Orhonlu and Dündar on Rumelia dates from the late seventeenth century, which indeed appears to have seen a rise in such appointments. The problem with these sources is that the information provided by the appointment decrees about the spread and duties of provincial architects is patchy. They do not include a job profile of the appointees nor do they explain why an architect was installed in some cities but apparently not in others. A source thus far overlooked in this regard, Evliyâ Çelebi, as was mentioned before, recorded no less than 60 instances of *mi'mâr*s resident in Balkan locales in volumes V, VI, and VII of his *Seyâhatnâme* (see table 4). He usually mentions them in the course of his introduction of the various Ottoman functionaries in a given city or fortress. Here, the *mi'mâr* is usually listed in the company of military-administrative personnel, very often next to the *dizdâr ağa*.[561]

Looking at the sixty locations in which Evliyâ recorded the presence of *mi'mâr*s, and visualizing their spread (see ill. 39), one cannot but notice discrete clusters of *mi'mâr*s in some regions compared to a complete absence in others.[562] It grabs our attention that as many as half of the towns in which Evliyâ found *mi'mâr*s were located

[560] Dündar, "Şehir mimarı," p. 237.

[561] In the same section, though less often, we also find religious functionaries or local notables.

[562] Half of them were in what today is Greece (sixteen) and Hungary (fifteen); in the case of Greece the majority is on, or around, the Peloponnesus. Six *mi'mâr*s each are found in what is now Bosnia and Serbia. In the lands of historical Hungary in the North, five are mentioned in what is now Romania and two in Croatia. We moreover find three in Macedonia, four in Albania, and one in Montenegro, as well as two in Turkish Thrace.

in territories lost to the Ottomans in what came to be known as the Great Turkish War of 1683-99. This only reflects their apparently typical location on the land and sea frontiers with Venice in the Mediterranean and with the Habsburgs in Pannonia. Looking at the map, one also wonders why such major inland centres like Sofia, Prizren, or Prishtina were not mentioned by Evliyâ as having *mi'mâr*s. Did he simply fail to record them? Evliyâ, it must be stressed, is not an official source, and many of his accounts have been questioned with some reason. In locales such as Sofia, Plovdiv, or Silistria he appears to make a real effort to mention all functionaries,[563] however, in accordance with his schematic method of reporting. This may well mean that these places simply did not have *mi'mâr*s at the time he visited them. In that case, or at least at the point he visited these places, the duties of *mi'mâr*s elsewhere may have been observed from the capital.[564] That Skopje, Sarajevo, and Buda[565] had *mi'mâr*s already in the sixteenth century may thus have been conditioned by their distance from the capital. An expansion of this office in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, in turn, and especially (and possibly first) in frontier areas, must have been a result of the wartime necessity ensuring the proper maintenance of fortresses.

The provincial *mi'mâr* thus emerges not as an architect-designer but, as also suggested by the other documentation available, as a provincial functionary whose principal responsibility was the maintenance of defences. His becoming an authority over construction-related guilds, as stressed in the studies by Orhonlu, Dündar, and Necipoğlu, may have been a result of the necessity of his control over local resources – both workforce and materials – very probably in order to enforce the priority of state

[563] Cf. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, III, p. 189, 216, 222.

[564] Evliyâ visited Sofia in 1653; the first known *mi'mâr* is mentioned two decades later (see above).

[565] A decree from February 1552 informs us that also in Buda there had been an architect with a pay of fifteen *akçe* (per day), with eight builders (*sekiz nefer bennâ*) working under him for the repairs (*termîm*) for the kale and *kulle*s of Buda and Pest. Cf. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor. "*Az ország ügye mindenek előtt való": A szultáni tanács Magyarországra vonatkozó rendeletei (1544-1545, 1552)*. Budapest: MTA, 2005, pp. 248-9 (doc. 33). In 1572 the "Budun mi'mârı" is mentioned as having prepared an estimate for the renovation of that town's Great Mosque, a church converted under sultan Süleyman. Cf. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 158. After the siege of Buda in 1684, however, the master builder Siyâvuş Ağa is summoned from Istanbul for the repair of its fortress (cf. Gerö, "Question of school and master," p. 198). Could the local architect have died (or fled) during the Habsburg assault on the city?

projects, especially in locales close to the frontier.[566] At least in the case of Skopje, this perhaps being an exception, he is also reported to have been responsible for keeping in good repair the entire urban infrastructure.[567] In no case, however, is there attested an involvement with the design or execution of public buildings, such as mosques or bathhouses. This seems to be further emphasized by the fact that for the construction of the ʻAlî Paşa mosque in Sarajevo, though following a generic model (ill. 18), an architect was sent from Istanbul even though according to the *kanûn-nâme* of 1516 there was a resident *miʻmâr* in that province or city! What the term *miʻmâr*, at least in a sixteenth-seventeenth context, seems to denote is a "state employee" rather than an architect in the artistic sense.[568] In contrast to what Dündar and, to some extent, Necipoğlu believe the so-called *şehir miʻmârları* or *eyâlet*/*vilâyet miʻmârları* to have been, their contribution to the character of the Balkans' Ottoman-period architectural heritage must have been marginal. His presence on constructions sites, it appears, was in the function of an official.[569] While this probably holds true for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the nineteenth century, at the very latest, the term *miʻmâr* had come to be used for builders in a non-official capacity as well.[570]

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[566] In the case of Cairo, Hanna similarly stresses the role of the *miʻmâr-başı* (who she, perhaps wrongly, thinks to not "have had any particular skills with regard to construction or to architecture") in the enforcement of a priority for state-funded construction enterprises. See Nelly Hanna, *Construction work in Ottoman Cairo, 1517-1798*. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1984, pp. 7-8. In the case of Sarajevo (cf. Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," II, p. 43, 167) we see that the "construction guild" (a.k.a *dülger*s'/*neccâr*s' guild) included not only masons and carpenters but also traders of construction materials, such as the *kerestecis* (lumber traders).

[567] Could this potentially exceptional situation be a result of situation management after the devastating Skopje earthquake of 1555?

[568] Cf. Dündar, "City architects," p. 471, 475, 477; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 160 (quoted above).

[569] See the very similar conclusions reached for Cairo by Hanna (*Construction work*, pp. 7-10), though the situation in Cairo may compare only to some extent with that of provincial centres in the Ottoman Balkans.

[570] Brunnbauer (*Gebirgsgesellschaften,* p. 258) and Palairet ("Migrant workers" p. 26) speak of "*neimar*s" (a Slavonic corruption of *miʻmâr*) as leaders of builders' corporations in the nineteenth century.

4.3. Mi‘mâr Sinân’s buildings in the Balkans according to his vitae and other sources

4.3.1. The architect’s claims for authorship

Given both the renown of what is undoubtedly the best-known and most appraised Ottoman architect and the exceptionally fortunate survival of documentation of his work, this chapter will be concerned with the identification of buildings in the Balkans that are attributed – by himself or by others – to Mi‘mâr Sinân (d. 1588). This, to be sure, is an enterprise only possible in the case of Sinân, on whose behalf were composed several *vitae* in which authorship over, or at least responsibility for, a list of buildings is claimed. Needless to say, these include some of the region’s major monuments from the sixteenth century, whereby such an excursus seems more than justified.

The key sources for this enterprise are Sinân’s *vitae*, which survive in five versions composed by his friend and client, the painter/calligrapher Mustafâ Sa‘i Çelebi, toward the end of Sinân’s life.[571] Of these, two edited versions were widely disseminated: the *Tezkiretü’l-bünyân* (Record of Construction, hereafter “TB”) and the *Tezkiretü’l-ebniye* (Record of Buildings, hereafter “TE”). On the basis of their content it can be determined that the TB was composed at some point between 1586 and 1588; the TE, on the other hand, could not date to before 1588. To be understood as a final version intended for the wide dissemination among a reading public, the TE is more

[571] While in the available literature these texts are usually classified as biographies or autobiographies, I prefer to use the term *vita*, finding it necessary to distinguish it from the biography, which is a more recent literary form with a different function. The Ottoman terms used in the texts by/about Mi‘mâr Sinân and Mehmed Ağa to describe their literary format are *menâkıb-nâme* (book of deeds) and *tezkire* (memoir). In our context they are not radically different from *vitae*, which were usually written by close associates (fellow artists, students, relatives), took a narrative form, and were often apologetic, for their very format stems from a tradition of providing models for conduct. The biography, by contrast, was a product of the eighteenth century; it is distinguished from the *vita* by “criticism,” especially with regard to sources and function. Its authors were not anymore close associates of these texts’ subjects but usually from an educated middle-class background and writing for their own peers. The “Verwissenschaftlichung der Viten,” as Karin Hellwig calls this process in her book *Von der Vita zur Künstlerbiographie* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2005, esp. pp. 19-22), was completed in the first half of the nineteenth century. Early examples for the artist biography in the Ottoman research context are Franz Babinger, “Quellen zur osmanischen Künstlergeschichte,” in: *Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst*, I (1924), pp. 31-41, and the ensuing debate with Glück and Ağaoğlu. For references and analysis, see Gülru Necipoğlu “Creation of a national genius: Sinan and the historiography of “classical” Ottoman Architecture,” in: *Muqarnas*, XXIV (2007), pp. 141-84.

concise, while the personal voice of Sinân is far more apparent in the TB.[572] A draft for the TE has also survived: it is named the *Tuhfetü'l-mi'mârîn* (Choice Gift of Architects, hereafter "TM"). Interestingly, the TM includes a list of buildings, claimed to have been built by the eulogized, that at times differs from the catalogue provided in the better-known TE. It is apparent that this list was edited, for reasons to be discussed below. What is important and exceptional about the case of Sinân is that this Ottoman architect actively claimed to have contributed to the materialization of specific buildings in the provinces. As we can infer from the vast body of building inscriptions, the post-medieval Ottoman architect was generally not expected to leave his mark on his work, which was to glorify the patron instead. Sinân's autobiographies must thus be understood as a strategy to circumvent a convention that privileged the patron over the architect.[573] In what follows I shall discuss the monuments mentioned in various versions of this list and monuments attributed to him by other sources.

The Balkan monuments claimed by the architect in both the TM and the TE, and which are thus most straightforwardly attributable to Sinân, are:[574] [1] the mosques of Sofu/Bosna Mehmed Paşa in Sofia, [2] 'Osmân Şâh (here: "Paşa") in Trikala, [3] the mosque of "Sofu Mehmed Paşa" (really: Karagöz Mehmed Beğ) in Mostar ("in Herzegovina"), [4] the hospice of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa in Višegrad, [5] the mosque of (Sokollu) Mustafa Paşa in Buda, and [6] the bridge of (Çoban) Mustafâ Paşa in Svilengrad.

The monuments not found in the earlier TM but apparently added to the later TE are the [7] bridge of Sokollu Mehmed Paşa in Višegrad and [8] a palace by the same patron "in Bosnia" (Višegrad?), as well as the [9] mosque and [10] hospice of Haseki Hürrem in Svilengrad. The monuments mentioned in the earlier TM but not apparent in the later TE are [11] the caravansary of (Sokollu) Mehmed Paşa in Višegrad and [12] the tomb of (Sokollu) Mustafa Paşa in Buda, next to his mosque (which the TE

[572] Cf. *Sinan's autobiographies*, introduction by Crane/Akın on pp. 1-45.

[573] There are, in fact, dozens of architects' names associated with the construction of certain monuments recorded in various sources indeed, but in none is included the claim on authorship to the degree that it is found in Sinân's *vitae*.

[574] This list excludes buildings in Eastern Thrace (European Turkey), which are numerous and monumental, and must probably be understood as an extension of (patronage in) the capital rather than "provincial architecture."

mentions).[575] There is also mention of a mosque of Mehmed Beğ, the steward of Rüstem Paşa, in Trikala, which is already crossed out in the TM, and appears to have been due to a mistake.[576] The aforementioned caravansary and tomb may have been omitted from the TE simply because they were not considered important enough.[577]

Thus, only ten Balkan monuments from the crucial period between the 1530s and 1580s are unambiguously attributed to the architect in the list appended to the "final edit" of his *vita*. Interestingly, a considerable number of monumental mosques from the third quarter of the sixteenth century, Sinân's most productive period during his tenure as chief royal architect, are not claimed by him, although they were evidently built under his institution's authority.[578] Did Sinân only highlight monuments sponsored by high-ranking patrons? The fact that some of the monuments listed follow completely generic designs while he does not list many almost identical buildings known to have been erected in this period seems to support this tentative claim.

4.3.2. The evidence of Evliyâ Çelebi and the question of three *burc*es from the 1530s

There are also a number of Balkan buildings attributed to the architect by the traveller Evliyâ Çelebi that are not found in any of the the lists appended to Sinân's *vita*. These should not be disregarded, for in most cases they match those claimed by the architect himself.[579] Evliyâ, it follows, was well informed, and possibly had at his disposal written sources.

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[575] Of these buildings survive the mosques at Trikala, Mostar, and Sofia (now a church), as well as the bridges at Višegrad and Svilengrad.

[576] Such a monument is indeed not known from any other source.

[577] Cf. *Sinan's autobiographies*, p. 67, 71-2, 74, 93-4, 97-8.

[578] E.g. the Hüseyin Şâh Beğ mosque in Saraj near Skopje, the mosque of *kadı* Haydâr and Mahmûd Efendi in Bitola, of Hüsâmeddîn Paşa in Štip, of 'Alî Paşa and Ferhâd Beğ in Sarajevo, etc.

[579] Problematic, and thus not discussed hereafter, is Evliyâ's attribution of the Mostar bridge to Sinân; it has long been connected to the architect Hayrüddîn (cf. Anhegger, "Römerbrücke"), and Sinân does not even claim it himself. Unclear is Evliyâ's reference to buildings by Rüstem Paşa in Ruse (III, p. 180), where there are

Interesting is for example the case of the Süleymân Hân Câmi'i in Belgrade, which Evliyâ describes as a lead-covered building with a high minaret. The latter feature was supposedly commented on by the architect as being intended for view by "Germans" and Hungarians alike.[580] If truthful, this would place the construction of this mosque between Sinân's appointment to the post of chief royal architect in 1539 and the conquest of Buda and Pest in 1541, for after this event Belgrade was no longer a frontier town. Hence, no "Germans" or Hungarians would have seen the tall minaret from the other side of a nearby border. Of the three food-providing hospices (*me'kel-i dâr-ı it'âm-ı imârat*) in Sarajevo, Evliyâ claims that the one by "Koca Mehmed Paşa" was a building by Sinân.[581] As for the case of the mosque at Belgrade, this building has not survived; but if this man must be identified with Sokollu Mehmed Paşa (rather than with Nişâncı Mehmed Paşa, also known by the epithet *koca*), and also considering that patron's interest in his native region, the very existence of such a building would not surprise. Sinân is similarly invoked in Evliyâ's description of the Kızıl Elma mosque of Esztergom, a converted church.[582] Considering that the town was conquered in 1543, the architect's agency in this conversion is again far from unlikely.

Evliyâ also attributes to Sinân the building or rebuilding of fortresses in Szeged, Methōnē, Thessalonikē, and Vlorë.[583] At Vlorë, construction began in 1537, as is proven by archival documentation.[584] This means that this project was planned already

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divergences in various manuscripts of Evliyâ, as the recent Yapı Kredi autograph edition reveals.

[580] Evliyâ (V, p. 193) notes in fact two mosques named after Süleymân: one in the lower part of the fortified town (*aşağı kal'a*), which must be identified with the Metropolitan Church converted upon conquest in 1521 (see Ljubomir Nikić, "Džamije u Beogradu," in: *Godišnjak grada Beograda*, V [1958], pp. 151-206, esp. p. 151, 188-90) and another one in the citadel (*iç kal'a*). The latter he describes as a light-filled mosque covered with blue lead (*rasâs-ı hâs-ı nîlgûn ile mestûr bir câmi'-i nûrun*).

[581] *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi,* V, p. 228. From the wording ("Evvelâ imâret-i Koca Ferhâd Paşa ve Hüsrev Paşa ve Koca Mehemmed Paşa Süleymân Hân'ın mi'mârbaşısı Mi'mâr Sinân binâsıdır") it is not entirely clear if he claims that one or maybe all three were built by Sinân.

[582] Ibid., VI, p. 166.

[583] *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, VII, p. 142 for Szeged, and VIII, p. 67, 144, 312-3. for Thessalonikē, Methonē, and Vlorë.

[584] Kiel, "The building accounts of the castle of Vlorë." Construction was completed in 1539.

during the tenure of Sinân's predecessor, Acem 'Alîsi. Interesting in this context is a sentence in the TE-version of Sinân's *vita*, in which the architect claims to have accompanied Süleymân on his campaigns against Corfu and Apulia in 1537.[585] This indeed confirms the presence of the architect in Vlorë, which is where the Ottoman fleet gathered for this campaign in the very same year the construction of its fortress started.[586] In sum, Sinân's contribution to the planning, design, or execution of this fortress is far from unlikely. Considering that his appointment as chief royal architect took place only two years later, we may similarly find it not altogether odd that the construction of a fortress may have been entrusted to him while he was present there.

Although there was considerable building activity in the 1530s in Thessalonikē, where Evliyâ claimed to have stumbled upon another work by Sinân, his contribution to the many interventions to that city's fortification system during the sixteenth century remains unclear. In 1535/6 was constructed Thessalonikē's landmark White Tower/Lefkos Pyrgos (originally *Burc-ı Esed*, i.e., Lion's Tower).[587] In 1538 and 1539 was recorded ongoing construction for the "new fortress of Thessalonikē" (*kal'a-i cedîd der-Selânik*). These interventions were headed by a certain Mi'mâr Kosta, however, as the construction accounts specifically record, not (or not principally) by Sinân.[588] Around 1570 was recorded the construction of a new tower, next to which was added in (and possibly after) 1573 a barbican, built according to a design sent from the capital to the *kadı* of Thessalonikē.[589] In 1589/90 the later chief royal architect Mehmed Ağa was sent to the provinces to inspect fortresses, starting from that of Thessalonikē.[590] It is not known, however, if this resulted in interventions to the existing constructions. Another

[585] *Sinan's autobiographies*, p. 91

[586] On this campaign, see also İdris Bostan, "Korfu," *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, XXVI, pp. 201-2.

[587] Kiel, *Studies*, art. VI. This date could be confirmed by dendrochronology, which yielded the exact year of 1535 as that in which the wood to be used in construction was felled. Attested are moreover interventions in or after 1746 and 1845. Cf. Peter Ian Kuniholm and Cecil L. Striker. "Dendrochronological investigations in the Aegean and neighboring regions, 1983-1986," in: *Journal of Field Archaeology*, XIV/4 (1987), pp. 385-98, cit. p. 395.

[588] These accounts are published in transcriptions in Barkan, *Süleymaniye*, II, pp. 245-8 (doc. 565/6).

[589] Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan,* p. 167.

[590] Cf. Cafer Efendi, *Risale*, p. 38.

document, recording the construction of a new stronghold in 1592, is claimed to have been found but has remained unpublished.[591] Dendrochronological samples, which, due to the presence of bark, allow the work to be dated to the exact year in which the trees whose wood was used were felled, yielded 1597 as the date of the construction of the Octagonal Tower (*Frourio Vardari*).[592] Of all these interventions, only that of ca. 1570-5 took place during Sinân's tenure as chief royal architect. Evliyâ confidently attributes to him a work of the period of Süleymân (r. 1520-66), however, which he moreover refers to as *Kal'a-i Esed, yâ'nî Kelemerye kal'ası*. As "Kelemerye," rather obviously, refers to the south-eastern suburb of Kalamaria, it is clear that Evliyâ means the White Tower of 1535/6. It is apparent from Sinân's *vitae* that already during this period, when still a janissary, he was involved in construction and design work,[593] as he may have been in the case of Vlorë discussed above. As no buildings in either Thessalonikē or Vlorë are mentioned in any version of his list of buildings, we must remain suspicious about this attribution.

A possibly connected case is finally that of the fortifications of Methōnē on the Peloponnesus, which are similarly attributed to Sinân by Evliyâ. Previous investigations of Methōnē's "castello" have not put forward periods more precise than before and after 1500, the year of the Venetian fortress's conquest by the Ottomans.[594] One may assume that Bâyezîd II ordered some repair works after the fortress was subdued in 1500. There is also circumstantial evidence that there must have been an intervention to the structure at Methōnē (ill. 40) at some point after 1534. Such may reflect a general trend of the period: other sources indicate the construction of a large number of fortresses in the European provinces in the latter half of this decade,[595] including the already discussed

[591] Kiel, "Kjustendil," p. 160.

[592] Kuniholm/Striker, "Dendrochronological investigations," p. 394.

[593] Necipoğlu (*Topkapı scroll*, p. 154) in fact writes that in the early part of his career, i.e. prior to his appointment as royal architect in 1539, he constructed "wooden warships, fortresses, and bridges that prepared him for the masterpieces he would create as chief royal architect," but I was not able to find a reference in his *vitae* to his building of fortresses except for the case of the *kulle* on the Pruth discussed below.

[594] Nikolaos Lianos, "'Castello da Mare'. Methoni, Greece," in: *Secular medieval architecture*, pp. 140-2. For the discussion, see also Pepper, "Ottoman military architecture," p. 295, 305, 308.

[595] A document perused by Kiel ("Building accounts," pp. 6-7) shows that between 1535 and 1540 no less than ten fortresses were built in this region.

cases of Thessalonikē and Vlorë, both maritime fortresses. A 1530s intervention may have had to do with naval raids supported by the Habsburg emperor Charles V as a diversion from the land war in Central Europe. The Genoese admiral Andrea Doria even captured Korōnē, a fortress neighbouring Methōnē. It was retaken by Süleymân after a protracted siege in 1534.[596] With Methōnē's octagonal main tower's origin already accepted, at least for the greater part, to date from the Ottoman period – it is locally called *bourtzi* (after the Ottoman/Arabic *burc*) – one wonders whether the major Ottoman interventions to the fortress must not be dated to after 1534, thus after neighbouring Korōnē was retaken. This would also be confirmed by the similarity of the structure at Methōnē with two other Ottoman round towers (Vlorë and Thessalonikē) built, as discussed above, in the second half of the 1530s. Lastly, a major intervention after 1520 (and probably after 1534) is confirmed by a hitherto overlooked inscription recorded by Evliyâ, which dates it to "the Solomon of his time, the great sultan" (*Süleymân-ı zamân sultân-ı a'zam*), that is, Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-66). Other than at Vlorë and Thessalonikē, with which Evliyâ connects it, the Methōnē tower is not circular but octagonal, possibly because it was built upon Venetian foundations. It seems to be accepted, however, that at least the surrounding walls are Ottoman.[597] Interestingly, Evliyâ again makes a connection, as he did at Vlorë, with the White Tower of Thessalonikē and points to Sinân.

The Ottomans, to be clear, had built round towers as part of their fortifications before the 1530s. This is exemplified by the Yedikulle and the Rûmeli Hisârı in Istanbul, both dating to the 1450s. In both these cases, the towers were connected to the curtain walls, however, while at Thessalonikē, Vlorë, and Methōnē the towers – referred to in all instances as *burc* and/or *kulle* ([fortified] tower) – were surrounded by an apron wall to accommodate artillery.[598] This type may be related to late Mamluk coastal fortifications: in 1479 the sultan Qaytbay constructed at Alexandria a famous tower (*burj*) to protect the town from Frankish corsair incursions. It was surrounded by a wall sheltering gunmen. Similar towers with walls are reported to have existed in other

[596] Cf. Kiel. "Koron," in: *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, XXVI, pp. 208-9.

[597] Lianos, "'Castello da Mare'."

[598] Today, this apron wall is only preserved in the case of Methoni, while that of Thessalonikē vanished about a century ago. Nothing remains of the structure at Vlorë, which was demolished by the Ottoman authorities in 1906, the materials reused (cf. Kiel, "Building accounts," p. 3).

locations on the Mamluk Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts, apparently none of which surviving.[599] Could Sinân have seen such fortresses while traversing these lands during campaigns? The TE establishes him as a participant in Süleymân's conquest of Baghdad in 1535, or at least the campaign leading to which; but this was a land campaign that led him through Mesopotamia rather than through the Mediterranean.[600] Of greater interest is a section in the TB, in which he mentions not only his traversing "the lands of the Arabs and Persians" in the service of Selîm I (r. 1512-20) but also his studying of the architecture of these lands.[601] The experience of participation in Selîm's successful campaigns into Mamluk realm in these years would have made Sinân familiar with the primary examples of this fortress type indeed.

The above discussion thus establishes that Sinân, prior to his appointment as chief royal architect in 1539, may have proven responsible for a number of structures, including three fortifications on the coasts of Southeast Europe. They are distinguished by round or octagonal towers (*kulle*, *burc*), which looked similar enough for Evliyâ to link them and attribute them to Sinân. We may assume that Evliyâ was familiar with Sinân's *vitae* and was thus aware of the fact that they were not listed in them. This is also remarkable as a rare case of a group of buildings being attributed to one artist on, presumably, the basis of likeness. The similar design of these three structures dating from the 1530s may have been inspired by examples of Mamluk *burc*es with which the architect may well have been acquainted as a result of his participation in the Egyptian campaign of Selîm I, when Sinân was in his twenties. In this context it is perhaps also of great concern that during Süleymân's Moldavian campaign in 1538 Sinân, as revealed by a section in the TB, was ordered to build a *kulle* adjacent to a bridge he built over the Pruth River.[602] Could his involvement in the projects at Vlorë, Thessalonikē, and Methōnē have qualified him specifically for such enterprise in the eyes of his superiors? Be that as it may, Sinân's appointment as chief royal architect in 1539 and his successful completion of one of Istanbul's principal monuments, the Şehzâde mosque

[599] Pepper, "Ottoman military architecture," p. 305 (esp. note 54).

[600] *Sinan's autobiographies*, p. 91.

[601] Ibid., p. 115. The transcription on p. 142 reads: "Bir zamân hizmet-i pâdişâhî ile 'Arab u 'Acemi geşt ü güzâr eyleyüp her küngüre-'i eyvândan bir gûşe ve her zâviye-'i vîrândan bir tûşe peydâ eyleyüp [etc.]."

[602] *Sinan's autobiographies*, p. 116/143. In this case, Sinân actually advised his superiors against the building of a *kulle*.

(1543-8), only a few years later seems to show that he must have been a fairly accomplished architect in the 1530s, when already in his forties. The unusual ornamentality and polychromy of this monument, as well as elements such as crenellations and ribbed domes, seem to substantiate the idea that Sinân was a keen observer of the artistic traditions of the Mamluk lands,[603] as possibly echoed in his fortress designs in/for the 1530s Balkans.[604]

[603] The choice of the quatrefoil plan for the Şehzâde similarly may have been inspired by that of the Bıyıklı Mehmed Paşa Câmi'i at Diyarbakır (1518-20), the first Ottoman mosque to use that plan, which Sinân may have seen while participating in the eastern campaigns of Selîm I or Süleymân I.

[604] By mid-century this "synthetic" approach, as one might call it, was replaced by a canonical style: Sinân's key contribution was the codification of a standardized architectural vocabulary that was easily reproducible outside Istanbul. It did not necessitate the personal involvement of the royal architect at all stages of the design and execution process, which must have become increasingly unfeasible in a greatly expanded empire. Rather, there were developed basic types, based on a standardized formal vocabulary, that were adapted to be commensurate with a patron's rank. From the perspective of imperial ideology, this also helped, as Necipoğlu writes (*Age of Sinan*, p. 21), project "a hegemonic imperial identity" by replicating standardized designs which functioned as "territory markers that visually unified diverse regions."

4.4. Iconography or provincialism? Centre/periphery and the building craft on the early modern Adriatic frontier

Previous chapters have suggested that in most cases one may be misguided to attribute to the agency of provincial forces the design of the monumental Islamic infrastructure that appeared in the Ottoman Balkans between the mid-fifteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. While the participation of locals is well documented in many a case, it was the execution rather than the design that was in their hands. It is due to this degree of involvement of the "Centre," which exported types and the staff to oversee their transplantation to provincial contexts, that, as a result, there can be detected in the vast region that is the Balkans little in the way of "regional styles" in monumental Islamic architecture. Significant differences between individual monuments almost always have more to do with period and patron than with local forces impacting the output.

The present chapter will deal with phenomena that are potential border cases in this regard, and the fact that the examples to be discussed are all located in the Herzegovina region, that is, the early modern frontier of the Ottoman Empire and Venice and Dubrovnik, may not be entirely incidental. The first sub-chapter will address the curious phenomenon of minarets whose form has been likened to Christian campaniles, the second that of non-Ottoman ornamental forms on one particular monument. Both cases serve to illustrate the problematic of the nature of the contribution of builders to such "irregularities," if seen through the lens of the Centre, and the question of intentionality.

4.4.1. The "campanile minarets" of East Herzegovina, the Catholic littoral, and the economy of the karst

Confined to the eastern half of the Herzegovina region is the phenomenon of stone-built mosques with pyramidal roofs and, most conspicuously, minarets in the form of towers resting on a square foundation – a feature which often has them likened to bell-towers (ill. 47). These mosques are not "monumental" in the sense that they are not products of extensive funding and efforts to reproduce the "metropolitan provincial style," as were contemporary structures in urban centres like Sarajevo or Mostar. Rather, they are more part of an "other" Ottoman-period heritage, the character of which often overlapped

with residential or utilitarian architecture in the use of forms and material. Its "design" was more influenced by the availability of building materials and reasonably skilled workforce, as well as the lesser economic potency of patrons whose careers did not necessarily revolve around Istanbul, and hence may have lacked the desire for an association with the style of the capital. Less monumental and of a more local than regional consequence, this heritage is also less permanent, for its support by relatively minor endowments certainly made it more vulnerable. Moreover, it is usually poorly documented: poetically composed and artistically designed inscriptions, extensive *vakfiye*s, or rich biographical texts on the patrons are rare. Potentially incisive interventions to the buildings are rarely recorded, making impossible building chronologies that allow conclusions as to the spread of certain forms in certain periods. This has made this heritage relatively resistant to in-depth analysis, its practical invisibility in scholarship being one result.

The "campanile mosques" of Herzegovina are a border case on two levels. Firstly, they are neither truly "metropolitan" in scope nor truly minor provincial monuments. They are solidly built and display occasional references to "metropolitanness," as shall be discussed below. Secondly, the feature by which they diverge from the more typical mosques built in this region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the "campanile minaret," appears to be one of the rarer cases of a regionally-specific phenomenon. More important for our discussion is, as shall be discussed hereafter, that it may be the builders rather than the patrons that are to be held accountable for its inclusion and spread. In addition to this feature, which usually bring to mind an association with churches, their concentration in a relatively compact area and the extant documentation of at least some of them or their patrons make attractive their discussion in the context of the study of peripheral forces and the agency of those involved in their design and/or execution.

As a group, the mosques with "campanile minarets" have only been very recently the subject of an independent study by Kiel. He identified fourteen documented examples in the Herzegovina region, where they are (or were) confined to the districts of Nevesinje and Bileća/Dabar. He also suggests that their number may once have been higher,[605] perhaps even significantly so. Given the potential of these monuments of

[605] Kiel, "The campanile-minarets of the southern Herzegovina." Kiel's principal contribution, other than an updated (and corrected) "inventory" of such buildings to the extent possible, is his analysis of fifteenth and sixteenth century Ottoman tax registers with the view to a reconstruction of the economic basis of this phenomenon.

underlining the claim that the borders between the various cultures that came to inhabit Yugoslavia (in which ethnic groups were principally defined according to their religious background) were at times rather fluid – a goal dear to many commentators at a time of revived nationalisms – two Bosnian authors devoted at least a couple of sentences to this phenomenon in texts published in the 1990s. [606] Čelić, who knew of "at least some 10 examples," thought their minarets to derive from the forms of "simple Romanesque-Gothic tower[s]." The medium, he claimed, was the "the domestic constructor," who used an "inventory of forms from his own experience."[607] Pašić similarly discusses the phenomenon under the rubric of "Christian architectural elements in mosques," not without noting it as an oddity: places of worship, he writes, are "spatial symbolization[s] of a separate ideological background of a society" and are thus "usually built with a commitment to some standard forms of construction." The minarets "resembling Romanesque and Gothic campaniles" are, according to this author, one of the frequent deviations from standard forms in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both Pašić and Čelić also relate the "campanile minarets" to the region's Ottoman-period clock-towers, in which the former similarly sees an "influence of Italian campaniles and Dubrovnik clock-towers."[608] In sum, both authors seek to explain the phenomenon with the vicinity of the Adriatic coast, which lay outside Ottoman territory and was within the orbit of Western art. More significantly, they attribute these buildings' abnormal features to the agency of Dalmatian builders.[609] They leave open the question of the

[606] Džemal Čelić, "The domestic and the oriental in the material cultural heritage of Bosnian-Herzegovinian muslims," in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, L (2000), pp. 353-64, cit. pp. 361-2. The text is translation of his earlier "Domaće i orijentalno u materijalnom kulturnom nasljeđu bosansko-hercegovačkih Muslimana," in: ibid., XLI (1991), pp. 347-57.

[607] In cases of other non-"standard" minarets – Čelić ("The domestic and the oriental," p. 360) here contrasts the "domestic" (read: Bosnian, Yugoslav) and the "oriental" (read: Ottoman, Turkish) in his analysis – he elaborates this as having been due to the "limited skill of the domestic constructor."

[608] Pašić, *Islamic architecture in Bosnia*, pp. 190-2.

[609] Čelić ("The domestic and the oriental," p. 361) also thought that Mostar may have been of key importance to the spread of this phenomenon to other places (Bileća, Plana, Dabrica, Bjeljani, Nevesinje), but two examples he gives from Mostar, one of which not extant, are claimed by Kiel (p. 65) to always have had "standard Ottoman minarets." By consequence, their dissemination from the regional metropolis of Mostar to peripheral areas, while interesting, is questionable.

motives of the builders to do so, or the patron's motive, or at least his reason for the toleration of an element perhaps not only seen as "irregular" by modern art historians.

A more recent theory, which is (to the best of my knowledge) not yet found in scholarly texts, purports these minarets to have been the outcome of a colonization of the area by dervishes in the pre-Ottoman period. These dervishes, it is said, came from northern Africa, whence they brought along the square shape of the minaret.[610] There is, of course, a forbidding array of reasons to instantly dismiss such a theory. The first is the lack of pertinent sources; one should assume that Rome, well informed of the supposed Bosnian "heretics" in this period, would have been alarmed by such a foray of Islam into Christian territory. It also seems hard to believe that the inhabitants of the area should have welcomed these foreigners in their midst. Secondly, if they were dervishes, why should they have built congregational mosques rather than dervish lodges or convents, better suited to their quotidian? Thirdly, the documentation available for at least some of these buildings appears to prove that most of them date to the period between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth century, when Islam actually made great advances in Herzegovina.[611] Fourthly, it is quite a great leap to compare the quite primitive square minarets of this Balkan fringe with the square minarets of major monuments in Muslim North Africa.

While this theory can thus be dismissed, it must be noted that both interpretations identify as models for the "campanile minarets" of Herzegovina architectures from outside the Ottoman realm. This chapter, by contrast, will try to account for this formal anomaly by looking at local structures and argue for causes more in the domain of ecology than iconography.

I shall here restrict myself to introducing only four examples of tower-minaret mosques, the documentation and/or preservation of which, as well as their geographical vicinity, allows for cautious conclusions. All four are located roughly between Stolac and Bileća in and around the so-called Plain of Dabar (Dabarsko polje) and seem to date

[610] I was made aware of this theory at the conference *Centres and peripheries in Ottoman architecture: rediscovering a Balkan heritage* in Sarajevo in late April 2010. It seems to be according to this theory that a plate on the mosque at Kruševljani, destroyed in 1992 and reconstructed in 2007, curiously claims this monument was "built at the end of thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century."

[611] On the Islamization of eastern Herzegovina, see Kiel, "Campanile-minarets," p. 77, 79.

from the period between the mid-sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries.[612] They are:

1) the mosque at Dabrica (near Stolac), built in 1574/5 or 1610/1[613] by a certain Sefer Ağa, whom local tradition gives the "surname" Begović (i.e. Beğ-zâde) and purports to have been born in Dabrica. The mosque, destroyed in the recent war and reconstructed in 2004/5, is a square edifice of stone, covered by a pyramidal roof of slate (as typical for rocky Herzegovina), which continues to cover the porch. The main structure is flanked by a tower-like stone minaret with an enclosed *şerefe* with four windows. Noteworthy is finally that over the lower rows of windows of the prayer hall we see decorative four-centred blind arches, apparently employed to "Ottomanize" the building.
2) The mosque at Bijeljani in the Dabarsko polje, built by an unknown patron at an unknown date – possibly in the early seventeenth century.[614] The building is ruined and roofless since about World War I. The minaret is very similar to that at Dabrica, with four windows and a pyramidal roof. The masonry is rough and different on the minaret and the main body of the mosque, perhaps due to a renovation around 1890.
3) The so-called Avdić(a) mosque in Plana near Bileća, completely destroyed in 1992. Again we see a tower-minaret almost identical to the two aforementioned. Like in Dabrica (and possibly in Bijeljani before World War I?), there was a slate-covered pyramidal roof, extending over the porch. In the case of Plana, the porch was very large and completely covered by the descending roof, which

[612] For the documentation of these four buildings, I rely on Kiel, "Campanile-minarets," who also provides the relevant visual documentation on which the above observations are based.

[613] The inscription of this now destroyed mosque yielded the date 1574/5 given in a chronogram and 1610/1 in Arabic letters. The calligrapher and/or poet (who composed the chronogram) or the stone-cutter, perhaps a local, must have made a mistake. Nothing is known of the patron, but his title of *ağa* makes him an Ottoman functionary. The design for the indeed lavishly executed calligraphic inscription plate is purported to have been sent from Istanbul. The *hân*, *hammâm*, and *mekteb* he also built around the mosque are not preserved. By 1585 Dabrica had only 23 Muslim (and 17 Christian) households, although the state seems to have promoted settlement there, granting tax incentives.

[614] It seems to be because Bijeljani is first mentioned in Ottoman tax registers in 1585 that Kiel chooses to date this building to the early seventeenth century. Local tradition attributes it to the Telarević family.

may mean that this space was once joined with the main prayer hall, perhaps to accommodate a larger number of worshippers. It once had an inscription, which not only related the date of construction as 1617/8 but also that of a renovation in 1795. It is said to have been built by a man named Avdo, the founder of a family (called, after him, Avdić) who lived in Plana until 1992. According to local tradition, Avdo also built a church (!) for his mother at only 500m distance from the mosque.

4) The so-called Predojević mosque in Polje near Bileća. It was built around 1570 by a native of Bileća, Hasan Paşa (d. 1593), whom local tradition remembers to have been called Nenad Predojević before his conversion and who had a subsequent career as an Ottoman soldier-administrator.[615] As with Avdo, it was said that "Nenad-paša" also built a church for his mother in Prijevor near Bileća. The mosque burnt down in World War II and still stands in ruins, roofless. While the square minaret is very similar to the other three examples, here it rises from the building rather being attached to it.[616]

Few conclusions can be made on the basis of "style," given the ultimate rusticity of the monuments in question. A comparison of measurements available for three of them (see table 5), however, suggests that they were indeed examples of a certain type that was not uncommon between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries. Prayer halls are square (which is not always the case in roofed mosques) with the walls' length measuring between seven and nine metres on the outside. The minarets are roughly two metres square. A very interesting correspondence is the walls' thickness: it is around

[615] This patron, who died in the Battle of Sisak in 1593, is known from Ottoman and Habsburg sources as Gâzî or Deli Hasan Paşa. A mosque, a caravansary, a cistern, and a family türbe appear to have been built by him in Bileća ca. 1570. Du Fresne-Canaye wrote in 1573 of having stayed in the "caravansérail de Biletsche, fait par Hasan Pacha, aujourd'hui sandjak[bey] de Castelnuovo [i.e. Herceg-Novi], parce qu'il naquit en ce lieu d'un pauvre père chrétien. On y voit une belle citerne et un tombeau turc oú reposent quelques-uns de ses parents." Cf. Le voyage du Levant de Philippe du Fresne-Canaye. Ed. M. H. Hauser. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1893, p. 24.

[616] Very similar square minarets are also found in the so-called Surković mosque in Donja Bijenje and Kruševljane, both north of Nevesinje, while the former also has the pyramid roof (since the 2007 reconstruction with red tiles rather than slate). Both features are also apparent at the early seventeenth-century mosque of "Fatma Kadun Šarić" in Mostar, destroyed in World War II. For all these mosques, see Kiel, "Campanile-minarets."

70cm in all cases. All this may suggest that the four buildings, certainly conceived and built by local workmen, were the product of the same individuals or workshops or of later ones working in the same tradition. Needless to say, no names of builders are related in the known sources, meaning that any attribution must be due to conjecture. Though the shape of the bell-tower may make a connection with Dubrovnik sound reasonable, as has been suggested by virtually all authors reporting on the phenomenon, the agency of builders from there may in fact be rather unlikely given the relative lack of sophistication and essentially rural setting of most of these mosques. It is unclear whether the limited ambition of these buildings reflects their location or the limited means of their patrons. In any case, it may be unlikely that skilled Dubrovnikan builders – presumably expecting rather high salaries – were called into Herzegovina for the monuments in question. It appears more probable that they were the products of builders not only local to the region but also working for a regional market. As I shall argue below, it is quite probable that these were builders from the Popovo Polje, an area already mentioned on several occasions in this work.

The Popovo Polje is a karst plain in the hinterland of the Adriatic, from whose coast it is separated by a mountain range. By the end of the nineteenth century, when its culture was first studied, it was home to around 5,000 inhabitants in twenty villages located on the slopes of a valley thirty kilometres in length. Almost every village had a church and a medieval necropolis, the latter testifying to a not insignificant pre-Ottoman settlement history. The population was divided in roughly equal parts into Catholics and Orthodox Christians, Muslim settlement apparently having been insignificant in this particular plain. Its inhabitants had the reputation of being neither particularly brave nor determined. They were well-known abroad, however, for the limitations of the plain's economy regularly forced a large part of its able-bodied population to seek work outside the area. This was conditioned by the geological particularities of the plain, which is flooded and becomes a lake every fall. As a result, no settlements are found in the low parts of the valley. The mud deposits left there by the water, which retreats every year in late spring into underground courses, acts as manure that can easily be used for agricultural purposes. While the plain's fertility and natural self-fertilization was a blessing for its inhabitants, it also created problems at times: an early flooding in fall could destroy the harvest, while a late retreating of the water in spring could cause the seeds to be sown too late in time for a punctual harvest. More importantly, the plain could only support a limited amount of people. More than any other area in

Herzegovina, the Popovo Polje became an area of temporary work migration. Every year after the sowing of seeds in spring, reportedly as many as 3,000 people left the plain to seek work in the rest of Herzegovina, in Bosnia, Dalmatia, or even in Istanbul or further afield.[617]

Unusual for Herzegovina was also these inhabitants' professional specialization: many if not most of them were engaged in construction work. Living in an almost treeless area with seasonal problems of water-supply, they were particularly skilled with regards to the working of stone and water architecture and engineering. It must not surprise that for the repair of a bridge in Sarajevo at the end of the eighteenth century the two builders Risto and Jovan "from Ljubinje" (which, being a town near the entrance to the the plain, probably stands in for the Popovo Polje) were selected as the most qualified. An early mention of Popovo builders is in a document pertaining to the construction of the bridge at Mostar. Dated 1566, it orders the recruitment of builders from the area to work with (or under?) builders from Dubrovnik on that site. This seems to suggest that already by the sixteenth century the Popovo Polje was known, as it was later named, as a "dunđerska oblast" (builders' canton). At the same time they appear not to have reached the sophistication of their Dubrovnikan colleagues, apparently often working according to the orders of somebody else. In the mid-nineteenth century, for instance, they contributed the workforce in the construction of the new Catholic church at Mostar, which was led, however, by a certain foreign-trained master by the name of Peter Bakula. This also seems to have been the case at the aforementioned site of the bridge at Mostar.[618]

Though a direct connection between the "campanile-minaret mosques" and the Popovo Polje builders is not corroborated by any known source, much makes this association very likely. The exclusivity of this phenomenon to eastern Herzegovina, and to the area south of the Neretva River, would strongly suggest it to have been of local origin. Had the builders of these mosques come from elsewhere, the "belfry minarets"

[617] Christophor Mihajlović, "Das Popovopolje in der Hercegovina und die Merkwürdigkeiten von Zavala," in: *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, I (1893), pp. 349-75; Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 278.

[618] Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 278; Stoianovich, *Balkan Worlds*, p. 333; Hannes Grandits, *Herrschaft und Loyalität in der spätosmanischen Gesellschaft: das Beispiel der multikonfessionellen Herzegowina*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2008, pp. 313-6; Heinrich Renner, *Durch Bosnien und die Hercegovina kreuz und quer: Wanderungen*. Berlin: Reimer, 1897[2], p. 254 (for Peter Bakula); Mazalic, *Leksikon*, p. 66, 123 (for Risto and Jovan); Kiel, "Campanile-minarets," pp. 66-3, for the 1566 documents.

probably would have had a wider distribution. Patrons in the plains of Nevesinje and Dabar certainly knew of the "builders' reserve" in the Popovo Polje, and there was little cause to recruit builders from more distant locations.[619]

Why did they choose to build according to a form that diverged from the minarets they must have seen in the region's larger cities? Did the patrons of "campanile-minaret mosques" hope to attract a Christian population in the course of the gradual conversion to Islam of the Dabar and Nevesinje plains in the sixteenth century? While certainly an attractive hypothesis, we must also acknowledge that the usually very simple churches in the area are largely devoid of bell-towers. The Popovo builders would not have had much practice in building such, for the simple reason that churches with bell-towers were not built in the Ottoman Balkans before the mid-nineteenth century. One may also simply doubt that they were capable of building a tall and slender Ottoman "pencil minaret," for this certainly posed a structural challenge that was possibly usually in the hands of travelling specialized "minaret-makers," or *minârecis*.[620] Rather than of belfries or minarets, the Herzegovinian "campanile minarets" are in fact evocative of the clock towers built on square foundations with a pyramidal roof in Bosnia and Herzegovina between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.[621] Though impossible to prove, the Popovo builders may have reproduced a familiar type of structure when confronted with the challenge of building a minaret, which posed a challenge that surpassed their proficiency. Rather than due to iconographical considerations, the "campanile minarets" thus seemed to have been the result of pragmatism. Such a compromise was apparently considered tolerable for the newly Muslim population of a rural periphery yet unfamiliar with metropolitan Ottoman-Islamic forms.

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[619] Given the rurality of the area, one should not imagine a developed craft economy anywhere between Mostar and Dubrovnik.

[620] For mentions of such a specialized profession in the early seventeenth century, see Şerafettin Turan, "Osmanlı teşkilatında hassa mimarları," in: *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, I/1 (1963), pp. 159-200, cit. p. 181 and tables 1&2. Goodwin ("Ottoman architecture in the Balkans," p. 56) speculates: "Often the minaret was much more skilfully built than its mosque and one wonders if masons trained in minaret construction travelled up and down the peninsular."

[621] For which see Hamdija Kreševljaković, "Sahat-kule u Bosni i Hercegovini: prilog za studij konzervacije," in: *Izabrana djela*, II, pp. 493-506.

If the above reconstruction is correct, we may conclude that it was indeed possible for builders of a provincial background to influence the formal aspects of a building – or, if such can be said, to contribute to its "design." More than a "regional style," however, the regionally-specific phenomenon of a certain minaret shape came about as a result of provincial pragmatism rather than of premeditation. One the whole, it may not be wrong to suggest here that the potential for the divergence from standard forms was relative to the proximity and availability of metropolitan models and of workmen whose skills corresponded to a given patron's budget. Moreover, the question of appropriateness to the occasion was decisive. In addition to the materials available in rocky East Herzegovina, which endowed minor structures with more permanence than the wood-built mosques found elsewhere in the Balkans, it was the correspondence between these factors that effected the phenomenon of "campanile minarets" in East Herzegovina around 1600. While the formal choice was not due to the builders' fancy, it may have been informed by their previous work experience.

4.4.2. The mosque of Nasûh Ağa (Vučijaković) at Mostar: Ottoman meets "Gothic" and "Renaissance" on the frontier?

While in the case of the "campanile minarets" of East Herzegovina the iconographical ambition can be downplayed by reference to "frontier pragmatism" or perhaps even the architecturally common form, this is less easy for the case of some formal elements of another Herzegovinian monument, the mosque of Nasûh Ağa in Mostar, locally better known as the "Vučijaković mosque" (ill. 48). One of Mostar's three domed mosques, this potentially significant monument has been largely overlooked by scholars outside the former Yugoslavia. Pašić writes of this monument as having been "built in 1568" and "designed under the influence of Dalmatian Renaissance," as visible at "its porch consoles and window frames."[622] On site we see a monument built of rubble masonry. The porch features pointed but not purely "metropolitan" Ottoman pointed arches. The three cupolas surmounting the three bays of the porch are a bit more hemispherical than usual – perhaps appearing thus as a result of the relatively high drums on which they rest. The capitals of the columns in the porch, which are now (again?) hidden behind an

[622] Pašić, *Islamic architecture*, p. 192.

external porch with a descending roof, are markedly un-Ottoman. The tympanum holding the inscription is semicircular rather than slightly pointed, as is the "entrance arch" to the simple (and once colourfully painted) stone *minber*. The minaret is plain and lacks geometric ornamentation, as does the monument as a whole. The oddest feature is perhaps the pointed-arched windows on the side-walls of the sanctuary, however, which are unquestionably of Gothic formal derivation. The anomaly of these features has led one restorer to suspect that they are due to a nineteenth-century intervention,[623] but there seems to be no indication for such otherwise.[624]

While the previous sub-chapter has sought to explain provincial anomalies as a result of micro-regional specificities, the relatively patent, western/Christian origins of the mentioned elements at the Vučijakovića calls for a more universal, comparative perspective on the phenomenon of what may be seen as "culturally displaced" elements, especially ornament. An interesting point of reference is early Islamic India, which in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed political and cultural changes not unlike those in Herzegovina and the Western Balkans in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The triumph of Muslim conquerors and the subsequent growth of Islam in these areas necessitated an infrastructure of Islamic worship. In India, some of the early monuments feature ornamentation that can easily be related to pre-Islamic Hindu temple architecture. One approach has been to attribute these features to the native (Hindu) craftsmen employed in these (Islamic) monuments' construction. In many cases the claim that they were re-used from earlier monuments on site – a claim that has uneasy political implications – was reasonable too. Most recently has been stressed the role of the Muslim patrons: they had apparently not only tolerated such "un-Islamic" elements but promoted their use, perhaps for reasons of triumphalism.[625]

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[623] Zeynep Ahunbay, "Ottoman architecture in Mostar," in: *Proceedings of the international symposium on Islamic civilisation in the Balkans; Sofia, April 21-23, 2000*. Eds. Rama M. Z. Keilani and Svetlana Todorova. Istanbul: IRCICA, 2000, pp. 13-28, cit. p. 17.

[624] Bosnia's "Commission to Preserve National Monument's" records no such intervention in the relevant file ("Nesuh-age Vučijakovića džamija, graditeljska cjelina") at its website www.kons.gov.ba.

[625] The historiography of this heritage has been most recently addressed in Finbarr Barry Flood, *Objects of translation: material culture and medieval "Hindu-Muslim" encounter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

From a different geography, yet corresponding to events contemporary with the Ottomanization of Herzegovina, are examples from early Spanish Mexico. While one approach has overstressed the degree of the extinction of indigenous artistic traditions at the expense of the conquerors', another has overstressed the implication of the natives' large-scale participation in the production of Christian art in the vice-regal period.[626] Kubler has pointed to curious processes of transmission in this regard, giving the example of sites at which there could be found "arabesques and grotesques of Italian Renaissance architectural ornament." Copied in Spain, they were transmitted to Mexico in book illustrations and wood engravings, which were "then turned back into relief sculpture by native craftsmen."[627] What concerns these craftsmen's own iconographic traditions, Kubler asserted a "virtual cessation of the art of the vanquished and its replacement by the art of the conqueror." This, he believed, was a general consequence of "the triumph of one culture over another." Pre-conquest forms, he conceded, may return after they became "symbolically inert," and thus "safe" to play with, for they had been "emptied of previous vital meanings."[628] The implications of an occasionally hybrid art, known variously as *arte indocristiano*, *tequiqui* ("tributary"), or *mestizaje* ("mixture") are still hotly debated, the roles of patrons and artists as agents in their becoming not always clear, as is the question of audience.

There may be raised a number of questions applicable to all three cases. Was the inclusion of pre-conquest forms deliberate or "incidental"? Were they addressed toward the "users" of these buildings, who were often of convert background, and for whom these forms may have been familiar? Or were they simply a result of conditions on the periphery, where the forms of a new hegemonic art were not yet mastered by the local workmen? For a tentative answer to these questions in the case of the Vučijaković mosque we shall first have a closer look at the building itself and the context in which it materialized. The documentation that has surfaced is relatively plentiful but ambiguous: the two primary sources for a history of the building as such are the patron's *vakfîye* and an inscription. The latter remains in situ and contains a date given in the form of a

[626] See the discussion in DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a geography of art*, ch. 9.

[627] George Kubler, *Studies in Ancient American and European art*. Ed. Thomas F. Reese. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, p. 68.

[628] Kubler, *Studies*, p. 66.

chronogram. Its letters calculate to a sum corresponding to the year 1528/9 CE[629]; yet, Nasûh Ağa's *vakfîye* was notarized in 1564, that is, more than thirty years later.[630] It is, of course, possible that Nasûh Ağa was born around 1500, became very wealthy already in his twenties or thirties, built the mosque in question, and then drew up a *vakfîye* toward the end of his life in 1564. As in most cases architectural foundations seem to have been made roughly a decade or two before the patron's death (or shortly thereafter) – a point at which they had accumulated enough wealth and prestige and had become increasingly aware of the utility of pious foundations in ensuring a pleasant afterlife – this would be a very unusual case indeed. As Mostar had only four Muslim households at the time of the census of 1519,[631] and there are no indications for a radical increase in the next couple of years that would justify the construction of a Friday mosque, the chronogram date of 1528/9 must be wrong. Probably the composer of the chronogram had simply miscalculated the date.[632] Alternatively, the person who chiselled the inscription into stone may have been less than careful, as had been the case too in Livno, 85km northwest of Mostar, where an inscription was long wrongly read as 1514/5 rather than 1560/1.[633] In sum, we must assume that the mosque of Nasûh Ağa at Mostar was built at some point prior to 1564, the date of the *vakfîye*.

Little is known about the patron, whom local tradition surnames Vučijaković, perhaps rightfully so. This Slavonic patronymic is also mentioned in the chronicle of the Franciscan friar Nikola Lašvanin, who records that in 1748 Mostar's *kapudan* Vučijaković was killed at the onset of a rebellion.[634] Kreševljaković demonstrates that since its formation in the first decade of the eighteenth century, the Mostar *kapudanlık*

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[629] Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika*, III, pp. 155-6.

[630] Published in *Vakufname iz Bosne*, pp. 145-9 (tr. Muhamed A. Mujić).

[631] Cf. Kiel, "Un héritage non desire," p. 35.

[632] Evliyâ (*Seyahâtnâme*, VI, p. 288) even read the *ebced* as H. 878 (i.e. 1473/4)!

[633] Kiel, Machiel. "Livno (N.W. Bosnia): Islamic architecture and urban development of an Ottoman provincial capital at the very end of the Muslim world (1469-2002)," in: *Arts and crafts in the Muslim world: proceedings of the International Congress on Islamic Arts and Crafts, Isfahan, 04-09 October 2002*. Eds. Nazeih Taleb Maarouf and Semiramis Çavuşoğlu. Istanbul: IRCICA, 2008, pp. 15-28, cit. p. 19.

[634] Nikola Lašvanin, *Ljetopis*. Ed./Tr. Ignacije Gavran. Sarajevo: Synopsis, 2003, p. 227.

was traditionally held by members of this family.[635] Hüseyin Ağa b. Hasan Ağa, a member of this family, resided in Mostar as late as 1896/7.[636] Thus we may presume that the memory of Nasûh Ağa as an ancestral member of the Vučijaković family, with which neither the inscription nor the *vakfîye* related him, was kept alive by the family itself and has thus entered local memory. The patronymic also implies that the family's founder was a man with the Christian Slavonic name of "Vučija" or "Vučja," a name not untypical for the area. Nasûh Ağa's birth as a Christian is in fact confirmed by his identification as a "son of 'Abdullâh" on the inscription of a mosque he built in Ljubuški (26km SW of Mostar) in 1558/9.[637] The fact that this family chose to be remembered as the descendents of Vuč(i)ja rather than as those of Nasûh Ağa might hint to what may have been a prominent pre-Ottoman family. Little is known of his career, other than that the Ljubuški inscription identifies him as the *dizdâr* of that town and in 1564/5 he is recorded as the *sancak-beği* of the Slavonian town of Požega.[638] In any case, it stands to reason whether his being a convert to Islam would really have made him more receptive to pre-/non-Islamic forms or perhaps the exact opposite, for he was to demonstrate membership in a new community, not highlight links to another.

More insight about his mosque may be gained by looking closely at another mosque of Mostar, namely that of Karagöz Mehmed Beğ (ill. 35). Dated by inscription to 1557/8,[639] this domed monument in the "pure" style of the age is even found on Mi'mâr Sinân's lists of buildings (if, erroneously, as the "Mehmed Paşa mosque).[640] There is reason to assume that the mosque of Nasûh Ağa was built around the same time, if slightly earlier. For one, seeing the model character the Karagöz mosque had for other buildings in Mostar, such as the Koskı Mehmed Paşa mosque of 1618/9, which is

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[635] Kreševljaković, *Izabrana djela*, I, p. 216.

[636] This is the year of his death as recorded on his tombstone in the cemetery section of Mostar's Derviş Paşa mosque; cf. Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika*, III, p. 216.

[637] The mosque is not extant, the inscription at Ravello (near Genoa); see Muhamed A. Mujić, "Arapski epigraf iz Ravella potječe iz Ljubuškog," in: *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, III/IV (1976), pp. 191-202.

[638] Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika*, III, p. 156.

[639] Ibid., pp. 175-9.

[640] Yet, erroneously, as the "Mehmed Paşa mosque." Cf. Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, App. 1 (p. 559).

almost a replica, it appears inconceivable that this perfect model for a provincial mosque in the metropolitan style, repeated a number of times in the second half of the sixteenth century in this region, would not have been imitated at the expense of a comparably clumsy variant.

Mostar as a city developed not before the mid-sixteenth century, when the construction of the famous bridge gave the settlement a raison d'être. A basic infrastructure, including a roofed mosque completed in 1552/3, was sponsored by the *kethüdâ* (of the Herzegovinian *sancak-beği*?) Keyvân. This marked the beginning of the boost Mostar was to experience in the course of the following century as an economic, cultural, and eventually also administrative centre.[641] There is reason to assume that the Vučijaković mosque was built between the early 1550s, when Mostar was "founded" by Keyvân Kethüdâ, and 1557/8, when Karagöz Mehmed Beğ completed his mosque. It was most probably *because* no model like Karagöz's mosque was available as a reference that the monument's builders – almost certainly Catholic Slavs from Dalmatia – had to improvise for the details. Otherwise, it would mean that the "irregularities" were intentional, which I find rather improbable in the light of the patron's situation as an Ottoman dignitary of non-Muslim background. As somebody born in this region, possibly as the offspring of a known family, and somebody who continued to work in the region following his conversion, he was probably more pressed to demonstrate his allegiance to the ways of the "centre." The construction of a (certainly costly) Friday mosque on the frontier not only emphasized the patron's commitment to the conqueror's faith; it also revealed a connection, however indirect, with the sovereign, who had to expressly permit such a building project, for his name was to be invoked during the Friday sermons.

The overall type was mastered remarkably well by the Dalmatian masters. It is apparent, however, that no Ottoman plan with detailed measurements was at their disposal, whereby the dimensions and their relationships appear somewhat impressionistic. Since this was probably the first domed mosque in Mostar, should we maybe assume that Nasûh Ağa sent these builders to nearby cities where such mosques had been built before or around 1550 – such as Sarajevo, Livno, or Foča, all approximately 80km from Mostar (as is Dubrovnik)? Having studied these monuments, they were able to replicate their common type in Mostar to the best of their abilities,

[641] For the buildings of Keyvân, see Mujezinović, *Islamska epigrafika*, III, pp. 162-3.

using their own building techniques. Unable to produce intricate *mukarnas*-type Islamic ornament or the four-centred Ottoman arch, they reverted to forms familiar to them as a result of their work experience on the non-Ottoman coast.

One imperative conclusion is, again, that the character of provincial monuments apparently depended on the availability of "metropolitan" models. That aberrations seem to be more consequential in Herzegovina than in other Ottoman-Balkans regions may be a reflection of the peripherality of this area if seen from Istanbul. The case of the Vučijaković mosque also seems to suggest that the "metropolitan-ness" depended in part on the resources and networks a patron could mobilize. A *dizdâr* of a fortified town a 1000km away from the capital apparently was less successful in exploiting the potential than the brother of a grand vizier, as was Karagöz Mehmed Beğ, who managed to have his mosque planned and its construction supervised by an architect of the Corps of Royal Architects in the capital.[642] The builders, in both cases, were Dalmatians; but in the latter case they had better guidance. If we consider that their hometown's principal monuments – at least those built after the earthquake of 1667 – were not designed by architects from the other side of the Adriatic,[643] one could assume

[642] As discussed in ch. 4.3.1, this mosque is claimed by Mi'mâr Sinân as "his," but given the generic plan one wonders if he really contributed to its design. Since Sinân wrongly remembered it as the mosque of "Sofu Mehmed Paşa," we may presume that this was because he desired to associate himself with such illustrious patrons. On this point, see also ch. 5.

[643] Trifunović, *Kunstdenkmäler in Jugoslawien*, I. p. XXXV. The Herzegovina remains an interesting region even after the sixteenth century. It must have been in the 1720s that a clock-tower was built by Resulbeğ-zâde Osmân Paşa, the *kapudan* of the area (and a recent convert from Herceg Novi), or a relative of his. With its rounded windows and execution it reminds of the campanili of the Adriatic. It certainly looked Western, or un-Ottoman, enough for Ayverdi (*Avrupa'da Osmanlı mimârî eserleri,* II, p. 469) to (wrongly) date it to the nineteenth century. No doubt that, again, Dubrovnikan builders proved responsible, just as they did for the two mosques built in the new town of Trebinje in this period. See Hasandedić, *Muslimanska baština u istočnoj Hercegovini*, pp. 232-40. In more general terms, as discussed in ch. 2.5.4, one sees in parts of the Western Balkans looking toward the Adriatic a certain tendency toward the semicircular rather than the typical Ottoman pointed arch, long before the semicircular arch became palatable in the architecture of the capital in the second half of the eighteenth century. This is curious in the sense that the Ottoman pointed arch belonged to what has been seen one key element – next to the hemispherical dome and the "pencil minaret" – that made the Ottoman style recognizable and exportable. Yet, in these cases it is unlikely that this was the result of a deliberate "Western influence" in the border provinces. More probable is that it simply reflected the local conditions far from the centre and the abilities of the local workforce, some of which, as we have seen in the case of the Dubrovnikans, indeed recruited from beyond the Ottoman borders.

that they were quite used to such a hierarchy in the process of their work. In the case of the Karagöz mosque a Muslim architect from Istanbul simply took the place that may have been taken by a Catholic Italian when they continued work at the eastern Adriatic coastline. The probable absence of a trained architect in the case of the Nasûh Ağa mosque might explain its uncommon features.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This final chapter seeks to recapitulate the broad developments and phenomena described in the four preceding chapters and the findings of this study more generally. It also tries to fill some gaps with examples that did not find mention before but which might help in completing the picture. As stated at the beginning of this study, its purpose was not to reconstruct the life and work of those outstanding individual artists for which there is adequate documentation but to track developments and structures and, most importantly, change over time. The gaps between the various well-documented cases on which I have based my analysis are sometimes considerable; I believe, however, that the change I have sought to track can be generalized by pointing to different situations in ca. 1400, 1550, 1700, and 1850.

As might be expected, the earliest period of Ottoman rule is documented in the least detail. The material evidence seems to suggest that there was little change in Christian Orthodox architecture and painting, though the impact of the conquest – both in terms of destruction (in those cases in which towns did not surrender) and loss of wealthy rulers as patrons – was certainly felt. Painting does not change much in form or character; in fact, it continues to bring about considerable works.[644] With architecture we have the problem of dating, and it may be the case that many churches without inscriptions that have been tentatively dated to the pre-Ottoman period are really from the Ottoman period.[645] As the evidence is ambiguous, there is hardly anything conclusive that can be said at this point, but the earliest Islamic buildings certainly show continuity in construction techniques in practically all regions. Very probably, this is the

[644] See e.g. Gojko Subotić, *Ohridska slikarska škola XV veka*. Belgrade: Filozofski Fakultet u Beogradu, 1980.

[645] Scholars may have dated them to before the conquest simply based on the assumption that after this event no churches were built.

result of the new masters engaging local (non-Muslim) builders in construction work. That said, it is obvious that they worked according to plans supplied by patrons' associates, often probably learned men rather than "architects".[646] The inscriptions on the Great Mosques completed by Murâd II in Edirne and Komotinē also show that planners, builders, and architects, maybe for the larger projects, were brought from Anatolia in this early period.[647]

While after the conquest of Constantinople, architects from Istanbul would still prove responsible for monumental projects in the provinces, where there emerged no class of independently working liberally-trained architects, their names are not anymore found recorded on inscriptions. This, as discussed, may have been due to a notion of corporate authorship within the Corps of Royal Architects in Istanbul, which had probably emerged in response to challenges in the transformation of the capital after 1453. Only in the case of Mi'mâr Sinân do we see an acute awareness of, and claim for, authorship of works of architecture. This has no echo in inscriptions, however, but in lists of works appended to versions of his *vita*. Yet again, his selection of monuments seems more related to the prominence of their patrons than to stylistic or architectural features.[648]

Sinân's contribution to the design of Islamic monuments in the Balkans was greater than the few buildings directly claimed by him, however. What he supplied was ready-made models, characterized by a standardized vocabulary of forms. When the necessity for a monumental domed project in the provinces arose, he would dispatch one of the architects working under him to manage the construction there according to blueprints drafted by his institution. These *mi'mâr*s were not necessarily "architects" in the modern sense, for they may have had more to do with the construction of buildings than with their design, nor was this the case with the type of officials which scholarship

[646] I have tried to demonstrate that these factors occasionally worked together "creatively" in the case of the *'imâret* of Komotinē in ch. 4.1.2.

[647] Cf. the names in Sönmez, *Anadolu Türk-İslâm mimarisinde sanatçılar*, p. 388, 423-6.

[648] This is best illustrated by the example of the Karagöz Mehmed Beğ mosque at Mostar, which is found in one these lists: although it follows a completely generic design, almost identical to several other such mosques built in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the third quarter of the sixteenth century (ill. 18), it is claimed by Sinân. It is probably because the architect misremembered the monument's patron as the more prominent Sofu Mehmed Paşa that he thought that this mosque was worth inclusion.

has named "town architects" or "provincial architects." As I have argued in chapter 4.2, these *mi'mâr*s should rather be understood as building officials who supervised the construction industry and kept defensive structures in good good repair. When necessary, they might also enforce the primacy of the state regarding access to building materials, for instance in times of conflict. There has surfaced no evidence that establishes them as "designing architects," however.

We also do not know whom to credit for the often very metropolitan-style carved ornament that we see at mosques, *medrese*s, and *hammâm*s.[649] Different levels of sophistication seem to suggest that there were both specialists, perhaps from metropolitan centres and able to work from mathematical drawings, and other stone-carvers who simply tried their best to imitate what they saw elsewhere. While inscriptions, which they also carved, were based on designs by poets and calligraphers, probably often the same person, we cannot say whether these were prepared in situ by locals or in the capital or elsewhere where the patron may have been based at the time.[650] *Medrese*s existed already since the last century, at least in the South, so there were places where training may have been provided and older manuscripts could be studied. Still, it seems that throughout the period the ideal of the calligrapher-to-be was to receive training in Istanbul, which after the fifteenth century became a centre of this art even beyond the Ottoman domain.

Few great non-Muslim builders are known from this period. They occasionally found work in the rebuilding of churches or, far more rarely, the building of new churches. In both cases models known from previous centuries continued to be used. More interesting in ca. 1550 is the case of painting. The style imported by Cretan artists, who learned in the Balkans how to translate their art from the medium of wood-panels to walls, became popular in important centres like Athōs and the Meteōra; but the example of churches (re)painted within the jurisdiction of the resurged Peć patriarchate also shows that the conservative Palaiologan style retained its attraction. It may be that this was as a result of some painters' dislike of novelties introduced from within the

[649] Again, I do not dispute that in some cases there can be found documents providing the names of stone-workers, for instance, but this information does not necessarily help us reconstruct the design process or determine these individuals' contribution.

[650] It could be said more generally that, theoretically, significant monuments could be built in the provinces without any participation by locals other than unskilled workforce. They did not depend on local resources.

Balkan sphere in the early modern period that they began to compose manuals – a genre popularized in the period of ca. 1700-1850. The important texts left to us by painters such as Žefarovič, Doksaras, and Dionysios of Fourna are also vital sources for their identities and professional cultures. They were written, however, in a period that was, on the whole, one of relative stagnation. Between 1646 and 1740 the Ottomans were at war with Austria and Venice, and this seems to have greatly impacted the production of arts. There is also considerable destruction in the western half of the peninsula, which is repeatedly invaded and/or devastated by foreign powers. Much of the building work must have taken place in the reconstruction of metropolises like Sarajevo or Skopje, which the Austrian armies had set on fire. Much of the interesting work by Žefarovič and Doksaras from the first half of the eighteenth century in fact takes place outside the Ottoman realm, in Corfu and Pannonia, where these two contemporaries had come into contact with western forms of art – and texts written about it. In terms of Islamic architecture, the design and execution of the mosque of Şerîf Halîl Paşa at Šumen (1744/5) is so sophisticated that one cannot see it as anything else than a fortunate anomaly. At Šumen, the same patron sponsored the post of a calligraphy teacher working in the attached *medrese*, and this was to bear fruits decades later.

Around 1800 both the money and the artistic expertise make a gradual move from the SW-Balkans (especially West Macedonia and adjacent areas, where there were located short-lived economic powerhouses such as Voskopojë, Siatista, and Ampelakia as well as districts with excellent artists, such as Debar, Kastoria, Korçë, and Kozanē) to the SE-Balkans, especially to the central area's of present-day Bulgaria. This change was greatly felt in Plovdiv, which by the mid-nineteenth century attracted artists from Macedonia and Istanbul alike, and in nearby areas such as Samokov and the mountain pass townships and monasteries in the Stara Planina.

Architecture caught up when Ottoman restrictions on church-building were gradually lifted between the 1820s and 50s. This facilitated the construction of new churches and, eventually, the inclusion of features such as domes and belfries. It also meant new challenges and opportunities for builders, whose technical knowledge occasionally already approached that of institutionally-trained architects. In the 1850s and 60s we see what one may call the last "indigenous" Balkan style, with builders like Damjanov and Fičev freely mixing Byzantine, Baroque, and whatever they may have seen (very probably in portable media), before the Europeanization and institutionalization of post-1878 made both their styles and professional cultures

obsolete. What is different, however, is that the generation of the middle decades of that century, unlike previous generations of artists, have remained remembered. The attraction of their work certainly played an important part, but so may have the competition for their services among a relatively new wealthy class of non-Muslim patrons willing to invest funds in buildings whose designs did not suffer substantial restrictions, as had been the case for centuries. Perhaps also the gradual spread of literacy, not least among the artists themselves, made possible a more substantial record of their life and work.

It is in this period that the divisions of "builder/architect" and also "iconographer/painter" become blurred, for also in the latter category artists begin to embrace different genres and techniques that include portrait painting and non-religious decorative painting. The apparent fact that many of these developments are not shared in Muslim circles seems to have to do less with different notions of art and artisthood than with the changed focuses of artistic production. After a small wave of dispersed mosques built by local strongmen in places such as Gradačac, Shkodër, or Prizren in the period of ca. 1770-1835, Islamic architecture in the Balkans more or less came to a standstill. There are indeed large mosques built, but these were typically utilitarian structures built in areas to which the state moved Muslim refugees, such as the Bosnian Posavina or the Dobrogea. The resurgent state, in fact, built a lot during the Tanzîmât and thereafter, but these are mostly infrastructural buildings whose most remarkable feature is their size. The most prominent building type of the period is really the church, irrespective of these monuments' occasionally marginal location within townscapes.

Again, Islamic calligraphy and the arts of the book are somewhat of an exception ca. 1850. The important but certainly exceptional case of the flourishing manuscript production industry at Šumen in this period has been mentioned; but also elsewhere calligraphy is anything but dead. Well-documented is the case of the calligrapher Râkım Efendi (Islamović), who was born in Sarajevo in 1839 and received his education at his hometown's prestigious *medrese* of Gâzî Hüsrev Beğ. First trained locally with the celebrated calligrapher 'Abdullâh Aynî (d. 1872), he received a more specialized training in Istanbul, from where he returned at some point before 1867. Back in Sarajevo, he trained a number of students, as evidenced by the diplomas he issued. After the advent of Austro-Hungarian rule in 1878, and a bazaar fire in the following year that necessitated many restorations, he received the commission to

design the calligraphy of the Gâzî Hüsrev Beğ mosque, Sarajevo's largest, in 1884/5. Exceptionally, the blueprints for these works have survived (ills. 49/50).[651]

In 1860s Sarajevo were also active the Anatolian-born *yüzbaşı* Mustafâ, who taught drawing at the local military school and painted portraits of prominent superiors, the Macedonian master builder Andreja Damjanov and his *tayfa*, who equipped the city with a remarkable church with five Byzantine domes and a Baroque belfry, the master builders Franjo Linardić and Franjo Moise from Split (then part of Habsburg Dalmatia), who built for the Bosnian *vâlî* a representative *konak*, and, lastly, the portrait painter Stanislav Dospevski from Samokov.[652] What emerges is the picture of, in point of fact, a remarkably "international" artistic environment even in this provincial metropolis. Mentioning all these artists working in different fields together in one sentence, one should also raise the question of how they and their arts were valued differently in this society. This question is as important as it is difficult to answer. While portrait-painters and calligraphers were certainly beyond the point of being seen as manual workers, builders were probably not – irrespective of their pay and sophistication of their work.[653] The gathering together of all these individuals and their works under the labels "artists" and "art," finally, is certainly more a reflection of our modern understanding of their professions, and of their products as belonging to one class of objects and monuments that our culture qualifies as "art," than of contemporaries' sensibilities.

At long last I shall return to one of the principal questions of this study, namely the extent to which an art history on the theme of Balkan artists facilitates our study of the region's artistic heritage. The cases discussed have shown that it very much depends on the time, the place, and the art in question. Thus, we have seen different degrees of commitment to acknowledge artists' contributions by recording their stories, or at least their names, in different periods and in different lines of work. This thesis has sought to emphasize that artists did not "create" in a vacuum but worked within a concrete social, cultural, physical, and professional environment. Changes in the conditions of artistic production usually resulted in a changed art as well, and it is unfeasible to study one without the other. This is not to say, however, that art in the Ottoman Balkans was

[651] Mehmed Mujezinović, "Diplome kaligrafa Islamovića u Gazi Husrev-begovoj biblioteci u Sarajevo," in: *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, I (1972), pp. 91-4 (plus three plates). Râkım Efendi died in Anatolia in 1895 on return from the Hajj.

[652] For these individuals, see ch. 2.5.6 and 3.1.2.

[653] See the contemporary observations by Kanitz in ch. 2.2.4.

anonymous, depersonalized, and that the agency of the individual cannot be tracked. Several examples discussed have shown quite the contrary. In an age in which art was not an instrument of self-realization but a livelihood, and in which the artist a medium rather than an independent agent, we must accept that it is seldom easy to positively identify change as due to either artist or patron, or to both. We also do not need detailed biographies, drawings, or contracts to see that artists were generally not expected to exceed the bounds of certain traditions. It is through an identification of such structures and the dynamics of artists' work within which that I have sought to fill in the supposedly insurmountable gaps left by incomplete documentation.

APPENDIX: TABLES

Table 1. Terms of professions and related tools and objects in various Balkan languages ca. 1840, according to Boué, *Turquie d'Europe*, III, p. 39, 68-9, 78-80, 87-8.

French	Turkish	Serbian	Albanian	Vlach	Greek
ingénieur	*Koumbaradje Inschinir*	*Zemlemier Inschinir*		*Inschinir Geometre*	
Architecte	*Mimar*	*Neimar*	*Mgieschire (Gheg.; Tosk = V)*	*Architektor*	*Architekton*
Maçon	*Divardje*	*Sidar*		*Sidariou*	*Ktistès*
Chaux	*Kiredj*	*Kretsch*	*Kiretsch*	*Varoul*	*Asbèstès*
Plâtre	*Altje*	*Gips*	*Altzi*		*Gypsos*
Sculpteur	*Oymadje*	*Bildaour*			*Glyptes, Glypheys, Agalmatopotos*
Graveur	*Kalemkiar*	*Rozatzi [?]*			
Cachets a sentences [?]	*Hatkiak*			*Petschelnikariou*	*Voullographes*
Peinture	*Resamgilik*				*Zographikè*
Sculpture [sic!]	*Oimagelouk*				*Agalmatopotia*
Peintre	*Souretdji*	*Moler*	*Tzographos*	*Sougrav*	*Zôgraphos*
Charpentier	*Durguer*	*Drvodjela*		*Berdasch*	*Xylokopos*
Hache	*Balta*	*Keser*	*Sopata*	*Sekoure, Toporou*	*Tzekouri*
Petite hachette	*Keser*	*Malasikira*	*Vogla sopata*	*Barde*	*Mikron Tzekouri*
Scie	*Testere*	*Testera, tila*		*Cheresstreou*	*Prioni*
Ciseau	*Arda*	*Dlijeto*			*Glypheion*
Coin	*Keuchédolate*	*Klin, kout*	*Poukike*	*Ik*	*Sphèn*
Planche	*Taghta*	*Daska*	*Dogha*	*Blane*	*Sanidi*
Menuisier	*Doghramadje*	*Astaldja (faiseur de tables)*		*Messariou, Masariou*	*Leptourgos*
Marteau	*Tschekidj*	*Tschekitsch*	*Kòpan, Tzekan*	*Tschokan*	*Sphyrion*
Rabot	*Réndé*	*Stroug*		*Giuleou*	*Rokani*

Table 2. Non-Muslim *dülger*s of Sarajevo and their guarantors in 1788 (after Kreševljaković, "Ćefilema sarajevskih kršćana iz 1788 godine.")

	Name	*Profession*	*Guarantor(s)*	*Profession/identification of guarantor*
1	Mihajlo	Builder-carpenter (*dülger*)	Jovan Sirdan	Furrier
2	Petar	Builder-carpenter	Risto	Tailor
3	Nikola	Builder-carpenter	Simo	?
			Risto	Tailor?
4	Nikola	Builder-carpenter	/	/
5	Mihajlo	Builder-carpenter	Josip	Packsaddle maker
6	Đuro	Builder-carpenter	Marica	?
7	Rada	Builder-carpenter	Mihajlo	Tailor
8	Nikola	Builder-carpenter	Lako, son of Jelka	?
9	Jovan	Builder-carpenter	Monla Sâlih	"Jabučar"
10	Petar	Builder-carpenter	Hadži Tripko	Furrier
11	Petar	Glassmaker	Jovan	Packsaddle-maker
			Petar	Jovan's servant
12	Todor	Builder-carpenter	Todor	Builders-carpenters
			Jovan	
13	Jovan	Builder-carpenter	Jovan	Builders-carpenters
			Nikola	
14	Nikola	Builder-carpenter	Todor	Builders-carpenters
			Jovan	
15	Risto	Builder-carpenter	Jovan	Blanket-maker
16	Simo	Builder-carpenter	Ilija	Soap-maker
			Simo	Ilja's servant
17	Marko	Builder-carpenter	Miloš	Builder-carpenter
18	Miloš	Builder-carpenter	Marko	Builder-carpenter
19	Jeftan	Builder-carpenter	Mihajlo	Builder-carpenter
20	Mihajlo	Builder-carpenter	Jeftan	Builder-carpenter
21	Todor	Builder-carpenter	Stevan, Mihat, Ivan	Builders-carpenters
22	Stevan	Builder-carpenter	Todor, Mihat, Ivan	Builders-carpenters
23	Mihat (?)	Builder-carpenter	Todor, Stevan, Ivan	Builders-carpenters
24	Ivan	Builder-carpenter	Todor, Stevan, Mihat	Builders-carpenters
25	Mićo	Builder-carpenter	Mihajlo, Kršman	Builders-carpenters
26	Mihajlo	Builder-carpenter	Mićo, Kršman	Builders-carpenters
27	Krsman	Builder-carpenter	Mićo, Mihajlo	Builders-carpenters
28	Tripko	Builder-carpenter	Şahin	?
			Risto	Tailor
29	Mićo	Builder-carpenter	Besara	Furrier
			Jovan	?
30	Staniša	Builder (*neimar*)	Mihajlo	Furrier
			Jovan	Son of Mihajlo
31	Tanasije	Builder (*neimar*)	Jovan	His servant
			Božo	Baker
			Gavrilo	Božo's servant
32	Jovan	Plumber (*suyolcu*)	Nikola	His son
			Ivan	His servant
			Petar	(Jovan's or Ivan's?) Builder-carpenter
33	Petar	Builder-carpenter	Jovan	Plumber
			Nikola	Jovan's son
			Ivan	Jovan's servant
34	Tripko	Builder-carpenter	Staniša	Tailor
35	Neško	Glass-maker	Mihajlo	His servant
			Todor	Tailor

			Pavle	His tenant
36	Đuro	Builder-carpenter	Gavrilo	Packsaddle-maker
37	Đuro	Builder-carpenter	Marko	His servant
			Vasilj	Furrier
			Petar	Vasilj's brother
			Đuro	Petar's servant
38	Jovan	Builder-carpenter	Mitar	Furrier
			Risto	Baker
			Tanasije	Jovan's servant
39	Nikola	Plumber	Soka	Widow
			Mihajlo	Baker
40	Tanasije	Builder	/	/
41	Pavle	Builder-carpenter	Panto	Tailer
42	Lazo	Builder-carpenter	Lako	Builder-carpenter
43	Lako	Builder-carpenter	Lazo	Builder-carpenter
44	Luka	Builder-carpenter	Marko	Builders-carpenters
			His sons Risto and Blagoje	
45	Marko	Builder-carpenter	Luka, Risto, Blagoje	Builders-carpenters
46	Risto	Builder-carpenter	Luka, Marko, Blagoje	Builders-carpenters
47	Blagoje	Builder-carpenter	Luka, Marko, Risto.	Builders-carpenters
48	Mosto	Builder-carpenter	Spasoje	His servant
			Đorđo	His son
			Janko	Builder-carp.
			Simo	Janko's servant
			Petar	Furrier
49	Janko	Builder-carpenter	Mosto	Builder-carp.
			Spasoje	Mosto's servant
			Đorđo	Mosto's son
			Simo	Janko's servant
			Petar	Furrier
50	Čirko	Builder-carpenter	Ilija	His servant
			Stjepan	His servant
			Lazo	Builder-carp.
			Blagoje	Lazo's servant
51	Lazo	Builder-carpenter	Čirko	Builder-carp.
			Ilija & Stjepan	Čirko's servants
			Blagoje	His servant.
52	Ivan	Builder-carpenter	Nikola	His servant
			Toma	Baker
			Petar & Miloš	Toma's servants
53	Jovan	Lime-maker (*kireççi*)	Vasilj	His servant
			Lazo	Baker
			Risto	Lazo's servant
			Jovan	Cook
54	Đuro	Builder-carpenter	Petar	His servant
			Risto	Tailor
			Tešo	Risto's servant
55	Tomaš	Builder-carpenter	Jeftan	Builder-carp.
			Petar	Baker
56	Jeftan	Builder-carpenter	Tomaš	Builder-carp.
			Petar	Baker
57	Jovan	Builder-carpenter	Vasilj	His cousin
			Nikola	Landlord
58	Spasoje	Builder-carpenter	Simo	Builder-carpenter
59	Simo	Builder-carpenter	Spasoje	Builder-carpenter
60	Ivan	Builder-carpenter	Blagoje	Builder-carpenter
61	Blagoje	Builder-carpenter	Ivan	Builder-carpenter
62	Tripko	Builder-carpenter	Stjepan	Goldsmith
			Andrija	Stjepan's servant
63	Petar	Builder-carpenter	Jovan Mosto	Builder-carpenter
			Janko	?
64	Jovan	Builder-carpenter	Petat	Builder-carpenter

	Mosto		Janko	?
65	Petar	Builder-carpenter	Risto	His servant
			Jovan	Builder-carpenter
66	Jovan	Builder-carpenter	Petar	Builder-carpenter
			Risto	Petar's servant
67	Toma	Builder-carpenter	Risto	Toma's servant
			Jovan	Builder-carpenter
68	Jovan	Builder-carpenter	Toma	Builder-carpenter
			Risto	Toma's servant
69	Đuro	Builder-carpenter	Spasoje	Đuro's brother
			Petar	Builder-carpenter
70	Petar	Builder-carpenter	Đuro	Builder-carpenter
			Spasoje	Đuro's brother
71	Mitar	Builder-carpenter	Simo	Builder-
			Miloš	carp./brother
				Their servant
72	Simo	Builder-carpenter	Mitar	Builder-
			Miloš	carp./brother
				Their servant
73	Luka	Builder-carpenter	Risto	Baker
74	Tanasije	Builder-carpenter	Mitar	Blacksmith
			Maksim	Mitar's servant
75	Mihajlo	Builder-carpenter	Tripko	Blacksmith
76	Jovan	Glass-maker	Stanko	Blacksmith
			Janko	Stanko's servant
77	Petar	Builder-carpenter	Mijat	Goldsmith
78	Marko	Builder-carpenter	Joskim	His servant
			Nikola	Blacksmith
79	Aramit	Builder-carpenter	Jovan	Gardener
			Mihajlo	Miller
80	Bojan	Builder-carpenter	Risto	Furrier
			Đuro	Risto's servant
81	Đorđo	Builder-carpenter	Lako	His brother
			Sava	Baker
			Mićo	Furrier
82	Jovan	Builder-carpenter	Antun	Packsaddle-maker
83	Mijat	Builder-carpenter	Simo	Builder-carpenter
84	Simo	Builder-carpenter	Mijat	Builder-carpenter
85	Stjepan	Builder-carpenter	Mato	His servant
			Nikola	Builder-carpenter
			Đorđo	Nikola's servant
86	Nikola	Builder-carpenter	Đorđo	His servant
			Stjepan	Builder-carpenter
			Mato	Stjepan's servant
87	Petar	Builder-carpenter	Risto	Dyer
			Jefto	Risto's servant
88	Nikola	Builder-carpenter	Marko	Tailor
89	Aćim	Builder-carpenter	Toma	Blacksmith
			Janko	Blacksmith
			Jakov	Toma and Janko's servant
90	Ilija	Builder-carpenter	Todor	Builder-carpenter
91	Todor	Builder-carpenter	Ilija	Builder-carpenter
92	Risto	Builder-carpenter	Panto	Blacksmith

Table 3. Values of probates of nine deceased *dülger*s of Sarajevo, 1779-98, as registered with the *kadı*.[654]

Year	Name	Father's name	Assets (in *akçe*), except tools, sometimes incl. real estate	Tools (*akçe*)	Total (assets incl. tools)	Percentage of tools' value
1779	Jovan	Jovan	1580	160	1740	9%
1783	Mitar	Jovan	12966	1260	14226	10%
1785	Mate	Stjepan	9840	420	10260	4%
1790	Ca'fer Beşe	Hüseyin	54258[655]	240	54498	>1%
1792[656]	Toma	Ivan	5280	600	5880	10%
1794	Tanasije[657]	Raho (?)	205756	960	206716	>1%
1794	Mičić	Toma	3418	240	3658	7%
1795	Simo	Gavrilo	120960	960	121920	>1%
1798	Stojan	Stefan	8034	720	8754	8%
Total			*422092*	*5560*	*427652*	-
Average			*46799*	*618*	*47517*[658]	*1%*
Median			*9840*	*600*	*10260*[659]	*7%*
Highest			*205756*	*1260*	*206716*	*10%*
Lowest			*1580*	*240*	*1740*	*>1%*

[654] Adapted from data provided in Kreševljaković, "Esnafi," p. 172.

[655] 28800 *akçe* of this sum accounted for his house alone.

[656] Krešejlaković writes "1729," but this seems to be a typographical mistake.

[657] Tanasije died not in Sarajevo but in Valjevo in present-day Serbia.

[658] Calculated as the ninth part of all assets (incl. tools) combined, not by addition of both averages.

[659] Median of all assets combined, not by addition of values from the two previous boxes.

Table 4. Locales with "provincial architects" (1656-71), according to Evliyâ Çelebi

Place	Modern country	Term used by E. Ç.	Vol./date	Page no.
Gelibolu	TUR	*mi'mâr ağa*	V (1656-61)	162
Timişoara	ROM	*mi'mâr-başı*		203
Sarajevo	BOS	*mi'mâr-başı*		224
Livno	BOS	*mi'mâr-başı*		235
Skopje	MAK	*mi'mâr ağa*		296
Bitola	MAK	*mi'mâr-başı*		307
Smederevo	SER	*mi'mâr ağa*		317
Shkodër	ALB	*mi'mâr*	VI (1661-4)	56
Halkalı	TUR	*mi'mâr-başı*		73
Osijek	CRO	*mi'mâr-başı*		105
Pécs	HUN	*mi'mâr ağa*		114
Buda	HUN	*mi'mâr-başı*		137
Esztergom	HUN	*mi'mâr ağa*		162
Užice	SER	*mi'mâr ağa*		244
Herceg Novi	MON	*mi'mâr-başı*		268
Ključ	BOS	*mi'mâr ağa*		277
Gabela	BOS	*mi'mâr*		283
Mostar	BOS	*mi'mâr ağa*		286
Zvornik	BOS	*mi'mâr ağa*		294
Szigetvár	HUN	*mi'mâr ağa*		306
Nagykanizsa	HUN	*mi'mâr-başı*		314
Koppány (S of Lake Balaton)	HUN	*mi'mâr ağa*	VII (1664-6)	15
Kaposvár	HUN	*mi'mâr-başı*		17
"Şemetorna" (before Székesfehérvár)	HUN	*mi'mâr ağa*		20
Székesfehérvár	HUN	*mi'mâr ağa*		23
Ilok	CRO	*mi'mâr ağa*		57
Hatvan	HUN	*mi'mâr ağa*		60
Szolnok	HUN	*mi'mâr*		135
Csongrád	HUN	*mi'mâr*		136
Baja	HUN	*mi'mâr ağa*		137
Bač	SER	*mi'mâr ağa*		139
Titel	SER	*mi'mâr ağa*		140
"Soboçka" (Szabadka, i.e. Subotica?)	SER	*mi'mâr ağa*		141
Szeged	HUN	*mi'mâr-başı*		142
Csanád	HUN	*mi'mâr*		143
"Göle" near Arad	ROM	*mi'mâr ağa*		146
Oradea	ROM	*mi'mâr ağa*		151
"İhram" between Timişoara and Orşova	ROM	*mi'mâr ağa*		167
Golubac	SER			168
Orşova	ROM	*mi'mâr ağa*		171
Thessalonikē	GRE	*mi'mâr-başı*	VIII (1667-71)	65
Trikkala	GRE	*mi'mâr ağa*		91
Halkida (Eğriboz)	GRE	*mi'mâr ağa*		107
Athens	GRE	*mi'mâr ağa*		114
Corinth	GRE	*mi'mâr ağa*		125
Patras	GRE	*mi'mâr-başı*		130

“Holumic” (Morea)	GRE	*mi‘mâr ağa*	134
Arkadia	GRE	*mi‘mâr*	139
Pylos	GRE	*mi‘mâr-başı*	142
Methōnē	GRE	*mi‘mâr ağa*	143
Korōnē	GRE	*mi‘mâr ağa*	148
Mistra	GRE	*mi‘mâr ağa*	154
Nafplion	GRE	*mi‘mâr ağa*	163
Nafpaktos	GRE	*mi‘mâr ağa*	271
Agia Mavra (on Lefkada)	GRE	*mi‘mâr ağa*	280
Iōannina	GRE	*mi‘mâr ağa*	287
Gjirokastër	ALB	*mi‘mâr ağa*	299
Berat	ALB	*mi‘mâr ağa*	306
Elbasan	ALB	*mi‘mâr ağa*	318
Ohrid	MAK	*mi‘mâr ağa*	327

Table 5. Comparison of measurements of three mosques in the Dabar region[660] (see chapter 4.4.1)

	Plana	**Polje**	**Dabrica**
Measurements (external)	11.30 x 7.2	11.76 x 8.37	13.08 x 9.12
Measurements (internal, minus porch)	5.84 x 5.42	6.97 x 7.06	7.63 x 7.67
Thickness of walls (approximate)	70	70	75
Minaret (dimensions)	2.51 x 2.33	1.83 x 2	1.95 x 1.95
Minaret (height, without roof)	11	7.12	15-17

[660] Data according to the Commission to Preserve National Monuments (kons.gov.ba).

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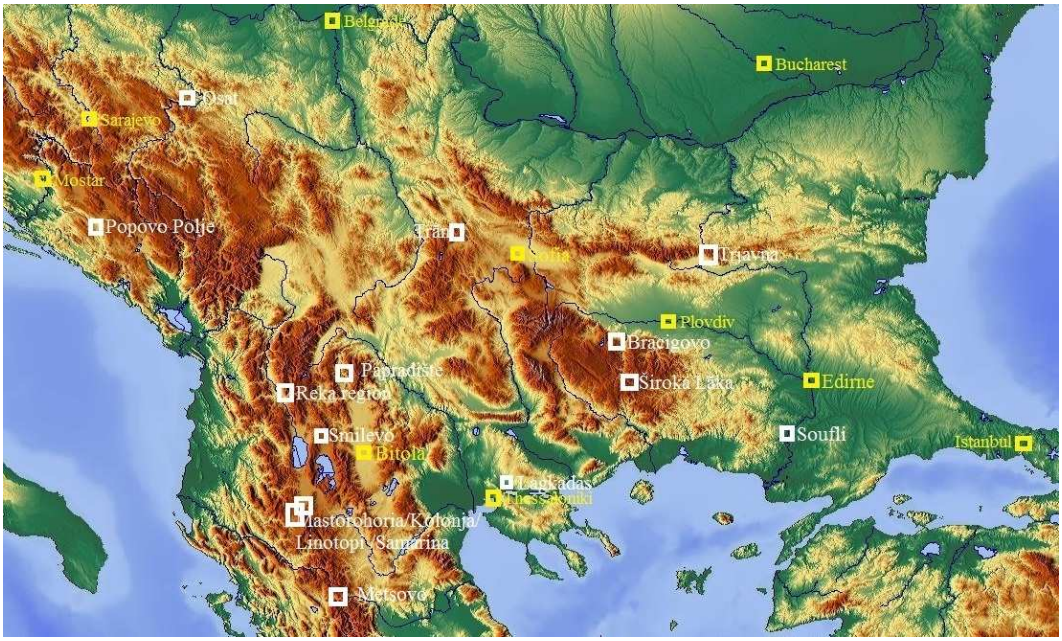

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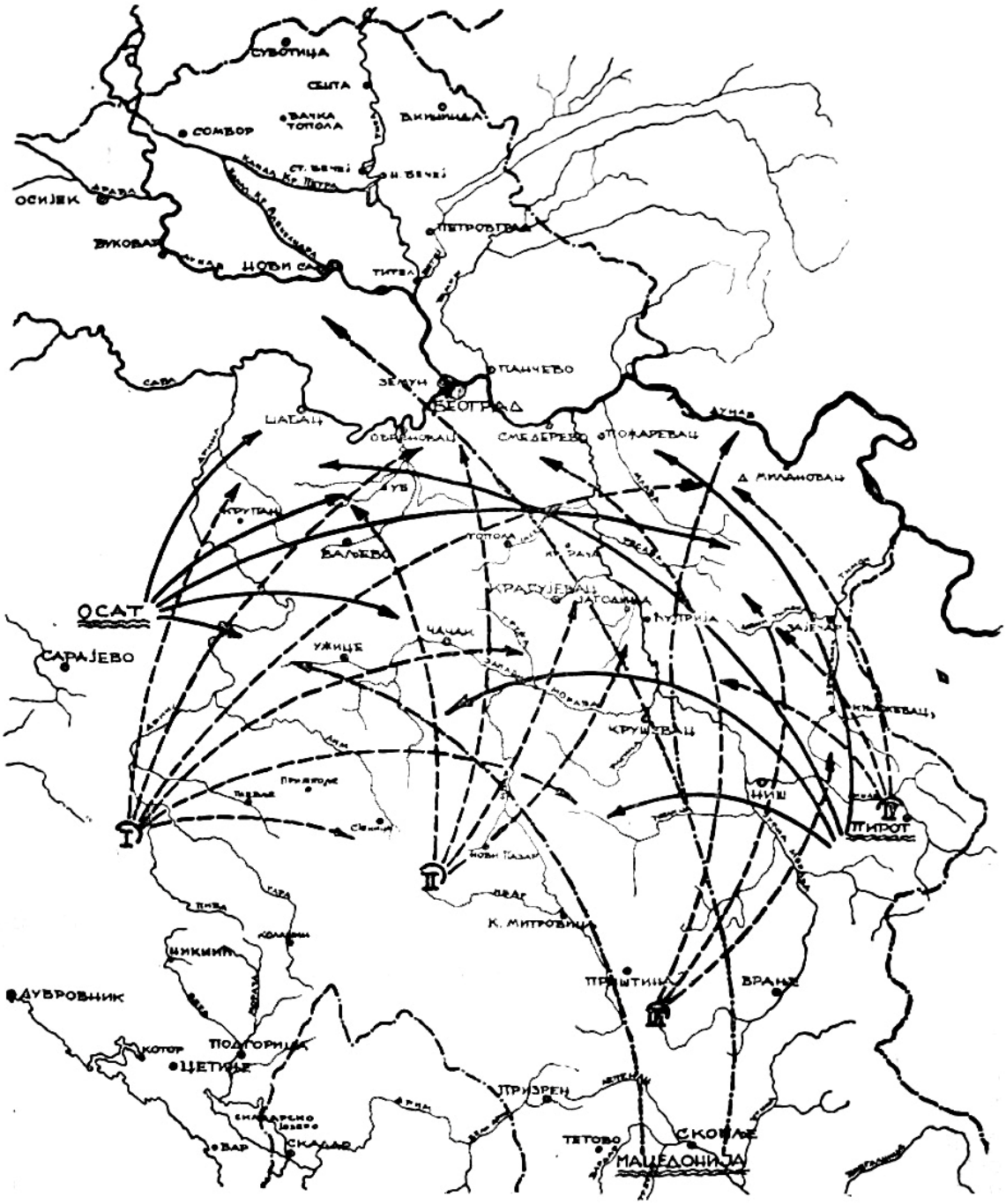

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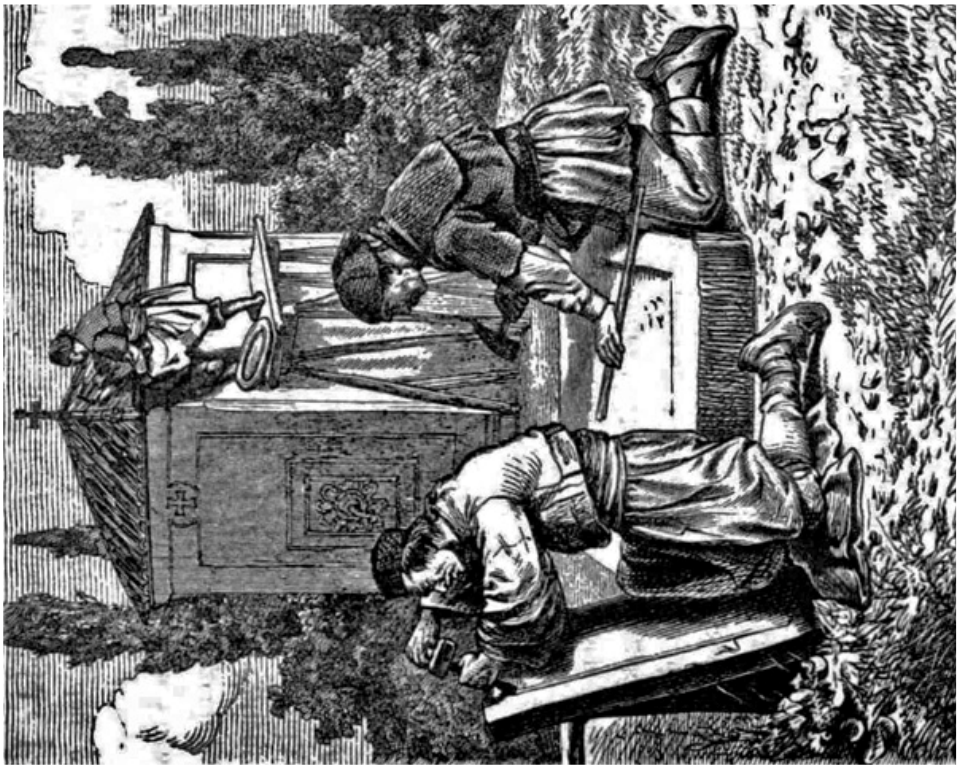
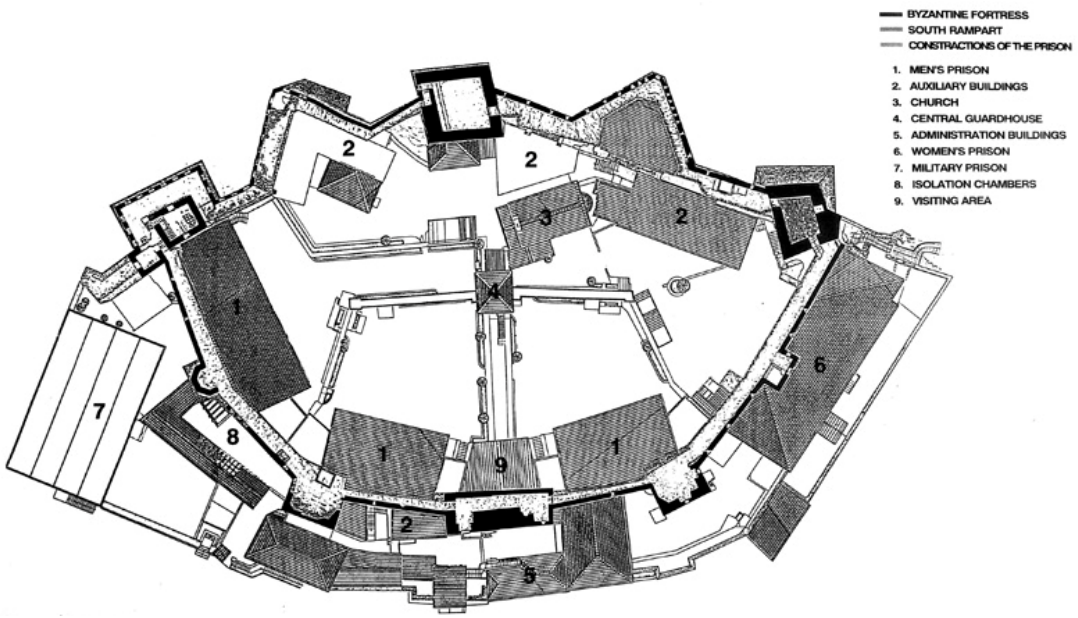
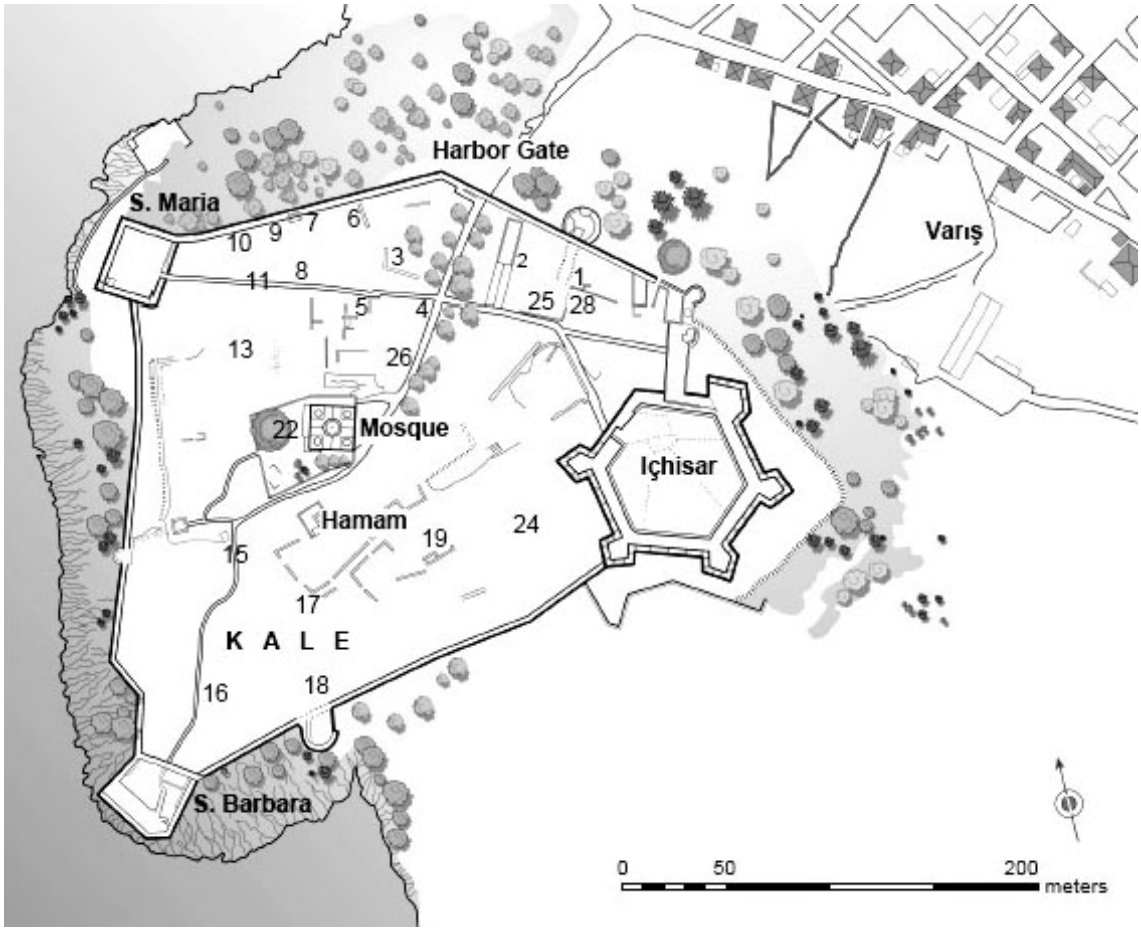
Ill. 14. Builders of the Šop ethnicity from the Pirot area in the second half of the nineteenth century, drawing (from Kanitz, *Königreich Serbien*, III, p. 98).



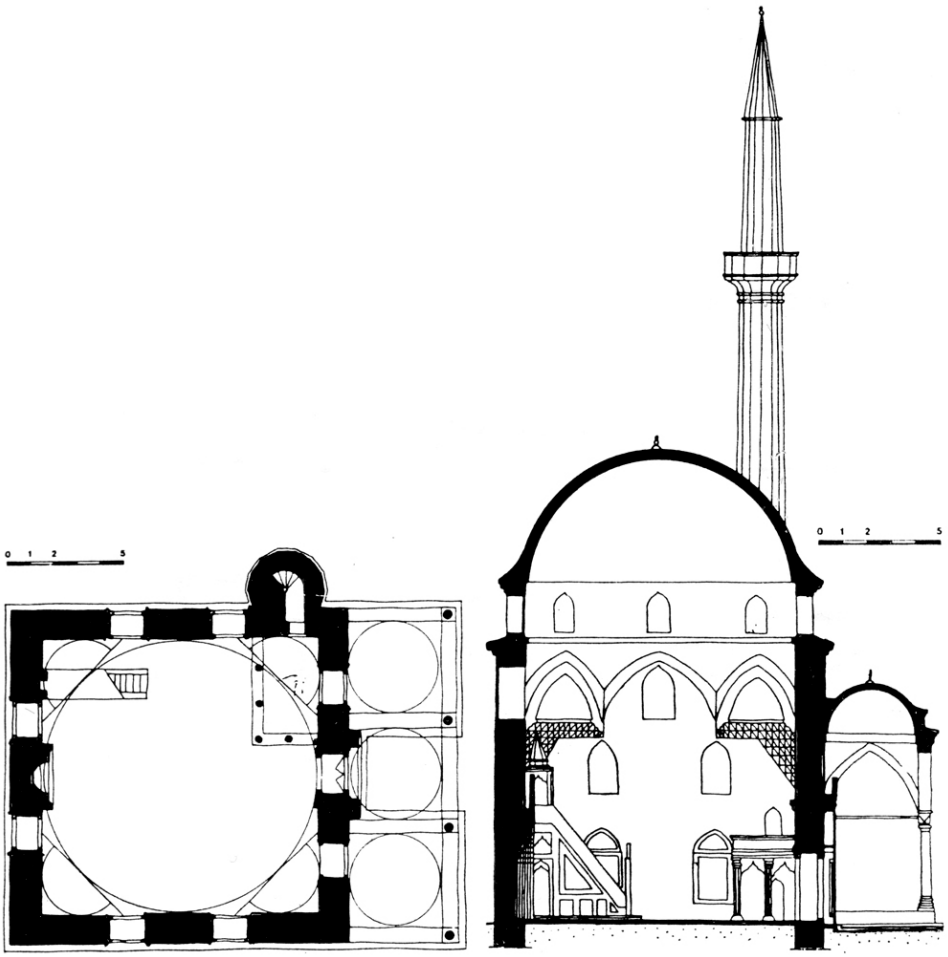
Ill. 15. "Tsintsar" (Vlach? Macedonian?) masons in Serbia in the 1850s or 60s, drawing (from Kanitz, *Reisestudien*, p. 335).



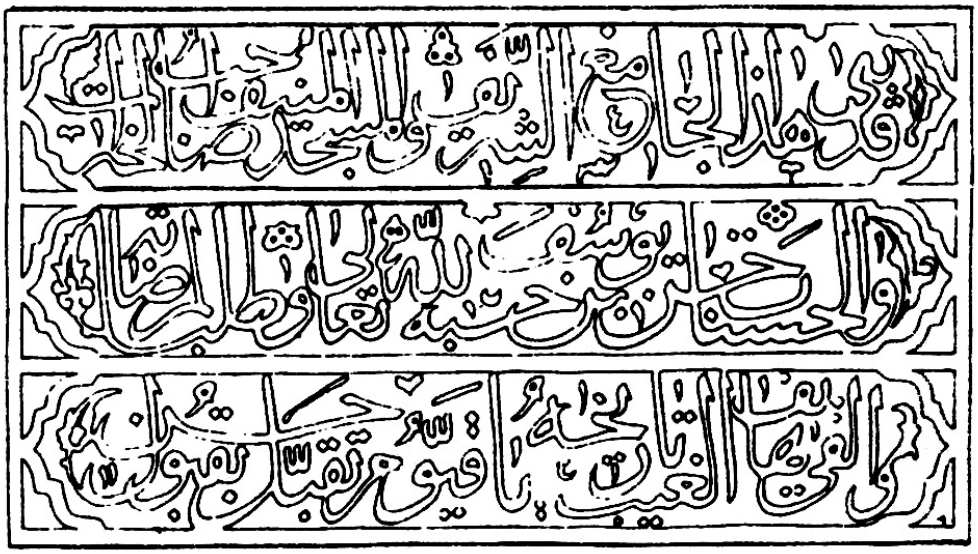
Ill. 16. The Yedikulle (Eptapyrgio) citadel at Thessalonikē, ca. 1430 [?] (plan after informational material on site).



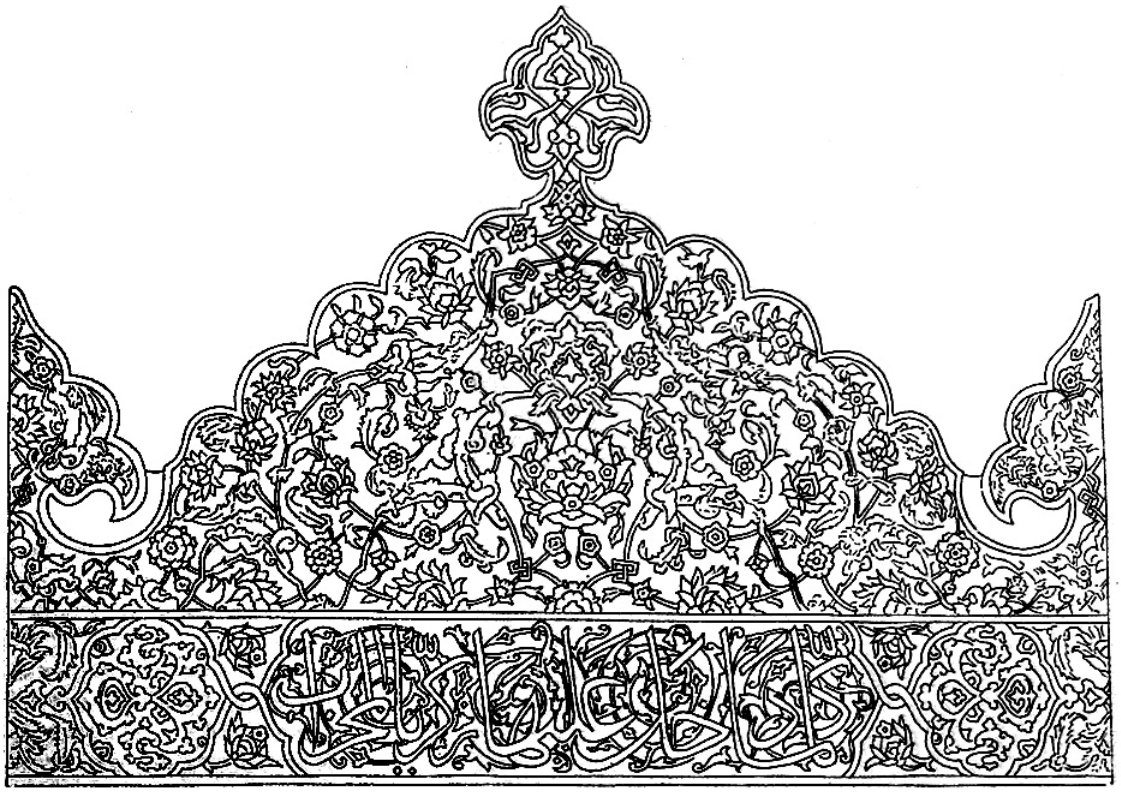
Ill. 17. Pylos (SW Peloponnesus), plan of fortress with hexagonal Ottoman citadel with protruding bastions, ca. 1570 (after Zarinebaf et al., *A historical and economic geography*, p. 259).



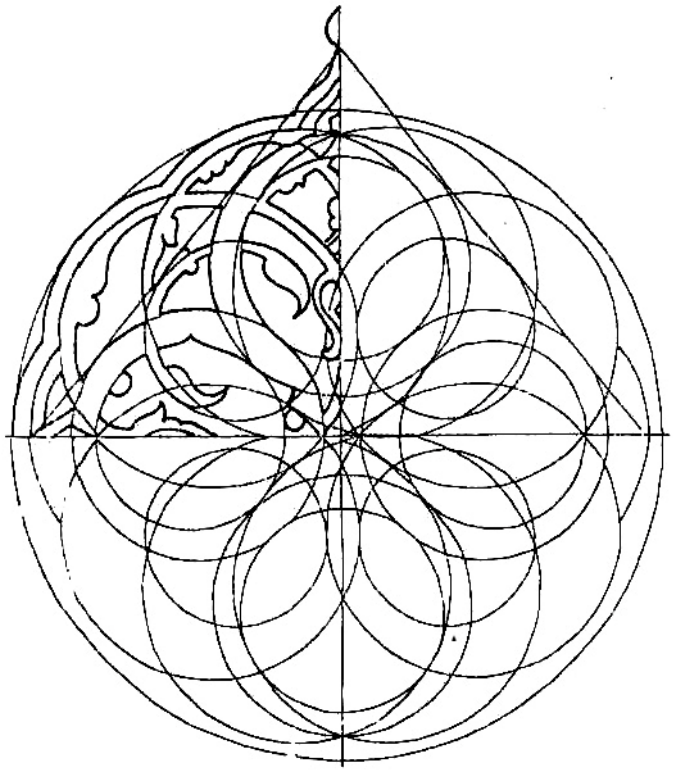
Ill. 18. The "standard" plan of sixteenth-century mosques in Bosnia and elsewhere: Foča, Alaca Câmi', 1550/1 (after Pašić, *Islamic architecture*, p. 58).



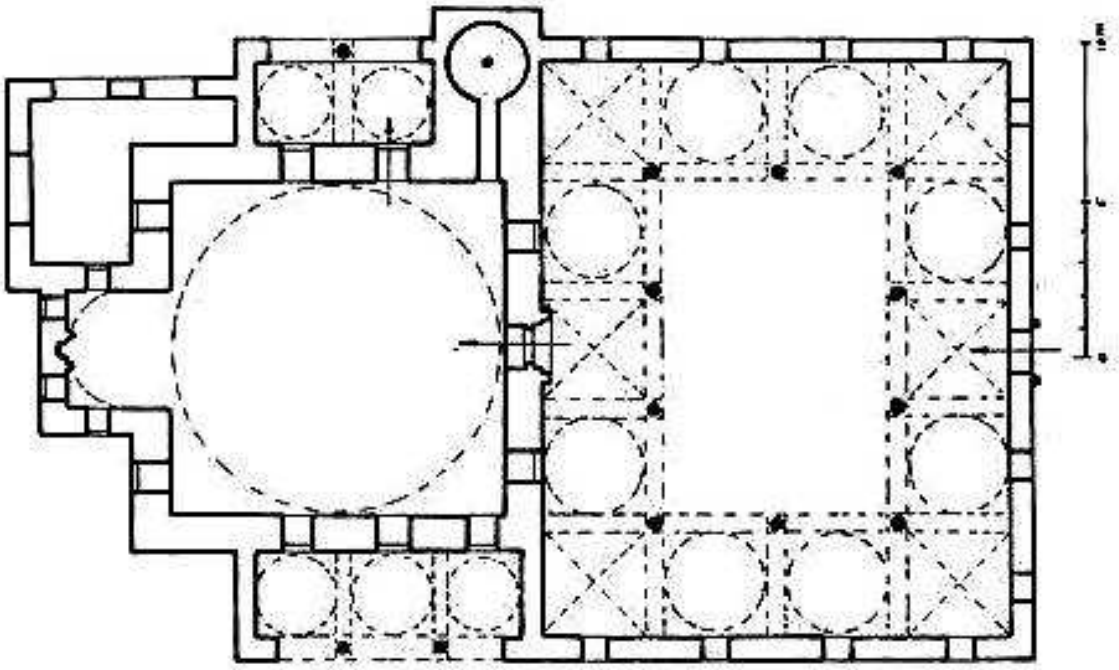
Ill. 19. Foča, Alaca Câmi', inscription "in celî style of Karahisârî" (Evliyâ Çelebi; see ch. 3.3.1), 1550/1 (after Pašić, *Islamic architecture*, p. 58).



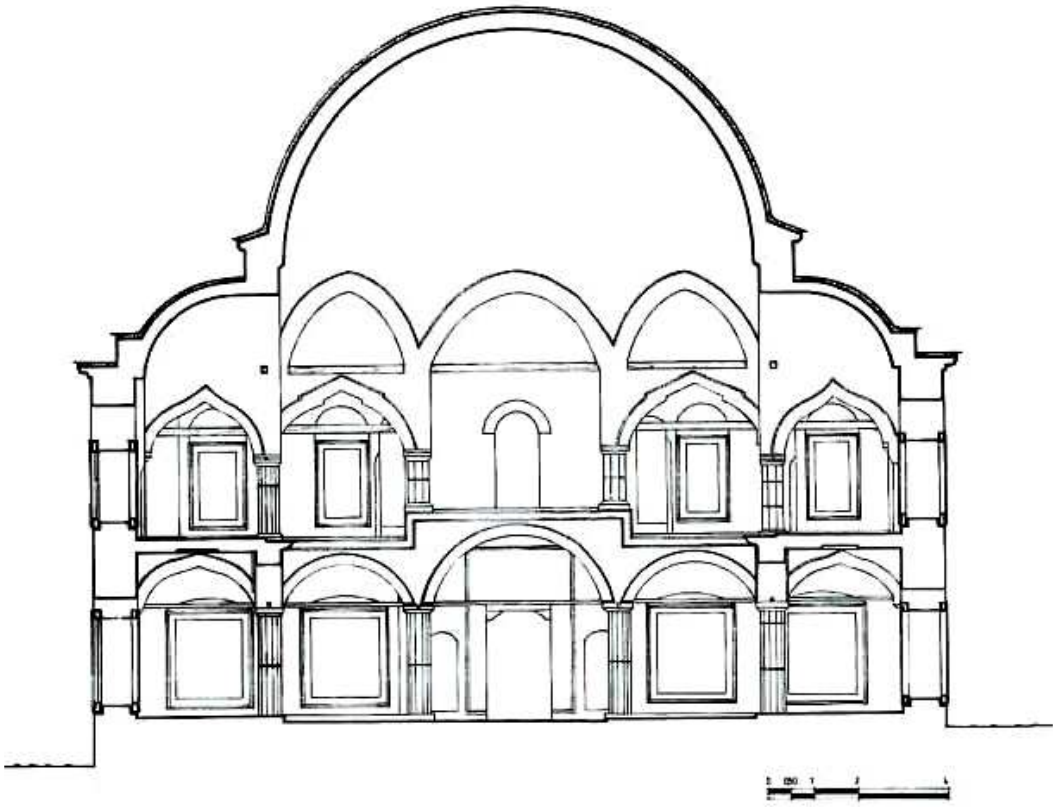
Ill. 20. Foča, Alaca Câmi‘,1550/1, decoration on the upper part of the mihrâb (after Andrejević, *Aladža džamija u Foči*, p. 39).



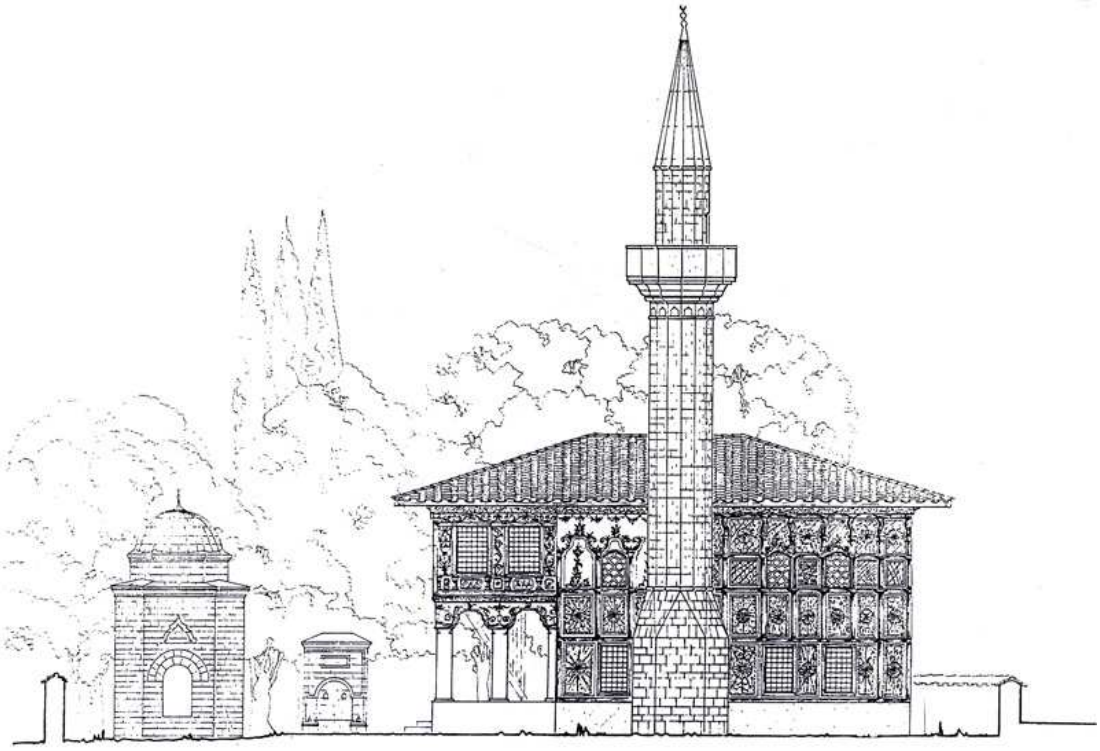
Ill. 21. Sarajevo, mosque of Ferhâd Beğ, structure of ornamental patterns of murals by Jusuf Začinović (repr. from Andrejević, *Islamska monumentalna umetnost*, p. 92).



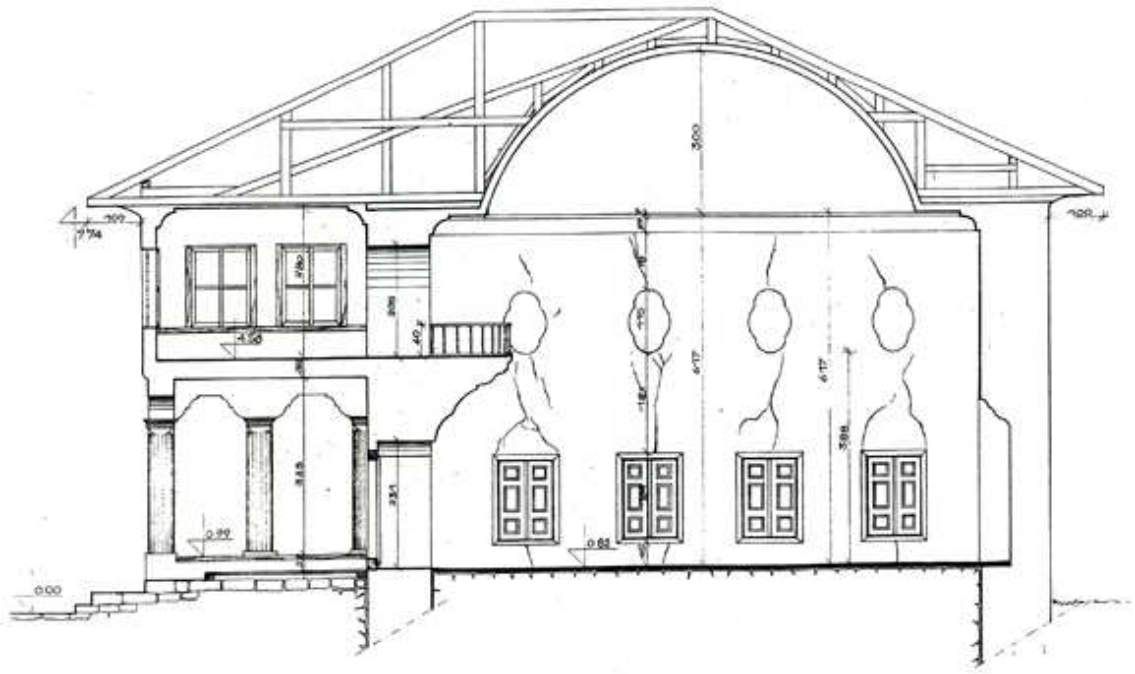
Ill. 22. Shkodër, Kurşumlu Câmi‘, 1773/4 (after Kiel, *Ottoman architecture in Albania*, n. p.).



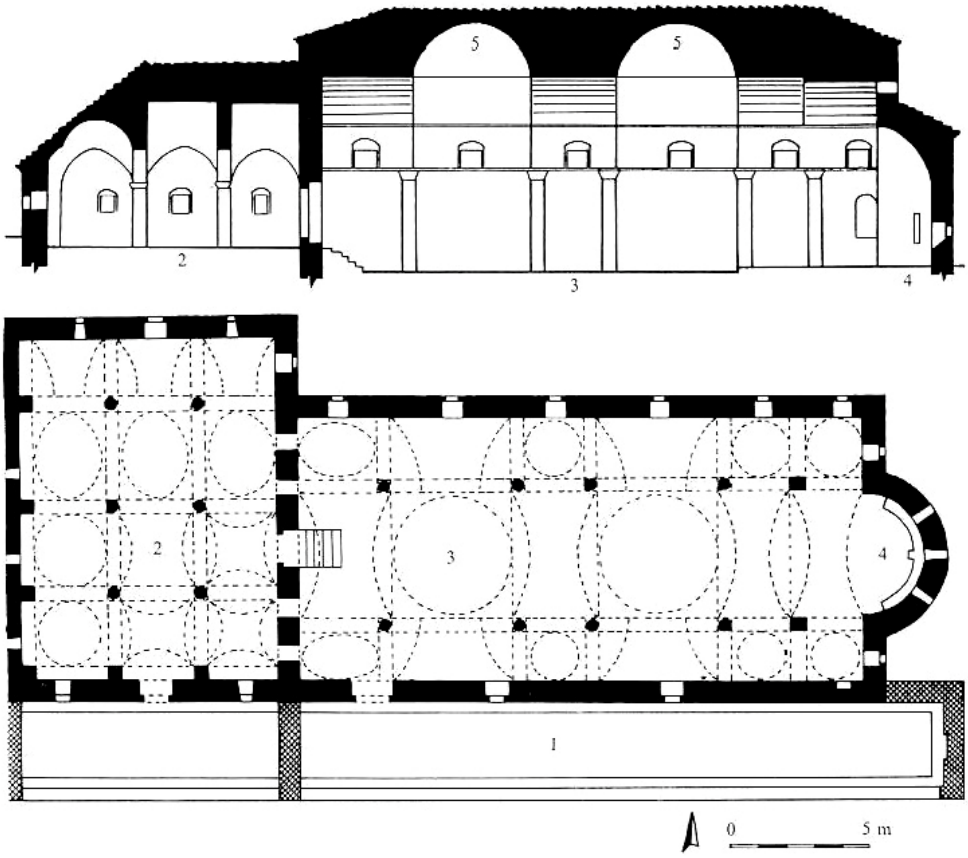
Ill. 23. Serres, Zincirli Câmi‘ (ca. 1590?), section, (after Brouskari [ed.], *Ottoman architecture in Greece*, p. 286).



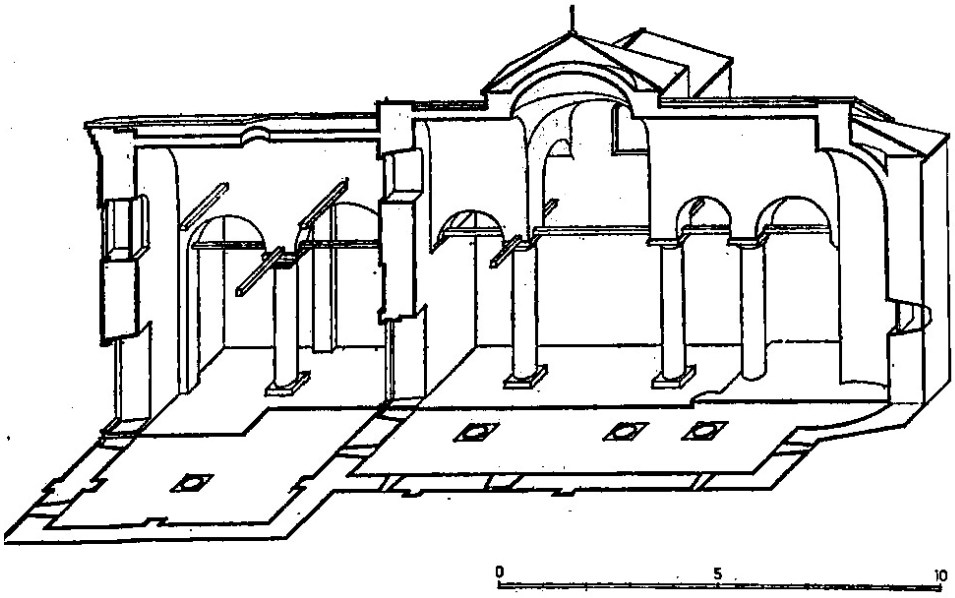
Ill. 24. Tetovo, Alaca Câmi‘ (1833/4), section, (drawing after Sezgin, “Makedonya’daki Türk mimari”).



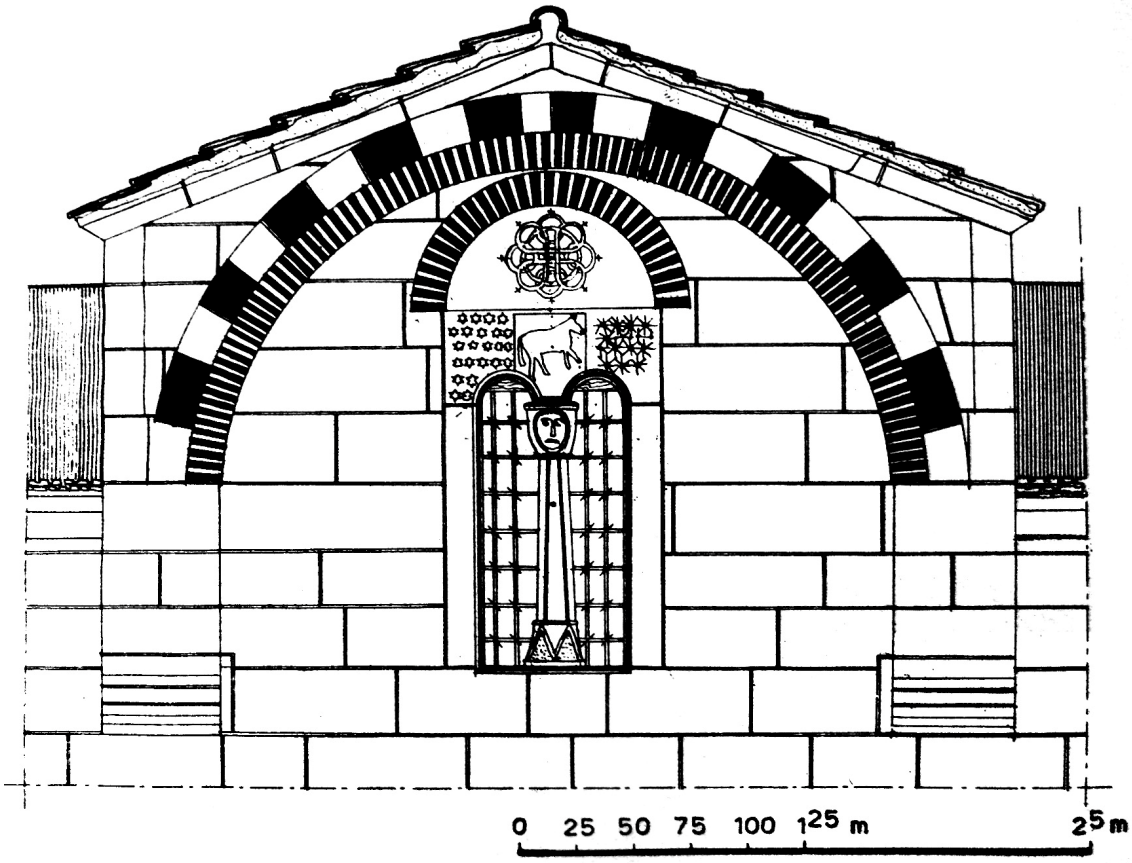
Ill. 25. Tetovo, Alaca Câmi‘, section showing concealed dome (drawing after İbrahimgil, “Kalkandelen”).



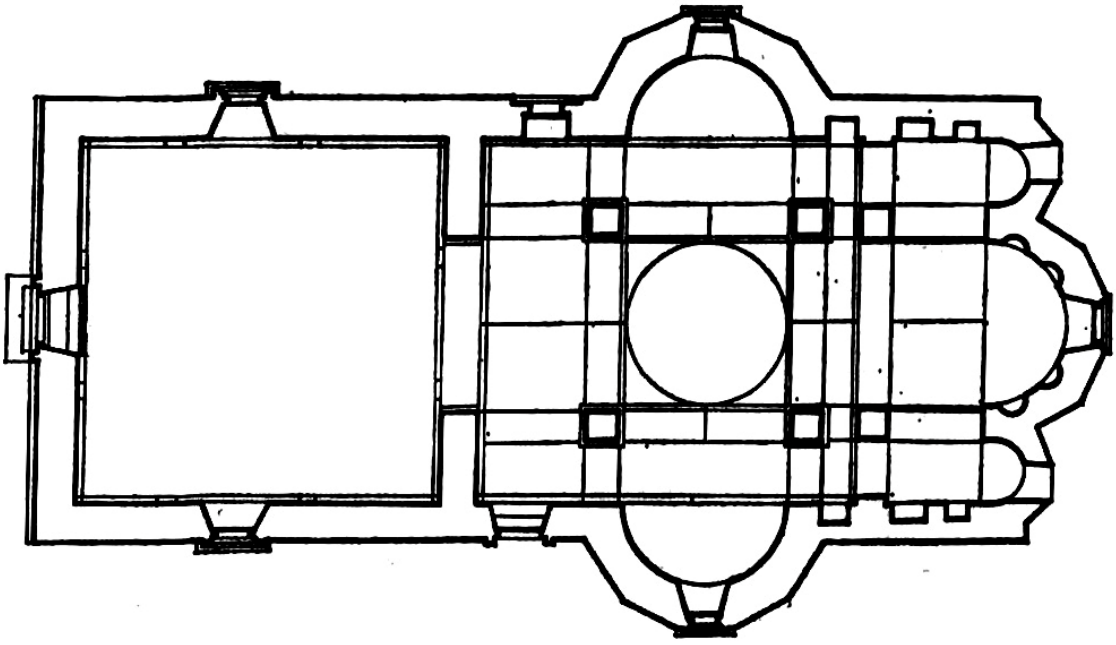
Ill. 26. Voskopojë, St Michael (1722), section and ground plan: 1. South porch, 2. narthex, 3. naos, 4. apse, 5. interior domes (after Koch, "Christliche Monumente," p. 94).



Ill. 27. Mlado Nagoričane, St George (16th ct.?), axonometric section (drawing by Šuput repr. from Ćurčić, "Byzantine legacy," ill. 25).



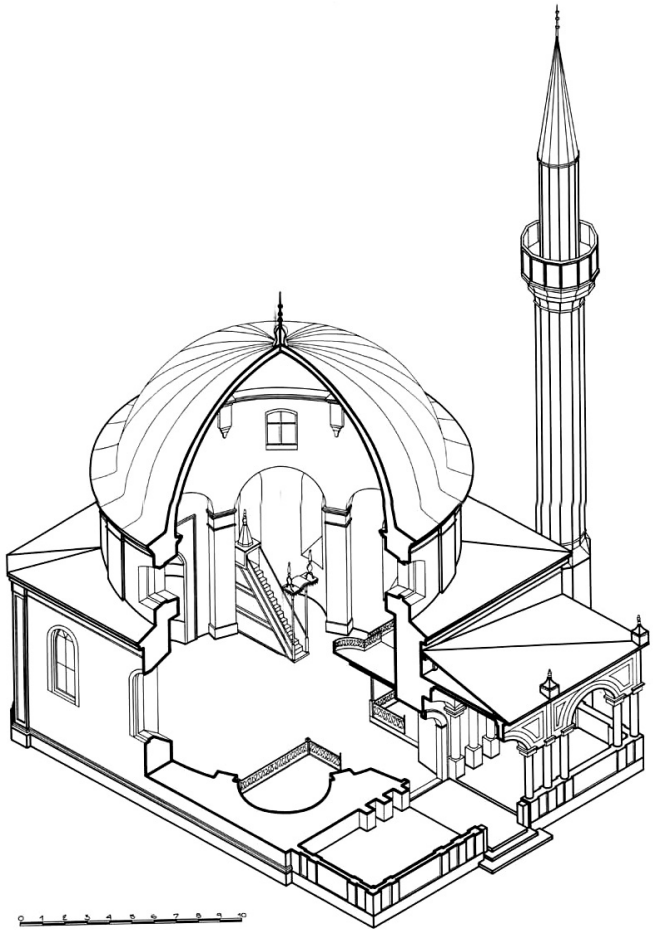
Ill. 28. Mlado Nagoričane, St George (16th ct.?), drawing of south façade window (after Šuput, *Spomenici*, p. 150).



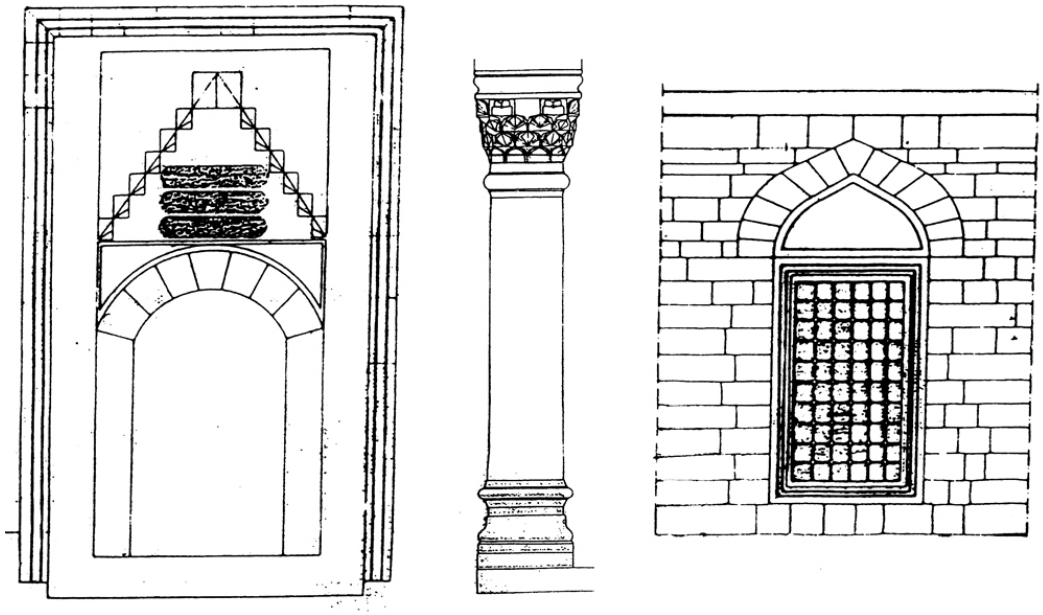
Ill. 29. Novo Hopovo monastery church (1576), ground plan (drawing by Šuput after Ćurčić, "Byzantine legacy," ill. 19).

Ill. 30/31. Mystras, St Nicholas, 17th ct., apse and interior (photos by author, June 2011).

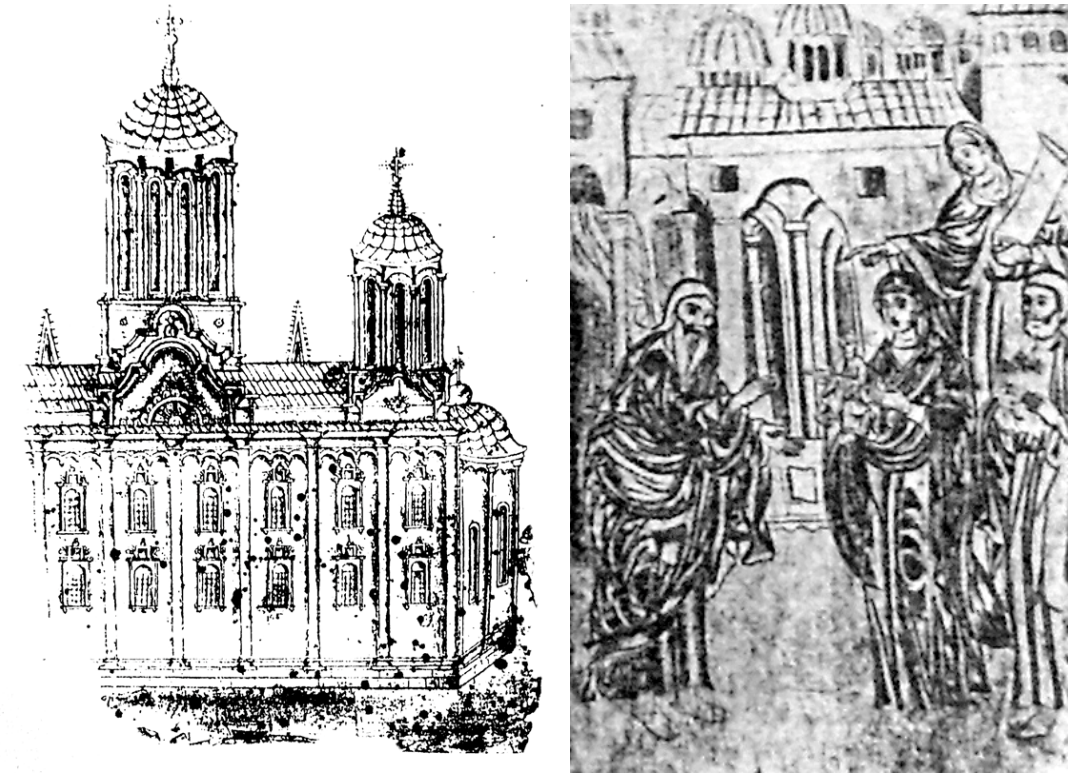
Ill. 32/33. Kelefa, St Basil (1750s), representation of the Ottoman *kadı* and the Venetian judge and crowds in local dress (photos by author, June 2011).



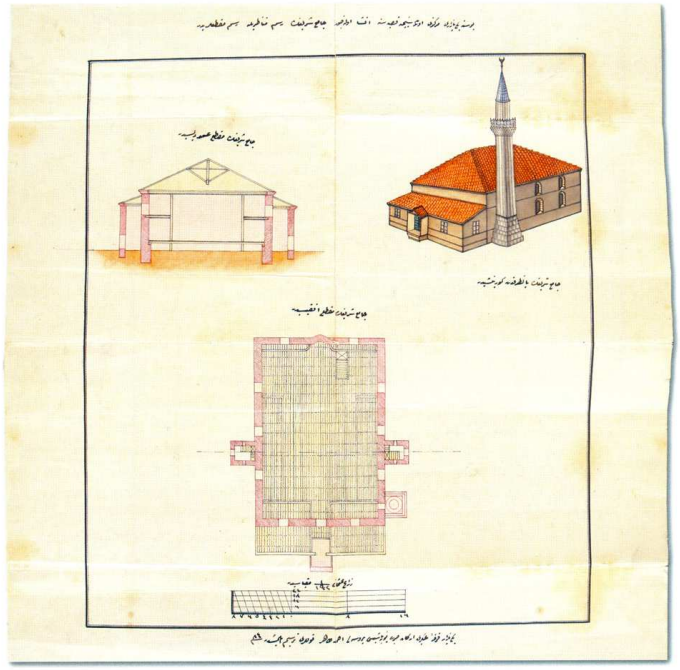
Ill. 34. Brezovo polje, Azîziye mosque, after 1863; destroyed in 1993 (axonometric drawing, reproduced from Hadžimuhamedović, "Turski neoklasicizam Azizije džamije," p. 256).



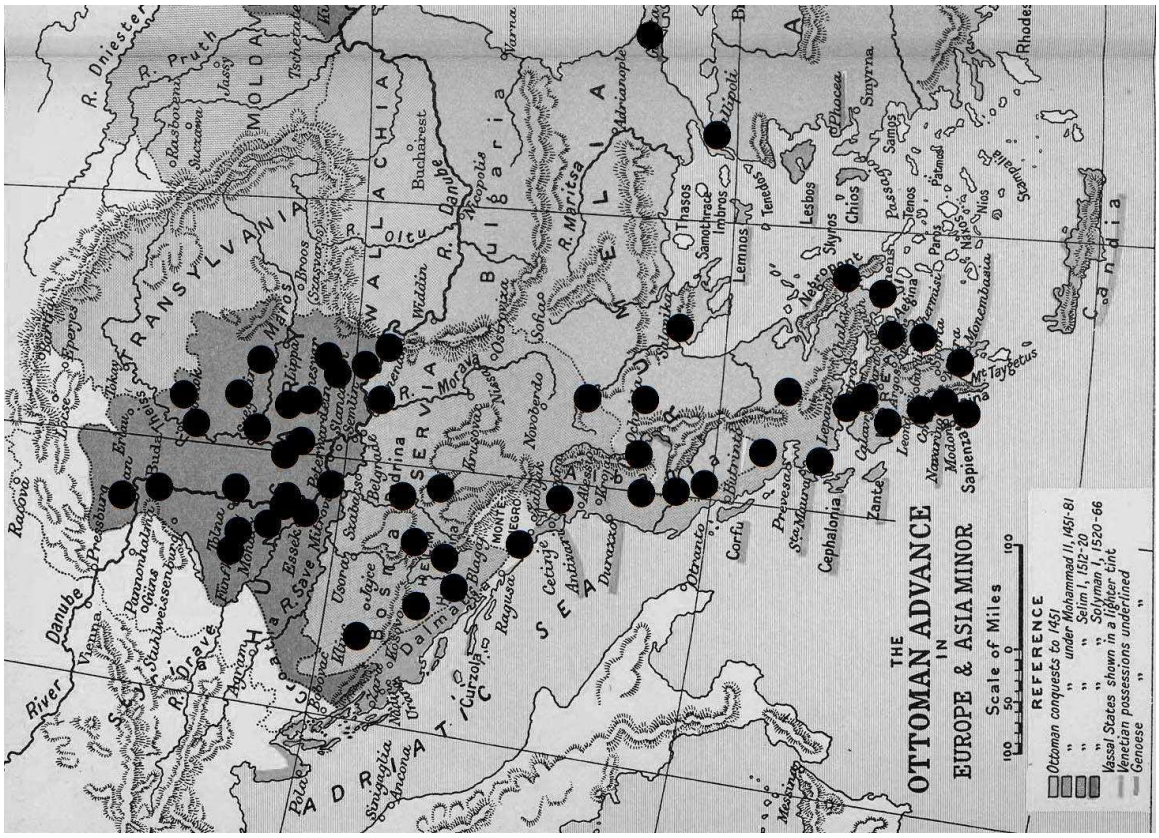
Ill. 35. Mostar, mosque of Karagöz Mehmed Beğ: drawings of simplified mukarnas hood on portal, mukarnas column capital, and pointed-arched tympana (after Pašić, *Islamic architecture*, p. 176).



Ill. 36. “Project” for Orthodox church at Sarajevo by Andreja Damjanov (after Tomovski, *Makedonskite majstori-graditeli*, p. 29).
Ill. 37. Sketch for icon or fresco by Damjan Jankulov (reproduced from Hadžieva, *Arhitekt Andreja Damjanov*, p. 11).

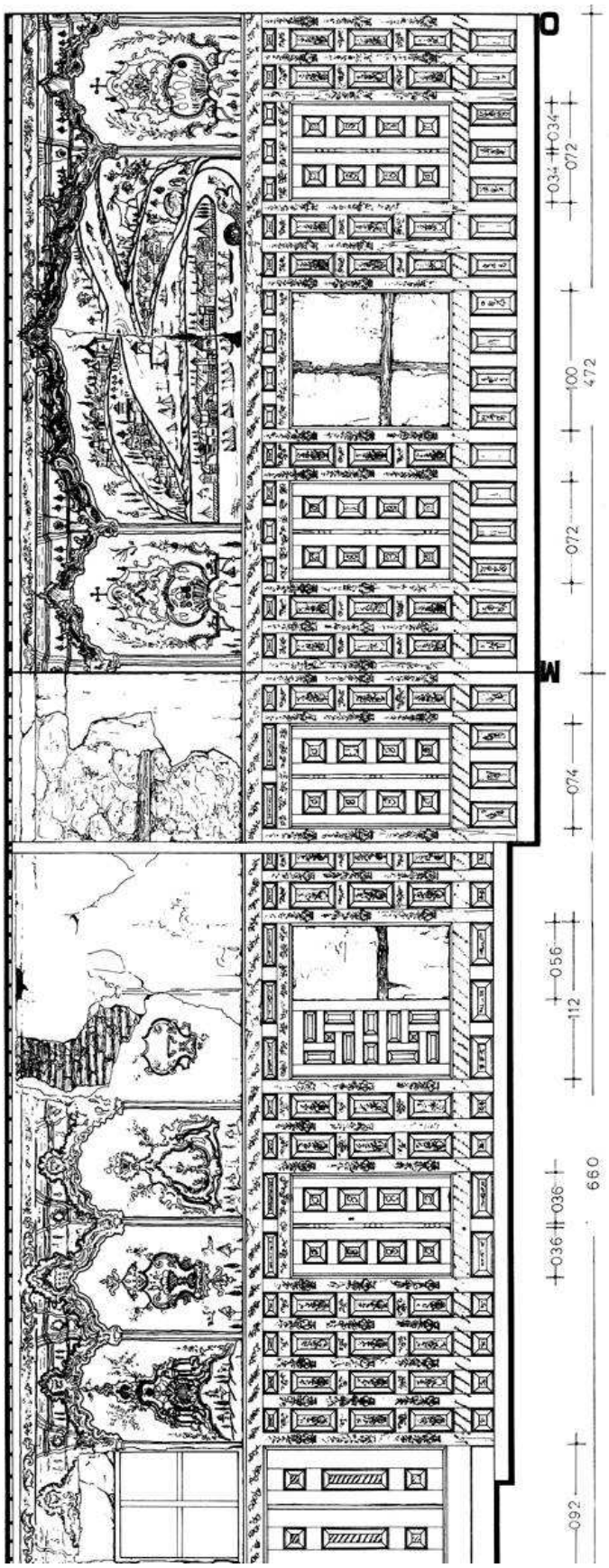


Ill. 38. Plan for mosque to be built with state funds in Sjenica (West Serbia), 1869 (published in Ağanoğlu et al. [eds.], *Osmanlı belgelerinde Bosna-Hersek*, p. 502).



Ill. 39. Map showing concentration of provincial *mi'mâr*s (according to table 4) in Süleymân-era boundaries, roughly coinciding with those at the time of Evliyâ's travels in the region (map adapted from http://www.zonu.com/images/0X0/2010-01-03-11581/The-Ottoman-advance-in-Europe-and-Asia-Minor-1451-1566.jpg).

Ill. 40. Methonē, *burc*; ca. 1500 and/or 1530s (photo by author; June 2011).

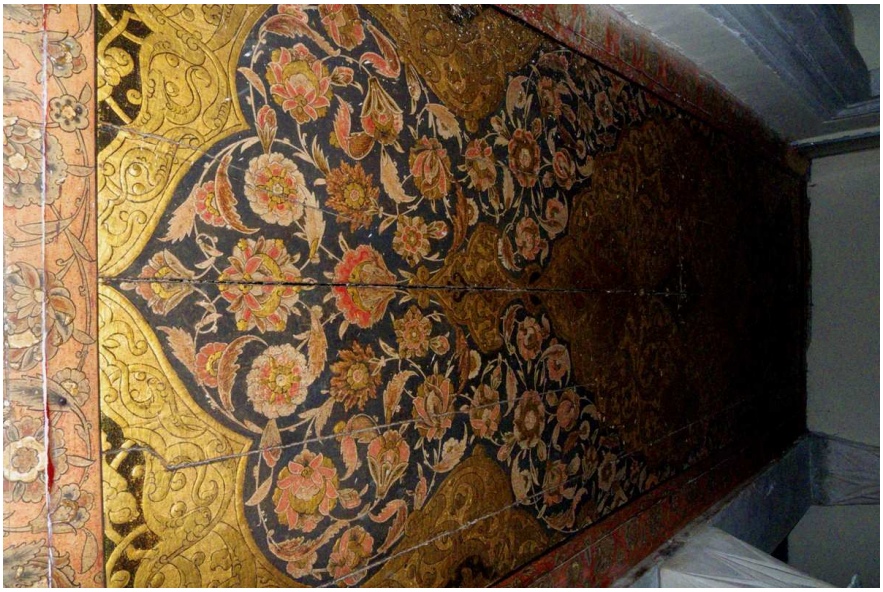


Ill. 41. Kastoria, Tsiatsapas mansion,wooden and painted decoration on third floor, 1798, drawing (from Moutsopoulos, Kastoria, p. 61).

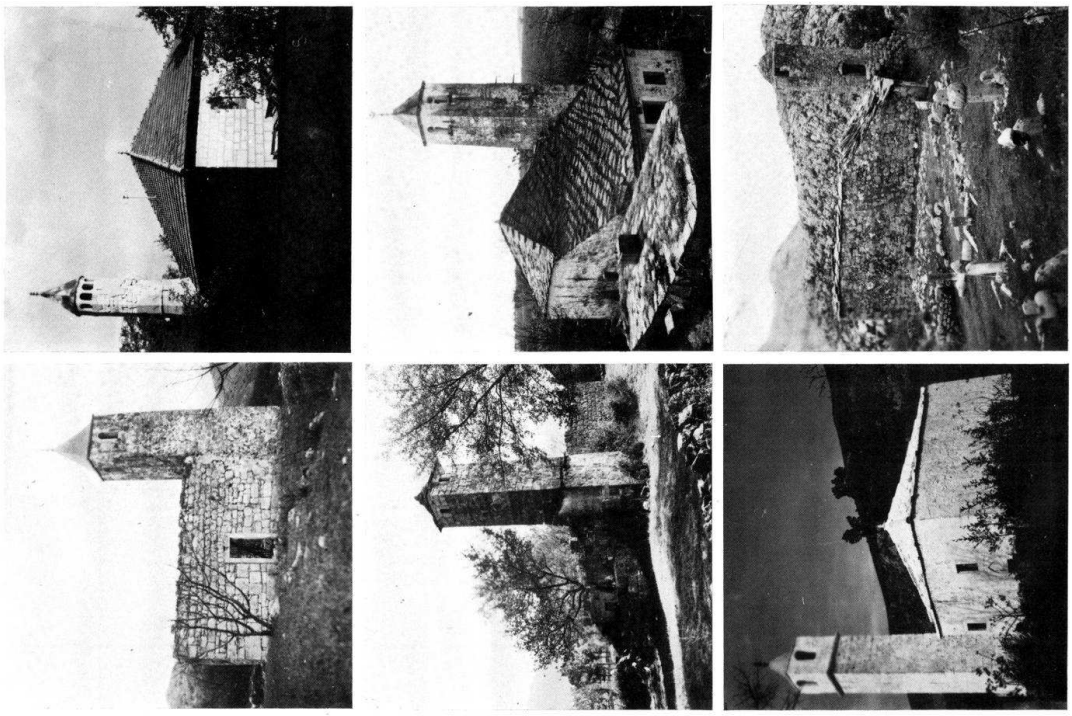
Ill. 42/43. Komotinē, *'imâret*, ca. 1375 (photos by author, March 2011).

Ill. 44. Komotinē, Yeni Câmi‘, ca. 1610 [?], interior with tiles from ca. 1590 [?] (photo by author, March 2011).

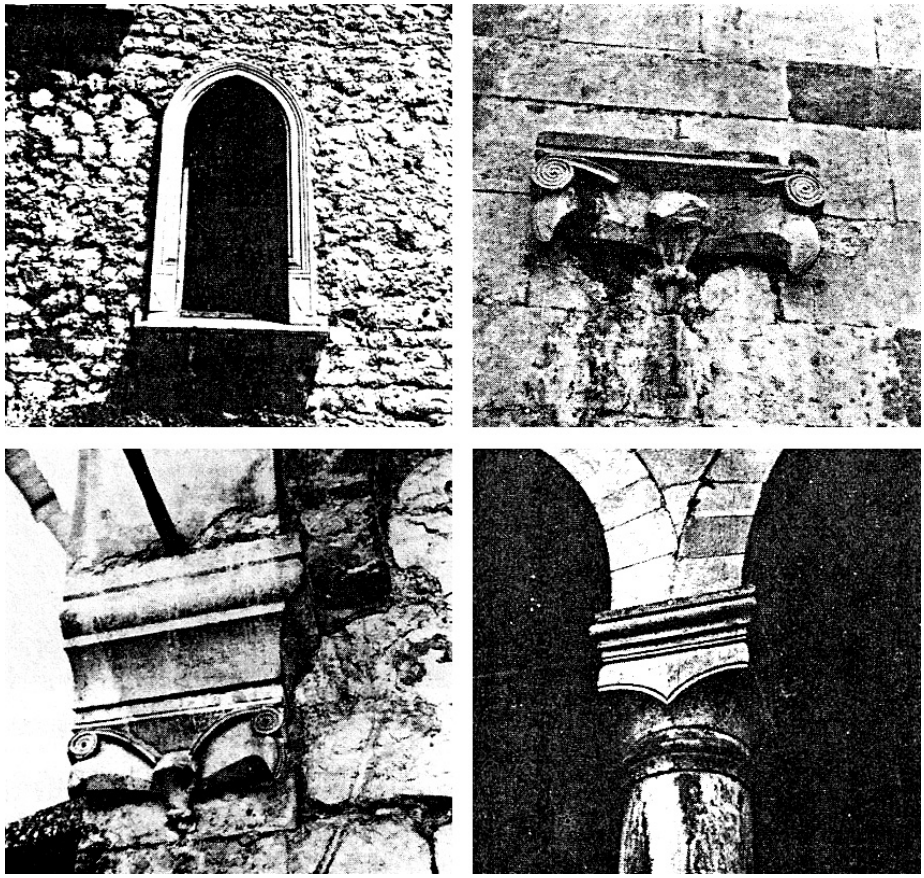
Ill. 45. Komotinē, Yeni Câmi‘, tiled lunette in porch (photo by author; March 2011).



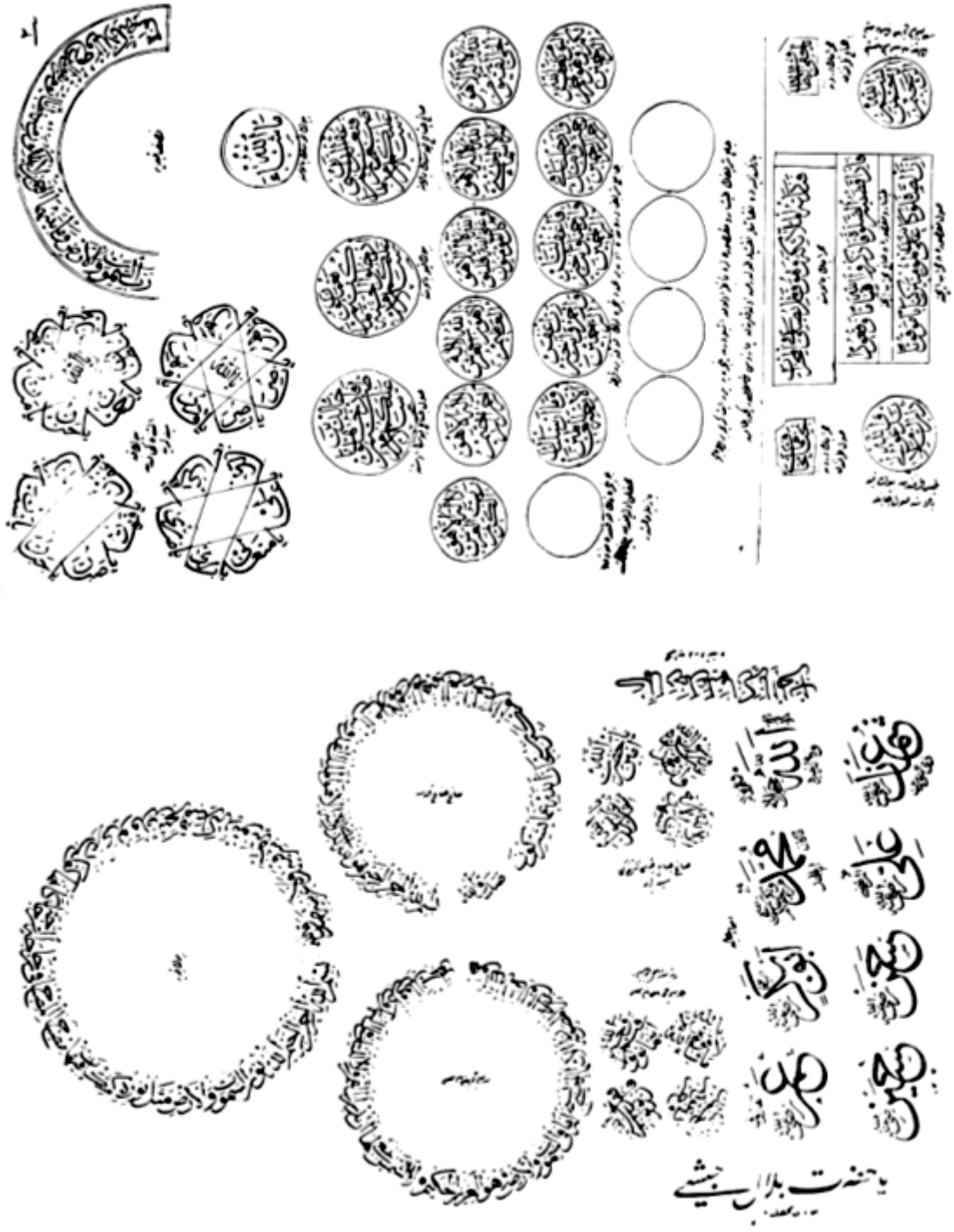
Ill. 46. Komotinē, Yeni Câmi‘, painted base of wooden *mahfil* platform.



Ill. 47. Examples of Herzegovinian mosques with square-based minarets (after Pašić, *Islamic architecture*, p. 191).



Ill. 48. Mostar, mosque of Nasûh Ağa (Vučijaković), ca. 1555 (?), details of "foreign" forms (after Pašić, *Islamic architecture*, p. 193).



Ill. 49/50. Two sheets with designs for calligraphy in the Gâzî Hüsrev Beğ mosque (ca. 1885) by Râkim Efendi Islamović (d. 1895) (after Mujezinović, "Diplome kaligrafa Islamovića").