SAʿDÂBÂD

THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY PALACE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

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Bir Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Sarayı ve Çevresinin Toplumsal Kurgusu

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Title: Saʿdâbâd: The Social Production of an Eighteenth-Century Palace and Its Surroundings

Most modern history writing on Saʿdâbâd, the summer palace of Ahmed III constructed at Istanbul's Kâğıthane valley in 1722, has regarded the palace as the architectural manifestation of the Tulip Age *per se*. As a result Saʿdâbâd has become associated with two stereotypical tropes: firstly, because Saʿdâbâd was a major location for courtly feasts it is regarded as the place where the Ottoman elite indulged in a luxurious and morally corrupt lifestyle. Secondly, since Saʿdâbâd is held to be an imitation of French baroque palaces, it has become a symbol for the beginning of Westernization in the Ottoman Empire.

This study challenges these assumptions by conceptualizing Saʿdâbâd as a socially produced space in the Lefebvrian sense. The multi-layered analysis of the palace's built form, the discourses related to it and the social practices enacted in and around it using Ottoman archival material, chronicles and poetry as well as European travelogues reveals that the dynamic in fact underlying the space of the palace was sultanic visibility and display. As a stage where imperial pomp unfolded during festivities, Saʿdâbâd served to uphold sultanic legitimacy and to bind lesser power holders to the centre. Moreover, the analysis of architectural discourse shows that Saʿdâbâd was regarded as an imitation of French models only by European observers. Ottoman observers saw the building on the contrary as the culmination of a Turko-Persian cultural tradition. Furthermore, the meadows surrounding the palace constituted a public space, where moral and social norms were less strictly enforced than in other parts of the city.

This spatial analysis of Saʿdâbâd adds to our understanding of the multiple and even contradictory meanings architecture can carry, as well as throwing a different light on early eighteenth-century Ottoman transformations beyond the stereotypes of Ottoman decline and Westernization.

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Başlık: Saʿdâbâd: Bir Onsekizinci Yüzyıl Sarayı ve Çevresinin Toplumsal Kurgusu

III. Ahmed'in 1722'de Kağıthane'de inşa edilen Saʿdâbâd'ı konu alan modern tarih yazınının ekseriyeti bu yazlık sarayı Lale devrinin açık bir mimari tezahürü kabul etmektedir. Buna göre Saʿdâbâd'a ilişkin iki temel önkabul bulunmaktadır: Evvela Saʿdâbâd, saray çevresinin tertiplediği ziyafetlerin başlıca mekânı olduğundan Osmanlı elitlerinin zevk ve sefahat düşkünlüğünün simgesi olarak değerlendirilir. İkinci olarak ise, Fransız Barok sarayları örnek alınarak inşa edildiği düşünüldüğünden, Saʿdâbâd, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Batılılaşma sürecinin miladı olarak kabul edilir.

Bu çalışma Saʿdâbâd'ı Lefebvre'in geliştirdiği toplum tarafından kurgulanan mekân (socially produced space) kavramı üzerinden ele alarak söz konusu yaklaşımlara karşı çıkmaktadır. Sarayın mimari özellikleriyle buna ilişkin kaynakların ve bu bölgedeki yerleşik yaşam alışkanlıklarının, Osmanlı arşivlerinden, vakayinamelerden, şiirlerden ve Avrupalılar tarafından kaleme alınmış seyahatnamelerden yola çıkarak gerçekleştirilecek çok katmanlı bir analizi söz konusu mekânın padişahın manen ve madden varlığının tecessümü olduğunu ortaya koyacaktır. İmparatorluğun tüm ihtişamının şenlikler vasıtasıyla sergilendiği bir sahne olarak Saʿdâbâd padişahın meşruiyetini vurgulayarak merkezden uzak güçler üzerindeki iktidarın pekiştirilmesine hizmet etmiştir. Bununla birlikte, mimari söylem analizinin gösterdiği üzere Saʿdâbâd yalnızca Avrupalı gözlemciler tarafından Fransız örneklerinin bir taklidi olarak kabul edilmektedir. Halbuki söz konusu dönemin Osmanlı kaynaklarında bu saray Türk-Fars kültür geleneğinin bir şaheseri olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Üstelik, sarayı çevreleyen mesire yerleri, şehrin diğer bölgelerine nazaran toplumsal ve ahlaki baskıların daha az hissedildiği bir kamusal alan yaratmıştır.

Saʿdâbâd'ın böyle bir mekânsal analizi bize, mimarinin tek başına verebileceğinden daha zengin bir anlayış kazandıracağı gibi erken on sekizinci yüzyıl Osmanlı dönüşümünü Osmanlının çöküş ve batılılaşma sürecine ilişkin önyargınlardan bağımsız bir biçimde değerlendirmemize de yardımcı olacaktır.

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NOTE ON SPELLING AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

Ottoman Turkish words are spelled according to the system of transliteration by Feridun Devellioğlu (*Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lûgat*) and are italicised throughout the text. Place names are written in their modern Turkish version if this is in use and not italicised.

Where Ottoman Turkish words or paragraphs have been cited from already edited and transcribed material, the transcription method of the original editor has in most cases been preserved (as for example the case with the citations of Ottoman poetry).

The archival documents added in the appendix have been transcribed using the transcription system employed by the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF THE WORK

> Âlemi tutsa n'ola şöhreti Saʿdâbâd'ın
> Bî-bedeldir şeref ü behceti Saʿdâbâd'ın
>
> Hıtta-i Rûm'a gelüb revnak-ı tâze şimdi
> Düşdü Hind ü Aceme hasreti Saʿdâbad'ın
>
> Fevk u tahtinde anın mâh ile mihri hayrân
> Şerh olunmaz hele mâhiyyeti Saʿdâbâd'ın
>
> Sûret-i hüsn ü bahâ tarh-ı bedîü'l-eseri
> Ma'nî-i şevk ü safâ sûret-i Saʿdâbâd'ın
>
> (…)[1]

> Il est vrai que cet ouvrage [de Saʿdâbâd] est peu de chose, si on le considere avec attention; l'architecture, l'ordre & l'arrangement semblent en être bannis, mais c'est un Chef-d'oeuvre pour cette Nation que la nouveauté éblouit (…)[2]
> On auroit pû y faire quelque chose de superbe, mais n'ayant point d'Architecte habile, ce n'est qu'une confusion de materiaux mal ordonnés, où on ne voit ni ordre, ni proportion, ni bon goût (…) les Turcs ne poussent pas si loin les idées de l'architecture.[3]

Two architectural descriptions by two contemporaries – an eighteenth-century French traveller and an Ottoman poet of the same period – which have as object one single architectural monument: Saʿdâbâd, the sultanic summer palace of Ahmed III at Istanbul's suburban Kâğıthane valley. Yet were names not indicated in these passages, one would hardly guess that these two judgements concern the same building – too different are they from each other; greatest praise meets paternalistic belittlement.

The two quotations indicate the multifaceted discourse, which surrounded and still surrounds Saʿdâbâd – a discourse that set in immediately with the construction of the building in the summer of 1722 during the so-called Tulip Period and continues in the form of both academic research and popular literature until today.

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[1] Nahifi in Hasan Akay (ed.), *Fatih'ten Günümüze Şairlerin Gözüyle İstanbul*, vol. II (Istanbul: İşaret, 1997), 624.
[2] Lamber De Saumery, *Mémoires et aventures secrètes et curieuses d'un voyage du Levant* (Liège: Everard Kints, 1732), 135.
[3] De Saumery, 139.

Saʿdâbâd – that can be a symbol for an elite life of worldly pleasures entailing financial wastefulness, it can signify the beginning of secularism and the advent of Westernization or be on the contrary a metaphor for Ottoman adherence to an overarching Islamic cultural world.

By declaring Saʿdâbâd the object of my study, I intend to make it emerge from the status of being a mere illustration for such seemingly haphazard and even opposing general statements. I want to do so by regarding Saʿdâbâd a *socially produced space*. I am following here in part the theoretical work of Henri Lefebvre,[4] who regards space not as an unchanging given absolute, an empty container filled with objects but instead as a social product, which cannot be confined to its physical aspect alone.[5] By extending Marxist reasoning to space, Lefebvre arrives at conceptualizing space as the product of social relations, which are in turn determined by a society's specific mode of production. Consequentially it follows that every society produces its own distinct space as a material manifestation of its social relations. Space in this sense is a reflection of a specific set of social relations at a given moment in time.[6] But in Lefebvre's understanding space is much more than only a physical product of social relations: it is at the same time a manifestation of these relations, a relation in itself. Thus, space is not passive and dead, but instead alive and actively involved in the production and reproduction of a society; it is at once a medium of social relations and a material product that can affect social relations.[7] To regard space just as a physical structure would therefore mean gravely reducing its complexity – and it is precisely evading such a reduction, which

[4] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991). For interpretations and commentaries on this highly complex work see for example M. Gottdiener, "A Marx for Our Time: Henri Lefebvre and The Production of Space," *Sociological Theory* 11 (1993): 129-134 and Andrew Merrifield, *Henri Lefebvre: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Routledge, 2006), which includes further references.

[5] Lefebvre, 25-26, 285.

[6] Lefebvre, 31.

[7] Gottdiener, 132.

constitutes Lefebvre's main motivation in developing his theory, which he envisions as a unitary theory that ties together the *physical*, the *mental* and the *social* aspects of space.[8] Apart from considerably widening the understanding of space beyond mere physical materiality, regarding space as a social product in the Lefebvrian sense moreover entails shifting the focus of investigation on the *process* of production itself. Since space is constantly being (re)produced, it is not a static entity, but instead subject to continuous change; and by the same mechanism, space in turn can induce change in the field of social relations by opening potential avenues of resistance against dominant spatial and social regimes.[9]

It is precisely for these two aspects, that I find Lefebvre's approach particularly useful for the purposes of the historical investigation concerned here: it shifts the focus of analysis firstly on the (historical) genesis of a particular space as well as secondly on the complex interpenetration between different spatial levels, which go beyond the materiality of the built environment.[10] Considering Saʿdâbâd as a socially produced space in this sense therefore allows tracing how the palace and its surroundings have been socially constructed over time through *physical construction* and reconstruction, through *discourse* and through *use*. What I will investigate in this thesis is hence: firstly, the *physical* space of Saʿdâbâd as it could be empirically perceived, secondly, the *mental* space of Saʿdâbâd or what it meant

[8] Lefebvre, 11-12.
[9] Lefebvre, 31, 36-37, 110.
[10] I have decided not to employ here Lefebvre's famous triad of *spatial practice* (perceived space), *representations of space* or (conceived space) and *representational space* or (lived space). Contrary to a common interpretation of Lefebvre's theory, which holds perceived space to coincide with physical space, conceived with mental space and lived with social space, according to my reading of Lefebvre, the two triads of physical-mental-social on the one and of perceived-conceived-lived on the other hand are two different, although certainly related, triads. (Lefebvre, 38-41) I have decided to use the triad of physical-mental-social (or of materiality-discourse-use) in this analysis, as the source material concerning Saʿdâbâd would hardly allow an analysis in terms of spatial practice, representations of space and representational space in the way Lefebvre thought of them. At this point of research, only a first investigation into the multi-levelled space of Saʿdâbâd beyond the mere physical seems feasible.

(and still means) to different actors and observers, and thirdly, the *social* space of Saʿdâbâd or how, by whom and for which purposes it was used.

As far as the time frame of this study is concerned, I will consider the history of Saʿdâbâd throughout the eighteenth century from the construction in 1722 until its first complete reconstruction in 1809 under Mahmud II. During the Patrona Halil Rebellion in 1730 the sultanic palace saw relatively little damage – instead, it was the more than 120 pavilions by dignitaries situated on the hillsides of Kâğıthane valley, which were completely destroyed. The palace building itself apparently remained more or less intact so that it could be renovated in 1740 under Mahmud I in its old form with little changes. Neither the rebellion in 1730 nor the renovation in 1740 did in terms of the architecture thus constitute major ruptures. It was only in 1809 that Saʿdâbâd as it had been built in 1722 was completely torn down and a new palace constructed in its place. This suggests taking the years 1722 and 1809 as the temporal boundaries constituting the time frame of this investigation, since this period was apparently marked by a relative continuity in the physical space – and having subscribed to an understanding of the built environment being the physical manifestation of social relations, an equal unity in the realms of the social and mental might be assumed; a unity, which can of course only be relative and was certainly as much marked by internal contradictions and continuous change. Alongside with an investigation of the physical space of Saʿdâbâd as it existed between 1722 and 1809, this analysis shall thus also shed light on the specific society which "secreted"[11] this particular space, on the Ottoman, and in particular Istanbul's society of the eighteenth century, that is.

[11] This is a terminology used by Lefebvre to describe how a spatial practice produces physical space. Lefebvre, 38.

Saʿdâbâd can probably not be called an under researched topic in the field of Ottoman history – it is mentioned, described and analysed in numerous articles and books and is moreover the subject of the seminal monograph by the architect and architectural historian Sedad Hakkı Eldem, who meticulously reconstructed the palace in its different historical stages and provided a wealth of illustrative material in his study.[12] Why have I considered it in the view of this state of research nevertheless worthwhile to unroll Saʿdâbâd's history, to look for new archival material and re-read the sources already considered by Eldem? I believe this is a worthwhile undertaking, because the academic discourse on Saʿdâbâd has produced a number of narrative themes, which are reproduced over and over in most of the writings on the topic – through the spatial approach inspired by the theory of Lefebvre, I hope to challenge and possibly overcome some of these themes.

One such a theme is the 'imitation thesis', which inescapably comes up when considering Saʿdâbâd. Saʿdâbâd's garden layout, in particular its water works, which featured a straight canal of over one kilometre in length lined by trees and adorned with water cascades, have prompted Western observers since the construction of the building in 1722 to declare Saʿdâbâd a – more or less successful – imitation of European, in particular French baroque palace gardens. This was supposedly inspired by the enthusiastic account of French gardens by the Ottoman ambassador Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi, who had returned to the Ottoman capital from his diplomatic mission to France just half a year before the construction of Saʿdâbâd began. As chapter 4 will show, until recently, the inspiration of Saʿdâbâd's design by French models was almost universally accepted. In the line of the historiographic narrative supported by this assumption, Saʿdâbâd has become a symbol for the Ottoman Empire's opening towards the West in the early eighteenth century after a

[12] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Saʿdabad* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1977).

number of military defeats, which supposedly had made the Ottomans realize the need for reform along Western lines – and Saʿdâbâd is held to have been the first manifestation of this change of attitude in the cultural field. This narrative line can go so far as to see in the construction of Saʿdâbâd a first attempt at Westernization and the evidence of a new secular worldview. Focussing on the aspect of mental space, that is, on the way Saʿdâbâd was and is conceived of, talked about and represented in chapters 4 and 5, will challenge this thesis by directing the focus on the *meaning* the palace building and its garden carried for the various actors involved.

By comparing the European travellers' discourse on Saʿdâbâd with that of Ottoman contemporary poets and chroniclers in chapter 5, I furthermore want to explore how a single physical spatial layout can be transformed by way of discourse into very different 'mental spaces', which – as the citations at the beginning of this chapter clearly show – can be so radically different as to even oppose each other. The same material forms can thus carry multiple meanings for the different actors involved – a fact which in the case of Saʿdâbâd also throws light on the specific development the modern historiographic discourse on the palace has taken. This discourse has privileged European travel accounts as source material and often uncritically taken over the sources' implicit ideological and moral standpoints, thus leading to the unqualified acceptance of the 'imitation thesis.' In the first part of chapter 5 I will therefore attempt to critically evaluate the European source material – mainly travelogues and the accompanying illustrations – and analyse the way Saʿdâbâd was conceived of by the European travellers, in order to then compare this to the mental space Saʿdâbâd constituted for the Ottoman contemporaries in the chapter's second part.

Whether Saʿdâbâd was in the end an imitation of French palaces remains an open question; and whether definite evidence for or against will ever appear is also uncertain, if not unlikely. Yet as I will show in chapter 4, there is considerable evidence, which – although not with absolute certainty – suggests that European architectural sources *were* in fact a major source of inspiration. But as has been pointed out: architectural forms can carry differing meanings; different actors construct their distinctive mental spaces. The concrete formal language of Saʿdâbâd, even if factually inspired by European models, therefore lent itself at the same time to making allusions to famed architectural models of the Persian and Mughal realms, especially so in the context of the political tensions, which persisted between the Ottoman and Safavid Empires during the first half of the eighteenth century and which did not leave culture untouched.

By asserting the factual inspiration by European models I am arguing somewhat against the most recent works on the topic.[13] In reaction to the ideologically highly problematic historiography, which has made Saʿdâbâd into a prime symbol for an Ottoman Empire which turned for inspiration towards the West after realizing its own inferiority, these works argue for the primacy of Eastern, in particular Safavid models as inspiration for Saʿdâbâd. It seems that this revisionist historiography shies away from acknowledging the Western influence in order not to fall into the old narrative structures that couple a supposed Ottoman decline with a linear path towards Westernization. However, the one does not need to entail the other – in fact, it is the concept of influence that is at the heart of the matter here. When conceptualizing influence or cultural transfer not as a relationship between an active donor and a passive – read inferior – recipient, but when one instead

[13] For example Can Erimtan, "The Perception of Saadabad: The 'Tulip Age' and Ottoman-Safavid Rivalry," in: *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Dana Sajdi (London, New York: Tauris, 2007), 41-62 and Shirine Hamadeh, "Question of Westernization," 32-51.

acknowledges that the recipient in fact plays a crucial role in the transfer by choosing what to receive, by appropriating, modifying or even rejecting what is being offered, one can escape the trap of assigning a passive and inferior role to the Ottomans simply be recognizing the significance of Western models for the physical outline of Saʿdâbâd. And it is perhaps only the appropriation of such a non-hierarchical understanding of cultural influence, that the ""inevitable" question of Westernization"[14] with regard to Ottoman art and architecture might be overcome.

Since the historiography of Saʿdâbâd is intricately connected with that of the Tulip Age (1718-1730), the conceptual problems linked to the latter apply almost in the same way to the former. In chapter 2 I will therefore trace the development of both discourses in order to point out flaws as well as conceptual and ideological predicaments. As a legacy of Ahmed Refik's account of the Tulip Age, Saʿdâbâd has in many historiographic accounts become a symbol for moral debauchery and a wasteful elite life. I want to question and circumvent the moralistic judgements implicit in these accounts and will thus in chapter 6 attempt to situate the practices at Saʿdâbâd in their social and political context, focussing on the functional requirements that the power constellation of an early modern court society entailed. Drawing on research about the functioning of European court societies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the picture that emerges is that the practices observable at Saʿdâbâd rather indicate new practices of sultanic legitimation vis-à-vis both an urban public and a widened scope of power holders than a purposeless squandering of resources. As I want to demonstrate, both Saʿdâbâd's architectural style and layout as well as the use made of it by the Ottoman ruler indicate that it was *visibility*, which – in marked difference to earlier centuries – lay at the heart of the

[14] This is an expression coined by Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63 (2004): 32-51.

sultan's strategy of legitimation in the eighteenth century. The sovereign now emerged from his previous seclusion and carefully concerted his appearance in front of both public and grandees – and Saʿdâbâd, so I hold, was a primary location for this staging of sultanic magnificence. A performance does however not function without an audience, and despite all sultanic supremacy, the urban commoners equally constituted a decisive element of Saʿdâbâd's social space. It is my contention that Saʿdâbâd and its surroundings constituted a public space, of a type that newly emerged in the Ottoman capital during the eighteenth century, and that it was precisely this quality, which made it such a suitable 'stage' for the sultan.

As the primary sources used for this study are concerned, archival documents have been consulted at the Prime Minister's Archives in Istanbul, concerning mainly construction and renovation activities at Saʿdâbâd and in the surroundings and the sultanic festivities and diplomatic receptions of which Saʿdâbâd was the location. A second main group of primary sources are European travelogues of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which – apart from evidently being the main source for the analysis of the European discourse on Saʿdâbâd – contain information on the architecture of the palace and its gardens as well as on the aspect of social practice and use. However, since the wave of European travellers to the Orient reached its climax only in the nineteenth century, travelogues for the first half of the eighteenth century describing Saʿdâbâd are not very numerous. They only become more frequent in the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. I have therefore made use of traveller accounts beyond the border of 1809 until the mid-nineteenth century, this mainly for the analysis of the European discourse on Saʿdâbâd. Thirdly, the relevant Ottoman chronicles have been used for the reconstruction of Saʿdâbâd's materiality and the uses made of it as well as for

analysing the Ottoman perception of and discourse about the palace. For the latter, Ottoman *dîvân* poetry has moreover constituted a significant source. The poetry has also been employed for reconstructing the use made of the space of Kâğıthane by the urban population of Istanbul.

Physical, mental and social space – these shall thus be the analytical categories that will structure my account of Saʿdâbâd. But before considering the space of Saʿdâbâd as it could be empirically perceived in its materialized reality, I will in a first step take a more detailed look at Saʿdâbâd's position in the framework of the historiography of the Tulip Age – the two being discursively so intricately connected, that if one attempts to reconsider the one, one cannot leave unchallenged the other.

CHAPTER 2

THE LEGACY OF THE TULIP AGE: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC REVIEW

Saʿdâbâd and the Tulip Age – these two notions have become so intricately connected over the course of modern historiography that mentioning one almost inevitably invokes the other. Through the historiographic discourse Saʿdâbâd has come to stand symbolically for what the so-called Tulip Age, referring to the reign of sultan Ahmed III (1703-1730) and more specifically to the term of office of his grand vizier Damad İbrahim Pasha (1718-1730), is taken to represent: an age in which the Ottoman elite engaged in entertainment and festivities, squandering resources and neglecting political business, leading both to external military defeats and internal moral debauchery. While the elite was indulging in amusement at bountiful banquets in their tulip gardens, the commoners led a life in misery and finally rose up against the extravagant elite in the Patrona Halil Rebellion in 1730. At the same time, the Ottomans allegedly realized the superiority of the West during this period, especially due to military defeats, which entailed territorial losses in the empire's Western provinces as exemplified in the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718). The realization of their own weakness, so is believed, consequentially led the Ottomans to open themselves up towards the West, especially in the arts and sciences. The Tulip Age is thus taken to be the beginning of Westernization – commonly equated with modernization – of a previously closed in and static Islamic empire, proceeding from there in a linear manner to the Tanzimat reforms of the nineteenth century and beyond.[15]

[15] The picture of course varies in the abundant literature on the Tulip Age of both academic and popular nature, but nevertheless in general follows the broad lines as outlined above. See for example Ahmed Refik, *Lâle Devri* (Istanbul: Timaş, 1997); Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *İstanbul Nasıl Eğleniyordu?* (Istanbul: İletişim, 1985 [1927]); Münir Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı 1730* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1958); Ahmet Ö. Evin, "The Tulip Age and Definitions of 'Westernization'," in: *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, ed. by Osman Okyar and

A number of historical instances have been cited over and over to attest to the character of the Tulip Age as "the window opening to the West"[16]. Among them are the diplomatic mission to France of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Efendi in 1720/21, the setting up of the first Ottoman printing press printing works in Ottoman Turkish in Istanbul in 1727,[17] the employment of the French Comte de Bonneval to undertake military reforms in 1731 and last but not least Saʿdâbâd, taken to be an imitation of French baroque palace architecture, such as Versailles, Marly or Fontainebleau. According to this line of argumentation, Saʿdâbâd has come to be a synecdoche for the Tulip Age as a whole – both for the theme of extravagancy and debauchery since numerous feasts of the Sultan Ahmed III and his viziers indeed took place at Saʿdâbâd, and for the Westernization theme, with Saʿdâbâd being commonly considered an imitation of French baroque palaces.

The architectural monument of Saʿdâbâd has thus been narratively constructed through historiographic discourse; it has been attributed meaning as part of a broader historical narrative, which draws a linear trajectory of Westernization and modernization from the Tulip Age in the eighteenth to the Tanzimat reforms in the nineteenth century, ultimately ushering in the foundation of the secular Turkish

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Halil İnalcık (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980), 131-145; Mustafa Armağan (ed.), *İstanbul Armağanı 4: Lâle Devri* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2000); Ahmet Evin, "Batılılaşma ve Lale Devri," in: *Ibid.*, 41-60. For two recent critical reviews of the Tulip Age see Can Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey* (London, New York: Tauris, 2008) and Selim Karahasanoğlu, "Osmanlı tarihyazımında "Lale Devri": Eleştirel bir değerlendirme," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 7 (2008): 129-144.

[16] Thus the title of a recent Turkish publication on the period: Fuat and Süphan Andıç, *Batıya Açılan Pencere: Lale Devri* (Istanbul: Eren, 2006).

[17] There had been printing presses before that date in Istanbul. These were however printing works in languages other than Ottoman Turkish using alphabets other than the Arabic one. In the late fifteenth century a press printing in the Hebrew alphabet had been founded in Istanbul by Jews who had fled from Spain and sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire. In 1627 another press serving the Orthodox Greek population had been set up in Istanbul. As far as printing with Arabic letters in the Ottoman Empire is concerned, the Istanbul press of 1727 was predated a few years by an Arabic-language press founded by Maronite monks in Lebanon. Franz Babinger, *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası: 18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da Kitabiyat*, trans. by Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2004).

Republic.[18] In order to understand how Saʿdâbâd has been constructed through the historiographic narrative and how it has attained such a symbolic character, it is therefore necessary to shortly consider the historiography of the Tulip Age, with which it is so intricately connected.[19]

The Invention of a Historical Period: Ahmed Refik's Tulip Age

"Tulip Age" (or *Lâle Devri* in Turkish) as a term of historical periodization is of relatively young origin, which was 'invented' by the Turkish poet Yahya Kemal in the first decade of the twentieth century and made popular through the works of the historian Ahmed Refik from the 1910s onwards. Before, the period was by Ottoman historians simply called "Üçüncü Sultan Ahmed Devri", according to the terminology commonly applied in Ottoman historiography.[20] The picture Yahya Kemal, who was staying in Paris at the time when he formulated the term, draws in his poetry of the Tulip Age is that of a short era full of pleasure and joy, oriented aesthetically towards Iran, which was doomed to end abruptly in the Patrona Halil uprising. In fact, this picture was probably more descriptive of the Paris of the first decade of the twentieth century than of the Istanbul of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, conjuring up a melancholic atmosphere of an impending end inspired by French *fin de siècle* poets like Mallarmé and Verlaine.[21] New meaning was given to the term by the Ottoman historian Ahmed Refik, to whom Kemal

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[18] Münir Aktepe holds for example that the Patrona Halil Rebellion meant the destruction of the first seeds of the Turkish rebellion (*Türk inkılab*): Aktepe, *Patrona İsyanı*. Similarly, Ahmet Evin sees the Tulip Age as the origin of Turkish laicism: Evin, "Batılılaşma ve Lale Devri," 44, 55, 60.

[19] For a detailed analysis of the historiography of the Tulip Age see Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?* and idem, "The Sources of Ahmed Refik's Lâle Devri and the Paradigm of the "Tulip Age": A Teleological Agenda," in: *Essays in the honour of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu*, ed. by Mustafa Kaçar and Zeynep Durukal, Vol. I: Societies, Cultures, Sciences: A Collection of Articles, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2006), 259-278.

[20] Mustafa Armağan, introduction to *İstanbul Armağanı 4: Lâle Devri*, ed. by Mustafa Armağan (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kültür İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2000), 9.

[21] Erimtan, "Perception of Saadabad," 16-20.

proposed the term during a conversation they had in Paris in 1910, and which the former first employed as a term of historical periodization in an article in 1912. While no connection had been made between Westernization attempts and Ahmed III's reign until then,[22] Ahmed Refik presents the Tulip Age for the first time as an initial effort at Westernization in the field of the arts and sciences by the Ottomans as a reaction to the military defeats of the seventeenth century. Sultan Ahmed III's grand vizier Damad İbrahim Pasha is assigned the role of the enlightened ruler, who stood behind these efforts:

> Artık Türkiye için harp ve cidal siyasetini bırakmak, insanlık için faydalı, geleceği temine hizmet edecek bir siyaset takip etmek; Avrupa'ya ilim ve sanat silahıyla mukabele etmek gerekliydi. Bu siyasetin teşvikçisi, Üçüncü Ahmed'in veziri, Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa olmuştu.[23]

Although not the main focus of Ahmed Refik's work, this was an assertion, which was to have a lasting imprint on Ottoman historiography. Ahmed Refik Altınay (1881-1937) is thus a key figure for the discourse on the Tulip Age, whose writings are still influential today.[24] He is considered to be one of the first modern historians of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, who undertook historical research based upon the study of archival documents. Although he was part of the Ottoman and Turkish academia, holding a professorship at the Ottoman university Dârü'l-fünûn and later the University of Istanbul until the university reform of 1933, Ahmed Refik published most of his historical works in daily newspapers and popular journals, a fact that accounts for the popular style of his writings. The captivatingly entitled work *Lâle Devri*, too, was of a semi-popular type, being first published as a serial in the newspaper *İkdâm* between 9 March and 4 April 1913. It did not appear in book form before the 1930s.

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[22] *Ibid.*, 20-27.

[23] Ahmed Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 17.

[24] On Ahmed Refik's life and work see most comprehensively Muzaffer Gökman, *Ahmet Refik Altınay: Tarihi Sevdiren Adam*, (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1978); Fatih M. Dervişoğlu, "Atatürk Devri Tarihçiliğine Bir Bakış ve Dönemin Günah Keçisi "Müverrih"; Ahmet Refik Altınay (1882-1937)," *Türkiye Günlüğü* 76 (2004), 95-104.

Ahmed Refik's narrative of the Tulip Period in this work is that of a period of respite and revival after the devastating military campaigns in the seventeenth century. This was possible thanks to the government of the skilled politician İbrahim Pasha, who in some ways acts as the 'hero' figure of the story set. While a turn towards European arts and sciences initiated by the grand vizier as a means of revitalization is mentioned, this was clearly not the main focus of the work and the term "Westernization" is in fact never mentioned. Instead, the story Ahmed Refik tells is centred on the figure of İbrahim Pasha, who is portrayed as having been busy with the arrangement of new diplomatic alliances and the encouragement of the Ottoman economy, but whose reformative energy was kept in check by Sultan Ahmed III, a man not interested in politics and concerned only with a pleasurable lifestyle. İbrahim Pasha had to satisfy the wishes of his master to maintain his position and therefore commissioned the construction of summer palaces and pavilions all over Istanbul where splendid festivities were henceforth held for the pleasure-loving court members. In the centre of Ahmed Refik's discourse stands the theme of *zevk u safâ*, of the life of pleasure and delight led by the elites, squandering money while the population lived in poverty. Saʿdâbâd is depicted as the concrete space where the courtly festivities took place and thus comes to be the symbol for the entire Tulip Period.[25]

As this focus on *zevk u safâ* is concerned, it seems that Ahmed Refik was directly inspired by the eighteenth-century Ottoman chronicler Şemdanizade Süleyman Fındıklılı Efendi, who had depicted the period of İbrahim Pasha with great resentment as a time of debauchery and moral corruption due to the elite's indulging

[25] Out of nine chapters in *Lâle Devri*, one entire chapter – the longest chapter of the book – is devoted to Saʿdâbâd ("Sâdâbâd ve Lale Safaları," in Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 35-62).

in worldly pleasures.[26] Yet Ahmed Refik applied one crucial change to Şemdanizade's account: while eighteenth-century Ottoman chronicler had written with great disapproval, if not hate, of İbrahim Pasha whom he made responsible for the moral corruptions he so detested, Ahmed Refik's narrative had Sultan Ahmed III and the court elite indulging in immoral pleasures and assigned the role of the enlightened ruler and skilled diplomat to the grand vizier.

When looking at the particular historical circumstances in which *Lâle Devri* first appeared in the 1910s, it becomes clear that the way Ahmed Refik chose to present the subject matter was in fact highly ideologically charged. As a historian Ahmed Refik regarded it as his professional duty to popularize history amongst the common people in order to provide them with a historical consciousness and a cultural and national identity, which is – apart from economic necessity – the reason for publishing most of his works in the popular press. This attitude clearly reflects the context of the nation-building attempts in the early twentieth century of both the late Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish Republic – and the Tulip Age was presented in such a way by Ahmed Refik as to constitute one potential element of the new Ottoman and later Turkish national identity. The account of İbrahim Pasha's diplomatic activities on the European scene provided a convenient historical precedent for the current Ottoman attempt in the 1910s to be seen as equal partner within the European state system.[27] Moreover, with regard to Ottoman internal dynamics, where a fierce debate between advocates of Westernization and others promoting rather Islamic tendencies was fought, Ahmed Refik clearly positioned himself on the side of the 'Westernizers' with his writings on the Tulip Age, as it

[26] [Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi], *Şem'dânî-zâde Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi Târihi Mür'i't-Tevârih*, ed. by Münir Aktepe, 2 vols (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1976).
[27] Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 19-27; Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?*, 26-27.

was in *Lâle Devri* where he decried the fanaticism (*taassub*) of religious leaders.[28] According to *Lâle Devri,* the Ottoman religious elite of the eighteenth century made use of the growing unrest among Istanbul's population in order to satisfy their own personal aspirations or individual intrigues. Thus the Patrona Halil Rebellion in 1730 is depicted by Ahmed Refik as based upon the anger of the common population, who was living in ignorance and poverty while the elite entertained itself at newly built summer palaces, with the inspiration for the uprising coming from the fanatic religious scholars who were only interested in their own personal benefits.[29] Many of these themes are continued to be recycled until today, such as the antipathy against the religious establishment or the moral debauchery of the elites.

I have already mentioned that Saʿdâbâd was constructed as a symbol for the entire Tulip Age due to the activities performed there, mostly the courtly festivities and ambassadorial receptions. As far as architectural style is concerned, Ahmed Refik depicts the building style of the Tulip Age as characterized by a mixture of influences, both from East and West.[30] Concerning Saʿdâbâd, he interestingly holds on the one hand that Saʿdâbâd's architectural style was both inspired by Versailles and by Isfahan[31] while on the other hand declaring Saʿdâbâd to have been an imitation (*nazîre*) of Versailles.[32] In fact, Refik followed in this contradictory assertion *verbatim* the work of the nineteenth-century French historian Albert Vandal on the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire during the years 1728-1741, Marquis de Villeneuve.[33] It was the latter of Refik's two assertions, the one that held

[28] Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 93-94; Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?*, 27-28.
[29] Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 93-114.
[30] *Ibid.*, 41.
[31] *Ibid.*, 41.
[32] *Ibid.*, 40.
[33] Vandal writes in his account: "Des architectes venus de tous les pays, les uns appelés d'Occident, les autres attires de l'Asie, associent dans ces edifices les styles les plus divers et prennent leurs modèles tantôt à Versailles, tantôt à Ispahan." (Albert Vandal, *Une ambassade francaise en orient sous Louis XV. La mission du Marquis de Villeneuve 1728-1741* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, 1887), 85)

Saʿdâbâd to be an imitation of French palaces, which was subsequently taken up and has since become the standard account of Saʿdâbâd.

The Tulip Age After Ahmed Refik: From Westernization Towards New Approaches

Ahmed Refik's concept of the Tulip Age became quickly accepted as a term of periodization with historical explanatory power, yet it was mainly the strand of a period of hedonistic joy and pleasure rather than that of a first step towards Westernization, which was embraced by historians of the late Ottoman period.[34] In the historical discourse of the Turkish Republic during the 1930s and 1940s on the contrary it was the latter that came to the fore – in the context of the Republic's search for historical precedents of its laicist project, the Tulip Age could conveniently be established as a predecessor of Republican secularism and orientation towards Western Europe.[35] Thus the Tulip Age came to function as a code implying Westernization, modernization and progress, evident in the works of Bernard Lewis, Niyazi Berkes or Münir Aktepe.[36] In this narrative, which has only recently become the subject of academic revision, the Tulip Age is presented as a period of scientific and artistic "awakening",[37] which was brought to an abrupt end in 1730 by the Patrona Halil Rebellion. In deep antipathy against the rebels, the historiography by Refik and Aktepe depicts them as a group of under-class rowdies

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Refik's words are: "Avrupa'dan, Asya'dan İstanbul'a birçok mimar çağrılıyor, bütün binalar muhtelif mimari tarzlarda inşa ediliyordu. Böylece meydana getirilen binalarda kâh Versay, kâh Isfahan mimari tarzı uygulanıyordu." (Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 41.)

[34] Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?*, 83.

[35] An early example for this kind of history writing is E. Mamboury's "L'Art Turc du XVIIIeme Siècle," *La Turquie Kemaliste* 19 (1937): 2-11, who emphasizes the "Turkishness" of eighteenth-century art and suggests to label the period "Renaissance" in order to underline the innovative and novel character of its art.

[36] Erimtan, *Ottomans Looking West?*, 152-175; Aktepe, *Patrona Halil İsyanı*; Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University, 1961); Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Modern Turkey* (London: Hurst 1998).

[37] Refik, *Lâle Devri*, 70.

and primitive fanatics who destroyed these first seeds of modernization.[38] The Tulip Age is thus mourned as a lost opportunity for a potential revival of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century.[39]

Underlying this discourse is the assumption that the West is the only possible source of modernity, that in order to become modern and achieve progress, there is no alternative to emulating the West – which the Ottomans allegedly started during the Tulip Age, after realizing their own inferiority. Inherent in this conceptualization is also a simplistic understanding of influence as unidirectional transfer – the Ottoman Empire then becomes the passive receiver of novelties and innovations, to which it can only react either by enthusiastic embracement or decided rejection. The corresponding normative attributes are then almost self-evident: embracement leads to positive progress while rejection can only mean stubborn fanaticism.

Furthermore, the historiography of the Tulip Age has been characterized by a strong sexual and gendered discourse that can be traced back to the writings of Ottoman historians like Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi in the eighteenth and Ahmed Cevdet and Mustafa Nuri in the nineteenth century, which has been taken up and transmitted into modern historiography by Ahmed Refik. In this historiography a parallel narrative structure is established between Damad İbrahim Pasha's failure to govern the empire and his failure to 'govern' Istanbul's women, whose conduct is seen as decisive for the upholding of the city's morality. These historians hold that through the amusements of the Tulip Age, which were devised by İbrahim Pasha to divert the population from the empire's true devastating

[38] Aktepe for example writes in the conclusion of his analysis of the Patrona Halil Rebellion: "Bilhâssa İstanbul'da bulunan bir zümre, intikam hisleri beslediği şahısları devirmek için çıkan fırsattan derhâl istifade etmiş ve Osmanlı tarihinde bu ilk teceddüt hareketini temin edenleri ibtidâî bir şekilde, vahşice ortadan kaldırılmış, bu suretle Türk inkilâb hamlesini de, muvakkat bir zaman için dahi olsa durdurmuştu." Aktepe, *Patrona Halil İsyanı*, 182.

[39] Madeline C. Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era, 1718-1730," in: *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, ed. by Amira El Azhary Sonbol (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 291.

circumstances, the grand vizier's own degraded immorality infected the entire society, leading to a breakdown of public morality, which in turn concerned especially women and women's bodies.[40] In a strongly moralising discourse, it is in particular the increasing appearance of women in public, their coming into contact with men and the relaxation of their dress codes, which is denounced – and Saʿdâbâd is presented as one of the primary spaces in the Ottoman capital where this amoral conduct of women in public space took place.[41] Not only on a popular level women are in part made responsible for the decline of public morality; on the level of the empire's leading class, it is women, too, who are seen as bearing part of the responsibility for the degeneration of Ottoman politics. The increasing involvement of women in state affairs is held to be the reason for the degeneration of Ottoman politics, as women allegedly seduced the statesmen into a life of entertainment and slackness, eventually leading to their effeminacy.[42]

Since the 1990s, however, historiography of this kind has come under increasing critique by a revisionist school of historiography, which attempted to re-conceptualize the conventional images of the early eighteenth century.[43] What these historians – many of them female, a fact that can perhaps not only be attributed to chance – question is the simple dichotomy between East and West, which draws a picture of Ottoman society as passive and lacking dynamics, therefore in need of reform whose roots were to be found only in the superior West. Emphasis is now instead increasingly put on internal factors of change, casting doubt on the image that innovation could only be accomplished due to external – read Western – stimuli. Moreover, the need for comparative studies of the period is now widely being

[40] *Ibid.*, 292-293.
[41] Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, vol. I, 3-4.
[42] For the issue of women in the Tulip Age see Zilfi "Women and Society in the Tulip Era."
[43] To mention the most prominent among these, one should name Tülay Artan, Ariel Salzmann, Madeline C. Zilfi and Shirine Hamadeh.

recognized, stressing structural similarities between societies of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century all around the globe, which suggest thinking of a universal period of early modernity.[44]

Saʿdâbâd in the Discourse of the Tulip Age

Looking at the historiography of Saʿdâbâd in particular it becomes obvious that it runs remarkably parallel to that of the Tulip Age as a whole, Saʿdâbâd being – as has been remarked above – a synecdoche for the latter. Thus the two themes of moral decline and financial waste on the one and of Westernization on the other hand are clearly dominating.[45]

As it appears, this historiography has its roots both in Ottoman historical and European travel writings from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on Saʿdâbâd, which modern historians have used until recently in a remarkably uncritical manner, taking over normative judgements and implicit ideological standpoints from these primary sources. The theme of Saʿdâbâd as a place of moral decline, associated especially with the person of İbrahim Pasha, seems to have its roots in certain Ottoman chronicles like that of Şemdanizade and Abdi, further developed by nineteenth-century historians such as Ahmet Cevdet and Mustafa Nuri, and – as presented above – subsequently taken up in the writings of Ahmet Refik. On the other hand, the second theme of Saʿdâbâd as an imitation of European palace

[44] Particularly Shirine Hamadeh argues in favour of the concept of "early modernity" on a global scale: Hamadeh, "Question of Westernization."

[45] For example Münir Aktepe, "Kâğıdhane'ye Dâir Bâzı Bilgiler," in: *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976), 335-363. Almost the entire modern literature by architectural historians on Saʿdâbâd considers the palace in the framework of architectural influence from the West. See for example, Arel, Ayda, *Onsekizinci Yüzyıl İstanbul Mimarisinde Batılılaşma Süreci* (Istanbul: ITÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, 1975); Semavi Eyice, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Türk Sanatı ve Türk Mimarisinde Avrupa Neo-Klâsik Üslubu," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 9-10 (1979-1980): 163-189; Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the 18th Century," in: *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1673 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. by Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1983), 153-178; Doğan Kuban, *Vanished Urban Visions: Wooden Palaces of the Ottomans* (Istanbul: Yapı Endüstri Merkezi, 2001).

architecture clearly has its roots in the writings of European, especially French, travellers to the Ottoman Empire, who established this connection in their travelogues almost immediately after the completion of the construction works in 1722.[46] Perpetuated in the numerous travelogues of Europeans visiting the so-called "Sweet Waters of Europe" during the following two centuries, this assertion, too, has been taken over into modern historiography on Saʿdâbâd without much questioning – as Refik's literal appropriation from Vandal shows quite clearly. Since Ottoman descriptive sources of the palace are rare, these European travelogues are without doubt important sources, yet as any other historical source they need to be evaluated critically, which I will attempt in chapter 5 of this thesis.

As Republican historiography is concerned, the assertion of Saʿdâbâd being an application of Western architecture on Ottoman lands obviously fit very well into the framework of a Republic that saw itself as oriented towards Europe, representing the modern, secular Western world. Saʿdâbâd thus presented itself as a convenient element in the Republican narrative, highlighting the West as a source of modernity and progress and serving as a historical precedent for the Republic's Westernization efforts. Alongside the tendency to challenge these kind of modernistic, Eurocentric historical narratives in the last two decades, coupled in the field of Ottoman history with a critique of the so-called 'decline paradigm'[47], Saʿdâbâd, too, has become the object of historical re-evaluation.

[46] The earliest mentioning of the imitation theme I have found is by the Venetian *bailo* Emo, in a letter from Istanbul to Venice dated 2 September 1722, which is only paraphrased but unfortunately not quoted in full in Mary Lucille Shay, *The Ottoman Empire from 1720 to 1734: As Revealed in Despatches of the Venetian Baili* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), 20-21.

[47] For a comprehensive overview over the literature of the 'decline paradigm' including the challenges to it see Dana Sajdi, "Decline, its Discontents and Ottoman Cultural History: By Way of Introduction," in: *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth century*, ed. by Dana Sajdi (London, New York: Tauris, 2007), 1-40.

Yet, despite the high symbolical value attributed to Saʿdâbâd as the supposed architectural manifestation of the Tulip Age, it has rarely emerged from being a synecdoche, from serving as a mere illustration for the supposed nature of the period in question. A notable exception constitutes the monograph on Saʿdâbâd by the architectural historian Sedad Hakkı Eldem, which meticulously reconstructs the history of the palace buildings and gardens from its first construction in 1722 until its final destruction in 1941, using a variety of both Ottoman and European sources.[48] While this publication contains a wealth of information indispensable for any work on the subject, it remains a treatment from the point of view of architectural history, which is mainly interested in tracing material change of architectural forms and structures over time – the social, political, economic and cultural context of the palace is hardly considered. Moreover, Eldem clearly writes from the ideological stance of Turkish nationalism, which consequentially leads him to vigorously reject the assertion of Saʿdâbâd being an imitation of Western architectural models. Instead, he holds it to be completely in line with 'authentic' Turkish architectural and decorative principles – what these are supposed to consist of remains quite unclear – and is thus obviously engaged in an attempt to reclaim Saʿdâbâd for the architectural canon of the Turkish Republic.[49] This stance, however, has not been able to challenge the Westernization thesis as outlined above and interestingly enough it has not even incited a serious academic discussion on the subject.

New Trends: The Re-Evaluation of the Eighteenth Century

In conjunction with a general reconsideration of the Ottoman eighteenth century, which is now regarded as a time of changing patterns of dynastic power and

[48] Eldem, *Saʿdabad*.
[49] *Ibid.*, 6.

legitimacy accompanying social and cultural transformations, Saʿdâbâd has recently been dealt with in a number of smaller studies, while an extensive self-contained study on the palace is still missing.[50] Yet in particular the works of Shirine Hamadeh and Deniz Çalış point in the direction of a possible re-evaluation, as they attempt to set the construction and the architecture of the palace as well as the activities connected to it in the social and political context of a changing urban society. They emphasize especially the emergence of a broader form of public life in the Ottoman capital of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, beginning to incorporate the now emerging urban 'middle classes'. The palace of Saʿdâbâd with its surrounding public gardens (*mesîre*) is taken as a prime example for the new public life of both the elites and the commoners, who flocked in great numbers to the public gardens around the palace ground.[51] Concerning the question of architectural imitation, Shirine Hamadeh as well as Can Erimtan have challenged the older view of one-sided Western influence by pointing out the influence of Persian architectural models on the design of Saʿdâbâd and its gardens.[52] These authors arrive at the acknowledgement that the Ottoman society of the early eighteenth century was

[50] Tülay Artan, "From Charismatic Leadership to Collective Rule: Introducing Materials on the Wealth and Power of Ottoman Princesses in the Eighteenth Century," *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi* 4 (1993): 53-92; eadem, "Architecture As A Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus" (PhD dissertation, M.I.T., 1989); Ariel Salzmann, "The Age of Tulips: Confluence and Conflict in Early Modern Consumer Culture (1550-1730)," in: *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922, An Introduction*, ed. by Donald Quataert (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2000), 83-106; eadem, "Measures of Empire: Tax Farmers and the Ottoman Ancien Régime, 1695-1807" (PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1995); Madeline C. Zilfi, "Women and Society in the Tulip Era"; eadem, "A Medrese for the Palace: Ottoman Dynastic Legitimation in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113 (1993): 184-191.

[51] Deniz B. Çalış, "Gardens at the Kağıthane Commons during the Tulip Period," in: *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity: Questions, Methods and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, ed. by Michel Conan (Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2007), 239-266; Shirine Hamadeh, "Public spaces and the garden culture of Istanbul in the eighteenth century," in: *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. by Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 277-312; eadem, "Question of Westernization."

[52] Hamadeh, "Question of Westernization"; Erimtan, "Perception of Saadabad." Additionally, Mustafa Cezar argues that the changes in eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture were motivated by aesthetic concerns inside the Ottoman tradition and cannot only be attributed to outside influence. Mustafa Cezar, *Sanatta Batı'ya Açılış ve Osman Hamdi* (Istanbul: Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğitim, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı Yayınları, 1995).

characterized by a general openness, both towards the 'East' and the 'West'.[53] Before taking up this question of influence in greater detail in chapter 4, it is necessary to look more concretely at the object of study, that is, at the physical space, which Saʿdâbâd constituted in its material reality.

[53] Apart from Hamadeh see for example Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "The Synthesis of East and West in the Ottoman Architecture of the Tulip Period," *Oriental Art* 48 (2002): 2-13.

CHAPTER 3

PHYSICAL SPACE: SPATIAL SETTING AND ARCHITECTURE

In this chapter I will deal with the materialized, socially-produced space that empirically existed at Kâğıthane in the eighteenth century and thus with the spatial outline of the imperial palace, its garden and the surrounding valley. In the discussion of this physical space I will argue that the architectural style of the palace was characterized by an openness and transparency, which differed from previous Ottoman palace designs, but would become typical of eighteenth-century architecture. Contrary to the claim that Saʿdâbâd's garden layout represented an absolute novelty in Ottoman garden design, I furthermore want to demonstrate that the layout actually stood in a line of historical continuity and had concrete precedents. Thus the geometrical outline and axial arrangement of marked parts of the garden – most prominently the Cedvel-i Sîm and the rectangular water basins – was not completely foreign or an unprecedented innovation to the Ottomans and in fact coincided well with indigenous traditions and well-known Turko-Persian garden models. My contention is that the novelty of Saʿdâbâd lay instead in the marked concern for display, which can be discerned both in the architectural style emphasizing visibility and in the layout of the space surrounding the palace: with the urban public and grandees assembled on the hillsides of the valley this constituted an amphitheatre in the very literal sense of the term.

The Setting: Kâğıthane

The sultanic palace of Saʿdâbâd was situated in the Kâğıthane valley at the very end of Istanbul's Golden Horn.[54] The valley, which is surrounded by relatively steep hills, is being transversed by the Kâğıthane River (*Kâğıthane Deresi* or *Kâğıthane Suyu* in Turkish), a little stream, which originates close to Lake Terkos by the Black Sea in the North-West of Istanbul and, after uniting with streams coming from Kemerburgaz and the Belgrade Forest, flows along the Kâğıthane valley into the waters of the Golden Horn. The current of this flowing water was used to run several mills as well as a paper and a gunpowder factory (*kâğıthâne* and *bârûthâne*) at least since the early sixteenth century, of which the former gave its name to the entire valley and to the village situated along the stream (Kâğıthane Köyü). While the paper factory was probably situated inside the village of Kâğıthane, the gunpowder factory was apparently situated further upstream. The paper factory ceased to produce by the seventeenth century, yet the gunpowder factory was at that time the most important of Istanbul's five gun factories and hence of considerable size: 200 workers of the ammunition corps (*cebehâne ocâğı*) were employed there alongside with two higher-ranking commanders (*barûtçu başı* and a *kethüdâ*).[55] The valley thus had undeniably an industrial character, to which Evliya Çelebi's remark about the unbearable noise of the *barûthâne* testifies, which according to him was so loud that it "shook one's brain."[56]

Nevertheless, Kâğıthane constituted since Byzantine and throughout Ottoman times a popular excursion spot both for the urban population and the imperial elites –

[54] There are a number of articles on or including the history of Kâğıthane, its architecture and gardens: Süheyl Ünver, "Her Devirde Kâğıthane," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 10 (1973): 435-460; Aktepe, "Kâğıthane"; Semavi Eyice, "Kağıthane-Sâdâbâd-Çağlayan," *Taç* 1, no. 1 (1986): 29-36; Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Bağçeler," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Yıllık* 4 (1990): 7-20; Kağıthane Belediye Başkanlığı, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kağıthane* (Istanbul: Kağıthane Belediyesi) 2007.

[55] Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle: essai d'histoire institutionelle, économique et sociale* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1962), 399-400; Aktepe "Kâğıthane", 339.

[56] "insanın beynini sarsıyordu", Aktepe, "Kâğıthane", 339.

a fact that can be attributed to its natural beauty, including fresh water for swimming and fishing and meadows for picnicking, coupled with its proximity to and easy access from the city. Moreover, the sultanic horses were brought to graze on the valley's meadows during the summer months under the supervision of the *mîr-i âhûr*, the master of the imperial stables, for whom a pavilion was erected at the entrance of the valley close to the Golden Horn, the so-called Mirahor Köşkü. It was here where the sultan upon visits to Saʿdâbâd would descend from the boat, which had brought him here from Topkapı Palace, and where he would be received by the grand vizier and other state dignitaries, who had arrived previously.

The meadows of Kâğıthane were according to Evliya Çelebi the location for the annual guild festivities of the goldsmiths, in which high-ranking elite members and even the sultan participated, as well as a space for sultanic festivities: İbrahim Peçevi mentions that part of the circumcision ceremonies for the sons of Sultan Süleyman in 1530 took place at Kâğıthane. For the sultans, Kâğıthane was moreover a popular spot for hunting, a sultanic privilege, which periodically was the reason for the closing of at least parts of the valley to the public.[57] Another constitutive element of the valley was the Kâğıthane Tekkesi founded by Kara Mustafa Pasha in the latter half of the sixteenth century for the 71. janissary unit, a dervish convent with guest rooms, kitchen, bakery and coffeehouse as well as a mosque, which hosted guests up to five nights and lent out copper pots and plates to day trippers from the city.[58] These bits of information from various sources and time periods testify to the varied character of Kâğıthane during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, functioning as an excursion spot for Istanbul's population, as the location of seasonal and guild festivities and an assembly place for dervishes, as much as being a privileged and

[57] Aktepe, "Kâğıthane", 342-343.

[58] Ayvansarâyî Hüseyîn Efendi, Alî Sâtıʿ Efendi and Süleymân Besîm Efendi, *Hadîkatü'l-Cevâmi': İstanbul Câmileri ve Diğer Dîni-Sivil Miʿmârî Yapılar*, ed. by Ahmed Nezih Galitekin (Istanbul: İşaret, 2001), 385; Eyice, "Kâğıthane", 30.

potentially exclusive space designated to sultanic use and at the same time an important zone of industrial manufacturing.

Under Sultan Ahmed III the area around the end of the Golden Horn seems to have become the focus of a keen imperial interest, in particular from the year 1720/21 (1133) onwards. In this year, the imperial pavilion of Hüsrevabad (House of the Eternal Hüsrev) was constructed at Alibey Köyü, situated east of Kâğıthane valley,[59] since the beautiful but neglected area around the tip of the Golden Horn had caught the sultan's attention and he had consequently taken the decision to revive it: "Lâkin ol câ-yi letâfet-peymâ şehinşah-ı nâzenin-nihad hazretlerinin nigâh-ı temyîzlerine nail (…) olup, ol mevzi'-i dil-ârâ dahi sâir mesîreler gibi âbâd kılınması murâd-ı hümâyûnları olduğun sadrıâzam hazretlerine îrad buyurdular."[60] Hüsrevabad was not like Saʿdâbâd equipped for longer stays by the sultan together with his *harem*, but rather served as a destination for daily excursions and promenades departing perhaps from Karaâğâç, an imperial garden with a palace of considerable size situated at the coast of the Golden Horn close to the mouth of the Kâğıthane Deresi. The garden of Karaâğâç dated back to the sixteenth century and was one of Sultan Ahmed's favourite spots of excursion before Saʿdâbâd was built in 1722 (1134).[61] One year after Saʿdâbâd's completion another pavilion, Hürremabad (House of Eternal Joy),[62] was erected at the opposite end of the Cedvel-i Sîm, in vicinity to the village of Kâğıthane. All these pavilions were given Persian names, which was highly popular at the time and reflects an orientation towards Persian culture, that is for example also apparent in eighteenth-century poetry – I will discuss

[59] Mehmed Raşid Efendi, *Târih-i Râşid*, vol. V (Istanbul: Matbaʿa-i Âmire, 1282 [1865-66]), 305-306.
[60] Raşid, vol. V, 305.
[61] Nurhan, Atasoy, *Hasbahçe: Osmanlı kültüründe bahçe ve çiçek* (Istanbul: Koç Kültür Sanat Tanıtım, 2002), 285; Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri" 164-166; Kuban, *Wooden Palaces*, 98-99.
[62] Çelebizade İsmail Asım Efendi, "Tarih-i Çelebizade," in: *Târih-i Râşid*, vol. VI (Istanbul: Matbaʿa-i Âmire, 1282 [1865-66]), 44.

this in greater detail in the following chapter. In any case, the building activity of imperial pavilions and palaces at Kâğıthane in the years from 1720 to 1723 suggests a sultanic interest in the area that lead to a conscious and concerted effort at reviving this area of the city, which had apparently been in neglect during the years before.[63] The interest in precisely this area of the city might be explained by Sultan Ahmed III's supposed fear of the open sea, letting him to prefer suburban retreats that were situated inland and required shorter boat rides.[64]

The construction of these imperial pavilions and especially of Saʿdâbâd, an imperial palace designed for longer sultanic stays, in some respects meant the continuation and even reinforcement of the former use of space – sultanic presence at Kâğıthane was after all nothing new. Yet it did constitute a rupture in other respects, constituting an ample and decisive interference in the physical materiality of Kâğıthane and consequently in the use and perception of this space. As will become clear in the following, the erection of the palace meant on the one hand a more definite presence of sultanic authority and of the state elite at Kâğıthane, while this did on the other hand *not* entail the exclusion of the urban public. Quite on the contrary, sultanic presence seems to have even encouraged the presence of commoners. This constellation, so I want to argue, constitutes one of the key aspects in the functioning and meaning of the palace – an aspect, which has not been considered sufficiently.

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[63] This neglect is for example noted by Raşid: "bu kadar zamândan beri kimesneden ol mesîre-i raʿnâya meyl ve ârzû âşikâr olmamış idi" Raşid, vol. V, 305.

[64] İnciciyan notes Sultan Ahmed III's fear of the sea, and explains the construction of Saʿdâbâd with the wish to compensate for this fear: "Sultan Ahmet'in denizden korkması da Kâğıthane yöresinde yazlıkların çoğalmasına başlıca neden oldu. Sultan Ahmet bu korkusundan hiç sevmezdi Boğaz'a çıkmayı. Kâğıthane ve Aynalıkavak'a giderdi her zaman." G.V. İnciciyan, *Boğaziçi Sayfiyeleri* (Istanbul: Eren, 2000), 80.

Saʿdâbâd Palace

Saʿdâbâd, whose construction started on 7 June 1722 (22 Şaban 1134)[65], was devised by the grand vizier Damad İbrahim Pasha as a summer palace for Sultan Ahmed III. It should be seen in the context of the extensive building programme, which had been initiated since the return of the court to Istanbul from Edirne in 1703 and was linked in particular to the figure of İbrahim Pasha. Besides representative purposes, these building activities were made all the more necessary by an earthquake in 1719, which was followed by a destructive fire. In the following years, Istanbul was turned into a huge construction site with building activities patronized both by the dynastic family and palace dignitaries, which effectively resulted in "the reinscription of court society in the social and physical space of the capital"[66] – a topic I shall deal with more extensively in the last chapter. As many other works commissioned by İbrahim Pasha during that period, the construction of Saʿdâbâd, too, was completed under the supervision and most likely according to the designs of Kayserili Mehmed Âğâ, the head of the royal corps of architects.[67] Although the chronicler Raşid claims that the construction works were finished in an extraordinary short period of sixty days,[68] an account book of 1726 testifies to comprehensive building activities going on still between August 1725 and March 1726.[69] It therefore seems reasonable to assume that the palace with its garden was built in several stages and that during the summer of 1722 not more than the essential parts of the main buildings were completed.

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[65] Raşid, vol. V, 444. There is some confusion concerning the date of construction, caused probably by the fact that in the authoritative work of Sedad Hakkı Eldem, he gives a wrong date of 22 Şaban 1135 instead of 1134 (Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 14).

[66] Tülay Artan, "Arts and Architecture," in: *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi, The Cambridge History of Turkey, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 467.

[67] Muzaffer Erdoğan, *Lâle Devri Baş Mi'marı: Kayseri'li Mehmed Ağa* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1962), 8-9, 13.

[68] Raşid, vol. V, 440.

[69] OBA MAD.d 1282, 21. The account specifies the time span for which the workers received their pay from 20 Zi'l-hicce 1137 (30 August 1725) to 27 Cemâzi el-âhir 1138 (2 March 1726).

The palace was situated at the side of two rectangular pools and at the head of the Cedvel-i Sîm, a 1100 m long and 28 m wide tree lined canal, into which a segment of the Kâğıthane Riverhad been rearranged into.[70] Through a complex system of underground canals and overflow basins, the water current coming from further up the valley was lead through the Cedvel-i Sîm, passed through the pools in front of the *harem* and then returned to its natural bed behind the palace. The Western side of the Cedvel-i Sîm was occupied by the Cirîd Square, a square devoted to the playing of *cirîd* – a javelin game performed on horses – and other games or performances. Publicly accessible meadows extended on the opposite side of the water canal, with the hills, which form the natural borders of the valley, rising close by. The palace's garden was situated by the rectangular pools directly opposite the palace's *harem* building. This fenced in and relatively small garden could be reached from the palace via two passageways leading across the Cedvel-i Sîm and located directly by the famous water cascades, which formed the transition from the canal to the water pools. The passageways were adorned by three small belvedere pavilions that were situated directly by the cascades and emerged almost right into the water flow. The palace was moreover surrounded by more than 170 pavilions and gardens of Ottoman grandees, situated not only in Kâğıthane but also in surrounding valleys, whose construction was ordered by imperial decree simultaneous with the construction of Saʿdâbâd. After the Patrona Halil Rebellion in 1730, during which the reigning Sultan Ahmed III was deposed and his grand vizier İbrahim Pasha executed, these pavilions were ordered by the new Sultan Mahmud I to be destroyed. While the grandees' pavilions were in this way torn down, the imperial palace itself saw relatively little harm and was restored in 1740, with apparently only minor architectural changes of the original building – a fact which allows us to use sources

[70] See fig. 1 and 2 in the appendix for plans of the site.

dating from after 1740 in order to reconstruct the first version of the palace. This is important, as there is only very limited information regarding the architecture of the palace before 1730, mainly from Ottoman chronicles and poetry that allow only limited inferences on architectural details. The two main sources to be used for reconstructing the original layout are an account book of 1726 (1138) listing the prices and amounts of materials and labour of the initial construction[71] and an estimation of the costs for the 1740 reparation works (*keşif*), listing the needed materials with their amounts and costs.[72] Additionally, there are a number of single archival documents, concerning individual repair or construction works throughout the eighteenth century. As visual material is regarded, there is unfortunately no depiction of the first version of the palace before the 1740 restoration. Apart from European engravings of the second half of the eighteenth century, Eldem has recovered several panoramic sketches as well as a detailed ground plan of Saʿdâbâd authored by Gudenus, a member of the Austrian embassy at Istanbul in the 1740s. Together, these sources allow a fairly comprehensive reconstruction of Saʿdâbâd as constructed under Ahmed III, which we shall now look at in greater detail.[73]

To begin with the palace itself, one has to note that it was in fact made up of two separate buildings:[74] the women's quarters (*harem-i hümâyûn*)[75] (D) on the one and the sultan's residential part (*hâss odası*) (Ç) on the other hand, which were clearly independent units, each being enclosed by a stone wall with separate entrances on

[71] OBA MAD.d 1282. This is published in Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 146-158.
[72] Published in Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 23-27.
[73] The reconstruction of Saʿdâbâd's ground plan by Eldem based on Gudenus' plans is reproduced in the appendix, fig. 3 and 4. Selected sketches, engravings and paintings can be found in the appendix, fig. 5-9.
[74] The letters indicating the different building parts, which are used in the following refer to the corresponding lettering in Eldem's reconstruction plans. Appendix, fig. 2, 3 and 4.
[75] The account by Raşid seems to suggest that Saʿdâbâd's *harem* building was also called Nüzhetabad. Raşid, vol. V, 445.

opposite sides – in the North and South respectively – and separate courtyards. Yet the two buildings were situated closely next to each other with a small covered bridge-like passageway (g) on the level of the first floor serving as a connection between them. In between the two residential buildings and the landing site, along the path leading from the landing site towards the palace buildings the palace's small mosque (C) was situated. Mosque and residential buildings were not oriented along the same axes: while the palace buildings were oriented along the axis of the rectangular water basins which the *harem* building's eastern front immediately bordered, the mosque was naturally oriented towards Mecca, leading to a ca. 30 degree deviation from the axis of the palace buildings. The straight strip of the riverbank along which the landing pier was situated to the South of both mosque and palace buildings, was in turn oriented along again another axis neither parallel nor perpendicular to those of the mosque and the palace buildings. Moreover, the Cedvel-i Sîm, that is, the architectural element which lent itself most to constituting a main axis in relation to which all other buildings would be oriented, did not serve as such: the palace buildings as well as the water basins were situated neither straight nor perpendicular in relation to it, but were instead slightly turned. Hence, although the outline of the palace does display a number of straight lines and geometrical forms with the pools, the straightened riversides and elongated facades of the buildings, these were juxtaposed apparently without concern for parallel or perpendicular orientation in relation to each other. Thus, the palace complex is clearly lacking the kind of grand, all-encompassing axiality that was typical of French baroque palace architecture and of which Saʿdâbâd is so often held to be an imitation.[76] This also meant that the type of commanding vistas following seemingly

[76] Cerasi makes the same point: Maurice M. Cerasi, *Osmanlı Kenti: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 18. Ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent Uygarlığı ve Mimarisi*, transl. by Aslı Ataöv (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları,

never-ending axes and producing well calculated effects of perspective as they were applied in European baroque palaces, most prominently in Versailles, were not aimed at in Saʿdâbâd. Whether this was simply not intended or rather due to an Ottoman inability to apply French architectural models flawlessly will be discussed in the following chapter. For now, we shall take a closer look at the ground plans of the palace buildings.

Hâss Odası

The ground plans of the first Saʿdâbâd as reconstructed by Sedad Hakkı Eldem reveal an architectural structure that emphasizes panoramic views on the surrounding landscape and in particular seeks to establish a close relation with the water works of the garden where possible. The *hâss odası*, that is, the building used by the sultan for official purposes consisted of a two-storied rectangular shaped single building with a base area of 160-170 square zira' (approximately 120-130m^2) and was of rather small dimensions when compared with the neighbouring *harem* complex. The *harem* was not just the residential building for the royal women as commonly assumed, but also the private residence of the sultan and in this case also that of the *darü's-saʿâde âğâsı*, the chief black eunuch and as such overseer of the *harem*. Saʿdâbâd's *harem* consisted of a U-shaped building complex made up of three wings with adjoining buildings that accommodated a kitchen, a *hammâm*, and rooms for palace personnel (*bostâncı âğâları*).[77] *Harem* and *hâss odası* differed from each other not only in size,

1999), 228. However, he argues in a rather essentialist fashion, attributing an unchanging "traditional" understanding of nature and nature-city relations to the Ottomans.

[77] In the *keşif defteri* of 1740 only the single-storied wing at the waterfront is mentioned; the L-shaped two-storied part however does not appear. Eldem concludes that the latter was added under Mahmud I after 1740, while the *harem* of the palace as constructed in 1723 consisted only of the single wing by the water. The account book of 1725/26 however mentions several corridors (*dehlîzler*, p. 15) and an upper floor (*üst tabaka*, p. 18), clearly pointing to more than one wing. Moreover, the number of *harem* rooms seems to have been at least twelve judging according to the number of doors delivered (p. 10), which is much more than the six rooms located in the wing by the water, and thus also points

but also in their orientation: while the *hâss odası* was oriented towards the Cirîd Square and the Western hillsides, the *harem* was oriented towards the waterfront and thus offered spectacular views of the water works and gardens, in particular that of the long and straight Cedvel-i Sîm.

Looking in more detail at the *hâss odası*, its most spectacular room was certainly the so-called *fevkânî kasr-ı hümâyûn* (a), located at the Western end of the sultan's palace on the upper floor. This room with window fronts on three sides provided a spectacular view over the Cirîd Square, the hills and meadows behind the palace as well as the inner courtyard of the *Hâss odası*. It was the most ornate room of the entire palace, having a painted and gilded ceiling resting on ten wooden pillars in between which the nine large windows with wooden shutters were located.[78] The interior wall decoration was based on flower motives and one can assume it to have resembled the realistic flower and fruit paintings, which enjoyed great popularity in the eighteenth century.[79] Apart from the *fevkânî kasr-ı hümâyûn*, the upper floor of the *hâss odası* was made up of three more rooms with large window fronts towards the Cirîd Square and low benches (*sedîr*) along the walls (b, d, e), the one in the centre (d) opening to a large anteroom (*sofa*) on the side of the palace courtyard (ç), which was accessible by stairs from the ground floor and apparently adorned by a

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to a bigger building. Assuming only a single *harem* wing by the waterfront furthermore would have meant a considerable distance between the sultan's residential area and the *harem*, which does not seem to be a preferable architectural option. Taking these reflections into account, I therefore assume the *harem* to have been a three-winged building since the first construction of Saʿdâbâd in 1723. Moreover, based on the account book of 1725/26 I suggest a different attribution of the rooms of the *harem*. In Eldem's reconstruction, the single-storied wing at the waterfront is denoted as the apartment of the *vâlide sultân* (mother of the reigning sultan), for which there is no evidence in the sources. I propose instead that this wing of the *harem* was the residence of the *darü's-saʿâde âğâsı* (chief black eunuch) and that the royal women were housed in the two-storied wings.

[78] Eldem, Saʿdabad, 39.

[79] Such wall paintings are for example preserved at the Yemiş Odası in Topkapı Palace's *harem*. Günsel Renda, "La Peinture Traditionelle Turque et le Début des Influences Occidentales," in: *Histoire de la Peinture Turque*, ed. by eadem, et al. (Geneva: Palasar, 1988), 15-86 and Arel, 42-43. Another example is the Yalı Köşkü of Amcazade Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha (1699) at Anadoluhisarı, on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, whose interior walls were also richly painted with naturalistic flower bouquets in vases and floral ornamentation. Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, vol. II (Istanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi, 1974), 141-178.

marble sphere in the centre. This is related by the French traveller de Saumery, who visited Saʿdâbâd just after its construction in 1722 and provides us with only description we have of the inside of the *hâss odası*:

> Ce bâtiment consiste en quatre chambre de plein pied superbement meublées, au milieu desquelles il y a une grande Sale en forme de vestibule, qui donne d'un côté sur la Galerie, & de l'autre sur une Cour entourée de hautes murailles, qui sert d'entrée; au milieu de cette Sale on a placé sur un Piédestal un Globe de marbre doré de trente pieds de circonference; les autres chambres sont ornées de belles croisées en Dômes, sous lesquels il y a des riches sofas; toutes les glaces ou vitres sont de cristal (...)[80]

One can perhaps assume that the central room, which was the most spacious hall of the *hâss odası* and directly accessible from the large anteroom, was used as a reception room and audience hall for important guests or officials or as a waiting room for those waiting for their paper work to be done on the ground floor as well as a location from where to watch the performances taking place at the Cirîd Square.

The ground floor was less spacious in its outline, being divided into more, smaller rooms each equipped with a *sedîr* along the walls and windows towards the Cirîd Square (b). As one of these rooms belonged to the *silâhdâr âğâsı* one can assume that they were probably used by high-ranking palace officials to watch performances or receive visitors. The side of the ground floor facing the inner courtyard was taken up by two reception halls (*dîvânhâne*); a large and a small one with separate entrances equipped with benches along the walls (c, ç, d). The denotation of these halls as *dîvânhâne* in the archival documents indicates that official assemblies or audiences would be held or other governmental or scribal work carried out here. Obviously then, Saʿdâbâd cannot be regarded as a place designed exclusively for repose and entertainment far away from the world of politics – instead, the presence of the sultan and his court meant that the political dimension was not lost out of sight. From the smaller *dîvânhâne* (c) stairs led up towards the anteroom of the *fevkânî kasr-ı hümâyûn* suggesting that this hall with its separate

[80] De Saumery, 136.

entrance was used by the sultan or exclusive visitors. The larger reception hall (ç) on the other hand, located right next to the small one, provided access via stairs to the large anteroom on the upper floor and hence seems to have had a more public character.[81] The layout of the *hâss odası*, then, seems to suggest a progression from relatively public and accessible towards more private and exclusive space parallel with the progression both from the ground towards the upper floor as well as from the centre of the building towards its corners, culminating in the sultan's private *fevkânî kasr-ı hümâyûn* in the buildings uttermost corner.

Compared to the relatively small residential building the *hâss odası*'s rectangular and walled courtyard was of quite large dimensions. Access was provided by three gates, one placed centrally along the wall opposite of the palace – the main gate (III) – and the other two directly across from each other along the two other side walls (IV, V). Next to the main gate, a little fountain was situated on the outer face of the courtyard's wall, probably providing water for various purposes. Being allowed to pass one of these gates into the *hâss odası*'s courtyard was the prerogative of certain ranks – despite sultanic visibility during the public procession on his way to Saʿdâbâd, the palace itself constituted an exclusive space, which only those with the appropriate rank could access. At the inauguration feast upon the completion of Saʿdâbâd on 10 August 1722 (27 Şevval 1134) for example, after the arrival of the sultanic procession, only certain select dignitaries were allowed to pass the palace's gate, while the majority of the procession participants had to be content with the tents set up on the Cirîd Square.[82]

The pompous procession with which the sultan would arrive at Saʿdâbâd usually approached the palace riding along the Eastern riverbank, crossing the

[81] Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 36-39.
[82] Raşid, vol. V, 448.

Kâğıthane Riverat one of the bridges situated downstream of the palace and then riding into the palace grounds from the West, diagonally approaching the main gate. Once more it becomes obvious, that Ottoman aesthetics as well as court ritual was not much concerned with achieving the visual effects of strict axiality and perpendicular intersecting lines. When arriving at Saʿdâbâd by boat, however – which was practiced less frequently than the arrival on horseback, but was still common enough – the outline of the buildings would only with difficulty allow the sultan to enter through the main gate, especially because of the mosque positioned in between the *hâss odası* and the landing pier (B). More likely, the sultan would then enter the narrow passage between *hâss odası* and *harem* and enter through the eastern side gate. This assumption is corroborated by the fact that Mahmud I had erected a pergola covering the path from the sultanic landing pier to the corner of the mosque situated close to the Eastern gate some time in the 1730s (b).[83] Why the need for a covered pathway was felt can only be speculated upon, yet apart from sun protection what one might also see in this pergola is an attempt by the new sultan to decrease public visibility, as the path had previously been completely unprotected from curious gazes potentially emanating from the surrounding public meadows. The three gates on three different sides of the courtyard apparently provided for a certain ceremonial flexibility of entering and leaving the *kasır* and hence made possible different 'choreographies' of the court's arrival, different ways of orchestrating the sultan's moving in space.

Harem

As has been mentioned, the *harem* was of much larger extensions than the *hâss odası*. Also based upon a rectangular ground plan with a courtyard, in this case three

[83] Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 28.

sides of the rectangle were built up, thus forming a U-shaped structure whose open – yet walled in – side faced the Cirîd Square. This type of U-shaped building enclosing a courtyard is in fact not typical of Ottoman palace and *köşk* architecture, which preferred either compact single rectangular buildings or arrangements of several unconnected buildings.[84] The inspiration for this layout might have come from Istanbul's residential architecture, where wooden two-storied buildings often enclosed a central courtyard.[85] Taking into account the Ottoman chronicler Raşid's remark that Ahmed III's ephemeral wooden water front palace, which he had built along the wall of the Topkapı Palace facing the Marmara sea was inspired by Istanbul's vernacular architecture, the same source of inspiration regarding building layout might be assumed.[86]

The main entrance gate to the *harem* (VII) was situated in the wall on the side of the Cirîd Square, thus on the opposite side when compared with the main gate of the *hâss odası*. This location of the entrance seems rather unpractical, as it would mean that someone arriving at the landing pier (B) by boat had to surround almost the entire *harem* building in order to enter it. The alternative of travelling to Saʿdâbâd on horse-drawn carriages (ʿ*arâba*) meant arriving from the West and surrounding the *hâss odası* as well as passing across the Cirîd Square – again this appears to be neither very practical nor suitable for ceremonial processions. What this location of both the *harem*'s and the *hâss odası*'s entrance gates once more shows, however, is the absence of an all-encompassing system of axiality, which was

[84] Kuban, *Wooden Palaces*, and Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*. Only the outline of Çağlayan Sarayı is somewhat similar to that of Saʿdâbâd, as it consists of a two-winged building forming a right angle on the edges of a squared, walled in courtyard. The effect is however a different one, since the courtyard is cut into halves by a wall separating the *harem* from the *selamlık*. See Eldem, Türk Evleri vol. 2, 140-141.

[85] Eldem, Sedad Hakkı, *Türk Evi: Osmanlı Dönemi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Anıt, Çevre, Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı, 1984). Kuban refers to this type of house as the "Hayat house": Doğan Kuban, *The Turkish Hayat House* (Istanbul: Eren, 1995).

[86] Raşid, vol. III, 307; for inspirations from Istanbul's vernacular architecture see also Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle & London: University of Washington Press, 2008), 71-72.

not only manifest in architecture but also had its repercussions on court ceremonial: the ceremonial of imperial arrival did obviously not aim at producing impressive effects by straight processions heading towards the palace's main gate along a centrally aligned axis. While the processions of Ahmed III and his successors to Saʿdâbâd were certainly pompous and meant to produce an awe-inspiring image of magnificence, they did not rely on right-angle based, axial movements in relation to architectural monuments in order to do so.

After entering into the *harem*'s courtyard by the main gate, one would find oneself enclosed by three wings, each with a covered gallery (*hayât*) in front, which was a typical feature of Ottoman vernacular architecture in Anatolia and parts of the Balkans.[87] The wing closest to the *hâss odası* was the residential space of the sultan and of the women of the *harem*. Typical for Ottoman residential architecture, the upper floor was the privileged one due to the maximum of light and fresh air it received. This floor was presumably inhabited by the sultan and his concubines, while the servants might have stayed in the smaller rooms on the ground floor (n1-n8).[88] The sultan's private quarters (k), situated on the corner of this wing on the upper floor, directly by the passageway that connected *harem* and *hâss odası*, had two large window fronts, which provided a view over the palace's gardens and water works as well as over the *harem*'s inner courtyard.[89] The remaining rooms on the upper floor (n1-n4) were according to Gudenus equipped with *sedîr* benches and cupboards and had a view towards the *hâss odası*.

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[87] Kuban, *Hayat House.*

[88] This distinction between lower floor as area for servants and the upper floor as the location of the house owner's social life was traditional for Ottoman palaces, but started to change during the eighteenth century, with the ground floor receiving greater importance. Kuban, *Wooden Palaces*, 60-62.

[89] The attribution of the *köşk* and the adjoining smaller rooms at the corner of the Eastern *harem* wing coincides with Gudenus' labelling of the rooms in his plan of Saʿdâbâd from the 1740s. Reprint in Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 30-31.

The perpendicular adjacent wing accommodated a number of rooms on both the upper and lower floor (n9-n11, o1-o4), belonging probably to royal women or palace personnel as well as a small *hammâm* (Turkish bath) (l, t).[90] Finally, the third wing of the *harem*, which immediately bordered on the water basins along the entire length of its façade, accommodated, as I suggest, the apartment of the *darü's-sa'âde âğâsı*. This wing had only a single floor, with the exception of one elevated kiosk-like room on its far end, to which one could ascend by stairs and which must have offered a stunning view of the canal and the meadows. The ground floor was occupied by five rooms (o1-o4, u), each with window fronts opening towards the water. Located between them was a recess with six windows onto the pools and *sedîr*s along the walls (r), which was directly accessible from the gallery (p) and immediately opposite the entrance door. One might assume that this functioned as a reception or living room. The three wings were connected on both floors by a continuous gallery (*hayât* or *sofa*) open towards the inner courtyard (m, p). Moreover, adjacent to the Southern wing of the *harem*, facing the mosque and the landing pier, a rectangular building containing a big kitchen (i) as well as the rooms of the higher-ranking *bostâncı*s (g, h1-h5) were located. Both kitchen and the *bostâncı* apartments had separate entrances (IX, X). While from the kitchen passing

[90] In Eldem's reconstruction plans, it seems as if there were two *hammâm*s in this wing, one with two domes (l), the other with only one (t). The two domes in the plan, however, are not labelled; only the single domed room is marked as a *hammâm*. Eighteenth-century sketches and engravings of Sa'dâbâd do not ever depict such a single dome, while they do all depict two small domes next to each other. I therefore assume that there was only one *hammâm*, which in all likelihood was covered by two domes. The information provided by Gudenus in this regard is contradictory: on his plan, the *hammâm* has only one dome, while on his sketch, one clearly distinguishes two domes at the place where the *hammâm* must have been situated.
Eldem moreover regards the rooms adjacent to the *hammâm* with a window front towards the water basins as undressing and lounging rooms for the *hammâm* (u). I propose instead that these rooms were not functionally connected to the *hammâm*, but belonged instead to the apartment of the *darü's-sa'âde âğâsı*, who was accommodated in the wing parallel to the water basins.

into the *harem* was possible, the *bostâncı* apartments did not allow direct access to the *harem*.[91]

The *harem* buildings, then, had clearly residential character, providing considerable comfort with their spacious and light rooms offering spectacular views and with an integrated *hammâm* and a large kitchen. Compared to the *harem*, the sultan's residence was of quite small dimensions and did not offer comparable extravagant views on Saʿdâbâd's most remarkable elements, the Cedvel-i Sîm, the water cascades and the fountain-adorned water pools. The orientation of the *hâss odası* towards the Cirîd Square instead of towards the gardens seems to indicate that the watching of performances, perhaps together with guests, was the main function of this part of the palace, which had thus mainly representative official functions. On the other hand, the *harem*'s view towards the gardens mirrored its use as the private retreat for the sultan and the royal women.

Architectural Style

As regards the overall architectural style of Saʿdâbâd's buildings what is perhaps most evident is the obvious concern to create light rooms oriented towards the outside with large window fronts to provide ample views on the surrounding landscape. This spaciousness and transparency was a typical feature of eighteenth-century residential architecture, which can be especially well observed in the architecture of the *yalı*s (summer villas) of this period along the Bosphorus shore – indeed, the early eighteenth century has even been termed "the golden age of the waterfront palace."[92] These displayed a remarkable interpenetration of nature and architecture, being built as close as possible to and often even above the sea and

[91] Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 36-39.

[92] Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 465. This article gives a good overview over the architectural and artistic developments of the eighteenth century. See also Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures* and Artan, "Theatre of Life" for information on Istanbul's architectural history during the eighteenth century.

whose position was minutely coordinated so as to exploit the optimal views.[93] Not only residential architecture, public and religious buildings of this period, too, displayed a remarkable concern for transparency. As Maurice Cerasi has shown in the case of the Divan Yolu, the increasing number of architectural monuments patronized by Ottoman court officials and army officers, like *medrese* (school) buildings, *türbe*s (monumental tombs), fountains and small-scale mosques were characterized by a high degree of transparency. Although fences or walls surrounded many of the buildings along the Divan Yolu, these had multiple openings, which allowed passers-by to have a look inside and established a continuous relation between public street-life and the monument in question.[94] This eighteenth-century concern for visibility and display by the powerful – both by the sultan himself as well as by lower-ranking power holders – points towards a need for representation towards the population as well as an inter-elite competition carried out amongst others in the fields of architecture and consumption. I will come back to this significant political dimension in greater detail in the last chapter of this thesis.

Its architectural openness also markedly differentiated Saʿdâbâd from earlier Ottoman palaces, notably the Topkapı Palace, whose layout was founded upon the principle of a non-visible sultan secluded behind the high walls in the innermost courtyard of the Topkapı Palace.[95] Although at Saʿdâbâd, too, there was a clear spatial hierarchy of accessible versus exclusive spaces with probably clear rules allowing or restricting access according to rank, the prevailing architectural principle was one of openness and visibility. Clearly, this was also due to the different functionality of these two palaces: Saʿdâbâd was contrary to the Topkapı Palace not

[93] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, 67-71; Artan, "Theatre of Life," 10-12 and 248-258; Kuban, *Wooden Palaces.*
[94] Cerasi, *Divanyolu*, 104.
[95] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, And Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1991); Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 303-342.

the permanent residence of the sultan, but a place for short stays and excursions during the summer, visited in particular to enjoy the natural beauty at Kâğıthane. Nevertheless, the fact that Sultan Ahmed III and other eighteenth-century sultans actively promoted the building of such summer palaces and frequently visited them clearly testifies to a change in architectural taste.

Saʿdâbâd's wooden façade, too, was a feature it shared with Bosphorus' *yalı*s. Not only the building material, but also the design of the façade was typical of eighteenth-century waterside residences having large window fronts, that evaded monotony through the continual alteration of recesses and projections, thus creating movement and contrasts of light and shade with the changing position of the sun throughout the day.[96] Although Saʿdâbâd's dimensions were still relatively modest, it foreshadowed the trend to design linear uninterrupted facades of immense length creating a monumental outlook. This was a trend that came to the fore in the latter half of the century especially at residences along the Bosphorus shore, but its origins can already be observed in the design of Saʿdâbâd's regular façade, which was structured only by the variant patterning of uniform elements – the identical windows with their wooden window shutters.[97] Also typical for eighteenth-century architecture was the decoration – mostly by paint – of both the exterior facades as well as the walls, ceilings and columns in the interior. We know that interior walls and columns were colourfully painted with ornaments and floral motives, that precious materials like gold were used[98] and that stucco works (*sıvâ nakşi*) adorned the exterior walls towards the courtyard.[99] The exterior walls facing the outside seem to have been unadorned however as far as one can tell from the illustrations and

[96] Kuban, *Wooden Palaces*, 62.
[97] To name but the most prominent examples: the imperial palace of Tersane in its state of the late eighteenth century as depicted by Melling, the palace of Hatice Sultan (early nineteenth century), the palace of Beşiktaş (1780s). Kuban, *Wooden Palaces*, 42.
[98] OBA MAD.d 1282, 8; Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 25-27.
[99] Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 27.

descriptions existing. The fashion for painted wall decorations or plaster works instead of the tile revetments, which had been favoured in the classical age, can in part simply be explained by a lack of high-quality tiles – the Iznik factories had stopped production, and the tiles produced at the Tekfur factory, newly founded by İbrahim Pasha in 1725, were not of sufficient quality.[100] One can perhaps imagine Saʿdâbâd's interior to have looked like what the French traveller Flachat saw in sultanic residences in Istanbul in the 1750s: "Les murs sont couverts de belles peintures, bas-reliefs en stuc, boisages & sculptures, dorés & chargés de fleurs peintes au naturel."[101] For Saʿdâbâd in particular, we do not have more specific information about the details of the decorations and wall paintings, but deducing from other buildings of the period about which more information exists, one can assume that these were probably colourful realistic fruit and flower still lifes, perhaps landscape or city views as well as geometrical patterns.[102] Yet despite its prolonged regular façade, the wall decorations and the transparent *yalı* style, Saʿdâbâd was for an imperial palace a rather modest building, which was surpassed in decoration and amenities even by non-sultanic *yalı*s and *konak*s in Istanbul at the same period.[103] Rather than the imperial palace itself, what in fact accounted for the fame of the palace complex with both Ottomans and Europeans was Saʿdâbâd's garden and in particular its water works.

Garden

The visually determining element of Saʿdâbâd's garden was surely the Cedvel-i Sîm, the straight tree-lined canal of 1100 m length, which the Kâğıthane River had been

[100] Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 469.
[101] Jean-Claude Flachat, *Observations sur le Commerce et sur les Arts d'une partie de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique et même des Indes Orientales* (Paris: Jacquenod & Rusand, 1767), 429.
[102] For a good overview over the art of the period with reference to wall paintings see Renda.
[103] Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 28.

arranged into. The canal was lined with cut marble, which had been supplied from Kule Garden, an imperial garden created by Sultan Süleyman in the 1520s in Çengelköy on the Asian coast of the Bosphorus, which by the eighteenth century had fallen into ruins.[104] Due to the large-scale renovation and building activities initiated by Damad İbrahim Pasha, Istanbul apparently experienced a scarcity of building materials as well as craftsmen, which is why the reuse of building materials was relatively widespread.[105]

At the end of the Cedvel-i Sîm the water was led over two chains of water cascades into the pool in front of the palace. These cascades were constituted of rows of half-elliptic, convex marble basins reminiscent of rocaille shapes (H, G), which also served as passageways across the canal. Along the bigger of the two (H) – the so-called Cisr-i Nûrânî (literally Bridge of the Lights) – three small open belvederes labelled Taht-ı Hümâyûn (Imperial Throne) were placed, consisting of not more than a lead-covered, dome-shaped roof suspended on four columns and offering the opportunity of reposing in the shade, nearly immersed into the gushing water with a view along the length of the canal. These belvederes, which – judging from their appellation – were envisioned for sultanic use, were made of precious material: ground and balustrades were of marble, covered by a gilded ceiling.[106] A water jet in the shape of three or four spiralled snake bodies made of bronze adorned the pool in front of the palace (g), ending in dragon heads serving as water spouts. Where exactly the inspiration for this extravagant design came from is not sure.[107] Next to

[104] Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture," in: *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 38.
[105] Artan, "Arts and Architecture," 469.
[106] Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 24.
[107] In the annotation to his ground plan (see *ibid.*, 30-31), Gudenus makes the interesting remark that this was an imitation of the Serpent Column on the Hippodrome (*Atmeydanı*), which was an eight meter high ancient Greek column from the fifth century BC, whose shaft was made in the form of three intertwining snake bodies. The column had originally been placed in front the Apollo temple in

this famous water jet, two identical and relatively simple marble water jets were situated the front of the *darü's-sa'âde âğâsı'*s apartment in the *harem* (f).[108] From the pools, through a system of canals that adjusted the water level the flow was finally led back into its natural bed. The water cascades, pools and water jets have been taken as key indicators for likening Saʿdâbâd to French palace gardens. While this question will be dealt with in the next chapter, at this point I simply want to highlight that evidently these water works meant a considerable interference into the previous natural order of the valley – considering in particular the complex system necessary to regulate the water level in the canal and pools by underground pipes and overflow canals – and with few comparable garden outlines in Istanbul constituted a particularity that must have attracted considerable attention if not awe – especially if one takes into account that this was not a secluded imperial palace garden, but situated in the middle of a public and highly frequented *mesîre*.

Another remarkable element of the garden was the so-called Kasr-ı Cînan (Pavilion of Paradise) (E) situated in front of the *darü's-sa'âde âğâsı'*s apartment, right next to the pool and the water cascades, which was famous for the thirty marble pillars upholding its roof. The cross-shaped pavilion was open towards all sides, only enclosed by marble balustrades in between the pillars. The inside was protected from the sun by curtains or textile shutters suspended from the roof. Golden flower decorations adorned the ceiling and a little water jet in the centre provided coolness. Charles Perry, an English doctor who visited the Ottoman Empire at the end of the Tulip Period describes the pavilion vividly in considerable detail:

> This Kiosk is embellished in a very splendid elegant manner; its Roof is covered all over with Lead, resting upon little Arches, which are sustained by 30 small Pillars: The

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Delphi, from where Constantine I (324-327) had it brought to the newly founded Constantinople. Gudenus' allusion is hard to verify, however de Saumery, who visited Saʿdâbâd shortly after its construction in 1722 makes the same allusion. De Saumery, 137.

[108] Their number in fact varies between two and three on the different illustrations; Eldem holds there were two based on the plan by Gudenus. Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 8, 24.

> Intercolumnations are filled with Sheets of green Canvas, which, when stretched out, may serve as Umbrella's. The Entrance is through a Pair of Brass Folding-doors, which are fixed in a Cafe of white Marble; between the Pillars in each Space rises a Balustrade about Two Feet from the Ground, upon which was a Sofa of very rich Brocade; in the Middle is a lovely Fountain, which plays its Water through a Cluster of little gilded Pipes, starting out of a Marble Cistern, against a large gilt Wall hung with Tassels: From thence the Water is reflected upon a noble Tivan, or Ceiling, of gilded Fret-work, which beats it down again in little sprinkling Showers.[109]

Moreover, according to a poem by Nedim mirrors adorned the walls of the Kasr-ı Cînan.[110] That they don't appear in Perry's description might be connected to the partial destruction of Saʿdâbâd in 1730. The pavilion had two entrances: the *kasr-ı hümâyûn* gate for the sultan, situated on the Western end of the pavilion and thus the first to be reached when coming from the sultan's apartment and the *harem* gate facing the *harem*. Both were adorned by golden inscriptions and *muqarnas* works.[111] It is thus clear that this pavilion was to be used by the sultan, the *darüssade âğâsı* and the women from the *harem* and envisioned to be accessed directly from their respective apartments. Regarding the pavilion's setting, it is furthermore evident that it was intended to exploit the extraordinary perspective provided by the long and straight Cedvel-i Sîm. As apart from the Kasr-ı Cînan this view was only provided by the three little belvederes on top of the water cascades, which were according to their name envisioned for sultanic use, the full effect of the perspective created by the Cedvel-i Sîm was effectively turned into a sultanic privilege.

The Kasr-ı Cînan has been interpreted as an architectural reference to the Chihil Sutûn pavilion in Isfahan built by Shah Abbas I and remodelled by Abbas II in 1647, which was famed for its forty pillars:[112] twenty real pillars suspending the pavilion's roof, which together with their reflection in the pool in front added up to a total of forty. One can in this way argue that the number of pillars of the Kasr-ı

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[109] Charles Perry, *A View of the Levant: Particularly of Constantinople, Syria, Egypt and Greece* (London: T. Woodward, C. Davis and J. Shuckburgh, 1743), 24-25.
[110] *Nedim Divanı*, ed. by Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı (Istanbul: İnkilâp ve Aka, 1972), 83.
[111] Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 8-9, 24, 44-45, 58.
[112] In Persian, *chihil* literally means forty and *sutûn* means column/pillar.

Cînan amounted to a total of sixty together with their reflection in the water and that the Ottomans thus surpassed the Safavid model, well-known in the entire Islamic world. Taking into account that the Ottomans were at the time of the construction of Saʿdâbâd attempting to profit from the decline of the Safavid dynasty and declared war in 1722, such an interpretation does not seem unreasonable.[113] However, in terms of architectural style, the two buildings bear hardly any resemblance: while Isfahan's Chihil Sutûn is a grand pavilion of immense height, with a covered reception hall based on a rectangular ground plan and a pillar-supported wide roof in front, Saʿdâbâd's Kasr-ı Cînan was of much smaller dimensions, based on a cross-shaped ground plan, intended as a space of repose providing views of nature and less as a space for official ceremonies as in the Persian case.[114] Moreover, in the Persian world "Chihil Sutûn" was a general architectural term denoting halls with many, not necessarily forty, columns. It was a well-known architectural type, which can be traced back as far as Achaemenid Persepolis, where ceremonies were held in multi-columned audience halls.[115] The Ottoman chroniclers' emphasis on the number of pillars at Saʿdâbâd's Kasr-ı Cînan could therefore also be read as testifying to their participating in a greater Islamic system of architectural perception and reference, where multi-columned buildings were invested with great fame, rather than as a specific reference to Isfahan's Chihil Sutûn, from which the Ottoman pavilion differed remarkably in its concrete architectural reality.

Another built element in Saʿdâbâd's garden was a fountain (*çeşme*) called Çeşm-i Nûr (Fountain of Light) or Çeşm-i Nevpeydâ (Newly Erected Fountain) located opposite the Kasr-ı Cînan on the shore of the water basin (F). According to

[113] Erimtan, "Perception of Saadabad," 52-53.
[114] Regarding the different functions of Persian and Ottoman garden pavilions as official political spaces and places of personal retreat respectively see also Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 42.
[115] Ebba Koch, "Diwan-i 'Amm and Chihil Sutûn: The Audience Halls of Shah Jahan," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 147-148.

its inscription it was built one year after the palace in 1723. Typical of the style of eighteenth-century Ottoman fountains, it featured playful, curved floral ornamentation. Its inscription by the period's famous poet Vehbi intricately linked the beauty of Saʿdâbâd and its water works with the majesty and splendour of Sultan Ahmed III and of the Ottoman state. Like the ever-flowing water of the fountain so the empire was to enjoy eternal prosperity and impress the entire universe by its achievements.[116]

Regarding the planting of the garden, the information available is only limited. European depictions of Saʿdâbâd do not reveal any flower planting, yet in front of the sultan's *hâss odası*, on the edge of the Cirîd Square was possibly a terraced tulip garden, in which the forty orange trees, a gift by Louis XV to the sultan, had been planted in parallel rows.[117] The other trees of the palace ground – maple (*dişbudak*), Oriental plane (*çınar*), chestnut (*kestane*), elm (*karaâğâç*), lime (*ıhlamur*) – were requested to be brought from woods on the Northern coasts of the Bosphorus around both Anadolu and Rumeli Kavağı[118] and Anadolu and Rumeli

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[116] Eldem, Saʿdabad, 9, 24, 60-61. The inscription reads:
Menba'-ı cūy-ı sa'ādet āb-ı rūy-ı salṭanat
Ḥazret-i Sulṭān Aḥmed Ḫān-ı İskender-şıfat

Yaptırıp bu ḳaṣr-ı Sa'd-ābād'ı çün faṣṣ-ı nigin
Şöyle bir ṣu verdi kim ḥayrette kaldı kā'ināt

Ya'nī bir nev-çeşme-i pākīze bünyād etti kim
Lūlesi ibrīk-I şerbettir ṣuyu ḳaṭr-ı nebāt

Şevketin efzūn edip Ḥaḳ 'ömr-i Ḫıżr iḥsān ede
Devlet ü şān u şükūhu ḥaşre dek bulsun şebāt

Ābını nūş eyleyip Vehbī dedi ta'riḫini
Dehre Sulṭān Aḥmed icrā eyledi mā-i ḥayat

Published in: Hatice Aynur and Hakan T. Karateke, *III. Ahmed Devri İstanbul Çeşmeleri (1703-1730)* (Istanbul: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi, 1995), 147-148.

[117] Ziya Özel, "Die Entwicklung der Freiraumgestaltung in der Türkei vom XV. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart," (PhD dissertation, TU Berlin, 1964), 49; Atasoy, *Hasbahçe*, 278.

[118] C.BLD 1018 (26 Safer 1135/6 December 1722). Published in Kağıthane Belediye Başkanlığı, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kağıthane*, 357 and in Halil Kutluk, *Türkiye Ormancılığı İle İlgili Tarihî Vesikalar 893-1339 (1487-1923)* (Istanbul: T.C. Tarım Bakanlığı, 1948), 55-56.

Hisarı[119] as well as from the district of Yoros, today's Beykoz;[120] from districts on the Black Sea Coast relatively close to Istanbul like Terkos,[121] Kanderi (Kandıra),[122] Şile and Akabad;[123] and even from further away areas around Samsun (Şıhlı).[124] During the two years after the completion of the palace, a great number of trees – at least 1685 judging from the archival documents consulted; the poet Nedim talks of 1000 saplings[125] – were demanded from these regions, which were ordered to be straight, erect and well-proportioned as well as of similar size and to have large leaves. The trees were to be transported to Istanbul with ships and great care was ordered to be taken for them not to get damaged in any way during the shipping. It was moreover of great importance for these trees to be straight: before cutting the trees, the Southern side of the stems was ordered to be marked with red paint, so that they could be planted in the same orientation and thus avoid to become warped.[126] Obviously then, one attempted to create a tree assortment, which was to be homogeneous in terms of size and – as far as possible – form, yet diverse in terms of species. The insistence on the part of the administration for procuring straight and even-sized trees suggests that one was well aware of the perspectival effect, which long uniform tree lines along the borders of the Cedvel-i Sîm created and that one apparently intended to accentuate this architectural axis. Apart from those trees lining the Cedvel-i Sîm, the remaining trees were arranged loosely in small groups or alone without an obvious geometrical or symmetrical order – a feature typical of

[119] OBA C.SM 8953 (22 and 24 Safer 1136/21 and 23 November 1723). The transcription is attached in the appendix.
[120] OBA C.SM 6775 (29 Zi'l-hicce 1134/10 October 1722).
[121] OBA C.SM 8953.
[122] OBA C.BLD 1018.
[123] OBA C.SM 8953.
[124] OBA C.BLD 1018.
[125] Nedim, 346.
[126] OBA C.BLD 1018 and C.SM 8953.

Ottoman garden design, which preferred natural arrangements that did not betray their artificial origins.[127]

Lastly, the palace garden situated on the side of the pools opposite the *harem* was surrounded by a stonewall of about two to three metres in height with several entrance gates, which extended until the water cascades, where it joined the edge of the Cedvel-i Sîm. The remaining span of the canal's Eastern edge was thus entirely accessible to the public. On the opposite side the palace buildings and the adjacent Cirîd Square were surrounded by a fence starting from the little bridge by the landing pier (A) – the bridge itself was not inside the enclosed area – leading all the way to the end of the canal. The Cirîd Square was in this way effectively cut off from public access, yet one could without any effort observe the huge field from the opposite shore, especially so from the ascending hillsides. The same was true for the smaller palace garden: one could – despite the surrounding wall – observe with ease what was happening inside, as becomes evident on engravings depicting Saʿdâbâd. On these paintings, one also sees people entering apparently without restraint through the walls' gates and conversing across the fence.[128] The valley with the palace and its gardens on the bottom can thus justly be described as an 'amphitheatre' – a term, which was indeed by many European travellers used in order to describe the "Sweet Waters of Europe". And this term is telling as it can be taken to refer to much more than just the spatial layout of ascending hillsides around a narrow riverbed. It seems an apt term to grasp the performative character that the spatial layout entailed: the court society, the sultan, his *harem* and state dignitaries were highly visible to an

[127] Maurice Cerasi, "Open space, water and trees in Ottoman urban culture in the XVIIIth-XIXth centuries," *Environmental Design: Water and Architecture* 2 (1985): 38-39; see also Necipoğlu "Suburban Landscape"; Gönül Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri ve özellikle Eski İstanbul Bahçeleri* (Ankara: Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 1972); eadem "The intrinsic values of the traditional Anatolian Turkish garden," *Environmental Design: The City as a Garden* 1 (1986): 10-15 and Atasoy, *Hasbahçe*, 27, 53.

[128] See the engraving by Hilaire in Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau Générale*. Appendix, fig. 9.

urban public assembled on the meadows of the public *mesîre* when watching horse races on the Cirîd Square or when reposing in the Kasr-ı Cînan. Thus performances arranged for the amusement of the court society inevitably turned into public entertainments, with the commoners not only watching but also being integrated into the entertainments for example by the distribution of gifts.[129]

Ottoman Precedents to Saʿdâbâd's Garden Layout

Saʿdâbâd's garden layout has been acclaimed as a novelty in Ottoman garden architecture, as a break with former traditions[130] – claims, which fit in well with the discourse of the Tulip Age as a first and decisive turning towards the West. Yet I want to argue here that although the Cedvel-i Sîm and the water cascades certainly were impressive constituents, these did not come completely 'out of the blue' (and neither from France for that matter), but did indeed have precedents in Ottoman garden architecture. Central to the Saʿdâbâd-as-novelty thesis is the presumptive turn to axiality and symmetry by means of the straight Cedvel-i Sîm – an attempt that is regarded as opposed to the classical Ottoman garden characterized by "asymmetrical open compositions with an outward-looking orientation."[131] The fact that Ottoman descriptions of the palace in chronicles or poetry do not devote much attention to Saʿdâbâd's geometric garden architecture, while they do praise the palace building amongst others for its novelty however raises some doubts. The chronicler Raşid for example simply notes of the Cedvel-i Sîm to be a wide and straight canal *(ʿarîz bir mecrâ-yı hemvâr-ı müstakîm*), while the other chroniclers do not describe its

[129] Raşid (*Târih-i Râşid*, 449) even relates that thirty people from the audience were ordered to race and the winners awarded with presents.
[130] For example Atasoy, *Hasbahçe*, 53; Arel, 27.
[131] Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 33.

architectural terms at all.[132] The mentioning by the poet Nahifi of Saʿdâbâd's *hendes-i tabʿ*, that is, its geometrical nature, is the only remark I have found regarding the matter.[133] This suggests that geometrical garden layouts were not extraordinary in Ottoman eyes and that they were in fact quite familiar with them, firstly because there were and had been geometrically layouted gardens in the Ottoman lands and in Istanbul in particular and secondly because of the Ottoman familiarity with the axial garden layouts of the Turko-Persian world. The latter point shall be treated in greater detail in the following chapter – here the focus shall be on possible Ottoman precedents for Saʿdâbâd's geometrical layout.

To begin with, the most famous example is probably the Karabali Garden of the early sixteenth century, situated along the European Bosphorus shore in Kabataş.[134] It was based on the Persian *chaharbagh* design, which denotes a quadripartite layout obtained by two perpendicularly intersecting straight water channels. Featuring a painting in the garden's central pavilion, which represented the battle by Selim I against the Safavid Shah Ismail in 1514, the Karabali Garden was in all likelihood erected to commemorate Selim's victory over the Persians and its Persianate layout might well have been chosen for the same reason. Although the *chaharbagh* design cannot be encountered in other Ottoman gardens after this, the example testifies to the fact that there was a familiarity with such geometrical layouts – after all an integrative part of Persian culture, which in turn constituted an important cultural reference point for the Ottomans – and was clearly not completely foreign to the Ottoman world. Moreover it shows that gardens could very well carry ideological messages and be an object of inter-imperial rivalry, which the Ottomans

[132] Raşid for example simply notes of the Cedvel-i Sîm to be a wide and straight canal: "ʿarîz bir mecrâ-yı hemvâr-ı müstakîm" (Raşid, vol. V, 445). The other chroniclers do not describe the Cedvel-i Sîm at all in its architectural terms.
[133] Gazel by Nahifi in Akay, vol. II, 624.
[134] Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 32-33.

knew to employ. Similar ideological dimensions with regard to the Safavid neighbour have in fact also been attributed to Saʿdâbâd – I shall treat these with more scrutiny in the following chapter. Another example testifying to the presence of axial garden layouts in the Ottoman cultural memory are the gardens models featuring in the 1721 circumcision procession for the sons of Sultan Ahmed III. These garden models displayed an extremely regular, symmetric and geometrical layout. Clear-cut geometrical flowerbeds, cut through by linear garden paths, surrounded a central pool. If pavilions were present, these were always positioned symmetrically along the main axes.[135]

Returning to Istanbul's gardens, apart from the example of Karabali Garden we know of a few other gardens, which featured a symmetrical layout with a water canal as main axis. This was the case for the *mesîre* at Beykoz, very similar in design to Kâğıthane[136] as well as for the imperial Tokat Garden, also featuring a linear canal with a pavilion on one of its ends.[137] While not possessing a water canal, the imperial Fener Köşkü at Fenerbahçe on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus, erected in the seventeenth century under Süleyman II, nevertheless was characterized by a strictly axial-symmetrical layout, as the aquarelle paintings by Cornelius Loos impressively depict.[138] Another example of just shortly before the construction of Saʿdâbâd is Damad İbrahim Pasha's Yalı Köşkü erected in 1719 on the Bosphorus shore at Çırağan. Here, a number of garden pavilions were situated on the central axis of a central rectangular water basin.[139]

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[135] Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-century Ottoman Festival* (Istanbul: Koçbank 1999). See also Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976), 208-213.
[136] The date of its establishment is unfortunately not known, but must have been latest in the first half of the eighteenth century. See Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri*, 5.
[137] *Ibid.*, 186-187.
[138] In Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 37-38; appendix, fig. 7 and 8 and in Eldem, *Kasırlar ve Köşkler*, 68.
[139] Eldem, *Kasırlar ve Köşkler*, 218.

According to Eldem, the geometrical garden type characterized by an axial-symmetrical layout reminiscent of the *chaharbagh* model was in fact a characteristic of the interior gardens of *konak*s, private houses and palaces.[140] The description of Ottoman gardens in Istanbul by the Italian natural scientist and botanist Domenico Sestini from the latter half of the eighteenth century seems to corroborate this claim – Sestine finds the Ottoman gardens to be generally based on the application of geometrical models:

> Generalmente parlondo i loro Orti, o semi-Giardini, e così li chiamerò, giacchè partcipano e dell'uno, e dell'altro, sono piantati, o delineati in quadro, con i loro Viali all'intorno del medesimo, e nel mezzo ancora, in croce, o in altra forma con varie divisioni (…)[141]

Yet since the source material for gardens before the eighteenth century is very limited – especially regarding non-imperial gardens, as no *yalı*s and *konak*s from before the eighteenth century have survived – it is hard to verify these claims. For the eighteenth century evidence testifying to the popularity of straight water canals in both private residential as well as public gardens is abundant – unfortunately it seems at this point impossible to establish, whether the design at Saʿdâbâd was itself the trigger for this fashion or whether it can be seen in a longer continuous line of axial garden layouts at Istanbul.[142]

Clear predecessors from an architectural point of view can however be found in the gardens of the sultanic palace at Edirne, which was greatly extended while Mehmed IV, the father of Sultan Ahmed III, stayed there during the second half of the seventeenth century. In fact, a number of architectural features so characteristic of the architecture of the Tulip Age can be traced back to these building activities in late seventeenth-century Edirne. Amongst these features for example the taste for floral decorative motives on stone and wood, wall paintings in naturalist style

[140] Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri*, 284-285.
[141] Domenico Sestini, *Opuscoli del Signor Abate Domenico Sestini* (Florence: n.p., 1785), 117.
[142] Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri.*

depicting fruits, vegetation, city views and gardens as well as the technique of constructing light and transparent wooden pavilions.[143] As garden design is concerned, in particular the Şehvar Basin (erected 1661) on the grounds of the palace is worth mentioning in our context, since it constituted an axial composition around an elongated rectangular water basin. Three pavilions on the pool's three edges formed part of the geometrical composition, lying along the two perpendicular main axes. Interestingly enough, one of the pavilions on the longer side of the basin was also called Saʿdâbâd. Edirne's Saʿdâbâd was a two-storied structure with a terrace directly by the edge of the pool.[144] Another parallel that might be drawn between Mehmed IV's Edirne Palace and Ahmed III's Saʿdâbâd is the lining of a river with marble revetments, a feature also prominent for the Tuna river passing by the palace in Edirne.[145] Although this is not the place to further examine the significance of the court's stay in Edirne for the Tulip Age, it shall suffice to point out that beyond architecture there are a number of other parallels suggesting that the Tulip Age was not an abrupt turning point in the history of the Ottoman Empire induced by outside forces, but did have in fact indigenous roots. Thus under Mehmed IV banquets, lavish gifts, theatre performances, fireworks, clowning and equestrian displays determined the life at Edirne Palace. The city, too, flourished: mosques and *medrese*s were erected to promote religious and scientific life and the local artisanship profited from the presence of the imperial court. The sultan had the extensive palace grounds reorganized, which entailed the planting of thousands of trees brought from as far as Sofia, the installation of fountains and water basins and the erection of numerous

[143] Rifat Osman, *Edirne Sarayı* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1957).
[144] Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, p. 9; Osman, 92.
[145] Şazuman Sazak, "Türk Bahçe Sanatına bir Örnek: Edirne Sarayı Bahçesi," *Trakya Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Dergisi* 2 (2005):12.

light and transparent wooden pavilions.[146] Ahmed III spent his childhood in this environment and it was for him and his brother, the future Sultan Mustafa II, that a splendid circumcision festival was held in Edirne in 1675, resembling in many ways the festival arranged by Ahmed III in 1720 at the occasion of the circumcision of his own sons.[147] These facts make claims locating the origins of the Tulip Age in Mehmed IV's Edirne indeed plausible, although a study on the topic has yet to be undertaken. In any case, relevant for the topic dealt with here is the evidence of architectural forms resembling those of Saʿdâbâd – water canals or rectangular pools as part of garden layouts based on symmetrical axiality – at the palace gardens in Edirne as well as at Istanbul gardens and in garden models. This evidence qualifies the claim of Saʿdâbâd's garden constituting a complete novelty without predecessors, whose origins therefore necessarily have to be sought in foreign models like the French one.

Historical Continuity and New Trends in Garden Layout

Moreover, in this context it needs to be pointed out, that despite the axiality constituted by the Cedvel-i Sîm, 'traditional' Ottoman garden principles, which favoured asymmetrical open compositions allowing for multiple viewpoints and perspectives,[148] were not at all neglected. As has been outlined above, the Cedvel-i Sîm did not constitute a central axis along which *all* other elements of the garden and palace buildings were organized. The buildings were orientated along multiple axes, symmetry was understated and multiple panoramas catered for, although the

[146] Osman, 31-33. See also Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1923* (London: John Murray, 2005), pp. 276-277. Unfortunately, the stay of Mehmed IV in Edirne is an under researched topic.

[147] For Mehmed IV's celebrations in 1675 see Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972) and for the 1720 circumcision festival by Ahmed III: Esin Atıl, "The Story of an Eighteenth-century Ottoman Festival," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 181-201.

[148] Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 39; Evyapan, *Eski Türk Bahçeleri*; Cerasi, "Open space, water and trees"; Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri", 151-152.

perspective of the Cedvel-i Sîm was clearly the preferred visual axis. An all-encompassing axiality and symmetrical system emphasizing one single perspective as in European baroque gardens or Safavid and Mughal *chaharbagh* compositions was not present in the case of Saʿdâbâd. This has led many authors to regard Saʿdâbâd's Cedvel-i Sîm as no more than the superficial, technical application of a foreign structural principle to an unchanged groundwork.

I want to argue, however, that Saʿdâbâd's garden design did constitute a shift, despite the historical continuity it was certainly rooted in. The novelty observable at Saʿdâbâd can be seen in the emphasis put on display that comes to the fore more markedly than before.[149] Yes, there had been canals in earlier Ottoman gardens, but none was as long as the Cedvel-i Sîm. Fountains and water jets had always been an essential element of Ottoman gardens, but the water cascades at Saʿdâbâd were unique. Pavilions on a waterfront, too, were nothing new, but at Saʿdâbâd we encounter a much more monumental wooden palace with a continuous elongated façade, which is different from the unconnected buildings typical of earlier royal gardens. And instead of a screen of cypresses around the garden, as had been typical of imperial gardens of the classical age, Saʿdâbâd was enclosed only by a low wall and see-through wooden railings, exposing the court society to the public gaze from the surrounding *mesîre*.[150] The political and social context of this architectural shift towards display shall be dealt with in more detail in chapter 6. For the moment, a last aspect remains to be treated here as regards the spatial layout of Saʿdâbâd: this

[149] Gülru Necipoğlu as well as Shirine Hamadeh argue in this way. See Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 45 and Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*, chapter 2.

[150] Atasoy argues that the high walls with which imperial gardens were surrounded was for the visual protection of the sultan's *harem*. Atasoy, *Hasbahçe*, 50. On the characteristics of imperial gardens during the classical age see Atasoy, *Hasbahçe*, 53. On this new aspect at Saʿdâbâd see Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 45.

concerns the more than 120 pavilions (*köşk*) erected by Ottoman dignitaries in Kâğıthane and on the hillsides surrounding the end of the Golden Horn.[151]

Grandees and Commoners: Saʿdâbâd as an Amphitheatre

The area over which these pavilions were distributed was specified by the chronicler Küçük Çelebizade as including the hills on both sides of the Cedvel-i Sîm from Saʿdâbâd palace to Hürremabad, an imperial pavilion situated at the canal's opposite end, as well as the area stretching from the Sultaniye royal gardens at Eyüp on the Western coast of the Golden Horn to those at Karaağaç on the opposite shore. The land in question was distributed one year after the construction of Saʿdâbâd by sultanic decree as freehold property (*mülk*) to state dignitaries (*âʿyân-ı huddâm-ı devlet*) with the permission (*ruhsat*) to build pavilions (*kasr, âramgâh*) and the order (*fermân*) to plant abundant vineyards and fruit bearing trees on these stretches of land.[152] As three property deeds (*mülknâme*), which have been located in the archives, show, the dignitaries in question included middle- and high-ranking army officers and palace staff like the chief gate-keeper (*kapıcılar kethüdâsı*),[153] the head of the corps of imperial gardeners (*bostâncı başı*),[154] the chief armourer (*cebeci başı*)[155] or the grand vizier's private secretary (*sadr-ı ʿâlî mühürdârı*).[156] The land was partitioned in rectangular plots of thirty to sixty *zirâʿ* (22-30m) in width and 150 to 180 *zirâʿ* (114m) in length, which were bordering each other (*muttasıl*) and were

[151] The number varies according to the different authors. Ayvansarayi speaks of 120 pavilions (p. 385), Subhî states that 156 individuals were awarded land parcels on which to erect pavilions (Subhî Mehmed Efendi, *Subhî Târihi: Sâmî ve Şâkir Târihleri İle Birlikte*, ed. by Mesut Aydıner (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2007), 138) while Küçük Çelebizade fixes the number at 170 (p. 42).

[152] Çelebizade, 42.

[153] OBA C.ML 27320 (26 Receb 1135/2 May 1723), C.ML 9988 (21 Şaban 1135/27 May 1723).

[154] OBA C.ML 9990 (23 Şaban 1135/29 May 1723). This *mülknâme* can be found in transcription in the appendix as an example for these title deeds – the ones that have been consulted are identical, except for the names and the dates of size and location.

[155] OBA C.ML 9990.

[156] OBA C.ML 27320.

apparently allotted to the grandees upon the presentation of a petition (*ʿarzuhâl*). This might point to a high demand for these plots of land – Sâmî mentions that the majority of the candidates behaved importunately (*mütekâzî*) and were unsatisfied with the land awarded (*gayr-i râzî*)[157] – and the consequent decision to hand out relatively small parcels lying directly next to each other. Moreover, some of the parcels were situated directly by the public roads (*tarîk-i ʿâmm*) crossing the area, which must have entailed the possibility of considerably insight into the elite's gardens as well as of the activities therein by the urban public. Küçük Çelebizade relates that indeed within short time after the issuing of a *fermân* 170 pavilions were erected in exquisite styles (*tarzları nâ-dîde*), which he unfortunately does not qualify further.[158] Raşid refers to the pavilions as being built in the style of Bosphorus villas (*hisâr yalıları*).[159] Unfortunately we possess hardly any further information about the pavilions' architectural characteristics. We only know that they were no longer painted in red ochre as was customary for pavilions before, but instead in European pastel colours[160] – a new fashion, which might have contributed to Küçük Çelebizade's judgement of these residences as *nadîde*.

The palace of Saʿdâbâd can thus not be thought of as an isolated imperial palace: situated around it were more than 120 residences by palace grandees, some of them in the direct vicinity of the imperial palace on the surrounding hills, from where one had an unobstructed view into the palace grounds. A delicate regime of visibility and display, a subtle play of seeing and being seen was in this way established between the sultan and his *harem* on the one, and the 'nobility' of state grandees and the urban population on the other side. The fact that the Ottoman 'nobility' was

[157] Subhî, 138.
[158] Çelebizade, 42.
[159] Raşid, vol. V, 445. *Hisâr* can refer either to *Anadolu* or to *Rumeli Hisârı*, the two fortresses on the Asian and European Bosphorus shores respectively.
[160] Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 46. On the exterior painting of Ottoman palaces and houses see also Kuban, *Wooden Palaces*, 50-52.

ordered by the sultan to erect residences around his own summer palace hints at a functional interest on the side of the imperial centre to do so: on the one hand this ensured an attentive audience for the sultan's display, while on the other hand, the dignitaries were integrated in a very literal, material way, into this display of the state vis-à-vis Istanbul's population. At a period when the Ottoman sultan was no longer the absolute ruler of the classical age, but dependent on an extended system of multiple power holders, the spatial layout at Saʿdâbâd reflects the need to bind these power holders to the to the centre by obliging them to take part in a concerted demonstration of state pomp and magnificence.[161]

Interestingly, not only the state elite was encouraged to establish residences at Kâğıthane: simultaneously the palace attempted to promote increased settlement of the area by the common population. To this effect, the population of Kâğıthane's village, located close to the end of the Cedvel-i Sîm, was exempted from taxes (*avârız* and *tekâlîf*) and land parcels on the hillsides of Kâğıthane valley up to Cendere further in the North were to be distributed freely as property (*temlîk olunmak*) to commoners.[162] The chronicler Sâmî also relates that together with the distribution of land to the dignitaries, the local inhabitants (*ahâlî*), too, were awarded land parcels.[163] Moreover, the new landowners were freed from levies on their agricultural produce.[164] Apparently, then, the palace's preference in terms of urban development was the extension of settlement and cultivation into suburban areas. It is remarkable that settlement of commoners in the area around Saʿdâbâd was

[161] A similar phenomenon could be observed in France under Louis XIV – who becomes now less seen as the prototype of an absolute king and instead as dependent on multiple power holders – where the French aristocracy was obliged to maintain a residential palace both at Paris and at Versailles. Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft: Untersuchungen zur Soziologie des Königtums und der höfischen Aristokratie*, 7. Edition (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1994), 71 and Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).
[162] Kağıthane Belediye Başkanlığı, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kağıthane*, 39.
[163] Subhî, 138.
[164] Kağıthane Belediye Başkanlığı, *Osmanlı Belgelerinde Kağıthane*, 39.

explicitly desired and might additionally to economic interests also be linked to the concern for display towards the urban population by the imperial society. It testifies to the emergence of the sultan from his seclusion behind the high walls of the Topkapı Palace and the greatly increased visibility of both himself and the court society throughout the space of the Ottoman capital.

Visibility can thus be considered a key characteristic of Saʿdâbâd's physical, spatial outline – both as far as its architectural style is concerned and with regard to the spatial setting of the palace on the ground of Kâğıthane valley, surrounded by hills on which commoners and grandees would be assemble to observe – and participate in – the spectacle of sultanic display. This emphasis on visibility and display is naturally not separable from – and in fact turns out to be closely connected to – social practice; this thread will therefore be taken up again in the last chapter.

As far as the following discussion regarding the possible architectural models for Saʿdâbâd's design is concerned, the indigenous tradition Saʿdâbâd can be located in should be kept in mind – with the academic discourse focussed almost entirely on the primacy of French versus Persian influences, pointing to local precedents and the existing Ottoman familiarity with the supposedly foreign models may provide a relativising framework to the at times heatedly carried out discussion. Moreover the fact that Saʿdâbâd's layout did clearly not aim to create an all-encompassing regime of symmetry based on central axiality or rigid geometry also relativises claims at the imitation of grand monumental projects.

CHAPTER 4

MENTAL SPACE I:
INFLUENCE OR SAʿDÂBÂD BETWEEN 'EAST' AND 'WEST'

After having looked in detail at the physical materiality of Saʿdâbâd I now want to turn to Saʿdâbâd as a mental space, that is, to the way it was and is conceived of, talked about and represented by eighteenth-century Ottoman and European contemporaries as well as by modern historians. This wide topic will be dealt with in two chapters: First, the question of influence – around which the academic discussion concerning Saʿdâbâd is focussed almost exclusively – shall be reviewed in this chapter, representing the modern discourse on Saʿdâbâd or in other words the mental space of modern historians. This will be followed by an investigation in the subsequent two chapters of the different ways European and Ottoman eighteenth-century contemporaries perceived Saʿdâbâd and where thus the mental space of Saʿdâbâd as held by the historical actors will be at stake.

The search for architectural models that may have inspired Saʿdâbâd's design is as old as the palace itself. It has its roots in European travelogues, which assert with persistency that Saʿdâbâd was a more or less successful imitation of European, especially French palaces and gardens. The claim was made as early as during the construction of the palace itself[165] and then perpetuated through the literature of European travellers and diplomats from where it found its way into modern historiography. Since the palace itself does no longer exist and other sources on

[165] Erimtan claims that the French traveller Albert Vandal first depicted Saʿdâbâd as an imitation of Versailles (Erimtan 2007, 47), a claim that was subsequently taken up by Ahmet Refik. The imitation theme is however already stated by the Venetian *bailo* Emo in a letter dated 2 September 1722 in which he relates that the Ottoman ambassador Mehmet Efendi had brought with him plans of the French palace of Fontainebleau, which inspired İbrahim Pasha to construct Saʿdâbâd in a similar fashion (Shay, 20-21). Another contemporary, the French ambassador in Istanbul from 1716 until 1724, Marquis de Bonnac, makes the same statement in his *Mémoire* of 1724 (Marquis de Bonnac, *Mémoire historique sur l'ambassade de France à Constantinople* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), 155). From then onwards, it is present throughout the entire travel literature.

Saʿdâbâd are rare, European travelogues have constituted an important source for the reconstruction of the palace's architecture and history – and continue to do so. Yet the claims these sources make have for a long time been accepted without further criticism or investigation and the Western-imitation theme has hence only recently become the object of academic criticism.[166] Interestingly enough, contemporary Ottoman observers remained silent on this question – they mentioned neither European nor other influences explicitly.

With the sources presently available it is unfortunately not possible to reach a final conclusion regarding the question of imitation. Despite the recent literature, which emphasizes the significance of Persian models as inspiration for Saʿdâbâd, I want to argue here that French architecture *was* in fact a major source of inspiration. Yet arguing in that way does not necessarily entail subscribing to the 'Westernization paradigm' in Ottoman history, nor does it inevitably entail the negation of the significance of a wider Islamic and Turko-Persian cultural universe, which Ottoman architecture of the eighteenth century was certainly still rooted in. Crucial is here the understanding of cultural influence and transfer, as it often carries an implicit understanding of a hierarchical relationship between a supposedly active and dominant donor and a passive and thus inferior recipient. If conceptualized as such, influence is only naturally vigorously denied on the part of the recipient in a defensive stance against implications of inferiority, not seldom arising out of a nationalistic impulse. Sedad Hakkı Eldem thus for example vigorously argues against any Western influences on Saʿdâbâd's layout, and maintains the persistence of 'authentic' Turkish values instead.[167] On the other hand, the literature maintaining

[166] Erimtan, "Perception of Saadabad", Hamadeh, "Question of Westernization".
[167] Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 6.

Western influences to have been decisive in the layout of Saʿdâbâd implicitly position Western Europe as superior to an Ottoman Empire in decline.

The hierarchical understanding of cultural influence is one, however, which needs to be reconsidered, especially as far as Saʿdâbâd is concerned. Research in the social sciences, especially in the fields of anthropology and post-colonial studies, has since long shown that cross-cultural inspiration, the give and take of ideas and methods is a common phenomenon in the realm of culture and does not automatically entail a hierarchical relationship that places the donor in a dominant and the recipient in a passive position.[168] On the contrary, the recipient in fact plays an active role in cross-cultural exchange, as he (or she) has – at least in many cases – to some extent a choice of what to adopt and what to reject. Objects of cultural transfer moreover do not remain unaffected when crossing cultural borders, since they are interpreted or misinterpreted by the recipient, creatively adopted, imbued with different or multiple meanings, or even resisted against. Additionally, such a dynamic understanding of influence entails challenging the concept of cultures as separate and internally homogeneous entities: Influence does not take place between opposing cultural blocks that stand in a hierarchical relation to each other, but instead takes place between specific actors, whose choices are determined not only because they adhere to a particular culture, but also due to their particular social, political and economic setting.

[168] The literature on the notion of influence and cross-cultural exchanges is abundant and transverses the boundaries of a number of academic disciplines. Especially anthropology and post-colonial studies have made important contributions to the development of a non-hierarchical understanding of influence and cultural reception. Bailey, *Jesuit Missions*, 22-25 gives a good overview on theories of cultural exchange. On the notion of influence with regard to Islamic art in particular, which has long been held to be static and tradition-bound see Walter B. Denny, "Points of Stylistic Contact in the Architecture of Islamic Iran and Anatolia," *Islamic Art* 2 (1987): 27-41. For the appropriation of foreign influences by the Ottomans see also Maurice Cerasi, "'Frenk, Hind ve Sind': Real or Imaginary in the Aesthetics of Ottoman Open Space," *Environmental Design: The City as a Garden* 1 (1986): 16-23.

I am subscribing here to such a non-hierarchical and dynamic notion of influence, in order to evade positioning a superior 'West', the supposed source of all inspiration, vis-à-vis an inferior 'East', relegated to the position of a passive recipient of Western cultural products. Subscribing to such an understanding of the notion of influence in the case of Saʿdâbâd shall also help to calm down the discussion on the 'imitation question', since the acknowledgement of Western European influence on the architecture of Saʿdâbâd then does no longer mean assigning the Ottomans a passive position vis-à-vis the Europeans. Moreover, it allows acknowledging that appropriated architectural elements may be imbued with different meanings – a mechanism apparently at play in the case of Saʿdâbâd, as we shall see in the following.

The Embassy by Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi

To begin with, let's look at those facts, which supposedly testify to Western influence on the design of Saʿdâbâd. It is the ambassadorial mission of Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi to France in 1720/21, which is generally regarded as the main trigger for Ottoman interest in French court culture and aesthetic. Central to this argument is Mehmed Efendi's written report of his travel (*sefâretnâme*), which he was asked to compose before his departure by grand vizier İbrahim Pasha and presented to sultan and grand vizier upon his return in October 1721, that is, approximately half a year prior to the construction of Saʿdâbâd. Before his departure one year earlier on 7 October 1720,[169] Mehmed Efendi had been briefed by the grand vizier not only on the diplomatic issues he was expected to resolve – the official

[169] Mehmed Efendi, *Le paradis des infidèles: Relation de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence*, ed. by Gilles Veinstein, trans. by Julien-Claude Galland (Paris: La Découverte, 2004), 58-59. On the mission see also E. d'Aubigny, "Un ambassadeur turc à Paris sous la Régence," *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* 3 (1889): 78-91, 200-235.

reason for the 1721 mission was the issue of the renovation of the Church of the Holy Grave in Jerusalem. İbrahim Pasha moreover wanted his ambassador to collect general information about France's financial and political situation as well as "faire une étude approfondie des moyens de civilisation et d'éducation et de faire un rapport sur ceux capables d'être appliqués."[170] In the report finally submitted by Mehmed Efendi political and diplomatic issues are not at the centre of the narrative. Rather, it is the experience of being confronted with a strange and different civilization, which Mehmed Efendi expresses there on paper – a civilization strange and different, yes, but extremely fascinating and attractive at the same time. During his ten-month stay Mehmed Efendi was hosted in the palaces of the French aristocracy, he participated in the royal hunt, was invited to the Parisian opera and inspected the French observatory – in short, he experienced French court life of the *Régence*. He reported of this noble world of entertainment and pleasure as much with wonder as with a great deal of enthusiasm and showed much admiration for French art and architecture. It was in particular the French gardens that incited Mehmed Efendi's admiration, although he admitted that they were "construits d'une manière toute nouvelle pour moi."[171] In fact, his report reads like a climactic journey from garden to garden, one more beautiful than the other, culminating in the monumental gardens of Marly and Versailles. In the description of all these gardens, what he remarks with repetition is the effect of parallel planted and cut trees of the same height lining promenades and avenues and forming walls of green (*sebze*

[170] Gilles Veinstein, introduction to *Le paradis des infidèles: Relation de Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed efendi, ambassadeur ottoman en France sous la Régence*, trans. and ed. by Gilles Veinstein (Paris: La Découverte, 2004), 26-28. The quotation is a direct translation into French from the instructions given to Mehmed Efendi by İbrahim Pasha: Veinstein, Introduction, 28.

[171] So the French translation: Mehmed Efendi, *Paradis des infidèles*, 89. The corresponding Ottoman expression is: *tarh ve tarzı gayr-i ma'hûd-ı hâlet fezâ-yı bâğçeler*: Mehmed Efendi, *Sefâretnâme-i Mehmed Efendi* (Istanbul: Matbaʿa-i ʿİlmiyye-i ʿOsmâniyye, 1283 [1866-67]), 25; reprinted in Beynun Akyavaş (ed.), *Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi'nin Fransa Sefâretnâmesi* (Ankara: Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1993), 97.

dıvârları).[172] But more than anything else, Mehmed Efendi was impressed by the water works, the fountains, canals and water cascades he encountered, which he described in considerable length and detail.[173] In the end he comes to the conclusion that Versailles is unsurpassed in Europe and that it deserves to be counted among the wonders of the world.[174]

These descriptions by Mehmed Efendi have been taken to constitute the direct sources of inspiration for the design of Saʿdâbâd:[175] for the geometric, straight shape of the Cedvel-i Sîm, for the water cascades, the lines of even-sized trees lining the canal, for the water jets placed in the pools in front of the harem. Accordingly, different claims have been made, which see Saʿdâbâd as imitation either of Fontainebleau, or of Versailles or of Marly. Indeed, some parallels between the architecture of Saʿdâbâd and these palaces are noteworthy, such as the canal of Fontainebleau, the water cascades at Marly or a fountain at St Cloud, which has dragonheads serving as waterspouts. Chronologically, such an inspiration was indeed possible: Mehmed Efendi submitted his report in October 1721 and the construction of Saʿdâbâd started half a year later in spring 1722. What seems difficult, however, is to explain concrete architectural resemblance from the lengthy and enthusiastic, but in architectural terms vague descriptions of Mehmed Efendi.

Of crucial importance to establish concrete architectural parallels to French models are therefore architectural plans and other visual material, which would allow

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[172] *Muraille de verdure* in the French text: Mehmed Efendi, *Paradis des infidèles*, 107, 121, 122, 125. For the Ottoman expression *sebze dîvârları* see the Ottoman original: *Sefâretnâme-i Mehmed Efendi*, 50; reprinted in Akyavaş, 123.

[173] Mehmed Efendi, *Paradis des infidèles*, 120-121; 121-122; 122-124; 125-127.

[174] *Ibid.*, 129, 131.

[175] Among the abundant literature see for example E. d'Aubigny, "Un ambassadeur turc à Paris sous la Régence," *Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique* 3 (1889): 78-91, 200-235; Ülkü Ü. Bates, "The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture," in: *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, ed. by Abraham Ascher, Tibor Halasi-Kun and Béla K. Király (Brooklyn N.Y.: Brooklyn College Press, 1979), 167-181; Fatma Müge Göçek, *East encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University, 1987); Arel; Kuran; Yenişehirlioğlu.

for a direct replication. In fact, Mehmed Efendi apparently asked for plans of the palaces and gardens he had seen already while being in France and once again after his return to Istanbul in a letter to Maréchal de Villeroi dated 11 July 1722.[176] By that time however, the construction of Saʿdâbâd was already underway. It is nevertheless well possible that Mehmed Efendi had already brought back a number of plans when returning in October 1721 – which the Venetian *bailo* asserted in a letter dated September 1722[177] – and was only asking for some missing plans in July 1722. In fact, the library of the Topkapı Palace contains a considerable number of plans and engravings of French palaces and gardens dating from the late seventeenth century until the 1730s[178] – in particular of the gardens of Versailles – as well as a very popular French architectural handbook, the *Cours d'architecture* by Jacques-François Blondel (1698 edition). This material was evidently examined and used by Ottoman architects and craftsmen, which handwritten notes in Ottoman that can be found on the plans' margins or on attached note paper attest.[179] The French traveller Flachat, too, gives evidence for the use of European plans and architectural handbooks by Ottoman architects, although a few decades later under Mahmud I in the 1750s:

> Ali Effendi, Surintendant des bâtiments en qualité de premier Architecte, dans les beaux jours du regne de Mahamout, (& ce sont ceux où l'on a vu s'élever les édifices les plus réguliers du serrail) avoit un ample recueil de plans & d'estampes. Il s'étoit faire traduire les meilleurs traités d'Architecture.[180]

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[176] The letter is translated into French by Veinstein and the line in question reads: "Nous espérons aussi que vous nous enverrez les dessins des maisons royals et des jardins qui sont imprimés, lesquels vous avez promis." Mehmed Efendi, *Paradis des infidèles*, Appendix, 173.

[177] Shay, 20-21.

[178] In the library of the Topkapı Palace's Museum (*Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine Kütüphanesi*) can be found today: 4 vols. of handbooks on 18th c European architecture, 6 vols. on French architecture, 2 vols. on Italian architecture, 5 vols. on Versailles, 3 vols. on decoration, 2 vols. on garden design, 1 vol. on running water, 1 vol. on the French painter Watteau, 1 vol. with 14 engravings on Versailles. Gül İrepoğlu, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Hazine Kütüphanesindeki Batılı Kaynaklar Üzerine Düşünceler," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Yıllık* 1 (1986): 61.

[179] *Ibid.*, 61; Feryal İrez, "Topkapı Sarayında Harem Bölümün'deki Rokoko Süslemenin Batılı Kaynakları," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Yıllık* 4 (1990): 25.

[180] Flachat, 225.

Unfortunately, however, we do not know when the European plans and engravings became part of the *Hazine Kütüphanesi*, i.e. of the sultan's private library, or who brought them there.[181] In his account of the construction of Saʿdâbâd, the Ottoman court chronicler Raşid relates that the architects in charge of the construction of Saʿdâbâd were instructed by plans or images (*sûret-i tarh ve resm*[182]) about the design of the palace. This might be taken as a hint on the use of French plans during the construction of Saʿdâbâd, but since Raşid does not specify the origin of these plans further, such an assertion has to remain on the level of speculation. Moreover, we do know of European construction workers, artisans and craftsmen from Europe who worked in the Ottoman Empire during the eighteenth century and – since they were not first-class masters themselves – often used European handbooks.[183]

One should furthermore remark in this context that there is also evidence of the direct exchange of artistic ideas between Ottomans architects and the Europeans at Galata and Pera, whose residences, embassy buildings and churches were built in European style.[184] The French military officer François Baron de Tott, who travelled in the Ottoman Empire 1755 to 1763, relates for example that the grand vizier's palace, which had to be renovated after having been destroyed by a fire was subsequently embellished by *fleurs de lis*, an ornamental design the Ottoman architect had observed at the French embassy:

> (...) en faisant reconstruire le palais du Visir après l'incendie dont j'ai parlé, l'architecte employa des fleurs de lis à quatre feuilles pour ornement final de la coupole qui couvre

[181] Apart from ambassadors and translators, such plans might have been brought to Istanbul by merchants as well as missionaries. Especially Jesuit missionaries played a considerable role in the dissemination of European art and architecture to other parts of the globe. See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 109 and Bailey, "Synthesis," 3.

[182] *Resm* apparently denoted usually a two-dimensional ground plan, but could also mean a three-dimensional model. Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, "Plans and Models in 15th- and 16th-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45/3 (1986): 240-241.

[183] İrez, 23.

[184] Bailey thus holds for example that the Jesuit church at Galata, which was built in baroque style, might have been a source of architectural inspiration for the Ottomans during the eighteenth century. Bailey, "Synthesis," 3.

> la porte de séparation des deux cous. Il substitua cet ornement aux croissants qui décoraient l'ancienne porte; il avait observé cette petite décoration au palais de France, il en adopta l'emploi, & personne n'imagina que cela pût rien signifier.[185]

While this suggests a regular exchange of artistic ideas between Ottomans and Europeans during the eighteenth century, for the particular case of Saʿdâbâd we do not have evidence for this kind of direct influence through craftsmen or observation on the ground in Istanbul's European-dominated quarters.

The Evidence Provided by Marquis de Villeneuve

Yet there is another key element that attests to French palaces having acted as models for Saʿdâbâd apart from the ambassadorial mission by Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi and the plans found in the Topkapı Library: this is the correspondence by the Marquis de Villeneuve, French ambassador to Constantinople between the years 1728 and 1740. Unfortunately I have not been able to consult the originals of his correspondence in the French National Archives. However, the nineteenth-century historian Albert Vandal has written an account of Villeneuve's mission based on the original source material. In this publication, Vandal relates a conversation between the French ambassador and İbrahim Pasha based on a letter by Villeneuve himself dated 26 December 1728.[186] In this conversation, İbrahim apparently asked Villeneuve whether the gardens of Versailles were still as beautiful and well kept ("beaux et bien entretenus")[187] and talked in length about his own attempt to imitate Versailles that he had undertaken at Kâğıthane, thereby clearly implying Saʿdâbâd. Raşid's remark when narrating Saʿdâbâd's construction process that the architects were instructed by the grand vizier with plans and pictures and thus erected a

[185] François de Tott, *Mémoires du Baron de Tott sur les Turcs et les Tartares, Maestricht 1785*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004), 143.
[186] Vandal, 90.
[187] This is a direct quote by Vandal from Villeneuve's letter. Vandal, p. 90.

building in the "expected form" (*melhûz olan vech*) and "desired style" (*üslûb-ı matlûb*) seems to suggest that the grand vizier had a clear preconceived idea of what he wanted Saʿdâbâd to look like – one might take this as a hint to an adherence to French models, when taking it together with Vandal's account.[188] Assuming that the latter is faithful to the original letter by Villeneuve, this is very strong evidence for the fact that French palace models were consciously being emulated in the design of Saʿdâbâd.

Of course, this is no 'waterproof' evidence. It may well be that the Ottoman grand vizier spoke of Versailles just to please the Frenchman after having heard that Saʿdâbâd was found by the French to bear resemblances with their own royal palaces – after all six years had passed since the construction of the palace and the two men were professional diplomats. One could also imagine Villeneuve to simply have made this story up in order to please his superiors in Paris. Moreover, İbrahim Pasha was not the only actor involved in the construction of Saʿdâbâd – the sultan, the architect and the craftsmen all decisively influenced its final appearance. Nevertheless, I do regard this account as key evidence attesting to the presence of French models for the design of Saʿdâbâd. This does not mean that the concrete appearance of Saʿdâbâd as it was in the end constructed was or aimed at being a one-to-one imitation of Versailles. But French models were apparently present in the mind of at least one very influential decision-maker. Hence there is considerable evidence testifying to the Ottoman knowledge of French palace models of the type at Versailles and Marly, to an admiration of these models at least by certain parts of the Ottoman elite and even to the conscious attempt at their emulation on the part of İbrahim Pasha. Moreover, the accounts of two historical witnesses actually present in Istanbul when Saʿdâbâd was constructed – the Venetian *bailo* Emo and the French

[188] Raşid, vol. V, 444.

ambassador Bonnac – both hold that the architecture of Saʿdâbâd was inspired by plans brought back from France by Mehmed Efendi.

Although one can certainly sympathize with the cause, which the recent critical historiography that tries to challenge the modernistic Westernization paradigm is defending and has as a reaction started emphasizing other sources of influence, this evidence cannot simply be ignored. To argue against any Western influence would in fact ironically mean the reinstatement of the Orientalist picture of a static, closed-in 'Orient' and relegate the Ottoman Empire into its own and separate cultural orbit. Moreover, a reaction against the apparently existing Western European influence also easily falls into a nationalistic discourse that tries to protect the 'purity' of a national architecture. As outlined above, adopting a dynamic and non-hierarchical concept of influence allows the acknowledgement of Western influence without at the same time subscribing to the 'Westernization paradigm' or denying additional meanings Saʿdâbâd may have had for the Ottomans (as we shall see in chapter 5).

Formal Differences from French Models

However, although Versailles apparently did constitute a model for Saʿdâbâd in some way, it did so only on a limited scale: no foreign grand design was entirely applied at Kâğıthane – Saʿdâbâd's dimensions are negligible compared to the grand projects of Louis XIV at Versailles and Marly – and at most it is the idea of water cascades and of lining the Cedvel-i Sîm with equally sized trees, which might be attributed to French origin. Missing are the all-encompassing axiality, the rigid symmetry and all-pervasive geometry which were characteristic of French baroque architecture and which constituted the backbone of the designs at Versailles and Marly, that is, of those French palaces which Saʿdâbâd was supposedly the imitation

of.[189] Inevitably missing at Saʿdâbâd is also the philosophical dimension, which European gardens at the time carried: gardens stood at the centre of a philosophical discussion concerning the relationship between men and nature and men's experience of the outside world.[190] Moreover, these gardens were dotted with allusions to Greco-Roman mythology in the form of statues and fountains adding a further encoded level of meaning to the spatial setting.[191]

When Mehmed Efendi visited France the fashion of the monumental baroque gardens was in fact already about to become outdated – instead it was the English garden, which came into fashion from the mid-eighteenth century onwards with its more natural, less rigid and less geometric design, expressive of a pre-romantic attitude towards nature.[192] The 'traditional' Ottoman garden – including that of Saʿdâbâd – was on a formal level in fact relatively close to this ideal of the natural garden as it developed during the second half of the eighteenth century in Europe[193] – an ideal which developed not only as a reaction towards the French garden, but also inspired by non-European garden designs reported of by the increasing number of travellers – reports and collections that also served as models of the various *turqueries* and *chinoiseries* in the second half of the century.[194] Thus influence was not only a unidirectional one and – but this leads towards a different area of investigation – while attributing the power to trigger Westernization processes to the

[189] See Pierre-André Lablaude, *Les jardins de Versailles* (Paris: Scala, 1998) on Versailles, Vincent Maroteaux, *Marly: L'autre palais du Soleil* (Paris: Vögele, 2002) on Marly and Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Fontainebleau*, (Paris: Scala, 1998) on Fontainebleau.

[190] For the vision embodied in the garden of Versailles of men controlling and forming nature see Lablaude, 33-38. On the discussion in England in the early eighteenth century, which was centred around the concept of pleasure and men's sensual encounter with the outside world, see the introduction by Patrick Chézaud to William Chambers, *Dissertation sur le Jardinage de l'Orient* (Saint Pierre de Salerne: Gérard Monfort, 2003), 4-5.

[191] Lablaude, 50.

[192] *Ibid.*, 131-144.

[193] Evyapan, "Intrinsic values," 46. Evyapan argues that although similar on a formal level, English and Ottoman gardens differed fundamentally on a conceptual level: while in the English garden, nature was staged to look natural so that in the end what looked natural was in fact an artificial product, in the Ottoman garden nature was taken as it is and interfered with only minimally.

[194] Lablaude, 140.

application of European architectural elements in the non-European world, Europe's seemingly so harmless and naïve exoticist fashions themselves should perhaps not be underestimated in their significance.

Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi – A Symptom or an Exception?

Furthermore, one needs to bear in mind that Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi was after all an individual case, who cannot necessarily be regarded as exemplary for a general Ottoman attitude. His enthusiasm for French arts and architecture, for Western European forms of socializing or science was certainly not shared by all Ottomans, not even by the entire upper or the entire ruling class. A case in point is Mehmed Emnî Efendi, Ottoman ambassador to the Russian Empire between 1739 and 1742.[195] Characterized by a generally sceptical outlook towards all what he encountered and what was shown to him, his reaction is particularly interesting, as he visited the Russian empire shortly after the 'Westernization' efforts of Peter the Great – one can hence read here how an Ottoman regarded the Westernization efforts of another supposedly 'backward' empire. During his visit, Mehmed Emnî Efendi was also taken to Peterhof, a royal palace complex built by Peter the Great in 1725 outside of St. Petersburg, which was modelled after the gardens of Versailles and Marly, featuring a long central water canal, several water cascades, a great number of fountains and water jets and other baroque elements like a grotto and various statues. Mehmed Emnî Efendi, who, so one can certainly assume, must have known Saʿdâbâd, thus encountered here another 'imitation' of those French gardens, which the Ottomans supposedly also had attempted to imitate. Although the Russians

[195] The ambassadorial report of Mehmed Emnî Efendi has been published in transcription: *Mehmed Emnî Beyefendi (Paşa)'nın Rusya sefâreti ve sefâret-nâmesi,* ed. by Münir Aktepe. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1989. On this particular diplomatic mission see also Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It,* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006),192-193.

apparently expected their Ottoman guest to show great admiration for this work of architecture, which they themselves regarded as extraordinary,[196] Mehmed Emnî Efendi was only moderately impressed. In his report of the embassy, a lengthy description of the different pools and water jets in a neutral and rather distanced tone is followed by the remark that the "Frankish" (*tarh-ı frengi*)[197] architecture of Peterhof was deficient in proportion and measure. Moreover the gardens were according to his taste lacking flowers and upon remarking this he simply declares the "animal-like" effort (*emek-i taʿzîb-i hayvân*), which was expended on the construction to have been altogether in vain.[198] Noteworthy are some of the terms of description he uses in his report: the setting of Peterhof with its trees and hills reminds him of villages in Albania[199] and he finds the great water jet to be as strong as the waters of the paradise-like Damascus (*âb-ı Şâm-ı cennet*), which are known to be so powerful as to lift a water melon.[200] The Ottoman ambassador displays here both an Ottoman, *Rumi* horizon through the reference to Albania as well as an outlook rooted in an Islamic system of reference.

To take Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi's mission as evidence for a general embracive Ottoman attitude towards European culture would thus entail disregarding the sceptical attitude, which certain parts of the Ottoman elite obviously held regarding French architecture. Moreover, focussing solely on Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi would also mean ignoring the diplomatic missions towards 'the East' (and the North in fact), which were sent out by the Ottomans during the eighteenth century. What is evident is that since the beginning of the eighteenth century the number of ambassadorial missions in total increased considerably, apparently due to the

[196] Mehmed Emnî Efendi, 67.
[197] *Ibid.*, 67.
[198] *Ibid.*, 68.
[199] *Ibid.*, 66.
[200] *Ibid.*, 67.

realization after the disadvantageous peace treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718) that one needed both to present one's own policies at foreign courts in a favourable light in order to rally political support as well as to gather diplomatic information about potential allies and enemies.[201] This need for representation was obviously not limited to the European states – thus Ottoman ambassadorial missions during the eighteenth century were sent amongst others also to Russia, Iran, Mughal India, Morocco and Bukhara.[202] And at the same time as Mehmed Efendi departed for France in October 1720, another Ottoman ambassador set out in the opposite direction: Dürrî Ahmed Efendi left the Ottoman capital in late August or September 1720 for an ambassadorial mission to Safavid Iran.[203] During his stay Dürrî Efendi did however not visit Isfahan – the location of Shah Abbas' magnificent mosques, palaces and gardens – but was received by the Safavid Shah Husayin at Tehran, a provincial town at the time, which was nevertheless endowed with a number of noble residences.[204] Similar to Mehmed Efendi, Dürrî Efendi participated during his stay in the various entertainments of the foreign court present at Tahran, stayed in different Safavid palaces and visited their gardens. Yet certainly due to his rather sceptical personality, Dürrî Efendi approached most of what was

[201] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Der osmanische Blick nach Osten: Dürrî Ahmed Efendi über den Zerfall des Safawidenreiches 1720-1721," in: *Wahrnehmungen des Fremden: Differenzerfahrungen von Diplomaten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Michael Rohrschneider and Arno Strohmeyer, (Münster: Aschendorff, 2007), 368.

[202] For a comprehensive listing with short descriptions of Ottoman embassies up until the mid-nineteenth century see Faik Reşit Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu), 1968.

[203] The ambassadorial report is included in *Târih-i Râşid* and exists as a French translation. Dürrî Ahmed Efendi, "Takrîr-i elçi-i müşarünleyh," in: *Târih-i Râşid*, vol. V (Istanbul: Matbaʿa-i Âmire, 1282 [1865-66]), 372-398 and Dourry Efendy, *Relation de Dourry Efendy ambassadeur de la Porte Ottomane auprès du roi de Perse, traduite du turk et suivie de l'Extrait des voyages des Pétis de la Croix, rédigé par lui-même*, transl. by M. de Fiennes (Paris: n.p., 1810). I was unfortunately not able to consult the French translation.

[204] The date given in *Târih-i Râşid* for the date of Dürrî Efendi's departure (Şaban-Ramazan 1131/Haziran-Temmuz 1719) has been shown to be wrong by Münir Aktepe (Münir Aktepe, "Dürrî Ahmet Efendi'nin Iran sefareti." *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi* 1 (1967): 60 and 2 (1967): 61). Dürrî Efendi was still in Istanbul in August 1720 and departed from Baghdad for the Safavid Empire in November 1720. He must have left Istanbul therefore in late August or September 1720. For an analysis of the mission by Dürrî Efendi see Faroqhi, "Blick nach Osten."

presented to him with a good deal of a priori disapproval and the report he submitted upon his return in December 1721 could thus not compare with Mehmed Efendi's exuberant enthusiasm – probably also due to the fact that he had only seen provincial Tehran and not magnificent Isfahan. What remains for certain is nevertheless the fact that simultaneously with the supposed 'opening towards the West' of the Tulip Age, 'the East' formed as much an important part of Istanbul's agenda – in political and in cultural terms.

Inspiration from 'the East': Formal Resemblances and Differences

Instead of searching for architectural models that potentially acted as sources of inspiration for the design of Saʿdâbâd singularly in the West, it is therefore justified to turn one's view also in this matter towards the East. And indeed, remarkable formal architectural resemblances with Saʿdâbâd become apparent when considering palace and garden architecture of Safavid Iran and Mughal India.

The key element of Saʿdâbâd's design for example, the Cedvel-i Sîm, might not only have been inspired by the grand canal at Versailles, but also by Safavid and Mughal geometrical garden compositions featuring straight central water canals lined by uniform trees, adorned by water cascades and fountains. A number of possible models for Saʿdâbâd's Cedvel-i Sîm have thus been suggested: the Nahr-i Behisht (Paradise Canal) in the Mughal capital of Shahjahanabad (today Delhi's Red Fort, built 1639-1648),[205] the canal at Jahangir's tomb at Lahore (1628-1638), the main canal in the middle of Isfahan's Chaharbagh Avenue (1596), or the rectangular pool

[205] On Shahjahanabad see Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad: The Sovereign City in Mughal India 1639-1739* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) and Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze," 312-317.

in front of the Chihil Sutûn pavilion also at Isfahan (1646/47).[206] In fact there are many more examples of similar architectural layouts throughout both Safavid and Mughal lands on a more moderate scale than those at the great imperial centres.[207]

These models have in common a geometrical layout with a central water canal as the main axis, which was a well-established tradition that goes back to Timurid garden traditions. The Timurid capital Samarkand was surrounded by an immense belt of royal gardens, which were used for royal receptions, festivals and as residences for Timur. Descriptions of these gardens allow deducing that they were strictly geometrical in layout with perpendicularly arranged water canals and tree lined avenues, often with a palace in the centre and pavilions arranged symmetrically on the sides of the garden.[208] The model for this type of garden is the so-called *chaharbagh* (literally meaning four gardens), a cross plan constituted by two water channels intersecting perpendicularly, creating four plots of irrigated land that were cultivated or planted with flowers.[209] Usually one of these water channels would be elongated and in this way constitute the garden's central axis, being intersected perpendicularly by one or several subordinate channels and thus lined by rectangular plots of land for cultivation.[210] This elongated garden type found in many Persian cities was termed *khiyaban-i chaharbagh* (*khiyaban* meaning principal walk) and functioned as a public promenade linking the urban *dawlatkhana* (the royal palace

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[206] Erimtan, "Perception of Saadabad," 52; Bailey "Synthesis," 11. For an analysis of the Safavid palace complex at Isfahan, including the Chaharbagh avenue see Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze," 306-312.

[207] For example at Shiraz, Ashraf or at Shah Abbas' Farahabad palace along the Black Sea. See Donald N. Wilber, *Persian Gardens & Garden Pavilions* (Rutland and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1962). The *Raste-yi Mussala* in Shiraz for example might also be taken as a model for Saʿdâbâd. It was made up of gardens aligned on the sides of a water channel. This central axis constituted the principal vista of the garden and was decorated with 24 water jets and two cascades. Mahvash Alemi, "The Royal Gardens of the Safavid Period: Types and Models," in: *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. by Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 76.

[208] Wilber, 65.

[209] Wilber, 19-37.

[210] Mahvash Alemi, "Chaharbagh," *Environmental Design: The City as a Garden* 1 (1986): 38-45.

complex) to the suburban royal gardens, as was the case at Isfahan's famous Chaharbagh avenue. Like the main city square, so the *khiyaban-i chaharbagh*, too, constituted a representative stage for the elites, since it connected urban space with the suburban gardens of the well-to-do.[211] Yet the *khiyaban-i chaharbagh* was not only a space for the elite; it was also a place of public promenade for the city's commoners – elements beyond strict formal resemblance, which remind of Istanbul's Saʿdâbâd.[212]

While formal resemblances in the garden layout between Saʿdâbâd and Safavid and Mughal models are quite obvious in terms of geometrical design and water works, one should not ignore the differences, which present itself in a similar fashion as with the French models. Firstly, the Safavid and Mughal cases cited as possible models of inspiration were all characterized by their strict symmetry and an axiality, which encompassed the entire garden and palace layout. As has been demonstrated, such an all-encompassing axiality was not present at Saʿdâbâd. Secondly, while the gardens bore a number of resemblances, the architecture of palaces and garden pavilions differed considerably between the Ottoman and the Safavid or Mughal cases.[213] While the Saʿdâbâd palaces and the garden pavilions were small-scale, light and relatively modest structures, whose splendour lay rather in intricate decoration and their siting in relation to the surrounding nature, Safavid and Mughal architecture was much more representative, featuring for example impressive portals and monumental facades and being of much greater dimensions.

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[211] Alemi, "Royal Gardens," 75-76.

[212] The seventeenth-century traveller to Iran Engelbert Kaempfer for example describes the people of Isfahan sitting on the sides of the Chaharbagh watching all kinds of entertainments. He furthermore mentions that the gardens of dignitaries adjoining the avenue were also partly public. Engelbert Kaempfer, *Am Hofe des persischen Grosskönigs (1684-85): Das erste Buch der Amoenitates Exoticae*, ed. by Walther Hinz, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Geographie und Völkerkunde, vol. VII (Leipzig: Koehler 1940), 159.

[213] For the architecture of Safavid palaces see Wolfram Kleiss, "Safavid Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 269-280.

The same is true for the potential French models for Saʿdâbâd like Versailles or Marly: here, too, the architectural style of the palaces and pavilions differed immensely from the Ottoman case, as the French palace buildings were large-scale stone buildings based on principles such as rigid symmetry and centrality, with their facades richly adorned by columns and friezes as well as mythological figures and ornamentation. Saʿdâbâd's built structures thus remained faithful to local architectural traditions of Western Anatolia and Thrace with their light wooden construction in the style of Bosphorus *yalı*s and Istanbul's vernacular architecture. This local connectedness of Saʿdâbâd's architecture might in fact also point to a similar connectedness to local traditions in the case of the garden layout. Potential predecessors of gardens featuring geometrical designs based on central axiality can be encountered both in Istanbul and in Edirne during the two preceding centuries. These have been sufficiently outlined in the previous chapter, yet I would like to stress in this context of the search for foreign roots of Saʿdâbâd's architecture once again that the significance of local roots should not be underestimated.

Hence on a purely formal level it seems that Saʿdâbâd might have been inspired as much by Persian and Mughal royal gardens as by French baroque models. While the conversation between İbrahim Pasha and the French Marquis de Villeneuve in 1728 provide evidence for the primacy of French models, familiarity on the part of the Ottomans with Persian monumental garden layouts – notably the *chaharbagh* type – which bore resemblances to the French gardens, can be assumed to have at least eased the adoption of the French models: Both Indo-Iranian and French baroque examples converged to some degree. Moreover, the context of political rivalry with the Safavid state during the early 1720s possibly inspired the design of Saʿdâbâd as much as did the French models; and to imagine a conversation between İbrahim Pasha and an Iranian ambassador, in which İbrahim elaborates on

the resemblances between Saʿdâbâd and Isfahan's Chahar Bagh Avenue seems not too far fetched. In the following, I shall deal with these points in more detail.

Shared Aesthetics: Turko-Persian Culture

Despite the interest displayed by Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi and İbrahim Pasha in French palace architecture, one should bear in mind, that the culture of the Ottoman Empire was deeply rooted in a Turko-Persian tradition, which was shared by the Safavid and Mughal Empires over a wide geography from Istanbul to Delhi.[214] Especially after the Ottoman conquest of Western Iran in the early sixteenth century, Ottoman culture had been strongly influenced by this tradition, as great numbers of artists and literates were brought or migrated to Istanbul, and subsequently proved to be formative in the development of an imperial Ottoman art and architecture.[215] Moreover, through the circulation of artistic goods such as miniatures or carpets, which often featured *chaharbagh* garden designs, the Ottomans must have been well aware of Persian palatial and garden architecture.[216] Part of this aesthetic universe was also the Indian Mughal Empire, whose art and architecture – the Mughals being a Timurid dynasty of Turko-Mongol descent – was deeply rooted in Persian traditions, but took on its own particular characteristics in the interaction with local Hindu aesthetics.[217] Ottoman art and architecture of the early eighteenth century has

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[214] Robert Canfield, "Introduction: the Turko-Persian traditions", in: idem (ed.), *Turko-Persia in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991), 1-34.

[215] These artists were especially influential in miniature painting, as they apparently joined the Ottoman corps of court painters (*nakkaşhâne*) after the first conquest of Tabriz by Selim I in 1514, who transported some 1000 artists, craftsmen, scholars and poets back to the Ottoman capital. Persian painters joined the ranks of the nakkaşhane again in great numbers around the middle of the sixteenth century, perhaps connected to the reconquest of Tabriz under Süleyman in 1536. Their influence lasted until the late sixteenth century and determined the decorative vocabulary of the age decisively. Esin Atıl, *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 36-41.

[216] Norah M. Titley, *Plants and Gardens in Persian, Mughal and Turkish Art* (London: British Library 1979).

[217] Blake, 32-36.

in fact been shown to bear close resemblances to Indian Mughal art of the first half of the seventeenth century. Naturalist flower depictions on wall paintings as in the Yemiş Odası at Topkapı Palace, or similar designs exercised as stone relief on fountain facades, which have traditionally been attributed to European influence, might in fact be assumed to bear Mughal ancestry.[218] Mughal architectural elements can also be found in the designs of the massive fountains placed on public squares, an architectural type initiated by the fountain of Ahmed III constructed in 1729 in front of Topkapı Palace.[219] It is this fountain in particular, which displays a number of architectural elements that are clearly not part of the Ottoman repertoire, but typical of Indian Islamic *türbe*s.[220] And we know that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Ottoman artists and craftsmen were employed in the construction of the Red Fort at Shahjahanabad and other Mughal monuments, testifying to concrete artistic exchange between the two empires over centuries.[221] The influence of the shared Turko-Persian aesthetics thus evidently extended over a far-flung geography from Istanbul to Delhi and left concrete traces on eighteenth-century architecture in Istanbul – Saʿdâbâd potentially included.

Ottomans and Safavids: Political Rivalry – Cultural Rivalry

At the same time the early eighteenth century was a time of heightened tensions between the Ottoman and Safavid Empires on a political level. Safavid rule in Iran was on the verge of collapse in the early 1720s, being challenged by the leader of the Ghalzai tribal unit in today's Afghanistan, Mir Mahmud, as well as faced by a

[218] Turgut Saner, "Lâle Devri Mimarlığında Hint Esinleri: Çinihane," *Sanat Tarihi Defterleri* 3 (1999): 38-42.
[219] On these fountains as a new architectural type in eighteenth century Istanbul see Shirine, Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle: The obsession with fountains in eighteenth-century Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 123-148.
[220] Saner, 42.
[221] *Ibid.*, 44-45.

rebellion of the Sunni Lezgis (Laz) in the Caucasus, who placed themselves under Ottoman protection. It was at this point in time that Dürrî Efendi was sent to Iran in 1721/22 in order to assess the chaotic situation of the Safavid state and evaluate the chances for an Ottoman military campaign, which would profit from the dynasty's weakness. A military confrontation at the Ottoman North-Eastern border thus seemed likely in the early 1720s, not the least because the Russians, too, were trying to benefit from the disarray.[222]

Rivalry between the Ottoman and the Safavid Empires had been a fact since the Safavid rise at the beginning of during the sixteenth century. Apart from clashing over territorial claims the two empires were also engaged in an ideological rivalry over religious leadership: it was amongst others in the context of rallying the allegiance of Muslim populations in the frontier areas between the two empires that both states formulated a religious orthodoxy in whose name they claimed leadership in the Muslim world – Sunnism versus Shiʿism.[223] Now, in the early eighteenth century this rivalry flamed up again: after having received Dürrî Efendi's report affirmative of a confrontation with the Safavids[224] war was declared on the faltering Safavid state followed by a *fetvâ* issued by the Ottoman *şeyhü'l-islâm*, which declared war on the Shiʿi heretics as lawful. Simultaneously, the Russians, too, decided to invade Safavid territory in order to gain control of the Caspian Sea region.

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[222] Suraiya Faroqhi, "Negotiating a Festivity in the Eighteenth Century: İbrahim Paşa and the Marquis de Bonnac, 1720," in: *Essays in the honour of Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu*, ed. by Mustafa Kaçar and Zeynep Durukal, Vol. I: Societies, Cultures, Sciences: A Collection of Articles (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2006), 286; Faroqhi, "Blick nach Osten"; Robert Olson, *The Siege of Mosul and Ottoman-Persian Relations, 1718-1743: A Study of Rebellion in the Capital and War in the Provinces of the Ottoman Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1975), 41-42.

[223] On a recent review of the Ottoman-Safavid conflict in the sixteenth century centred around the challenges to Ottoman authority by Shiʿi Kızılbaş populationsin Eastern Anatolia, which argues that the religious dichotomy of orthodox Sunnism and Twelver Shiʿism was the outcome rather than the cause of the political rivalry between the two states see Markus Dressler, "Inventing Orthodoxy: Competing Claims for Authority and Legitimacy in the Ottoman-Safavid Conflict," in: *Legitimizing the Order: the Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*, ed. by Maurus Reinkowski and Hakan Karateke (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 151-173.

[224] Faroqhi, "Blick nach Osten," 373.

In June 1724 the Russians and Ottomans signed the "Treaty of the Partition of Persia" (*İran Mukasemenâmesi*), in which the two empires literally carved up the territory of the Safavid state amongst each other and with which the Ottomans agreed to assist the Russians in fighting the Sunni Afghans under Mir Mahmud. The latter point was the cause for considerable agitation of the Ottoman *ulemâ'* and common people against the government and eventually contributed to the outbreak of the Patrona Halil Rebellion in 1730 – at a point, when the Ottomans were again on the brink of war against Nadir Shah of the Safavid dynasty, who had defeated and expelled the Afghans from his territory and sought to regain the territory previously conquered by the Ottomans.[225]

In the context of the political and religious rivalry between the two empires, culture was not spared from being employed as an element of ideological rivalry – neither in the sixteenth century, when the Ottomans developed an imperial aesthetic language that consciously differed from the Persian models,[226] nor in the eighteenth century, when displays of Ottoman cultural splendour were employed to impress the Iranian ambassadorial mission, which stayed in Istanbul from 24 December 1721 to 3 April 1722. Splendid feasts were held in the embassy's honour at various *köşk*s throughout the city, during which calligraphy and music were presented to the Persian guests, followed by mock battles and show shootings displaying Ottoman military prowess towards the political rival.[227] During one of the nightly feasts held in tents at Kâğıthane on 24 February 1722, that is shortly before Sa'dâbâd was

[225] Olson, *Siege of Mosul*, 41-56; Münir Aktepe, *1720-1724 Osmanlı-İran Münâsebetleri ve Silâhşör Kemânî Mustafa Âğâ'nın Revân Fetih-nâmesi* (Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, 1970), 9-36.

[226] Gülru Necipoğlu, "Challenging the Past: Sinan and the Competitive Discourse of Early Modern Islamic Architecture," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 169-180; eadem, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts: The Classical Synthesis in Ottoman Art and Architecture during the Age of Süleyman," in: Gilles Veinstein (ed.), *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps, Actes du Colloque de Paris Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais, 7-10 mars 1990* (Paris: La Documentation française 1992), 195–216; eadem, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth Century Ceramic Tiles," *Muqarnas* 7 (1991), 136-170.

[227] Erimtan, "Perception of Saadabad," 55-56.

constructed, at a time of the evening when the influence of the wine made itself already felt, a discussion arose between the Safavid ambassador Murteza Kuli Khan and the Ottomans over the superiority of Ottoman or Persian music; poetry was subsequently recited by both sides in order to prove their respective claims.[228]

The Ottoman Dürrî Efendi had in fact quite similar experiences during his stay in the Safavid Empire: he was invited to splendid feasts in Persian garden palaces accompanied by poetry and music recitations, where he apparently impressed his Persian hosts by his knowledge of Persian language and literature[229] – cultural refinement was evidently an essential diplomatic ingredient in order to leave a positive impression of the state one represented.

In the context of political rivalry with the Safavid Empire during the 1720s, the arts thus constituted an important field on which this rivalry was carried out. Although the Safavid dynasty was at this point in time being seriously challenged and its court perceived as decadent and weak by Dürrî Efendi, it nevertheless still constituted an ideal of elegance and cultural refinement[230] – an ideal, which one can assume the Ottomans to have aspired to especially at a time when the Safavid state seemed to be on the verge of collapse. The construction of Saʿdâbâd might therefore also be regarded to have been a conscious message towards the rival Eastern neighbours by emulating Safavid style. Saʿdâbâd was indeed used frequently as a site for banquets in the honour of Persian ambassadors during the 1730s and 1740s and one can suppose that this choice of site on the part of the Ottomans was governed by conscious ideological considerations. Such an emulation of Persian garden architecture by the Ottomans at Saʿdâbâd would in fact not have constituted a first time case: Selim I, the Ottoman sultan who had conquered Western Iran in 1514, had

[228] Raşid, vol. V, 415-417.
[229] Faroqhi, "Blick nach Osten," 386-387.
[230] Faroqhi, "Blick nach Osten," 387-388.

erected a kiosk at the Sultaniye garden near Beykoz in the early 1520s, which was decorated with spoils from the conquest and featured Persian poetic inscriptions. In 1523, this kiosk was displayed to a Persian diplomatic mission – a quite obvious move to demonstrate Ottoman superiority.[231]

However, as the case of Saʿdâbâd is concerned, had the Ottomans really wanted to *overcome* the Iranian model, the layout of Saʿdâbâd would have needed to be grander and more monumental.[232] Talking of a *direct* intention to rival with Safavid models thus seems too far-fetched – that a *reference* was made to the Eastern neighbour seems however highly likely in the face of a shared aesthetic system, which was still firmly in place in the early eighteenth century. On a formal level, some aspects of this aesthetic system were in fact not so far from the Western Europe one, as the resemblances between French and Safavid gardens indicate. The Ottoman familiarity with the Persian and Mughal models can thus explain the receptivity displayed by the Ottomans towards monumental garden designs, be they in the end of French, Safavid or Mughal provenience.

Moreover, a particular architectural layout can very well bear a number of meanings and might be erected with multiple intentions in mind. An attempt to emulate the design of Versailles does hence not exclude a simultaneous reference to the architecture of the Eastern neighbour – especially when both models conveniently resemble each other on a formal level. In doing so, the Ottomans

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[231] Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 37-38.

[232] Can Erimtan has suggested that the thirty pillars supporting the roof of Saʿdâbâd's Kasr-ı Cînan were a direct attempt at outstripping the Safavid Chihil Sutûn at Isfahan. (Erimtan, "Perception of Saadabad," 52-53) The Safavid pavilion featured twenty huge wooden pillars, which together with their reflections in the pool in front added up to a total of forty (therefore the name: *chihil* means forty, *sutun* means pillar in Persian). Accordingly counting the reflections of the thirty columns at the Kasr-ı Cînan would thus make a total of sixty. Apart from the fact that Chihil Sutûn was an architectural type going back to antiquity, and that the Kasr-ı Cînan might therefore just be meant as a general reference (this has already been argued in chapter 2), this interpretation becomes problematic when taking into account that in fact not all the thirty pillars of the Kasr-ı Cînan were reflected in the water basin situated in front, as they were placed on all sides of the pavilion, not just on the one facing the water.

skilfully managed to combine the foreign elements – exemplified in the Cedvel-i Sîm – with distinct Ottoman ones – exemplified by Saʿdâbâd's wooden architecture. In a piece of writing bearing clear Ottoman authorship we can thus find references to a number of different prestigious texts, texts both foreign and familiar.[233] How these different 'textual references' were perceived by the contemporaries – both European and Ottoman – shall be the object of the following chapter, because after all, architectural forms in themselves do not carry meaning – it is the meaning ascribed to them that is of importance. We shall see that in the case of Saʿdâbâd, Ottomans and Europeans approached this particular piece of architecture very differently, and hence constructed very different mental spaces of Saʿdâbâd.

[233] Cerasi highlights the fact that the Ottomans were very open to adopting foreign elements and styles in their architecture, which they integrated into a unique Ottoman style. He also holds that the Ottomans were inclined to only formally adopt foreign elements, without subscribing to the ideological and cultural background they carried. Especially the latter is a point, which is debatable. I will not enter this discussion here, but just state that I also hold that the mere use of for example Western European objects or the application of Western European architectural forms cannot be equalled to Westernization or the beginning of a Western lifestyle or worldview. Material objects can very well be imbued with different meanings according to different contexts. Maurice Cerasi, "The Commerce of Forms and Types between the West and the Ottoman East from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century," *Environmental Design: Trails to the East, Essays in Memory of Paolo Cunea* 1-2 (1999): 114-133.

CHAPTER 5

MENTAL SPACE II: ARCHITECTURAL PERCEPTION

Since neither the historical evidence surrounding the construction process or a purely formal architectural analysis lead to definite conclusions on the provenience of Saʿdâbâd's design, the question consequentially arises, how the building was perceived by those who experienced it in reality. Certainly, subjective individual perception mostly in the form of written descriptions cannot provide absolute evidence on the imitation question either, but this, in any case, is not what I am aiming at. Instead of arguing endlessly over the 'real origin' of straight water canals and rectangular pools, as if cultures could claim possession on these, shifting the focus on perception might be a lot more fruitful if one wants to assess and understand the significance of Saʿdâbâd as a social and cultural product, since such an approach may provide an insight into what the architectural forms actually meant to the historical participants. Whether the Cedvel-i Sîm was factually a copy of Isfahan's Chaharbagh or Versailles' main canal does in the end only matter in so far as it determines the perception of the architectural monument and thereby shapes the meaning the building carries for the historical actors. Rather than concentrating on the architectural forms, I thus want to shift the focus on architectural *discourse* in this chapter.

Although I do seem to be able to make such a neat distinction between the two here, architectural forms and the discourse about them are of course not as neatly separable. The two stand in a constant exchange determining and shaping each other; while the physically present forms of a building direct and possibly limit the discourse about them very concretely by their sheer materiality, discourse determines not only how these forms are perceived, but it also has the potential to literally shape

material forms: discourse can for example determine whether and in which particular style a building is modified or conserved or it might as well cause a building to be forgotten, disregarded or allowed to fall into ruins. This "narrative tradition" of a building, as McChesney has called it, thus stands in a constant interplay with the architectural evolution as well as with social history.[234]

Concerning Saʿdâbâd, European travelogues as well as Ottoman descriptive sources have been used extensively as sources on the architectural reality of the palace, yet the narrative tradition, which these sources establish around the building has hardly been considered.[235] In this chapter I will therefore attempt to throw at least some light upon the architectural perception of Saʿdâbâd during the eighteenth century – an issue of considerable significance, not only in order to throw light upon the roots of the modern historiography of the palace, but also in order to probe the reliability of these sources in relation to the historical and architectural reality they set out to describe – hence a critical evaluation of the available primary sources is at stake here. These sources are on the one hand the travelogues by Europeans who visited the "Sweet Waters of Europe", as Kâğıthane used to be called by them,[236] and on the other hand the writings by Ottoman chroniclers and poets. It is my contention that the Ottoman and European experience of Saʿdâbâd differed fundamentally from each other, resulting in two completely separate discourses on the same architectural

[234] McChesney defines the narrative tradition of a building as "the stories told about it and the individuals associated with it" (part 1, 94). In a series of two articles, McChesney has evaluated the "narrative tradition" of the shrine of the *Naqshbandi shaykh* Khwaja Abu Nasr Parsa in Balkh, following the both architectural evolution and architectural discourse over a period of five centuries, from 1469 until 1998. R. D. McChesney, "Architecture and Narrative: The Khwaja Abu Nasr Parsa Shrine. Part 1: Constructing the Complex and Its Meaning, 1469-1696," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 94-119 and idem, "Architecture and Narrative: The Khwaja Abu Nasr Parsa Shrine. Part 2: Representing the Complex in Word and Image, 1696-1998," *Muqarnas* 19 (2002): 78-108.

[235] Can Erimtan's analysis of the modern historiography of Saʿdâbâd beginning with Ahmed Refik can be considered as such an attempt. Erimtan "Perception of Saadabad."

[236] The travelogues, which have been consulted were mainly written by French and English travellers, with occasionally a German, Polish or Danish author. This is due in part to my language skills and the availability of the sources, but reflects also the fact that travellers from other nations were considerably less present in the Ottoman Empire than the French and English.

monument. I furthermore hold that it is the European way of perception, which significantly shaped the modern historiographic discourse on the palace, as it was the European travelogues which have been accepted at face value as reliable and 'objective' primary sources for a long time. In what follows, I shall first attempt a critical analysis of the European literature on Saʿdâbâd in order to compare this with the Ottoman viewpoint in the second part of this chapter.

The European Perception

Writing for an Expanding Market: The Genre of the Travelogue

Constantinople, former capital of the Byzantine and since 1453 centre of the vast Ottoman Empire, had always attracted a constant flow of European travellers, who fixed their travel experiences in written descriptions, letters, memories or paintings and sketches intending to share them with the readership at home.[237] While the number of European travellers to the Ottoman Empire until the seventeenth century was relatively limited, it started to augment considerably in the latter half of the eighteenth century due to – amongst other reasons – the increasing diplomatic and economic relations between the Western European states and the Ottoman Empire. The flow of travellers towards 'the East' culminated in the nineteenth century, when European penetration of the Orient was in full-swing, when new technologies allowed easier transportation and communication and when Orientalism as an ideology supporting this penetration had firmly taken root.[238]

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[237] A comprehensive bibliography for travel accounts of Istanbul is Jean Ebersolt, *Constantinople Byzantine et les Voyageurs du Levant* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1918). Boucher de la Richarderie's bibliography includes travel accounts of the entire globe and provides short abstracts of the works in question but does not include the nineteenth century. G. Boucher de la Richarderie, *Bibliothèque universelle des voyages: ou notice complète et raisonnée de tous les voyages anciens et modernes dans les différentes parties du monde...*, 6 vols. (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1808).

[238] Although there is abundant literature on travel literature and especially its relation to Orientalism, I have not come across a comprehensive account of the historical development of the "Voyage en

The first palace building of Saʿdâbâd (constructed in 1722 and rebuilt in a completely new fashion in 1809) thus falls chronologically in a time period when traveller's accounts were increasing in quantity, which means that there is a considerable amount of descriptions of Kâğıthane available through travelogues. However, information on the early years of the palace before it was for the first time partially destroyed in 1730 is very rare, since the majority of travel accounts date from the second half of the eighteenth century.[239] Moreover, since the travel literature of the nineteenth century is considerably more abundant than that of the eighteenth century, I have decided to consider literature beyond the date of 1809 and extended the time boundary until the 1850s. Although the travelogues from after 1809 cannot be used as sources for the architecture of Saʿdâbâd palace and its gardens as it was first designed in 1722, they constitute nevertheless valuable sources for an analysis of the significance of the "Sweet Waters of Europe" as a wider space in European Orientalist memory.

During the time period concerned here, most of the European travellers to the Ottoman Empire were – if not diplomats themselves –part of the entourage of their own country's embassy or sent as part of a governmental mission to the Ottoman

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Orient". For nineteenth-century travellers, especially artists, see Christine Peltre, *L'atelier du voyage: Les peintres en Orient au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995). On the eighteenth century see Helga Fischer, "Das osmanische Reich in Reisebeschreibungen und Berichten des 18. Jahrhunderts," in: *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1673 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. by Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1983), 113-142. On travellers to Constantinople in particular see Frédéric Tinguely, "Le despotisme des modèles: dire Constantinople à l'âge classique," in: *L'Horloger du Sérail: aux sources du fantasme oriental chez Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, ed. by P. Dumont, R. Hildebrand and P. Montandon (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2005), 105-118 and Frédérique Hauville, Emmanuel Jaslier and Claire Simon, "Le voyage de Constantinople: D'après le fonds ancien de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon" (Thesis, ENSSIB Lyon, 2003), online available: http://enssibal.enssib.fr/bibliotheque/documents/dcb/M-2003-RECH-22-hauville.pdf.

[239] To the best of my knowledge there exist only two travel reports from before 1730 mentioning Saʿdâbâd except for the diplomatic reports of the Venetian Emo and the French Bonnac, which have already been mentioned. These are the travelogue by de Saumery and the one by Le Père Jehannot, *Voyage de Constantinople pour le rachapt des captifs* (Paris: Delormel & Josse, 1732). In the period before 1750 there is only one more report, which contains a description of Saʿdâbâd: that of Tollot, who was in the Ottoman Empire right after the Patrona Halil Rebellion in the years 1731 to 1732: Jean-Baptiste Tollot, *Nouveau voyage fait au Levant, ès années 1731 et 1732* (Paris: Durand, 1742). All other reports I have consulted are dated after 1750.

state.[240] Besides exercising their official duties they would usually use their time of their stay in Constantinople to explore the renowned age-old city; and subsequently they conveyed much of this information in written or visual form to their readership at home, where information on the Orient was in demand and sold well. What was in the end being published was therefore not only the pure reflection of the traveller's personal experiences, but at the same time a literary product consciously produced for an expanding market.[241] An analysis of European travelogues has to take this fact in account, which means that in addition to the potential 'distorted' reflection of the historical reality due to the subjective and culturally determined view on 'Oriental' society by European travellers,[242] the fact that the travelogues were pieces of literature produced for a book-market and hence had to conform to market pressures, constituted another source of 'distortion'. With an augmenting quantity of travel reports available to the European reading audience over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the pressure on the authors to justify one more description of Constantinople after the numerous which had already been printed was growing. Often this justification was achieved by increasing the quantity of information about the city and by providing an even more detailed and exact description than those by the predecessors.[243] Words like those of Pouqueville were thus not rare in a travelogue's introduction:

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[240] Even artists, the majority of them painters, would usually be associated in some way to their country's embassy at Constantinople. In the late eighteenth century for example, the French consul at Constantinople, Choiseul-Gouffier, had himself surrounded by great entourage of artists. On this topic see Auguste Boppe, *Les Peintres du Bosphore au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1911).
[241] Fischer, 113-114.
[242] For a critical assessment of the value of European travelogue as primary sources for Ottoman history writing due to the culturally determined views of the authors and their marginal position in Ottoman society see Ezel Kural Shaw, "The Double Veil: Travelers' Views of the Ottoman Empire, Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries," in: *English and Continental Views of the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1800*, ed. by eadem and C.J. Heywood (Los Angeles: University of California, 1972): 3-29.
[243] Tinguely, 14-15.

> En parlant de cette ville [Constantinople] décrite par tant de voyageurs, j'ai évité de répéter ce qui avait été dit, et je puis affirmer que j'offre des choses nouvelles (…)[244]

Moreover, the European audience was well aware of the fact that authors copied from each other or simply made up sensational discoveries – a popular theme in this regard was for example the sultan's harem – and authors thus needed to attest the validity of their information as well as structure their accounts in such a way to appear credible in order to succeed on the market.[245] The following remark by the English Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the English ambassador who stayed in Constantinople from 1717 to 1718 expresses the interactions between the writer and his audience and the pressures it entailed very well:

> We travellers are in very hard circumstances. If we say nothing but what has been said before us we are dull and we have observed nothing. If we tell anything new, we are laughed at as fabulous and romantic, not allowing for the difference of ranks, which afford difference of company, more curiosity, or the changes of customs that happen every twenty year [sic] in every country.[246]

The more and more detailed descriptions can therefore be understood to have functioned as manifestations of authenticity or "operators of credibility"[247], which attested to the reality of what was being described in written or visual form. The existence of such pressures needs to be kept in mind when using travelogues as a source for the historical reality of the 'Orient' and should encourage a rather sceptical stance towards these sources.

Although each journey was an individual enterprise and followed its specific itinerary, there was nevertheless a fixed canon of 'must-sees', of monuments and places, that is, one definitely 'had to' visit as a traveller to Constantinople, such as the Hagia Sophia, the Blue Mosque, the Topkapı Palace or the bazaar area.

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[244] François-Charles-Hugues-Laurent Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople, en Albanie et dans plusieurs autres parties de l'Empire ottoman pendant les années 1798, 1799, 1800 et 1801*, vol. I (Paris: Gabon, 1805), v-vi.

[245] Fischer, 117.

[246] Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters*, ed. by Malcolm Jack, introduction by Anita Dessai (London: Virago, 1994), 118.

[247] "Opérateurs de croyance" is the original expression by François Hartog, quoted in Peltre, 71. She finds the same phenomenon in Orientalist paintings, where for example the frequent palm trees serve the same end: they promise authenticity and confer legitimacy.

Kâğıthane, or the "Sweet Waters of Europe", was not yet part of this canon in the eighteenth century but nevertheless popular enough among the European community of Constantinople for it to appear in a considerable number of travelogues. By the nineteenth century, it seems that the Sweet Waters had in fact become part of the core canon as indicated by the English traveller Broughton who wrote in the middle of the century:

> Strangers at Pera are usually taken to see a certain number of spots in the vicinity of Constantinople, the chief of which are the Valley of Sweet Waters, the villages of Belgrade and Buyuk-dere, the mouth of the Bosphorus, the Giant's Tomb, the mountain of Bourgaloue above Scutari, and the garden of Fanar-Baktchessi.[248]

By then, moreover, the travellers' discourse on the Sweet Waters had developed a number of fixed narrative themes, which were with regularity conjured up by the different writers when describing this particular place of the Ottoman capital. Yet one has to distinguish between on the one hand a discourse on Saʿdâbâd as a an architectural monument, including the palace, the garden pavilions and the garden arrangement and on the other hand a broader discourse on the valley of Kâğıthane, which was less focussed on the architecture than on the social and cultural practices observable on the meadows of the valley.

The architectural discourse on Saʿdâbâd proper is clearly centred around the theme of imitation while the discourse on social and cultural practices revolves around four main *topoi*: the theme of the Ottoman people in its ethnic and social diversity, secondly that of Ottoman women, thirdly the theme of amusement and gayness and finally the topic of nature and the picturesque. While these *topoi* displayed an astonishing stability, being repeated over and over again by the authors despite all the individual differences in their approach and outlook, one can at the same time observe modifications over time, which can be linked to changes of the

[248] Lord Broughton, *Travels in Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in 1809 & 1810* (London: John Murray, 1858), 238.

broader Orientalist discourse:[249] thus with time, the European gaze on Kâğıthane became for example increasingly ethnographic and erotic in its outlines.

The establishment of a narrative tradition on the Sweet Waters of Europe, which was apparently triggered by the construction of Saʿdâbâd in 1722 and with time developed into the stable discourse that relied on the *topoi* hinted at above, moreover seems to have turned the Sweet Waters by the nineteenth century into a "lieu de mémoire"[250] for European Orientalism – into a space, that is, which functioned as a metaphor for certain aspects of the Orientalist picture of Istanbul, the Ottoman Empire and perhaps even of 'the Orient' in general, such as the image of the Orient as a world of untouched nature and virginity, of innocent amusement and gayness or of the Oriental indulgence in pleasure and erotic adventures. While an analysis of the Sweet Waters in the European collective memory lies beyond the scope of this thesis, what I attempt to analyse here are the main *topoi*, which the Orientalist discourse about Kâğıthane relied upon. Before dealing with the space of Kâğıthane valley in general, however, I will look at the perception of Saʿdâbâd palace and its garden as an architectural monument.

[249] See for example Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), still one of the main works on the topic.

[250] For the concept of "lieu de mémoire" see Pierre Nora, "Entre Mémoire et Histoire: La problématique des lieux," in: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. I: La République, ed. by Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), xvii-xlii. What I refer to here is however only the aspect of the *lieu de mémoire* as the place, where a collective memory is constituted and at the same time enacted. I would like to thank Prof. Christine Peltre for suggesting the significance of the Sweet Waters of Europe in a wider orientalist memory of the nineteenth century. Interesting seems also the association in European collective memory of the Orient with a water and bathing culture on the one hand and with entertainment and amusement on the other hand, which the Orientalist architecture of nineteenth-century French seaside resorts seems to suggest. This is however an entirely different field of inquiry. On the Orientalist architecture of French seaside resorts see Bernard Toulier, *Villes d'eaux: Stations thermales et balnéaires* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 2002) and idem, "Un parfum d'Orient au coeur des villes d'eaux," *In Situ: Revue des patrimoines* 7 (February 2006), online available: http://www.revue.inventaire.culture.gouv.fr/insitu/insitu/index.xsp as well as Nadine Beautheac and Francois-Xavier Bouchart, *L'Europe Exotique* (Paris: Chêne, 1985), 129-132.

The Perception of Saʿdâbâd Palace

Symmetry, Regularity, Order

Any traveller's view on the foreign is inevitably coloured by his personal, social and cultural background – and the European travellers coming to the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries did not constitute an exception. Thus, as architecture is regarded, their perception and subsequent judgement of Ottoman architecture was necessarily informed by the aesthetic and architectural principles of neo-classicism current in Western Europe since about the mid-eighteenth century, which constituted an elaborate theoretical and practical system.[251] Vandal, the nineteenth-century French historian and Orientalist, already drew attention to this disposition of the French travellers' perception in his account of the Marquis de Villeneuve's stay at Constantinople:

> De plus, le sens du pittoresque était moins vif et moins exercé chez les Français du dix-huitème siècle qu'il ne l'est parmi nous. Habitués à prendre pour ideal exclusif le style qui régnait dans les arts de l'Occident et à considérer Versailles comme la suprême expression du beau, la fantaisie puissante et désordonnée de l'Orient les déconcertait au lieu de les charmer.[252]

For eighteenth-century travellers, in particular for those from France, it was thus the seventeenth-century architecture of Versailles as well as the subsequent architectural styles of classicism and neo-classicism that were determining for their aesthetic ideals in the field of architecture. These styles had taken inspiration from the architectural principles of classical Greece and the Italian Renaissance and made the strict rule of geometry their leading principle. As a consequence order, regularity and symmetry came to be defined as the most important conditions for perfection and thus beauty – the final aims to be achieved in art and architecture. In his *Cours d'architecture,* a handbook on architecture in twelve volumes printed between 1771

[251] For a comprehensive and detailed analysis of French architectural theory from 1550 until 1800 see Werner Szambien, *Symétrie, Goût, Caractère: Théorie et Terminologie de l'Architecture à l'Âge Classique 1550-1800* (Paris: Picard, 1986).
[252] Vandal, 89.

and 1777 and circulating widely in Europe, Jacques-François Blondel for example writes under the heading of "De la nécessité de la symétrie dans l'Architecture": "La symétrie doit être regardée comme une des principales beautés de l'Architecture; elle doit être considérée comme l'ennemie du contraste."[253]

Consequently, one criticism of Ottoman architecture very widely expressed by European – mainly French – travellers was the lack of symmetry; a criticism, which was also voiced against Saʿdâbâd's palace buildings. Thus immediately after the construction in 1722 de Saumery wrote:

> Il est vrai que cet ouvrage est peu de chose, si on le considere avec attention; l'architecture, l'ordre & l'arrangement semblent en être bannis, mais c'est un Chef-d'oeuvre pour cette Nation que la nouveauté éblouit (…)[254]
> On auroit pû y faire quelque chose de superbe, mais n'ayant point d'Architecte habile, ce n'est qu'une confusion de materiaux mal ordonnés, où on ne voit ni ordre, ni proportion, ni bon goût (…) les Turcs ne poussent pas si loin les idées de l'architecture.[255]

The absence of order, symmetry and proportion in Ottoman palace architecture was moreover at times associated with the supposed arbitrariness and capriciousness of the Ottoman sultans' exercise of power; an association, which was often made when describing the Topkapı Palace. Here for example the description of the palace's second gate by Père Jehannot, a French cleric who stayed in Istanbul between 1729 and 1731:

> On peut juger par cette porte denuée de Sculpture & d'Architecture dont les Turcs ignorent absolument les bonnes regles, quelle doit être la magnificence de ce fameux Serail si vanté dans l'Univers. Il [le palais] consiste dans un assemblage de plusieurs corps de logis comme entassés les uns sur les autres, & separées en quelques endroits, bâtis en differens tems & suivant le caprice des Princes & des Sultanes.[256]

To the generally negative perception of Saʿdâbâd contributed certainly also the fact that most French travellers classified Saʿdâbâd as being a *maison de plaisance*; since this was a fixed and well-known architectural type, this classification of Saʿdâbâd

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[253] Szambien, 61-84; Jacques-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture, ou Traité de la décoration, distribution & construction des bâtiments: contenant les leçons données en 1750, & les années suivantes*, 9 vols. (Paris: Desaint, 1771), 408.
[254] De Saumery, 135.
[255] *Ibid.*, 139.
[256] Jehannot, 150-151.

raised certain expectations concerning what a proper *maison de plaisance* should look like[257] – and not to surprisingly, Saʿdâbâd did not fulfil all of these expectations. *Maisons de plaisance* were houses in the countryside belonging to aristocrats or the high bourgeoisie, which were in decoration and furnishing relatively simple and where one resided in order to escape the occupations at court or other obligations in the city. Again the first and foremost principle of their architecture was symmetry, including both the garden and the house itself; moreover, the façade featured a geometrical grid pattern adorned with pilasters, friezes and if appropriate statues, and the rooms were arranged along a horizontal axis in the main wing of the building.[258] Saʿdâbâd palace, however, did not display the required rigid symmetry and was not even built of stone but instead in a light construction technique based on wood. The latter, so it seems, did not find much approval with the Europeans, who associated it with the houses of Istanbul's poor that constituted in their eyes "un amas confus des Maisons basses sans architecture, sans ornemens, & sans gout."[259]

Hence, being a building that purported to be a sultanic palace – even if only in the form of a *maison de plaisance*, of a more modest countryside residence, that is – Saʿdâbâd was simply not representative enough in European eyes. Considering that one key concept of eighteenth-century architectural culture was "convenance", that is the idea that social rank had to be directly deducible from architectural form, that as a patron one had to choose an architectural style appropriate to one's rank in social hierarchy, this is not very surprising. Outer appearance, interior use and decoration were expected to correspond to each other, all confounding in order to express

[257] On the type of the *maison de plaisance* see Jacques-François, Blondel, *De la Distribution des Maisons de Plaisance, et de la Decoration des Edifices en Général* (Farnborough: Gregg Press Limited, 1967 [reprint]), Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, 249-252; Karin Elisabeth Zinkann, "Der Typ der Maison de Plaisance im Werke von Johann Conrad Schlaun" (PhD dissertation, University of Münster, 1979).
[258] Zinnkann, 22-29.
[259] De Saumery, 78.

precisely the rank of the building's patron.[260] To the Europeans eyes, used to the aesthetics of the French royal palaces – above all Versailles – Saʿdâbâd was therefore almost predestined to appear unpretentious and humble.

On the other hand the use of precious materials for interior embellishments and intricate decorations could to some extent make up for the deficiency in outer monumentality:

> Les Architectes Turcs n'excellent pas dans la décoration extérieure des bâtiments; mais ils égalent nos meilleurs Architectes dans la distribution des appartements, & dans l'art de les rendre commodes & agréables. Ils paroissent en général préférer la boiserie & la sculpture aux tapisseries. Tout est peint ou doré; mais on ne veut que des fleurs & des feuillages.[261]

And even Pertusier, who was in general rather critical towards Ottoman architecture, found Saʿdâbâd to be "l'une des plus belles maisons de plaisance que possède la couronne" and of an "élégance la plus recherché."[262]

While symmetry and order remained unquestioned ideals for the built environment, in case of garden architecture, these principles held a less strict reign. Here, it was visual pleasure in form of the picturesque, which was being sought for – and the picturesque was, according to architectural theory, created by contrast and variety, principles opposed to symmetry and regularity. The architectural theoretician Blondel thus stated that the aim of the garden was to surprise and entertain the visitor, which is why "on doit faire en forte que toutes les beautés d'un Jardin ne soient pas apperçues d'un seul coup d'oeil, & il est bon d'exciter la curiosité en tenant sous le couvert une partie des ornemens qui doivent la satisfaire."[263] Especially since the second half of the eighteenth century the strictly geometrical French garden designs were less preferred in favour of the English garden type,

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[260] Zinnkann, 7-8; Szambien, 167-173.
[261] Flachat, 229-230.
[262] Charles Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore, suivies d'une notice sur la Dalmatie*, vol. I (Paris: Nicolle, 1815), 338.
[263] Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, vol. IV, 6-7.

which put more emphasis on creating a natural but 'pleasant' impression. It is thus probably no coincidence, that it was the English Milady Craven, who positively judged the absence of "cold French" symmetry in the gardens of the Ottoman capital when she stayed there in the 1780s:

> (...) et ce qui m'a paru non moins singulier, rien qui ait la froide symmétrie d'un jardin françois. Les Turcs ont un sie grand respect pour les beautés de la nature, que s'ils veulent bâtir une maison dans un endroit où il y a un arbre, ils pratiquent un grand trou dans le bâtiment pour laisser passer l'arbre & lui donner un espace suffisant pour croître, parce qu'ils croyent qu'un branchage verd est l'ornemente le plus beau pour le toît d'une maison.[264]

But as much as the picturesque qualities of Ottoman gardens were appreciated by some travellers, so was the lack of symmetry decried by others. As the late eighteenth century was also a time of revived interest into classical antiquity, with philhellenism coming into full swing in the early nineteenth century, the disapproval of Ottoman gardens was in part certainly connected to an ideal of the antique garden, which was imagined to have been strictly geometrical and symmetrical.[265] The gardens the travellers encountered in the former capital of the Eastern Roman Empire did however often not coincide with their ideals (neither did the antique and Byzantine monuments, like the Hagia Sophia or Constantine's Column for that matter, which the travellers found to be in neglected state) and the Ottoman gardens with their lose, often asymmetrical arrangements could in comparison only be disappointing:

> Prima di tutto nessuno si ritrovi con la lusinga di vedersi rappresentate le cose memorabili degli antichi, o sia la magnificenza, e vaghezza degli Orti Esperidi, non che di quelli di Adone, e Alcinoe, oppure, che io voglia fare quì una descrizione degli Orti Pensili di Semiramide, che in Assiria eresse, o di quelli di Ortensio e di Epicuro, che uno in Roma, e l'altro in Atene crearono. Nulla affatto di ciò. Piutosto potrà da me aspettarsi quello, che non puol dirsi avere nè del barbaro, nè del bello, nè del simmetrico, nè del raro, nè del vago, nè del dispendioso, nè del magnifico, nè il lusso, ma solo quello che si consà al gusto Ottomanno, che a lor piacendo si puol dire esser buono, anzi che no.[266]

[264] Elizabeth Berkeley Craven, *Voyage en Crimée et à Constantinople* (Paris: Maradan, 1789), 274.
[265] Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape," 44-45.
[266] Sestini, 115-116.

The views were thus not at all uniform and represented the variety of aesthetic judgements prevalent in the European discourse. Nevertheless, symmetry and geometry were dominant aesthetic values, even if a little less so for gardens and parks – in comparison with both idealized antique models and contemporary grand baroque designs of palaces and gardens in Europe, Saʿdâbâd was therefore prone to be judged negatively.

The Imitation *Topos*

Apart from the lack of symmetry, the discourse on the architecture of Saʿdâbâd was dominated by the imitation theme. Alternatively an imitation of Marly, Versailles or Fontainebleau, Saʿdâbâd was declared in nearly all travelogues to be an imitation of French royal palaces, starting with the claims by Emo, Bonnac and Saumery in the years 1722-1724 and continuing to be the standard feature of accounts on Saʿdâbâd throughout the nineteenth century without losing any of its vigour. However, Saʿdâbâd was not only claimed to be an imitation – what always accompanied the claim of imitation from the very beginning was the judgement of it being not more than an *imperfect* imitation. Thus for example the account of Marquis de Bonnac:

> Enfin, depuis le retour de Méhémet Effendi de son ambassade auprès de Votre Majesté, il [the grand vizier İbrahim Pasha] a essayé d'imiter ce qu'on lui a rapporté de la magnificence de nos jardins et de nos bâtiments et quoique cet échantillon soit même au-dessous du médiocre et que la situation n'en soit pas belle, il a donné par là, au peuple, un spectacle d'autant plus agréable qu'il n'y étoit pas accoutumé et qui n'a, peut-être, pas peu contribué à le contenir dans les dispositions où il a été pendant quelque temps au murmure et à la révolte.[267]

Disregarding at this point the connection that was made here by Bonnac to a potential revolt – displaying a remarkable clairvoyance one must admit – what is important here is that on a conceptual level the imitation was doomed to fail from the outset; it could not be but an imperfect imitation in the eyes of those familiar with the original. The imitation *topos* in this manner underlines the inferiority of the

[267] Bonnac, 155.

Ottomans with regard to the West, which finds a typical expression in the following words of Pertusier:

> (...) les objets qui frappent vos regards annoncent une légère intention de ressemblance avec les maisons de plaisance de nos rois, et, tout en faisant sentir la grande supériorité de ceux qu'on a voulu imiter, ramènent pourtant des souvenirs auxquels on se livre avec un secret contentement sur ces confins du monde civilisé.[268]

In this nineteenth-century account, which reflects an Orientalism that had acquired by then a secure conviction of European superiority, Saʿdâbâd, precisely because of it being a French imitation, represented a last outpost of the civilised world in a barbaric civilization, even if only an imperfect one. The *topos* of imitation served to construct and maintain a distance with regard to 'the other' and to fix a normative hierarchy – it was the imitated model, which was necessarily superior. Moreover, it was conceptually impossible to overcome this hierarchy: Ottomans were not able to move beyond the stage of imitating the superior French models, as otherwise the difference between the Self and the Other would have been undermined – Ottomans would literally have become French if they had gone beyond imitation towards producing works equal to the original. This conceptual configuration explains the near indignation with which Saumery relates that some Ottomans apparently dared to ask him whether there were similarly excellent buildings in France as there were at Kâğıthane:

> (…) aussi s'applaudissent-ils tellement de cet ouvrage, qu'ils osoient nous demander avec hardiesse si nous avions vû quelque chose de plus beau dans notre Pays; il est surprenant de voir la quantité de monde qui accouroit de toutes parts pour contempler cet edifice [Saʿdâbâd palace] (…)[269]

At the same time, the theme of imitation also functioned as a rhetorical claim of possession: When Saʿdâbâd was called "Petit Versailles" or "Petit Marly" in the travelogues, this indicated that this space in fact only partially belonged to the Ottomans; the Europeans, in particular the French, had to a certain extent taken

[268] Pertusier, vol. I, 317.
[269] De Saumery, 138-139.

mental possession of it. Thus even for travellers not from France, the palace and its gardens were mentally closely linked to France, as is testified to by Milady Craven's account:

> Mais dans les endroits où il a assez de largeur pour ressembler à une petite rivière, les François ont, depuis quelque tems, retenu l'eau douce par des digues, & en ont fait des petites pièces d'eau en quarré pour imiter celles de Marly. On a bâti en ces endroits des kiosques, & on y a planté des arbres avec beaucoup de regularité.[270]

Here, one even has the impression that it was the French themselves who constructed the water works of Saʿdâbâd! Even if this was the culmination of a long-lasting discourse and cannot necessarily be taken as representative for the general view of the travellers, it nevertheless shows how far the European imagination could go.

Saʿdâbâd as an architectural monument thus always remained a European, more specifically a French space in the mind of European travellers, albeit it was perceived as a failed attempt at imitating the superior architectural models of the travellers' own country of origin. Yet Saʿdâbâd's perception was also determined by the surroundings it was set in: the valley of Kâğıthane with the surrounding hillsides and meadows frequented by the Ottoman populace of the capital. This discourse, too, was determined by a set of fixed *topoi* elaborated upon in the travellers' accounts, which I shall treat in greater detail now.

An Orientalist *lieu de mémoire*: The Sweet Waters of Europe

The people

The first of these *topoi*, which was evoked in almost all eighteenth-century accounts dealing with Kâğıthane was that of "the people", that is of Istanbul's urban society, which assembled in times of good weather in its entirety on the meadows of the valley for amusement and entertainment. According to the travellers, one encountered here the Ottoman populace in all its diversity, composed of different

[270] Craven, 294.

ethnic groups, different age groups and diverse social ranks. Thus already in 1723, Saumery remarked:

> (…) il est surprenant de voir la quantité de monde qui accouroit de toutes parts pour contempler cet édifice; ils en sont si infatués qu'ils ont condamné à un sequin d'amende ceux qui nommeroient autrement cet endroit que la vallée des Roses.[271]

And in Mouradgea D'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*[272] one can read:

> Dans la belle saison, des citoyens de tous les ordres, de l'un et de l'autre sexe, vont quelquefois y prendre le plaisir de la promenade; mais les femmes y sont toujours voilées et séparées des hommes.[273]

The description of the Sweet Waters was thus an occasion for the authors to offer to their readers a digression on Ottoman society and on the different ethnic groups of the empire in particular. This is an aspect, which came to the fore especially in the nineteenth century, when the discourse on the Orient took on an increasingly scientific-ethnographic character:

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[271] De Saumery, 138-139.

[272] In fact, this is not a travelogue, but a monumental taxonomic work aiming at displaying the Ottoman Empire to a European public, written and published largely on his own account by Mouradgea D'Ohsson during the 1780s and 1790s. D'Ohsson was of French-Armenian origin and worked as translator and later in diplomatic positions for the Swedish embassy in Istanbul, which is why he was eventually awarded Swedish citizenship. Although he was thus member of an Ottoman indigenous minority, he was far from being a foreigner to Ottoman Muslim society and cannot be put on a par with the European travel writers. The *Tableau Général* was aimed at refuting the Enlightenment concept of Oriental despotism current in the European countries and presents an Ottoman Empire ready for cultural change and Westernization, ruled by an enlightened absolutist ruler (Selim III). As the work was aimed at a European audience, it put itself consciously in a European discourse – albeit with the intent to provide an alternative to Orientalist accounts of the Ottoman Empire – and I have thus decided to include it here in the chapter on European perception. Yet d'Ohsson's account certainly holds a much higher degree of credibility than the European travelogues, especially as social and cultural practices are concerned, since its author was in fact part of Ottoman society. Unfortunately, d'Ohsson's account of Kâğıthane is relatively short and Saʿdâbâd palace is not mentioned at all. See Carter Vaughn Findley, "Mouradgea d'Ohsson and his Tableau générale de l'Empire othoman: Redefining the Self by Defining the Other," in: *Making Sense of Global History: The Nineteenth International Congress of the Historical Sciences, Oslo 2000, Commemorative Volume*, ed. by Sølvi Sogner (Universitetsforlaget: Oslo, 2001): 169-188; idem, "A Quixotic Author and His Great Taxonomy: Mouradgea D'Ohsson and His *Tableau General de L'Empire Othoman*," 25 August 1999, online available: www.oslo2000.uio.no/program/papers/m1b/m1b-findley.pdf and *The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson and the Tableau General of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century/İmparatoluğun meşalesi: XVIII. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Genel Görünümü ve İgnatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson*, ed. by Fatma Canpolat, Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 2002.

[273] Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, vol. IV (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1791), 186.

> Les eaux douces offrent des études très instructives des moeurs orientales, et avec quelqu'attention, on peut là saisir les nuances qui rendent distinctes l'une de l'autre les différentes nations composant la liste sociale en Turquie.[274]

What presented itself here to the eye of the traveller was the entire Ottoman society in panoptical fashion, ready to be transmitted to the European readership, who eagerly awaited details about "the Oriental peoples."[275] The Sweet Waters, as an unbound space where everyone could be as they 'really' were, thus constituted a space tailored for the ethnographic view of the traveller, a space where he could observe and describe the 'typical nature' of the Ottoman ethnic groups:

> Ici, le Grec laisse reparaître des traces de son caractère enjoué, et oublie, au sein de la gaîté, qu'il a des maîtres. L'Arménien y apporte son naturel pacifique et son flegme germanique, qui le suit au champ comme à la ville. (...) Le Juif prend aussi sa part des divertissements qu'offrent les eaux douces, sans perdre toutefois l'ardeur du gain qui naît avec lui pour le suivre jusqu'à la tombe. Le Franc est également attiré par la fraîcheur des ombrages et par le concours nombreux des individus de toutes les nations qu'on y rencontre. (...) Quant au Musulman, il s'y présente en maître. (...)[276]

The theme of the empire's different ethnic groups moreover provided the opportunity to step onto political territory: Thomas Allom, for example, when describing the Sweet Waters wrote of the Greek women one could observe there; this observation led him towards the theme of Greek dances, then Greek war dances and in this way he finally arrived at the topic of the contemporary Greek struggle against the Turks – in which Allom of course supported the cause of the Greeks.[277] This, however, was clearly a trend of the nineteenth century, which was not at all present in the first accounts of Saʿdâbâd and the valley surrounding it.

The illustrations of the Sweet Waters of Europe resemble for the most part the written texts of the travelogues, which they accompanied, by evoking the same *topoi* in a visual manner. Thus the engraving in D'Ohsson's *Tableau Général* by the

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[274] Pertusier, vol. I, 326.

[275] On the influence of the European readership on the content of travelogues see Fischer and Tinguely.

[276] Pertusier, vol. I, 313-314.

[277] Thomas Allom, *Constantinople ancienne et moderne comprenant aussi les sept églises de l'Asie mineure* (Paris: Fisher, Fils et Co., 1840), 49-50.

French artist Jean-Baptiste Hilaire[278] treats – as does the written text – the theme of Kâğıthane as attracting an outstanding diversity of people from the capital.[279] This engraving depicts the palace of Saʿdâbâd in the 1770s together with its gardens and water works, as well as the large public meadow bordering the palace garden, opposite the Cirîd Square. This meadow is on the engraving occupied by a great number of different people: men as well as women, people in groups as well as all alone, people on horseback and on foot, servants as well as those being served. With the palace buildings of Saʿdâbâd themselves located in the image's background and the meadow taking up the entire foreground – it constitutes almost two thirds of the entire engraving – it is in fact all these various people on the meadow which are at the centre of the depiction. The engraving thus corresponds closely to the text, which emphasizes in the same way the variety of people at Kâğıthane (see the quotation from d'Ohsson above).

In his description of Kâğıthane d'Ohsson moreover explained at length how the women arrived at the valley in their *ʿarâba*s (an oxen-driven cart) and it is thus these *ʿarâba*s, which figure prominently in the centre of the engraving's foreground. Much attention has evidently been paid by the artist to the exact depiction of the people's costumes and their material objects such as the carpets, the pipes or instruments. The people are distributed across the meadow in a relatively regular manner, filling it up almost entirely and leaving only very little empty space. Two groups of large trees situated on both edges of the picture provide a visual framing, while one group of trees right in the centre serves as a focal point structuring the vast space making up the meadow. Yet despite the crowd of people and even the horses in

[278] Jean-Baptise Hilaire was a successful Orientalist painter, who not only provided a great number of illustrations for d'Ohsson's *Tableau générale* but also for Choiseul-Gouffier's famous *Voyage pittoresque*. See Auguste Boppe, *XVIII. Yüzyıl Boğaziçi Ressamları*, transl. by Nevin Yücel-Celbiş (Istanbul: Pera Turizm ve Ticaret, 1998), 113-114.
[279] See appendix, fig. 9.

full gallop, the human figures appear strangely detached from the landscape depicted. It seems rather that the landscape served the artist as a practical backdrop, on which he could situate his figures in an almost stage-like manner so that they could provide the European spectators with an impression of Ottoman customs and costumes. Or expressed more pointedly, in a certain way we are presented here with a costume album in collective form, animated by a picturesque background.

Regarding the human figures in this manner as simply being artistic devices, which carry specific functions in the visual composition of the engraving, it becomes increasingly problematic to take the scene, which the engraving purports to depict so realistically, at face value. Obviously, the same holds for the written texts: one can very well argue that Kâğıthane and the palace of Saʿdâbâd serve just as a picturesque backdrop for the writers in front of which they let Ottoman society perform in order to please the interest of their European readership. While this is probably true to a certain extent, I do not want to negate here the relation between discourse and reality entirely. In spite of all odds, I think that one can take the fact that a great number of very different writers as well as various illustrations draw a picture of Kâğıthane as being a popular excursion spot for the urban population as an indication for a corresponding historical reality. If this was the case, however, what these sources do not tell us is the precise composition of this public, which apparently assembled at Kâğıthane. How exclusive this public was, who exactly was part of it and who controlled it are questions, which need to be answered in this context. While I am not able to provide certain answers in the scope of this thesis, I will approach these questions in the last chapter of this work.

Women

For now, let's look at a second *topos*, which appears in almost all travelogues on Saʿdâbâd: the theme of women. As has been widely acknowledged, the theme of the exotic and erotic woman is a theme that occupies a significant position in Orientalist discourse, and there is no need to further elaborate on this at this point.[280] In the discourse on Saʿdâbâd this *topos* was mainly focussed on the appearance of women in public space as represented by the gardens and meadows around the palace. Almost all authors who treated this topic underlined the spatial separation between men and women and then continued to describe the activities of the women, their clothes – of which the veil in particular caught the Westerners' attention – and the way women arrived at the valley by *ʿarâba*, an oxen-driven cart. The interest for Oriental women was not only a male phenomenon – it was well present amongst female European travellers, although it did not reach the same degree of eroticization as with their male counterparts. Thus for example the following description by Milady Craven:

> On voit aussi dans ce lieu des groupes des femmes qui y sont séparées de la compagnie des hommes. Elles s'y rendent dans des espèces de voitures, qu'elles s'imaginent être des carrosses, & qu'elles appellent arabats; c'est une abominable chose qui ressemble à une charrette couverte, avec plusieurs rangées de bancs en dedans: elles ne sont point suspendues sur des soupentes.[281]

Similar to the first *topos* of the people, when treating the theme of women, too, a picture of light-hearted chatter and laughter, of joy and amusement was conjured up, which in this way became a characteristic of the space of Kâğıthane as a whole:

> Cette prairie [Kâğıthane] est le rendez-vous des femmes turques, dans les beaux jours; on les y voit par grouppes, assises en rond sur de beaux tapis, avec de longues pipes à la bouche, écoutant des musiciens qui jouent des instruments autour d'elles, et s'amusant à regarder des bateleurs qui combattent à moitié nuds avec des ours apprivoisés, ou qui luttent ensemble à la manière des anciens athlètes.[282]

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[280] I am citing here as representative for this body of literature the work by Irvin Cemil Schick, *The Erotic Margin: Sexuality and Spatiality in Alteritist Discourse* (London, Verso: 1999).

[281] Craven, 294.

[282] J. B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin*, vol. II (Paris: Dentu, 1800), 321.

The discourse on Oriental women was moreover always a discourse on the borders between the permitted and the prohibited – borders, so it seems, which were a little more flexible at the Sweet Waters than in the city itself. Moral limits are translated into physical limits; not only in terms of city interior and exterior, but also inside the space of Kâğıthane, where definite lines created spaces of exclusion:

> Si je n'ai point encore parlé des femmes, c'est qu'elles sont dans des endroits séparés, dont l'entrée, gardée par des bostângis, est interdite aux hommes, et où elles ont leurs jeux, leurs amusemens particuliers. En passant devant la barrière, on entend le bourdonnement confus d'un grand nombre de voix et les expressions d'une gaîté bruyante, qui se mêlent au son des instruments et aux clameurs des marchands. Ces barrières ne sont souvent autre chose qu'une corde tendue sur des piqnets plantés de distance en distance; mais un homme qui oserait pénétrer dans cette enceinte, nouvel Orphée, serait déchiré par des Bacchantes: aussi n'y a-t-il point d'exemple d'un pareil attentat.[283]

A space of the illegal, of the prohibited was quite obviously created here by the author, which incited the fascination of the reader and stimulated his imagination, in a manner so typical of the Orientalist discourse evoking at the same time the illicit, the exotic and the erotic. What Frederick Bohrer has remarked for the Sweet Waters of Asia is thus also valid in the case of the European Sweet Waters: they represented an "open-air harem" in the orientalist discourse.[284] This was especially true for the travelogues of the nineteenth century when the Orientalist view took on a more and more erotic character:

> On my way home through the park, I came up with a party of Turkish ladies, who were also on their return to town, from the scene of their holiday gaieties. (…) As I passed, and turned to look at them, one of them showed her whole face instead of only her eyes and the tip of her nose. That might be by accident; her *yashmack* might have been deranged, as all veils will some times – bot lo! another mysterious covering is withdrawn – and lo, another! They were three charming faces, really worth showing; and had it not been for my companion, who probably dreaded the consequences of these approaches to gallantry, should any surly Osmanlis observe us, I should willingly have loitered on my way to give them a few more of the admiring glances they evidently courted. I was the more inclined to do so, as these were the first specimens of the lady-species I had an opportunity of seeing.[285]

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[283] A. L. Castellan, *Lettres sur la Morée, l'Hellespont et Constantinople, faisant suite aux lettres sur la Morée* (Paris: Agasse, 1811), 98.

[284] Frederick N. Bohrer, "The Sweet Waters of Asia: Representing Difference/Differencing Representation in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," in: *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture*, ed. by Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones and Mary Roberts (Oxford: Blackwell 2005), 128.

[285] Charles MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, vol. II, 2 (London: Saunders and Otley 1829), 515-516.

This discourse was visually completed by the engravings of Kâğıthane, which evoke the theme of women in a similar manner. A fitting example is the illustration of Thomas Allom's travelogue.[286] The Kâğıthane river and its shores are here depicted in front of a wall of majestic trees. A great number of different people occupy the riversides, but it is in fact a scene of women dancing by the shore, which constitutes the main subject of the image. Situated in the foreground and being full of movement, this scene immediately attracts the attention of the spectator; an effect, which is furthermore supported by its bright shades of grey as opposed to the dark tones of the river which fades away amongst the trees in the background. The engraving depicts a scene of innocent gayness, of exuberant playfulness in front of a backdrop of romantic and imposing nature. When looking more closely, however, one notices that the women are observed by a group of men sitting on the lawn in the corner of the image with their backs turned towards the spectator. Immediately, the scene loses its innocence and becomes charged erotically: the gaze of the European spectator becomes that of the men of the engraving who are observing the Oriental women, object of a deep fascination. The valley of Kâğıthane as a result became a place where it was possible to discover some of the secrets surrounding the figure of the Oriental woman, where the European – mainly male – observer encountered the objects of his fascination. The minaret of Saʿdâbâd's mosque which sticks out of the woods in the back of the engraving seems in this context as if wanting to remind the observer of the exotic dimensions of the scene.

Saʿdâbâd and its environments thus became through this written and visual discourse a space fundamentally eroticized and sexually charged for the European memory; a process, which set in during the second half of the eighteenth century and

[286] See appendix, fig. 10.

culminated in the nineteenth. Castellan's description of women at Kâğıthane valley could not demonstrate this better:

> Le féretgé, qui est croisé par-devant sans être attaché, peut s'entr'ouvrir un moment, et laisser apercevoir la richesse de leurs vêtemens de dessous, qui, serrés à la ceinture, accusent la forme, la souplesse de leur taille, et modèlent les contours de leurs seins, couvert d'une mousseline transparente. Une main potelée, dont les doigts sont ornés de brillans, sort de la large manche destinée à la cacher: le voile qui dérobe la figure s'écarte au moyen d'un léger artifice; la beauté n'incline modestement la tête que pour faire distinguer une bouche charmante, qu'un sourire embellit encore.[287]

Amusement and pleasure

A third *topos*, linked to the two preceding ones, was that of amusement and gayness. The palace of Saʿdâbâd was purportedly situated in an environment far from the worries of everyday life and almost excluded from questions of power, despotism or intrigues – themes at the heart of the orientalist discourse. The latter were in the travelogues represented by the space of the city proper, while the space of the Sweet Waters remained an innocent one. In Pertusier's account for example, the chapter on Kâğıthane served as occasion for a digression on the amusements and celebrations of the Ottomans: "Puisque nous traitons l'article amusemens chez la nation ottomane, nous sommes tenus de parler des donanma ou réjouissances publiques qui se célèbrent à l'occasion d'événemens heureux…"[288] And Castellan similarly entitled the letter XVII of his travelogue "Promenade aux Eaux-Douces ; jeux et amusemens des Turcs."[289]

Interestingly, in a number of travelogues, the palace of Saʿdâbâd did not appear at all when Kâğıthane was being described. And even if the presence of state power – which one could have pinpointed easily in the figure of the sultan and his palace for example, or in the Ottoman artillery, which used parts of the meadows as exercising fields since the 1750s and ran the cannon foundry – was mentioned, this

[287] Castellan, 99-100.
[288] Pertusier, vol. I, 331.
[289] Castellan, 88.

presence equally appeared in the mode of celebrations or relaxation. Castellan for example described the valley of Kâğıthane in the context of a sultanic festivity, when the sultan visited his summer palace at the end of the Golden Horn in order to "respirer la fraîcheur des eaux et s'endormir voluptueusement au murmure produit par leurs chutes multipliées."[290]

It is the image of the indolent and inert Oriental, so dear to Orientalist discourse, which was evoked here and which one finds in many of the relations on Kâğıthane. The architectural type of the *maison de plaisance* or the *kiosque* – which is how Saʿdâbâd was classified by the majority of the authors – was the spatial manifestation of this image. When describing the numerous "reposoirs charmants" around the city, the Polish traveller Jean Potocki for example used the following words:

> C'est aussi là que l'habitant de Constantinople vient étendre ses tapis et ses sofas, et jouissant en silence des beautés de la nature qui l'environne, il y passe des journées entières, plongé dans ces douces rêveries, dont le charme ignoré des esprits actifs, est si connu des âmes contemplatives.[291]

And even the serious Dr. Wittman, who accompanied a British military mission to Istanbul and Egypt and whose account is of a rather technical character, provided the following explanation for the term "kiosque" in a footnote:

> A kiosque is a pavilion, or pleasure-house, of one story [sic], for summer residence. Its form is sometimes square, and at others round, and it is usually built of wood, painted and decorated both withinside and without, in the Turkish style. (…) It is also their [the Turks'] practice to place them near a river, or stream of water, situations of which they are passionately fond. They there indulge themselves in smoking for several hours together.[292]

If the presence of the Ottoman military was ever mentioned at all, it seems to have lost its threatening military character and easily fits in the row of the other festivities and amusements taking place on the meadows of the valley:

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[290] *Ibid.*, 93.
[291] Jean Potocki, *Voyage en Turquie et en Égypte* (Paris: Jose Corti 1999), 73-74.
[292] William Wittman, *Turkey, Asia-Minor, Syria and across the desert into Egypt during the years 1799, 1800, and 1801* (London: Richard Phillips 1803), 30.

> Dans une partie de cette vaste plaine, de jeunes artilleurs s'exercent de temps à autre, à tirer au blanc avec le canon, ou bien à diriger des bombes. (…) Dans la belle saison, des citoyens de tous les ordres, de l'un et de l'autre sexe, vont quelquefois y prendre le plaisir de la promenade (…)[293]

It is worth noting that the account of the English military doctor Wittman, who described the Kâğıthane valley only in terms of its military character is indeed so different from the other travelogues. This fact highlights how much these accounts were in fact determined by what the author wanted (and could) see and perceive – and it poses once more the question of the relation between physical reality on the one hand and the discourse setting out to describe it on the other. Another case in point is the nineteenth-century English traveller Duckett, who – contrary to all the French travellers, who saw in Saʿdâbâd always the imitation of French palace and garden designs – likened Saʿdâbâd to English gardens, the antipode of the French baroque garden type: "Ce sont des belles prairies, traversées par un filet d'eau qu'on prendrait pour une rivière artificielle de nos parcs anglais."[294] This is indeed remarkable, as it highlights how relative supposed solid architectural resemblance in fact is to individual judgement. The example demonstrates clearly that architectural forms gain meaning only through the individual observer and that what the individual perceives is bound completely by his previous knowledge, his cultural and social background.

Nature and the Picturesque

Fourthly, there is the theme of nature and landscape, which was common to all the European accounts of Kâğıthane.[295] The valley was described as a place where a virgin nature was reigning, almost untouched by human hands. Kâğıthane thus

[293] D'Ohsson, 185-186.
[294] W.A. Duckett, *La Turquie pittoresque: Histoire, moeurs, description* (Paris: Victor Lecou, 1855), 231.
[295] For an analysis of the position of 'landscape' in French nineteenth-century Orientalism see Peltre, 67-79.

became the antipode of the city itself – this has already been hinted at above – which certainly coincided with historical reality, as it was after all a public park outside the city walls. Yet the opposition of Kâğıthane versus Istanbul, of nature versus city certainly had as much a rhetorical function, which allowed the writer to treat subjects like Ottoman festivities and amusements in precisely this space. This narrative structure in which Kâğıthane appeared as the antipode to city life and all that it represented in Orientalist discourse (such as Oriental despotism, dirtiness, crowdedness) becomes obvious in this quotation from Salaberry:

> Au fond du port est un petit vallon, au milieu duquel une jolie rivière naît, coule et va finir en se mêlant à la mer. La nature a placé cette charmante solitude à côté du tumulte, de la foule et du mouvement; vous venez de quitter le port le plus vaste, le plus vivant, le plus bruyant; les flots agités balottoient avec danger votre frêle saique, l'ame partage en un instant le calme de la nature. On ne voit plus ni ville, ni palais, ni vaisseaux, ni mer. L'esprit ne passe nulle part aussi rapidement de l'agitation au repos. Ce charmant vallon se nomme les eaux douces.[296]

Moreover, it seems that one can link this dichotomous structure to the nature-culture opposition in Orientalist discourse, according to which nature, representing primitivism and authenticity was associated with the Orient, while culture, standing both for the progress and the decadence of European societies was associated with the Occident.

Apart from the nature-city or the nature-culture divide, nature was evoked in the descriptions of Saʿdâbâd and its surroundings as if it was a charming illustration in a manner that made the valley appear like the canvas of a landscape painter:

> (…) un beau palais entouré d'arbres, des collines, des jardins, des bouquets de peupliers, d'ormes, de frênes, et de cyprès, des sycomores dont les cimes larges et touffues se balancent au gré de la brise, s'etendent le long de ses rives; le canal serpente quelque tems entre deux pelouses de verdure, puis ce n'est plus qu'un ruisseau paisible dont les ranies des caiques touchent les deux bords. Là, sont des colllines boisées et verdoyantes, une vaste prairie tapissée de gazon et de fleurs, de grands noyers, des ormes, des saules et des platanes qui, tantôt solitaires, tantôt groupés par masse, font de ces lieux une immense galerie de tableaux charmants.[297]

[296] Charles Marie D'Irumberry Salaberry, *Voyage à Constantinople, en Italie et aux îles de l'Archipel par l'Allemagne et la Hongrie* (Paris: Maradan, 1796), 176-177.
[297] Allom, 49.

Here, nature takes on a theatrical, not entirely real character, serving as a picturesque decoration in front of which the author set on stage the figures of his Oriental theatre: the sultan, the Turkish woman, the Greek, the Armenian etc. It was this topic of the picturesque[298] which made the Orient appear like a space that willingly exposed itself to the view of the European traveller, that existed only in order to be perceived by a European audience – this was the Orient set on stage for (and by) the Occident:

> Quelle situation plus heureuse pourrait on imaginer pour flatter et contenter ses goûts, que les rives du Bosphore, où la mobilité constante des objets combat si victorieusement la monotonie? Tous ces palais (...) sont, à le bien prendre, des décorations établies sur le théâtre le plus riche en scènes attachantes, et calculées de manière qu'elles puissent changer à vue.[299]

The Sweet Waters of Europe thus constituted the perfect example for the genre of the "pittoresque", of an innocent and almost unreal place, which extended itself in front of the European traveller ready to be perceived, described or painted:

> Des côteaux, des plaines, des petits pavillons avec des dômes dorés, des ponts légers sur une rivière peu profonde, qui se jette dans le Bosphore,[300] des barques flottantes, enfin tout s'y réunit pour présenter le coup-d'oeil le plus pittoresque et le plus imposant.[301]

Part of the picturesque genre in European art with its romantic overtones were also ruins – and with the neglected Saʿdâbâd palace in the latter half of the eighteenth century, Kâğıthane provided a perfect scenery in this regard. First of all, there were the ruins of the dignitaries' pavilions on the hillsides of Kâğıthane, which had been destroyed during the Patrona Halil Rebellion in 1730. Saʿdâbâd palace itself remained neglected until the first renovation in 1740. Renovation works were again carried out in 1792, indicating another period of neglect during the latter decades of the eighteenth century and in 1809 the palace was finally constructed in an entirely

[298] For a treatment of the picturesque in nineteenth-century Orientalist art see Linda, Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," in: *The Politics of Vision*, ed. by eadem. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 50-51 and Peltre, 50-66. For the significance of the picturesque in eighteenth-century English garden design and aesthetic theory see the introduction by Patrick Chézaud in Chambers.

[299] Pertusier, vol. I, 339-340.

[300] The river flows in fact into the Golden Horn, not the Bosphorus.

[301] D'Ohsson, 185.

different form. This means that over the time span of almost one century, Saʿdâbâd was – at least partially – in a state of neglect or even ruined.

Apart from the romantic and picturesque, especially in the accounts of the nineteenth century, the travellers' discourse on these ruins suggested moreover the incompetence of the Ottomans to maintain their own buildings – a suggestion which fit well with their supposed inability to imitate European architecture and constituted part of the large Orientalist *topos* of Oriental idleness. Thus, when Pertusier for example remarked "une continuité de ruines modernes, au lieu des maisons de plaisance qui devraient les [les bords de la rivière de *Kâğıthane*] orner" [302], this becomes rhetorically a moral lesson or what Linda Nochlin calls "architecture moralisée", indicating, even if subtly, that "these people – lazy, slothful, and childlike, if colourful – have let their own cultural treasures sink into decay."[303] And from there it was in fact not far to suggesting that consequentially, it was the duty of the civilized nations to intervene in order to prevent this decay:

> (…) certes ce local [Kâğıthane], où l'on pourroit réaliser les plus agréables créations du génie, mériteroit de passer entre les mains d'autres hommes que les Turcs, dont presque tout les ouvrages accusent cette précipitation puérile qui les fait se hâter de jouir le jour même, comme s'ils craignoient que le désir ne fût usé le lendemain.[304]

In conclusion, the European discourse on Saʿdâbâd and Kâğıthane was clearly imbedded into a wider Orientalist discourse on Istanbul and the Ottoman Empire, which significantly shaped the perception of this particular space, where one could catch a glimpse of an Ottoman woman's face or observe the typical Turk, reclining on a carpet smoking water pipe for hours. While these were in certain ways the blatant culminations of an Orientalist gaze that has in the last decades been systematically dismantled and exposed to thorough criticism, this discourse as it has

[302] Pertusier, vol. I, 315.
[303] Nochlin, 39.
[304] Castellan, 93.

been outlined in the previous pages, has in a more subtle form survived until today and significantly shaped the historiography on Saʿdâbâd and the Tulip Age. Saʿdâbâd is for example still widely regarded as an imperfect imitation of Versailles or Marly and Kâğıthane's image as a space of carefree amusement is even used for promotion purposes by the municipality. It is therefore high time, I think, to critically approach these *topoi*, which are obviously imbued with a heavy Orientalist legacy and for example seriously question, whether the assertion of Saʿdâbâd being an imperfect Western imitation is not just a mental construct due to the perception of Ottoman architecture by European travellers who inevitably assessed what they saw in terms of their own aesthetic system. One can perhaps regard the claim of Saʿdâbâd being in imperfect imitation as the outcome of a dilemma situation that the European travellers found themselves in when confronted with Saʿdâbâd, since the palace could not like other pieces of Oriental architecture be labelled as completely foreign and different. In the case of Saʿdâbâd, two observations opposed each other: on the one hand, Saʿdâbâd's architecture was obviously a foreign one, while on the other it was precisely this foreign piece of architecture, which was held to be an imitation of architectural works from the travellers' own culture. There seems to have been only way out of this impasse: to mark Saʿdâbâd as an *imperfect* imitation.

Yet the fact remains that the European travelogues are after all sources, which are in some way or another linked to the historical reality they describe. They can therefore make information about this reality available, provided that the historian is critical enough to take into account the specific culturally determined way the travellers approach their object of study. The fact that Kâğıthane lent itself to serve as a rhetorical device, which could support specifically these *topoi* enumerated above and *not* different ones and that these were repeated with such regularity, indicates that the historical reality in certain ways corresponded to the picture drawn in the

travelogues. What one can deduce is probably that Kâğıthane was indeed a popular *mesîre* for Istanbul's population, including both Muslims and non-Muslims, where one did come for leisurely outings and picnics. It is also likely that as opposed to other spaces in the city, women were relatively visible at Kâğıthane. It is especially the account of d'Ohsson, which allows making these conclusions, being the account to which one can probably accredit greatest credibility, since d'Ohsson was part of Ottoman society and understood himself as a broker between the Ottomans and the Europeans.[305]

What the travelogues allow us to deduce is thus that Kâğıthane constituted a public space in the urban landscape of Istanbul of a type, which seems to have been newly emergent in the city and indicates important transformations of the urban society.[306] Before I set Saʿdâbâd and Kâğıthane in this wider social and cultural context, however, I now want to oppose the European viewpoint to the Ottoman one.

The Ottoman Perception

How Ottomans themselves perceived the architecture of Saʿdâbâd and the wider space of Kâğıthane is a question so far hardly considered, but which is crucial if one wants to assess the significance and meaning Saʿdâbâd held for Ottoman society (or at least parts of it). The sources available for such an evaluation are on the one hand the official court chronicles, which include descriptions of Saʿdâbâd and Kâğıthane, and on the other hand Ottoman *dîvân* poetry of the eighteenth century,[307] for which

[305] See the footnote on d'Ohsson's *Tableau générale* above.
[306] Hamadeh, "Public Spaces."
[307] I have been able to locate Saʿdâbâd or Kâğıthane among the works of the following eighteenth-century poets: Çelebizade Asım Efendi, Enderunlu Fazıl (Zenanname), Enderunlu Vasıf, Haşmet, Hatem, Latifi, Muhlis Mustafa Efendi, Nahifi, Nedim, Neʿfi, Mustafa Rahmi, Sami Arpaeminizade.

Kâğıthane constituted a favourite site where tales of the poet's beloved or praise for the sultan and his grand vizier were frequently set. As in the previous section, I will firstly deal with the perception of Saʿdâbâd palace and its gardens as architectural monuments in a narrower sense and then consider the wider space of Kâğıthane. My contention is, that while in the first case the Ottoman perception differed markedly from the European one, since Ottomans viewed Saʿdâbâd's architecture mainly in reference to Persian models as well as simply on its own terms, in the second case the perceptions were not as far apart as it might seem at first sight, centring on a number of common themes, such as the visibility of women, pleasure and entertainment or the beauty of nature. This overlap between Ottoman and European perception can furthermore be taken as indicating a corresponding historical reality and certain social and cultural practices – subject matters, which shall be evaluated in the last chapter.

The Perception of Saʿdâbâd Palace

Saʿdâbâd the Unequalled and Other-Worldly

As the perception of the palace is concerned, our sources generally extol the building in greatest praise – certainly determined by the fact, that both chronicles and *dîvân* poetry were authored by people of the court surroundings who were highly dependent upon the patronage of the sultan and who thus in certain ways had no choice but to eulogize him and his grand vizier as well as the architectural works they both patronized.[308] Commonplace in both chronicles and poetry is thus that

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For the poems by Nedim see: *Nedim Divanı*, ed. by Abdülbâki Gökpınarlı (Istanbul: İnkilâp ve Aka 1972). All other poets have been consulted through the anthology *Fatih'ten Günümüze Şairlerin Gözüyle İstanbul*, ed. by Hasan Akay, 2 vols, (Istanbul: İşaret 1997).

[308] See Walter G. Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1985) 99-100. In fact, not much research has been done on the topic of patronage and *divân* poetry. See also the short study of Halil İnalcık, *Şair ve Patron: Patrimonyal Devlet ve Sanat Üzerinde Sosyolojik Bir İnceleme* (Ankara: Doğu Batı, 2003).

Saʿdâbâd is beyond description by words as well as beyond comparison with other architecture because of its beauty and excellence, which has brought it great fame:

> Âlemi tutsa n'ola şöhreti Saʿdâbâd'ın
> Bî-bedeldir şeref ü behceti Saʿdâbâd'ın
> …
> Ey Nâhîfî olamaz hakkı edâ-yı tabʿîr
> Ne kadar olsa beyân midhati Saʿdâbâd'ın[309]

Or in Nedim's words:

> Ye Sa'da-âbâd-ı dil-cûnun efendim sorma hiç vasfın
> Kulun bir vech ile taʿbire kaadir olmaz anı[310]

In the chronicles, the terms used for describing Saʿdâbâd accordingly include *kasr-ı bî-kusûrlar,*[311] *resîde-i kasr* or *kasr-ı lâtif ü bi-hemtâya*.[312] Its perfection and excellence is seen as unmatched by anything else found in the world and thus in fact constitutes a kind of paradise on earth. Nedim for example describes the Kasr-ı Cînan – a suggestive naming, probably invented by Nedim himself – as follows:

> Yok bu dünyâda hele Kasr-ı Cinân'ın misli
> Bilmezem var mı cinân dahı akrânı[313]

The chroniclers similarly use terms like *hâmis cinân-ı zemîn,*[314] *dilkeş-i cennet-nümâ* or *cây-ı cennet-nümâ*[315] with frequency in order to express their praise for the building. Interestingly, it is mainly the gardens and water works, which seem to have inspired the authors to make these comparisons. Thus the water pouring forth from Saʿdâbâd's fountains is often termed *âb-ı hayât* or *mâ-i tesnîm,*[316] the paradisiacal water of life, the Kâğıthane river compared to *kevser*, a river in paradise,[317] and the Cedvel-i Sîm described by Nedim as leading directly to paradise:

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[309] Nahifi in Akay, vol. II, 624.
[310] Nedim, 52.
[311] Çelebizade, 260, 401.
[312] Subhî, 688-689; 691.
[313] Nedim, 76.
[314] Çelebizade, 46.
[315] Subhî, 688.
[316] Nedim, 356.
[317] Nedim, 45; 357.

Cedvel-i sîm içre âdem binse bir zevrakçeye
İstese mümkin varılmak cennetin tâ yânına[318]

Moreover the beauty of Saʿdâbâd's garden especially in spring time, with its flourishing nature and an abundance of roses and other flowers inspired the Ottoman writers to comparisons with the paradise garden of İrem.[319]

The comparison of existing royal gardens to mystical gardens like the garden Eden was a common trope in Ottoman and Persian poetry and an expression of its religious and mystical dimensions, which created constant references between the worldly and the religious order, between this world and the hereafter, between micro- and macrocosm through a rich metaphorical and often ambiguous language. The significance of the mystical Sufi dimension in the poetry should not be neglected, as it profoundly shaped the worldview and reality of Ottoman society; thus poets and other artists, members of the ruling class, as well as janissaries and other commoners would frequently be associated to a *tarîkat* (Sufi society). In the early eighteenth century, it was in particular the *Melâmî* society, which gained ascendancy in elite circles and with which amongst others Nedim as well as the grand vizier İbrahim Pasha were associated.[320] Different from other *tarîkat*s, at the basis of *Melâmî* doctrine did not lay an ascetic retreat from the world in order to come closer to and find the path towards unity with God.[321] Quite to the contrary, the *Melâmî* sought not to distinguish themselves from the surrounding society since they regarded the Sufi path of distinction from the ordinary society by a pious and ascetic life as hypocritical. Because *Melâmî* teachings encouraged their followers to engage in

[318] Nedim, 80.
[319] Subhî, 138.
[320] Introduction by Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı in *Nedim Divanı*, xi-xiii.
[321] On the *Melâmî* society, its doctrine and historical development see Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Melâmîlik ve Melâmîler* (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası 1931) as well as the collective volume edited by Nathalie Clayer, Alexandre Popovic and Thierry Zarcone, *Melâmis-Bayrâmis: Études sur trois mouvements mystiques musulmans* (Istanbul: İsis, 1998) and here in particular the article by Osman Türer, "Les Caractèristiques originelles de la Pensée du Malâmat et les Transformations de cette Pensée avec le Temps," 67-85.

worldly affairs, members of this *tarîkat* often attained esteemed positions in the social order,[322] and while they had been persecuted at earlier times by the Ottoman government for being opposed to orthodox Sunni doctrine,[323] in the eighteenth century the order lived a remarkable expansion into high ranks of the ruling elite.[324]

Taking into account that many of the poets who praised Saʿdâbâd in their works were associated with the *Melâmî* and probably other *tarîkat*s, the paradisiacal and other mystical allusions should be considered as more than mere images or empty rhetorical figures to express praise. Instead, one needs to acknowledge the profound philosophical tradition in which such allusions stand. The fact that the garden was considered a symbol for the garden of paradise meant that gardens were regarded as spaces where the experience of God was potentially possible; they were spaces closer to the realm of the divine. In this quality, the garden came to be a symbol of interior space, the potential locus of the experience of the divine that was opposed to the chaotic, wild and exterior space of nature, on all levels from the micro- to the macrocosm. Thus on the level of the universal, the garden symbolized the typal as opposed to the phenomenal world; on the level of the earthly, it represented the peaceful and harmonic *dârü'l-islâm* as opposed to the conflictuous *dârü'l-harb* and on the level of the individual it symbolized the inner emotional as opposed to the outer rational-intellectual world.[325]

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[322] Türer, 77-78.

[323] Burhan Oğuz, "La Melâmetiyye et l'Idéologie Ottomane," in: *Melâmis-Bayrâmis: Études sur trois mouvements mystiques musulmans*, ed. by Nathalie Clayer, Alexandre Popovic and Thierry Zarcone (Istanbul: İsis, 1998), 87-96.

[324] Gölpınarlı, 163-178.

[325] On the character of gardens as interior spaces in *gazel*s of the classical age see Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, 151-154. Deniz Çalış has suggested that the sultanic garden of Saʿdâbâd can be interpreted in terms of *Melâmî* philosophy, with the Cirîd Square as the sultan's private space representing the realm of interior space, the public meadows on the opposite side of the canal representing exterior space and the enclosed palace gardens situated by the pools being a representation of intermediary space (*barzakh*), a category of the mystic scholar Ibn ʿArabi (1165-1240) whose philosophy inspired the *Melâmî*. It is however hard to verify whether such mystical considerations really did influence the design of Saʿdâbâd's garden. Çalış, "Kâğıthane Commons," 255-257.

Apart from the garden symbol, another concept at the heart of Sufi philosophy, which is reflected in the poetry, is the concept of love: Sufism was based upon the acknowledgement of the unity of being, i.e. upon the understanding that all beings were part of the divine since all creation was regarded to be a self-disclosure of God. Love to and the experience of God could therefore be realized only through love to other human beings. This concept of – at the same time divine and human – love was a central trope of *dîvân* poetry, which in an ambiguous manner positioned the figure of the beloved at its centre[326] – the lyrical admiration and praise of whom could both be taken to signify admiration of God as the ultimate beloved as well as admiration of the human lover. This in turn was intertwined with the physical space of the garden, so that using a highly ambiguous language, the description of nature turned into the praise of the poet's – divine or human – lover. The beloved is thus for example likened to the slim cypress (*servî*) or the tender sapling (*nihâl*), his curly hair to the hyacinth (*sünbül*), his red cheeks to the rose (*gül*) or his mouth to a bud (*gonca*).[327] In the poetic descriptions of Saʿdâbâd and Kâğıthane, this interpenetration of natural beauty, physical-erotic and mythical-religious love is constantly evoked. Saʿdâbâd as a place praised for its unequalled beauty thus emerges as a space that in the Ottoman perception continuously oscillated between the beauty and pleasure of this world and those of the hereafter.

A Synecdoche for the Sultan's Magnificence

In another metaphorical chain, the garden as the prototype of interior, protected and ideal space was a symbol for the city as the ideally ordered space opposed to the surrounding countryside, with the monarch as the ordering power tending for his

[326] See Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpaklı, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).
[327] Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, 101.

urban subjects just as a gardener would tend for his flowers. Thus a closely interwoven field of references was created between the tetragon of garden, city, the beloved and the monarch so that "the garden becomes identified with the beloved just as the city becomes identified with the monarch" and as an extension "the garden also becomes a symbol for the city with its watercourses, its domed buildings like clouds, its collections of attractive personages at palace, mosque, and medrese like beds of flowers and stands of cypress, and, at the center of all, the sultan like the perfect rose."[328]

Praising Istanbul's gardens therefore also meant praising the sultan, who made all this beauty possible through his protection and reign. This was of course especially true for imperial gardens and palaces, which became concrete physical sites providing spatial anchorage for the literary praise of the sultan and other architectural patrons. Architectural monuments, so it seems then, were closely associated with their patrons – a way of perception for which Saʿdâbâd is quite obviously a case in point. For almost all poets, the description of Saʿdâbâd is set in the context of the praise of Sultan Ahmed III or grand vizier İbrahim Pasha, and the transition in the poems between these two subjects – praise of architecture and praise of its patron – is fluent and effortless, thanks also to the ambiguity of the vocabulary used. Nedim makes the relation obvious in one of his *kasîde*s describing Saʿdâbâd: "Anı [Saʿdâbâd'ı] vasfetmek senin [sultanın] eltâfını vasfetmedir"[329] This underlines the significant role architecture played in the constitution of the public image of the sultan and in the legitimation of his rule. The extensive architectural patronage practiced by Sultan Ahmed III and İbrahim Pasha during the Tulip Age can thus not simply be qualified as a squandering of resources, but has to be seen in the context of

[328] Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, 101.
[329] Nedim, 82.

dynastic legitimacy:[330] Saʿdâbâd, being a sultanic palace, emerges from poetry and chronicles as a synecdoche for the magnificence and power of the Ottoman sultan and in extension for that of the Ottoman Empire in general.

Surmounting the Eastern Neighbours

In direct opposition to the European travelogues, nothing is in the Ottoman texts to be read of attempts at architectural imitation or references to French or European architecture. On the contrary, because Saʿdâbâd was unequalled by anything on earth and only worth of being compared with paradise, it became in fact a building with model character itself – a model carrying the potential to be imitated by others. The exemplary, model character of Saʿdâbâd is expressed for example in this *beyit* by Arpaeminizade Sami:

> Cihanda misli yok ibret-nümâdır sahn-ı Saʿdâbâd
> Mülûkâne aceb cây-i safâdır sahn-ı Saʿdâbâd[331]

Reference points frequently alluded to in order to establish the superiority of Saʿdâbâd over previous architectural monuments are well-known Persian architectural monuments, both from the contemporary period and from mythical accounts of Persian history such as the *Şâhnâme*. The fame of Saʿdâbâd, so was claimed, surmounted that of the legendary predecessors, and has become the reason for envy and jealousy on the part of Persians and Indians:

> Hıtta-i Rûm'a gelüb revnak-ı taze şimdi
> Düşdü Hind ü Aceme hasreti Saʿdâbâd'ın[332]

And even the great Alexander would bite his fingers out of admiration, if he could see Saʿdâbâd:

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[330] On the place of architecture in the upholding of sultanic legitimacy see also Howard Crane, "The Ottoman Sultan's Mosques: Icons of Imperial Legitimacy," in: *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. by Donald Preziosi, Irene A. Bierman and Rifaʿat A. Abou-El-Haj (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas 1991), 173-243.

[331] Arpaeminizade Sami in Akay, vol. II, 763.

[332] Nahifi in Akay, vol. II, 624.

Görücek rûh-ı Sikender hele Saʿdâbâdı
Oldu parmak ısırıp himmetinin hayrânı[333]

In the account of his embassy to Iran in 1775, the poet Sünbülzade Vehbi systematically compared the famous architectural monuments of the Persians with those in the Ottoman lands – and not surprisingly in an account that was aimed at pacifying the Ottoman sultan Abdülhamid I, who had condemned Sünbülzade Vehbi to death for supposed disloyalty while in Iran, in all cases the Ottoman examples surpass the Persian ones.[334] Saʿdâbâd is one of the buildings put forward by the poet in order to testify to Ottoman superiority, even though it was lying in ruins at the time – a fact which only highlighted the indubitable superiority of Ottoman architecture:

Hacâletle aceb mi tâk-i Kisrâ[335] münkesir olsa
Ki Kayer pâs-bân olmış o vâlâ kasr u eyvâna
Bu Kâğıdhâne-i âbâdı taklîd eylemiş gûyâ
Ser-i râyında rûd üzre o Saʿdâbâd-ı vîrâna[336]

Thus as the Ottoman sultan was set by the poets in the context of the legendary Persian kings and declared to be superior to them all, so Saʿdâbâd, too, was seen as the apex of an Iranian tradition of great architectural monuments – once again, the close connection between architecture and political power, between building and patron becomes evident. What is moreover remarkable is the fact that it was now the Ottomans who constituted a source of envy for the formerly so magnificent Persian kings; while the Ottomans obviously still saw themselves in a line of states of the Turko-Persian tradition, at the same time they consciously emancipated themselves from it – it was now *Rûm* that had model character for the Eastern neighbours of

[333] Nedim, 78.
[334] On this embassy account in poetry form, also called Tannâne Kaside, see the article by Süreyya Beyzadeoğlu, "Tannâne kasîdesi: Bir manzum sefâretname," *Dergâh* 14 (1991): 10-11.
[335] The term is ambiguous: it could designate any palace of the Persian Shah, but also refer to the monumental vault named Tâk-i Kisrâ, which was part of the palace of the legendary palatial complex of the Sassanid king Chosroe I at the Sassanid capital Ctesiphon on the river Tigris. The ambiguity is obviously intended.
[336] Sünbülzade Vehbi in Akay, vol. II, 787.

Hind and *Acem*. One model that was repeatedly made reference to by the eighteenth-century Ottoman poets is the Chaharbagh avenue at Isfahan:

> N'ola her bâğı reşk-i Çâr-bâğ-ı Isfahân olsa
> Yedi iklîme sîyt-i iştihârı dâstân olsa[337]
>
> Gel hele bir kerrecik seyret göze olmaz yasâğ
> Oldu Saʿdâbâd şimdi sevdiğim dâğ üstü bâğ
> Çâr-bâğ-ı Isfahân'ı eylemiştir dâğ dâğ
> Oldu Saʿdâbâd şimdi sevdiğim dâğ üstü bâğ[338]

In light of the historiographic discussion around the 'imitation question' this direct comparison between Saʿdâbâd and Isfahan's Chaharbagh is of considerable significance as it indeed points to potential 'Eastern' models of architectural inspiration. While these passages cannot 'prove' that it was Persian architectural models, which constituted the source of inspiration for Saʿdâbâd's design, what they do attest to is the significance of such Eastern models in what one could perhaps call the cultural memory of the Ottomans. Obviously, the Ottoman elite was well acquainted with the architectural monuments of their Eastern neighbours and they immediately noticed the architectural similarity between Saʿdâbâd and Isfahan's Chaharbagh, constituted mainly by the central straight water canal adorned with water cascades. Even if the imperial architect Mehmed Âğâ had worked out his plans for Saʿdâbâd based on French materials that had been accumulated in the sultan's private library, what is in the end important is that the Ottoman court elite *perceived* Saʿdâbâd to form part of a long-standing Turko-Persian cultural tradition of which it was at the same time the climax – and could therefore become a symbol for Ottoman superiority. The meaning attributed to Saʿdâbâd was thus one that was linked both to the adherence of the Ottomans to a Turko-Persian cultural universe and to a sense of Ottoman distinction and emancipation from precisely this shared world.[339]

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[337] Arpaeminizade Sami in Akay, vol. II, 763.
[338] Nedim, 346.
[339] On these Turko-Persian traditions see Canfield.

The need to express Ottoman superiority to the Eastern neighbour was especially manifest in light of the political situation during the 1720s, when the Ottoman Empire was on the verge of going to war with the faltering Safavid Empire, finally ushering in a series of armed conflicts during the 1730s and 1740s. The poems directly reflect this political context and repeatedly establish parallels between the political and the cultural sphere – Saʿdâbâd was thus apparently perceived in the context of a cultural rivalry that paralleled the ongoing political rivalry. In several of Nedim's *kasîde*s for example, the poet, after describing the splendour of Saʿdâbâd, goes on to praise the sultan in order to subsequently ask for God's assistance in the conquest of Iran and Turan or evoke the success of the Ottoman soldiers involved in the war. This interpenetration of the cultural and the political realm is for example well expressed in this verse by Nedim on Saʿdâbâd:

> Ey sabâ gördün mü mislin bunca demdir âlemin
> Püşt-ü pâ urmaktasın Îrân'ına Tûrân'ına[340]

Being a major array of sultanic self-presentation, architecture was thus obviously involved in a cultural competition with Persia (and to some extent also Mughal India); a competition, which was connected to the political conflicts in the first half of the eighteenth century. Saʿdâbâd in particular seems to have played a major role in this rivalry, this being due to its extraordinary splendour as the Ottomans perceived it and to its similarity in architectural terms to Isfahan's Chaharbagh avenue.

The Appeal of Novelty

Judging from the poetry, one major factor of Saʿdâbâd's extraordinary splendour was its novel and distinct, marvellous style – a characteristic, which in the eyes of the Ottoman observers obviously accounted for its superiority to the Persian models and

[340] Nedim, 79.

distinguished the Ottoman aesthetics from the Turko-Persian tradition it derived from. Arpaeminizade Sami for example writes:

> Değildir köhne vâdî taze tarh-ı dil-sitândır bu
> Mülûkâne aceb cây-i safâdır sahn-ı Saʿdâbâd[341]

And in his famous description of Istanbul Nedim characterizes the extensive building activities under İbrahim Pasha as creating "the pleasure of a world of new images", for which Saʿdâbâd is cited as first example – an example that is moreover a source of pride for Istanbul:

> Şimdi yapılan âlem-i nev-resm-i safânın
> Evsâfı hele başka kitâb olsa sezâdır
> Nâmı gibi olmuştur o hem Saʿd hem âbâd
> İstanbul'a sermâye-i fahr olsa revâdır[342]

Both chroniclers and poets frequently used terms such as *nev* (new), *tâze* (fresh), *ânda îcâd*[343] (instantaneous invention) and *nev îcâd*[344] (new invention), *acâ'ib* (marvellous) or *nadîde tarz*[345] (rare style) when describing and eulogizing the buildings of Saʿdâbâd. This emphasis on novelty, the celebration of innovation, originality and creativity distinguished the architectural discourse of the eighteenth century from that of the previous centuries, when instead for their novelty and originality, buildings were praised for their adherence to revered, often Persian mythical or ancient architectural models.[346] This latter discourse had not completely disappeared – after all Saʿdâbâd was for example still likened to the famed pavilion of Havernak, an old trope in Ottoman literature,[347] or to the gardens of paradise – but was now quite obviously overshadowed by the advent of a new perception of

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[341] Arpaeminizade Sami in Akay, vol. II, 763.
[342] Nedim, 86.
[343] Nedim, 75.
[344] Çelebizade, 44.
[345] Çelebizade, 42.
[346] Hamadeh, "Question of Westernization," 32-33.
[347] Çelebizade, 42, 43. The legendary castle of Havernak (Khawarnaq) was supposedly built by the Byzantine Sinimmar for the Lakhmid Numan in the fifth century near Kufa. It was famous for its dome imitating the structure of the heavens and praised by pre-Islamic Arabic poems as one of the wonders of the world.

architecture, which clearly distinguished the Ottoman architectural achievements from those of both mythical and concrete 'Eastern' models for the originality and novelty they carried in Ottoman eyes.

The Splendour of Light

Another theme evoked in order to describe and praise the architecture of Saʿdâbâd was that of light and brightness. The magnificence of the building was expressed by comparisons with sun, moon and the stars (e.g. *cevher-i âfitâb,*[348] *ferkadân*[349]), the water of fountains, pools and canal perceived as sparkling like silver (*sîm, nazîr, gümüş*) and terms such as *revnak* (brightness, splendor), *nûr-efşân* (scattering light) or *pür nûr* (full of light), *rahş* (gleam, flash), *pertev* (light, ray) or *neyyir* (luminous) were frequently used in the architectural descriptions by both poets and chroniclers. Moreover, in both chronicles and poetry the same register of light and brilliance, which was used to eulogize Saʿdâbâd, was equally used in order to describe the person of the sultan. This testifies once again to the close association between the ruler and his palace: the palace in its splendid luminosity was the symbol for the splendid magnificence of the sultan. The sultan himself was frequently likened to the sun, as the one who brings light and joy. The sun was a ubiquitous symbol of royal power, wealth and magnificence in the early modern world, employed probably most famously by the *roi soleil* Louis XIV of France, incidentally the same monarch under whose reign the gardens of Versailles and Marly – the supposed models for Saʿdâbâd – were created and who similarly to Ahmed III is famed for his splendid court life full of festivities and entertainment.[350]

[348] Subhî, 688.
[349] Nedim, 76.
[350] Burke, *Fabrication of Louis XIV*.

This close interrelation between splendour, might, the sultan and Saʿdâbâd becomes for example manifest in one of Nedim's *kasîde*s, where he first exalts the sultan for bringing splendour to the community of subjects of the empire and then in a parallel manner depicts the sultan as awarding new splendour to Saʿdâbâd by his visit:

> Hânedân-ı saltanat ancak seninle fahreder
> Gevher-i şeh-vârdır revnak verir ummânına
> …
> Ey şehneşâh-ı cihan lûtfunla Saʿd-âbâd'-ı çün
> Eyleyip teşrîf verdin tâze revnak şânına [351]

In a similar manner, the chronicler Küçük Çelebizade likened the arrival of sultan Ahmed III at Saʿdâbâd in 1728 (1140) to an illumination: "(…) âlây ile kasr-ı hümâyûnlarını pertev-i ruhsârlarıyla münevver buyurdular (…)."[352]

Regarding the theme of light not on a metaphorical, but on a literal level, it also testifies to the practice of illuminating Saʿdâbâd's gardens with candles and torches and even fireworks at special occasions. Other imperial gardens, too, were lit up in that way, thus constituting a new practice of 'conquering the night' during the Tulip Age. Until then, city life had died down with nightfall, except for the month of Ramadan, when the great mosques would be illuminated. Now however, nights became the time of entertainment and pleasure, at least for the elites – quite an extraordinary change for the rhythm of urban life. When describing these illuminated lights, the chroniclers continually intertwine literal and metaphorical level, so that for example the description of the fireworks held in 1141 at Saʿdâbâd by Küçük Çelebizade turns into the praise of Saʿdâbâd's heavenly character, with the Cedvel-i Sîm coming to resemble the milky way (*ol fezâ-yı safâ efzâ-yı âsumân ve cedvel-i sîm cuy gâhgüşâna dönüb*).[353]

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[351] Nedim, 81, 84.
[352] Çelebizade, 560.
[353] Çelebizade, 611.

Moreover, the theme of light when employed in descriptions of the palace's architectural style also testifies to the ephemeral style of sultanic palaces and pavilions, which had first developed in the late seventeenth century in Edirne and became characteristic of Istanbul's waterfront palaces during the eighteenth century – and it makes clear, that this new lightness and transparency was perceived as a primary and highly praiseworthy characteristic by the Ottoman observers. Ottoman palaces and gardens of the classical period had been characterized by high surrounding walls, narrowly planted lines of cypresses as sight barriers and had generally aimed at creating a protected interior space separated from the outside world. The emphasis on luminosity and brightness in poetry as well as the physical transparency of the new architectural style clearly constituted a novelty indicating an entirely new regime of visibility – the formerly secluded sultan as well as the members of the court now became visible to the urban population when dwelling in their luminous wooden palaces and gardens.[354]

Public Space and Erotic Adventures: Kâğıthane Valley

Departing now from the perception of Saʿdâbâd's architecture and directing the view towards the wider space of Kâğıthane valley, the differences to the European discourse remarkably lose significance, since as far as the wider space of the valley is concerned certain themes are common to both discourses: the theme of nature, that of a diverse populace, in particular women, and lastly the topic of entertainment.

As did the European observers, so the Ottomans, too, praised the natural scenery of Kâğıthane valley. Its water and air were frequently praised for their mildness (*letâfet-i âb u havâ*), and with the arrival of spring, the valley abounded in

[354] The same tendency for greater architectural transparency has been noted by Cerasi in the case of eighteenth-century buildings along the Divan Yolu. Cerasi, *Divanyolu*, 104.

beautiful flowers, especially roses, which attracted both the sultan and the urban population to this *mesîre* for excursions and contemplation (*temâşâ*). Frequent terms designating the valley are accordingly *temâşâgâh* (public promenade), *gülistân* (rose garden), *lalezâr* (tulip garden) or *nihâlistân* (forest), and *ferah-fezâ* (spacious). Nedim for example describes the abundance of colourful flowers in spring, which adorn the meadows of the valley in close proximity to the sultan's palace:

> Turfa rengâ-reng âheng eylemiş sahrâyı pür
> Kûh ses verdikçe şeydâ bülbülün efgaanına
> Sabr-ı tâkatsız çıkıp bir gül dahı peydâ eder
> Hande sığmaz goncenin zîra leb-i handânına[355]

One has to remember here that the theme of natural beauty was in *dîvân* poetry metaphorically intertwined with the theme of love, love both to the human beloved and to the immaterial God. Hence, when evoking the natural beauty of Kâğıthane, the poet at the same time attributed a certain eroticism to the place, corresponding to the fact that in many of the poems Kâğıthane is the destination of excursions by the poet together with his beloved. The association of the space with nature and correspondingly with love – which can be read as love by the lover for the beloved, by the subject for the sultan and by the believer to God – makes Kâğıthane in the Ottoman perception also a space of pleasure and joy. Terms like *dilkeş* (heart-attracting), *dilnişîn* (pleasant), *gamsız* (carefree), *safâ* (pleasure), *behcet* (joy) or *nüzhetgâh* (beautiful, pleasant place) when describing the setting are abundant, both in poetry and chronicles. Nedim quite clearly brings this to the point:

> [Kâğıthane'nin] kühsârları bâğları kasrları hep
> Gûyâ ki bütün şevk-u tarab zevk-u safâdır[356]

Pleasure was derived not only from the beautiful setting and Saʿdâbâd's splendid architecture, but equally from the social environment the valley apparently offered. Kâğıthane emerges from *dîvân* poetry as a preferred setting for holding a poetic

[355] Nedim, 79.
[356] Nedim, 86.

meclis, that is a type of literary salon among poets, musicians and dervishes during which music and poetry were recited while eating and drinking wine and that was usually set in a secluded, intimate garden.[357] But for the Ottoman poets of the eighteenth century Kâğıthane's pleasure lay even more in the presence of the beloved. Kâğıthane is depicted as the perfect space for joyful excursions of lover and beloved, yet also as the space were the beloved potentially betrays his lover, as Nedim relates in one of his *şarkı*s: the poet's beloved has set out for Kâğıthane on his own, passed the day with other beauties and finally when asked to number his lovers denies his engagement with the poet.[358] One gets the impression that the meadows of Kâğıthane, depicted as being crowded with beauties and lovers, were a place where lovers would vie for these beauties, where love relationships were as quickly established as they could disperse:

> Anda seyret kim ne fursatlar girer cânâ ele
> Gör ne dil-cûlar ne meh-rûlar ne âhûlar gele
> …
> Dur zuhûr etsin hele her gûşeden bir dil-rübâ
> Kimi gitsin bâğâ doğru kimi sahrâdan yanâ
> Bak nedir dünyâda resm-i sohbet-i zevk-u safâ
> Seyr-i Saʿdâbâd'ı sen bir kerre îyd olsun da gör[359]

Considering the fact that the beloved celebrated in Ottoman *dîvân* poetry was usually male,[360] it is remarkable that Kâğıthane was moreover explicitly remarked to be a space where women could be encountered:

> Sen de istersen eğer rûh-i revân
> Ki sana meyl ide erbâb-ı zenân
> …
> Mevsim-i gülde buyur seyrâne
> Bâ-husus cânib-i Kâğâdhâne[361]

Thus even if one has to keep in mind that *dîvân* poetry worked on several metaphorical levels and that to regard only its literal level would be misleading, what

[357] See for example the gazel by Çelebizade Asım Efendi in Akay, vol. I, 333. On the *meclis* in poetry of the classical age see Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, 145-188.
[358] Nedim in Akay, vol. II, 649.
[359] Nedim, 345.
[360] Andews and Kalpaklı, *Age of Beloveds*.
[361] Enderunlu Fazıl, Zenânnâme in Akay, vol. I, 376.

nevertheless emerges – even if all these encounters between lover and beloved did not in fact take place but were only sung of – is that Kâğıthane carried a profound erotic meaning – and thus the picture drawn by Ottoman poets was astonishingly not so far from that drawn by the European travellers. Of course, the latter's view was characterized by an Orientalist eroticism that regarded 'the other' with a belittlement that could reach dimensions of disdain. Yet the overlap of both European and Ottoman perception to a certain extent points to a corresponding historical reality, in which Kâğıthane must have indeed been a space where social and moral boundaries were considerably looser and women more visible than in other parts of the city. That Kâğıthane was for the Ottomans, too, a less restrictive space than the city proper is amusingly related in another of Nedim's poems, where the poet suggests his beloved to ask his mother for permission to go to the Friday prayer and instead to set out for Saʿdâbâd together and pass a day away from the constrictive environment of the private house.[362] One would go to Kâğıthane, so it seems then, in order to pass time with one's lover, which one could apparently not do as freely in other parts of the city. The meadows of Kâğıthane hence seem to have been perceived as a public space, where different norms and rules than those of the private space were in place; norms and rules which accorded the individual considerably more freedom than in the private realm.

Noteworthy in this respect is how eighteenth-century poets reinterpreted the classical trope of the *meclis* and its setting, the garden, possibly under the influence of a *Melâmî* world view. As already mentioned, the *meclis* in *dîvân* poetry of the classical age used to be set in a protected, secluded private garden – corresponding to the layout of Istanbul gardens of the classical age[363] – which was the symbol per se

[362] Nedim, 357.
[363] Necipoğlu, "Suburban Landscape."

for interior and thus ideal space. The prototype of the garden of eighteenth-century poets as represented by Kâğıthane has however lost – at least to a certain extent – these characteristics of selectivity and interiority. To the contrary, for holding a *meclis* or passing time with one's lover it was now apparently public space that one sought for as it held the promise of being less constrictive. Kâğıthane, a crowded *mesîre* on holidays, characterized by its extensive plains and meadows, where one could nevertheless lose oneself in privacy, is one prime example of these newly emerging public gardens.[364]

Of course, already before the eighteenth century there had been spaces in the city, including gardens, where moral norms were less strictly enforced and which allowed for secret erotic escapades. Poetry had not neglected these spaces, but accorded a separate genre for accounts of it: the *şehrengîz*.[365] Poems of this genre narrate a journey through a specific city, during which both the city's young beauties, often artisans, and its architectural monuments are described and praised by the poet. The *şehrengîz*, which emerged in the mid-sixteenth century, but had disappeared by the beginning of the eighteenth, had in terms of language and style combined the formalism of elevated *dîvân* poetry with the simplicity of Turkish folk poetry. The disappearance of the genre in the early eighteenth century seems to be linked to the trend towards localization (*mahalleşme*) in *dîvân* poetry at that time, which meant that court poets increasingly made use of local imagery and language

[364] Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 159-163.

[365] On the genre of the *şehrengîz* see Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatında Şehr-engizler ve Şehr-engizlerde İstanbul* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Derneği, 1958); J. Stewart-Robinson, "A Neglected Ottoman Poem: The Şehrengīz," in: *Studies in Near Eastern Culture and History: In memory of Ernest T. Abdel-Massih*, ed. by James A. Bellamy (Michigan: University of Michigan: 1990), 201-211; Halit Dursunoğlu, "Klasik Türk edebiyatında bir şehrin güzelleri ve güzellikleri ile ilgili eserler (şehrengizler)," *Türk Dil Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* II (2003): 57-74 and Deniz Çalış, "Şehr-Engiz-i Hayal 1: Bahçeler ve Kentler Osmanlı Kültüründe Peyzaj Metaforları," in: *2000'lerde Türkiye'de Mimarlık: Söylem ve Uygulamalar*, ed. by Tansel Korkmaz (Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2007), 95-110.

and began to refer concretely to everyday urban life.[366] Moreover, concrete erotic escapades in public spaces of the city were now also taken up by the court poets. As a result, the *sehrengîz* probably lost its *raison d'être* – what before had been confined to a separate genre both in terms of content and style now became permissible in *dîvân* poetry.[367] Noteworthy is this development of the poetic canon because it reflected concrete social transformations: as everyday life scenes and language of the commoners invaded elevated court poetry, so former elite activities – such as the literary *meclis* in a private secluded garden – now became increasingly open to the broader public. As we have seen in the case of Kâğıthane, poets now drew the picture of urban gardens as informal spaces that allowed for diverse activities such as reading, singing, walks, boat rides or amorous encounters.[368] What we can thus come to conclude regarding Kâğıthane and the significance it bore for Ottomans, is that it constituted – at least in the minds of Ottoman poets – the perfect destination for a pleasant excursion into a lovely natural setting and was at the same time a highly eroticised space, the ideal setting for encounters between lover and beloved. This in turn points to Kâğıthane's quality of being a public space, where social and moral norms were apparently less strictly enforced.

Yet despite its public character, the pleasure and enjoyment provided by Kâğıthane valley were not only exploited by commoners, dervishes or the figures of lover and beloved: with Saʿdâbâd being the sultan's summer palace, Kâğıthane was also a

[366] On innovations in eighteenth-century poetry see Michaila Stajnova, "Neue Richtungen im künstlerisch-literarischen Schaffen der osmanischen Türkei zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts," in: *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1673 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. by Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1983), 179-193 and Hatice Aynur, "Ottoman literature," in: *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*, ed. by Suraiya Faroqhi, The Cambridge History of Turkey, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 481-520. On the role of innovation in the work of Nedim in particular see Kemal Silay, *Nedim and the Poetics of the Ottoman Court: Medieval Inheritance and the Need for Change* (Bloomington: Indiana University Turkish Studies, 1994).

[367] Stewart-Robinson, 207-208; Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 155.

[368] Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 159-163.

space dedicated to the sultan's pleasure. Remarkable is the fact that in the minds of the Ottomans this was indeed one of the main purposes of Kâğıthane – to serve the pleasure of the sultan, of the ultimate beloved. Concomitantly, the sultan's indulging in pleasure and entertainment at Saʿdâbâd even during times of war was not seen as affronting or morally wrong, but rather as a sign of sultanic magnificence and power: the Ottoman sultan was so powerful, that there was simply no need for him to occupy himself with the details of war; in view of the army's strength he could afford to pursue a pleasant life in a carefree manner:

> Şâd-kam olsun safâlarla hemîşe hâtırın [= sultânın hatırı]
> Bin sürûr âmâde olsun vaktinin her ânına
> Gâh sâhil-hanelerde gâh Saʿdâbâd'da
> Sen safâ kıl düşmenin endûh geçsin cânına
> Sen otur ıkbâl ile taht-ı şehenşâhîde şâd
> Mülkler olsun müsehhar askerin şîrânına[369]

Sultanic legitimacy thus lay no longer in the personal strength of the sultan, demonstrated by his active participation in military campaigns, but precisely in the opposite, namely the fact that the sultan's armies were military successful while he himself enjoyed the pleasures of his summer palaces. Of course, sultanic legitimation was not uncontested and while the court elite, to which the poets belonged, might have been approving of a splendid court life, we cannot deduce that the common population necessarily shared this view. Yet, I think that this observation nevertheless undermines the moralistic representations in modern history writing of the Tulip Age as an age of wasteful expenditure and of an elite that neglected politics and instead indulged in a life of sumptuary luxury. Moreover, it casts certain doubt on the common assertion that the Patrona Halil Rebellion was a reaction against precisely this lifestyle lead by the elites.

[369] Nedim, 84.

To conclude, in the Ottoman perception of Saʿdâbâd the building was determined by its close association with its patrons – Sultan Ahmed III and Damad İbrahim Pasha – which made Saʿdâbâd into a symbol for sultanic power and magnificence. At a time when Ottoman might was considerably challenged on the political plane, the praise of Saʿdâbâd as attesting to unfaltering Ottoman magnificence was probably highly significant. The political context of armed conflict with Iran moreover determined the perception and representation of the sultanic palace as being superior to both ancient and contemporary Persian architectural models – in particular to Isfahan's Chaharbagh avenue, to which Saʿdâbâd bore moreover obvious formal similarity. Even though there is convincing yet not absolute evidence for Saʿdâbâd being inspired to a considerable degree by French baroque palaces, in the mind of the Ottoman elite, Saʿdâbâd was rather seen in the context of familiar and famed buildings of the political and cultural rival in the East. This shows once again that architecture carries multiple meanings and cannot be fixed to one single interpretation. Since architectural forms are not possessed by nations or cultures they can travel across borders, be transformed and take on new meanings in new contexts – or they might very well be applied simultaneously but independently from each other in different geographic locations. Perhaps, then, as was the case with the sophisticated structure of Ottoman poetry, the point of Saʿdâbâd's architecture lay precisely in its ambiguity, which persists to irritate historians today. Instead of forcefully trying to establish the one and only signification of the building, I think one simply needs to accept that Saʿdâbâd carried different meanings for different observers and therefore constituted an ideal opportunity to be employed, perhaps even instrumentalized, in contexts of cultural and political rivalry. Hence, since Persian Safavid and French baroque garden architecture resembled each other in their grand axial and symmetrical layouts, creating focal perspectives by central

water canals, Saʿdâbâd could conveniently be presented as a reference to Versailles when the Ottoman grand vizier negotiated with the French ambassador and at the same time be employed by court poets and chroniclers in order to praise Ottoman cultural superiority over their Eastern neighbours.

As the wider space of Kâğıthane is concerned we have seen that the valley was praised by Ottoman poets of the first half of the eighteenth century as an excursion place especially for lover and beloved and thus perceived in clearly erotic terms, which at the same time had profound mythical dimensions that challenged neat cosmological distinctions between interior and exterior spaces. Moreover, Kâğıthane apparently constituted for Ottoman poets a space where moral norms were less strictly observed and which therefore allowed engaging in amorous adventures, even with women. In this respect, Ottoman and European observers' representations of the valley overlapped, which allows to conclude that Kâğıthane did in fact constitute a public space with greater individual liberties, that differed markedly from spaces in Istanbul proper and was apparently one reason for the *mesîre*'s immense popularity.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL SPACE: PRACTICE AND USE

In this last chapter I intend to look at an aspect so far only touched upon: the aspect of social practice in space, that is the question of how a particular space is or was used and lived, by whom and for which purposes. This is an aspect that moreover directs attention towards conflicts – conflicts, which may arise from diverging uses of space, from conflicting claims to possession, from unauthorized appropriation or other potential forms of resistance to official regimes and discourses of space. As far as Kâğıthane is concerned, its space was used for a number of purposes by different user groups, as has become clear throughout the preceding chapters: first of all there was – perhaps most prominently – the use of Saʿdâbâd palace and the imperial gardens by the sultan and the harem as a place of repose and a destination for excursions during the summer, a manner of use that was usually accompanied by festivities and various forms of entertainments. At several occasions, Saʿdâbâd was also used as a place for the reception and entertainment of foreign diplomats by the sultan. Apart from the sultan and the harem – that is to say, the inner core of the Ottoman court, that is to say – Kâğıthane was also, at least during the period from 1722 to 1730, used by the court dignitaries, who had constructed their own summer residences in the midst of gardens on the hills of Kâğıthane and the surrounding valleys. A third ‘user group’ was the urban public, that is, the common population of Istanbul, including the different ethnic groups as well as women, who made use of Kâğıthane as a place for excursion and entertainment. One should not forget are the military troops that were stationed and trained at Kâğıthane as well as the local population in the village of Kâğıthane, who produced milk and agricultural products.

The meadows of the valley were moreover used as grazing ground for the sultanic horses during the summer.

Yet the main elements determining the space seem to have been the sultan on the one and the public on the other hand, with the court dignitaries occupying a third, perhaps intermediary, position. I therefore want to argue that Kâğıthane was a space of concrete – indeed physical – interaction between 'state' and 'society',[370] where hence questions of the presentation and legitimation of power were being negotiated. My contention is that the palace of Saʿdâbâd and the valley of Kâğıthane were spaces, which signalled a profound transformation in the interaction between sultanic state power, court elites and urban public. In comparison with the so-called classical age, power had by the early eighteenth century become considerably decentralised over a diffused net of agents both in the empire's centre and its provinces, which made it necessary for the dynasty to vigorously defend its authority against challenges from these potentially rivalling wielders of power. The new regime of sultanic visibility which is observable in the reign of Ahmed III and his successors – as expressed in pompous ceremonies and festivals or the new palace architecture – was thus the expression of this necessity to demonstrate the centre's might and magnificence both towards the common population and other power holders among the elite. Saʿdâbâd and Kâğıthane, so I hold, are spaces, which simultaneously reflect this new power constellation and shaped it.

Moreover, the social practices at Saʿdâbâd and Kâğıthane signal the constitution of a new urban public sphere in Istanbul, for which public gardens apparently played a key role. Before examining the issue of representation of power as expressed in the practices of sultanic feasts and festivities at Saʿdâbâd further, I

[370] I am using these terms, yet I do not want to imply that these were in any way real entities nor that these concepts of social analysis were in any way homogenous or dichotomously opposed entities.

will in a first step deal with the nature of this public, which constituted itself at Kâğıthane, and assess its significance in relation to the new regime of visibility alluded to above.

The Public Assembling at Kâğıthane: Women, Non-Muslims, Dervishes and 'Riffraff'

Temâşâ-gâh-ı âlem, the public promenade of the world[371] – this portrayal of Saʿdâbâd by the Ottoman poet Arpaeminizade Sami is quite telling as regards social practice in and around the imperial palace, by hinting at the extraordinary variety of people that made use of Saʿdâbâd and its surroundings. Both European travelogues and Ottoman observers in astonishing concordance draw a picture of the meadows of Kâğıthane valley as having been populated by a diversely composed urban common population, made up of "les hommes, femmes et enfans de diverses nations"[372] and "des citoyens de tous les orders."[373] As we have seen, both Europeans and Ottomans emphasized in particular the presence of women, who were apparently a lot more visible here than in the city proper – and for both European and Ottoman – mainly male – writers, these women constituted an object of erotic interest. On the part of the Ottoman poets, this erotic interest was complemented by the praise of male beauties and lovers at Kâğıthane. Neither of these discourses was morally and socially uncontroversial though. As we have seen in the case of Nedim's poetry, setting out to Saʿdâbâd with one's lover could very well entail deceiving the beloved's mother – an anecdote, which points to the social restrictions that were in place with regard to love relationships and at the same time indicates the morally

[371] Arpaeminizade in Akay, vol. II, 763.
[372] Castellan, 283
[373] D'Ohsson, 186.

dubitable reputation that Saʿdâbâd had; so morally dubitable apparently, that one better went their secretly.

As the relatively liberal presence of women is concerned, this was an issue that aroused fierce criticism. In the eyes of the contemporaries it was a clear departure from practices of the past – and a break that was a highly contested one. The chronicler Şemdanizade for example talks of 'amusement parks' set up at Kâğıthane, where young men and women set out to in merriment, the girls in lose dress and where on top of this already scandalous behaviour the girls' skirts were blown up on the swings and revealed illicit parts of their bodies. According to the chronicler, women went to Saʿdâbâd often without the permission of their husbands, even taking the latter's money to spend it for amusing themselves. This behaviour lead according to Şemdanizade even to an increase in divorce cases upon the demand of the women, when they were not granted the liberty to set for such merriments in public gardens by their husbands.[374] Şemdanizade condemns these new practices among the youth in a highly moralistic and aggressive tone and comes to the conclusion that there were hardly any honourful women to be found in the city at the time: "ehl-i ırz diyecek her mahâllede beş hatûn kalmadı."[375] Even if we take into account that Şemdanizade in his moralistic zeal was probably exaggerating, this statement nevertheless shows that Kâğıthane was a space where established moral norms were being challenged. It also exemplifies that the negotiation of established norms we are witnesses of here was focussed especially on women and women's bodies – women's behaviour constituted in Ottoman eyes apparently a key element of public morality and with this behaviour drastically changing, public morality was

[374] Interestingly, apart from a number of other public gardens, Şemdanizade also counts the courtyards of the Fatih and Bayezid mosques among the places where such amusement parks were set up by the grand vizier and which thus became the focus of these immoral practices. Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, 3.
[375] Şemdanizade Fındıklılı Süleyman Efendi, 3.

correspondingly perceived to be breaking down.[376] Sumptuary laws, which regulated women's clothing and were frequent during the Tulip Period and the following decades, attest to this state of affairs. These laws equally condemn women for not following the established style of dressing and the adherence to new inventions and foreign styles of clothing (*libâslarinda gûna gûn ihdâsı bid'at ve kefere avretlerine taklîd serpûşlarında u'cube hey'etler ile nice üslûbu ma'yûb ibdâ' ve âdâbı 'ismet bi'l-külliyye meslûb olacak mertebe kıyâfetler*), thus behaving and dressing immorally and in this way causing the corruption of the Muslim community (*ümmeti Muhammedi idlâl ü ifsâda sebeb*).[377] Sumptuary laws were also aimed at women's excursions to public gardens in Istanbul's surroundings, as these were sites where under the pretext of strolling and promenading women were supposedly committing shameful acts (*halî'-ül-ızâr keştü güzâr ve envâ'-i fezahat ü şenâyi-i müstebti harakâtı gayr-i marziyye ictisâr eyledikleri*).[378] Istanbul's public gardens – including Kâğıthane – were thus obviously spaces where women were more visible than they had ever been before, causing social and moral norms to come into flux.

Another element of the public that assembled at Kâğıthane, which in particular European travellers drew attention to, were Istanbul's different ethnic and religious groups. While separated along religious lines in their residential areas, the members of Istanbul's different religious and ethnic groups were not neatly isolated from each other; they interacted for example in commercial life, used the same courts for settling their legal affairs and in their leisure time chose common places of

[376] On this topic see also Zilfi, "Women and Society."
[377] The *fermân* is addressed to Istanbul's *kadı*, the head of the janissaries (*yeniçeri âğâsı*) and the head of the *bostâncı*s (*hâssa bostâncı başı*) and dated 1725 (1138). Ahmed Refik, *Hicri On İkinci Asırda İstanbul Hayatı (1100-1200)* (Istanbul: Enderun, 1988), 87.
[378] This *fermân*, dated 1751/52 (1165), is addressed to the head of the *bostâncı*s (*hâssa bostâncı başı*). Ahmed Refik, *Hicri On İkinci Asırda*, 175.

excursion – such as Kâğıthane.[379] This could lead to the juxtaposition of different cultures and social practices, as this remark by the English traveller Broughton illustrates:

> Near the cascade is a grove of tall trees, which is the resort of parties from Pera and Constantinople. I have seen a circle of French gentlemen, with a cloth before them covered with bottles and glasses and cold provisions, much after the manner of our jaunting citizens, amusing themselves with a Jew conjurer, and bursting into loud fits of laughter; whilst the group of Turks, also spectators, and some of them in two little lattice-work boxes, built as namasgahs, or places of prayer, contemplated the scene with countenance of invincible gravity, forming a strong contrast with the obstreperous mirth of the noisy foreigners.[380]

While interaction between the member of different faith was in itself not so exceptional in the view of Istanbul's everyday life, the main difference that distinguished Kâğıthane from other spaces of the city might have been less the contact itself than its unconcealed visibility of this contact.

Another group that made up the public at Kâğıthane were dervishes, who were permanently present at the *tekke* situated at Kâğıthane village.[381] Moreover, since according to Ottoman poets Kâğıthane was so well suited to hold open-air literary salons (*meclis*), dervishes were probably also in this context frequenting the *mesîre*.[382] While Islamic mysticism (*tasavvuf*) was an established part of Ottoman religious practice, it nevertheless never lost an element of heterodoxy and thus constituted a continuous potential challenge to official orthodoxy. The practice of literary *meclis* including wine drinking and dervish rituals was therefore not as innocent as it might seem at first sight and could very well become the venue for political protest.[383]

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[379] See for example M. le Comte Andreossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace pendant les années 1812, 1813 et 1814, et pendant l'année 1826* (Paris: Barrois et Duprat, 1828), Pertusier, D'Ohsson, Castellan.

[380] Broughton, 238-239.

[381] Ayvansarayi, 385. As this was the tekke of the 71. janissary unit, I assume that it was a Bektâşi convent.

[382] On dervish activities at Kâğıthane see also Çalış, "Kâğıthane Commons."

[383] *Ibid.*, 250-251.

Significant is furthermore a reference in the chronicle of the historian Abdi – a relatively short work concerned with the events of the Patrona Halil Rebellion in 1730 – which holds that one of the places where the Albanian leader of the rebellion Patrona Halil and his companions met in order to plan and prepare the uprising was Kâğıthane.[384] It has so far not been possible to ascertain, whether this was really the case, but even if not, the fact that such a claim was being made suggests that this must have seemed plausible to Abdi's readers, in turn suggesting that the low classes, the 'rabble' of the city had access to Kâğıthane's meadows, too.[385] Abdi also relates in this episode, that several times during their secret meetings Patrona Halil and his companions were spotted out by the *bostâncı*s, the corps of royal gardeners, which had by the eighteenth century become responsible for the surveillance of all public spaces located along the suburban shores of the city,[386] and that it came to violent conflict between the guards and the group around Patrona Halil, even resulting in the death of several people.[387] This indicates once again the contested nature of this public space, where the wish to control public activity by the central authority clashed with forms of resistance by the population.

Precisely due to its nature as public space Kâğıthane was a space, which the official authorities tried to monitor and control, since it opened the way to challenges of the established order. In spatial terms, controlling the accessibility to a certain place is one of the key elements in order to control or appropriate it: by allowing access to some while denying it to others exclusiveness is created. A case in point is the prohibition after the construction of Saʿdâbâd for the population of the village

[384] [Abdi Efendi.] *Abdi Tarihi: 1730 Patrona İhtilâli Hakkında Bir Eser*, ed. by Faik Reşit Unat (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1943), 29.
[385] This is also known to have been the case at other public gardens in Istanbul. Hamadeh relates that the public garden at Yeniköy "had become a favored hangout for the city's riffraff" by the middle of the eighteenth century. Hamadeh, "Public spaces," 289.
[386] On the organization of the *bostâncı* corps see Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri," 152. For their position in the eighteenth century see Artan, *Theatre of Life*, 23; Hamadeh, "Public spaces," 289, 300.
[387] Abdi Efendi, 29.

situated upstream from the palace to access their village by waterway coming from the Golden Horn, since this would obviously have meant passing through the pools, cascades and canal of the palace garden.[388] We clearly see here the appropriation of the space by the sultan by means of regulating access. It is also clear that in this case, the villagers probably had hardly any option of resistance, indicating the difference between the public space of Kâğıthane's meadows, where challenging the public authorities was possible to a certain degree, and the space of Saʿdâbâd's palace ground, which was subject to a much stricter regime of exclusivity.

Although we cannot draw an exact picture of who precisely frequented Kâğıthane at this point, one can conclude from these single instants and observations, that formerly less or non-represented groups of the population made use of this public space – a presence, which was not uncontroversial and created considerable conflict. Kâğıthane thus emerges as a public space where established social and moral norms came to be in flux, were being challenged and negotiated. Despite the presence of the imperial palace in the centre of the spatial arrangement, the control by the authorities was apparently less effective here than in other parts of the city.

A Burgeoning Public in Search for Leisure: Challenges to Social Hierarchies

Kâğıthane did not constitute an exception in this case – very similar stories can be told about other public gardens of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. In fact, it was precisely that century, which saw an increase in the number of public gardens in and around Istanbul. These were often created by turning formerly exclusive royal gardens (*hâss bâğçe*) into public *mesîre*s, either permanently or by allowing access to commoners on certain days or hours of the day. The creation of public gardens by

[388] P. Ğ. İnciciyan, *XVIII. Asırda İstanbul* (Istanbul: İstanbul Fethi Derneği, 1956), 78.

state hand was a means by the authorities to channel a burgeoning public garden culture, as it allowed the state to monitor public behaviour and uphold public order at these locations – while at the same time, precisely through the creation of public gardens – even if controlled – the state encouraged the public life it wished to quell.[389] Simultaneously with public gardens, other arenas of public life sprang up in the Istanbul of the eighteenth century: large-scale fountains on public squares were constructed, which became the centres for commercial and leisure activity of Istanbul's city quarters; coffeehouses proliferated, often associated with mosque complexes along the shores of the city; smaller fountains on street corners (*sebîl*) were dispensing water to passers-by and platforms for prayer set in picturesque surroundings (*namâzgâh*) now became popular destinations for excursions. This flourishing of a public leisure life points to a society, where new needs for practicing leisure as well as for public self-presentation had arisen. Ottoman society had in fact undergone profound transformations since the seventeenth century, leading to gradual mobility among professional groups, emerging social and financial aspirations among an urban middle class, increasing material wealth, and changing habits of consumption.[390] This emergent 'middle class', which comprised in Shirine Hamadeh's words "the wide and amorphous crowd of grandees and commoners, merchants and artisans, rich and poor women, children, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Turks, »Rayas« and Franks, the halk (populace) and the *ulemâ'* (…) and »all the young boys of Istanbul« that populated the paintings and writings of artists, poets, travellers and chroniclers,"[391] inscribed itself and its aspirations in eighteenth-century Istanbul's urban space. They did so both by an increasing involvement in the

[389] Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 113-126; Hamadeh, "Public Spaces," 286-289.
[390] Hamadeh "Public Spaces," 283-284.
[391] *Ibid.*, 306.

architectural patronage of smaller-scale buildings[392] as well as by their social practices in city space, of which the leisure culture at suburban parks and seaside destinations was among the prime manifestations.

A new leisure culture, a flourishing public sphere, architectural patronage – these were all sites for the self-presentation of this aspiring middle class, which constituted a serious challenge to established hierarchies. This becomes tangible for example in the increase and rigorous enforcement of sumptuary laws during the eighteenth century – obviously a measure to delineate the borders of the permissible in public life and to keep a check on the public normative system, as we have already seen with regard to women in public space above. Different from the previous centuries, in the eighteenth century sumptuary laws were targeted primarily at public attire and garden recreation – at two arenas, that is, where middle class aspirations became most visible: consumption of luxury goods and practices of sociability in public spaces.[393] What was regulated here was hence the appearance and behaviour of individuals in public sphere – a public sphere, which was no longer the space of display and self-presentation of the sultan and the core of the court society only, but was now claimed increasingly by other social groups.

Fostered by the long absence of the court from Istanbul during the latter half of the seventeenth century, when it had been staying mostly in Edirne, the scene of the capital had been taken over by other actors with high aspirations. Upon the return of the court to Istanbul under Ahmed III, the imperial household therefore apparently felt the need to re-imprint its presence into the urban space of the capital in response to the multiple contenders that had emerged and did so amongst others by an extensive building programme as well as frequent processions through the urban

[392] Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle," 123-126.
[393] Hamadeh, "Public spaces," 300-302.

space.[394] The language in which this rivalry between new, old and aspiring elites was acted out was that of *conspicuous consumption* – a conspicuous consumption, which was practiced by an increasingly wide circle of people and posed a serious threat to established norms and hierarchies.

State and Public in Interaction: Sultanic Visibility

To return to the specific case of Kâğıthane, more than being an arena for the constitution of a public sphere or for the practice of conspicuous consumption by a 'middle class', it was a also a space where this public came into direct contact with the sultan and the court elite, provoking an interaction that is revealing in terms of the mechanisms of legitimation on the part of the central power. What seems to have been a key to this relationship is sultanic visibility: in comparison with former centuries, the sultan and the inner court elite were highly visible at Saʿdâbâd to the commoners, which points to the increased role the public came to play in the legitimation of the ruler's authority.[395] Interestingly, a similar process of transformation from the image of an invisible ruler during the Middle Ages, whose authority was legitimized by the secrecy of his exercise of power, to the image of a visible ruler, engaged in splendid self-display can be observed during the seventeenth and eighteenth century in central Europe.[396] In the Ottoman case, the new regime of visibility was manifested in the spatial outline and architectural features of Saʿdâbâd and perpetuated in the practice of sultanic feasts and ceremonies.

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[394] Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 4-6.
[395] On the invisibility of the Ottoman sultan during the classical age see Necipoğlu "Framing the Gaze," 303-306 and eadem, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, 15-22, 29-30.
[396] Andreas Gestrich, *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit: Politische Kommunikation in Deutschland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 34-59.

Visibility in Architecture

In architectural terms, radically differing from the palace buildings of the classical age, due to its ephemeral wooden building technique and its large window fronts Saʿdâbâd had gained a new degree of lightness and transparency, which was in subsequent years perpetuated and refined in the architecture of the Bosphorus *yalı*s. Both the *harem* and the *hâss odası* building of Saʿdâbâd were in their planning and layout for example clearly oriented towards the outside, towards palace and public gardens. Moreover, while *harem* and *hâss odası* were still enclosed by walls, the palace's garden was separated from the public *mesîre* only by a low wall with three gates, which seem to have allowed relatively free access to the palace ground, as the European engravings suggest, on which one can see people enter freely through these unguarded gates.[397] A high degree of accessibility of the palace gardens is also tangible in Nedim's poetry, in which lover and beloved freely explore Saʿdâbâd's palatial garden, sit on the edge of the pools, drink water from the fountain or set out for boat trips along the Cedvel-i Sîm:

> Gülelim oynayalım kâm alalım dünyâdan
> Mâ-i tesnîm içelim çeşme-i nev-peydâdan
> Görelim âb-ı hayât aktığın ejderhâdan
> …
> Geh varıp havz kenârında hırâmân olalım
> Geh gelip kasr-ı cinan seyrine hayrân olalım
> Gâh şarkı okuyup gâh gazel-hân olalım
> Gidelim serv-i revânım yürü Saʿd-âbâd'a[398]

Moreover, the spatial setting of Saʿdâbâd, being set at the bottom of the Kâğıthane valley with considerably steep hills rising directly nearby, meant that sultan and court society when at Saʿdâbâd were situated as if on the stage of an amphitheatre, visible even from the highest tiers in the back. The French traveller Olivier remarks this arrangement, although at the time of his visit in the 1790s, the surrounding hills were apparently neglected and no longer cultivated:

[397] See the illustration in d'Ohsson. Appendix, fig. 9.
[398] Nedim, 356-357.

> On regrette seulement que les deux collines qui bornent le vallon, ne soient pas cultivées, et ornées de maisons de campagne: elles ajouteraient à l'embellissement de ces lieux, si elles présentaient, en amphithéâtre, la vigne, divers arbres fruitiers et des champs ensemencés.[399]

And Nedim also very clearly expresses the visibility of what was happening inside the palace gardens – and perhaps even inside the courtyards of *harem* and *hâss odası* – from the hillsides, even suggesting an element of voyeurism or unauthorised observing:

> Bir Nihâlistan kitâbıdır o sahrâlar meğer
> Kim ana havz-ı dil-ârâ sîmden cedvel çeker
> Dâğa çık da bâğlardan eyle bu sırra nazar
> Oldu Saʿdâbâd şimdi sevdiğim dâğ üstü bâğ[400]

At the occasion of sultanic festivities this amphitheatrical character of Saʿdâbâd became in fact very literal, when the city's population would assemble on the hillsides to watch the activities set on the 'stage' at the bottom of the valley. The following remark by Vandal, pertaining to festive culture in Istanbul in general, testifies to this practice as being common during the period:

> (…) pour y assister [aux fêtes], la foule de Constantinople se réunissait sous des tentes ou s'entassait sur des gradins [sic!] qui transformaient en amphithéâtre les flancs creusés d'une colline, et par la bigarrure de ses costumes devenait elle-même une partie du spectacle.[401]

What should moreover be underlined is that the sultan at Saʿdâbâd was not only highly visible during feasts and processions – this, after all, had well existed in previous centuries – but more importantly, perhaps, that it was a place closely associated with the sultan's residence, which was now subject to the public gaze. Previously, the sultan would return behind the high walls of the Topkapı Palace after pompous feasts and parades – at Saʿdâbâd, however, a closer look was possible: here, the sultan was visible 'at home', so to say. Even if this home was only a

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[399] Guillaume Antoine Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse, fait par ordre du Gouvernement, pendant les six premières années de la République*, 2 vols. (Paris: Agasse, 1798), 193-194.
[400] Nedim, 347.
[401] Vandal, 86.

temporal one, this nevertheless constitutes an important transformation of sultanic visibility.

A Culture of Courtly Festivities

Let us nevertheless consider the festivities that were held with great frequency and pomp at Saʿdâbâd throughout the eighteenth century, since these constitute a determining element of the social practices at Saʿdâbâd. Contrary to claims frequently made by historians of the Tulip Age, which have condemned the culture of courtly festivities as a wasteful squandering of resources, feasts were in fact a major vehicle for the upholding of royal legitimacy, as has been convincingly demonstrated in research on European court societies of the early modern age.[402] The courtly feast was a structural element that significantly contributed to the particular functioning of the court societies of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and was essential for upholding the legitimacy of the sovereign. It did so firstly by demonstrating the power and magnificence of the sovereign through its immense splendour, in this way attesting that the sovereign was indeed entitled to and worth the extent of authority he claimed. Secondly the feast served as an important means to integrate power contenders by having them participate in the royal self-presentation and gift-exchange of feasts, thus establishing important moral bounds and obligations, as well as by obligating them to considerable financial investments necessary for an adequate court life, thus reducing their opportunities to build up

[402] The literature on the topic of feasts in European history is quite rich; here some references, which seem to be representative of this field of research: the collection *Geselligkeit und Gesellschaft im Barockzeitalter*, ed. by Wolfgang Adam, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997), in particular the article by Axel Schmitt, "Inszenierte Geselligkeit: Methodologische Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von 'Öffentlichkeit' und Kommunikationsstrukturen im höfischen Fest der frühen Neuzeit," in: *Ibid.*, vol. II, 713-734; Jürgen Jochen Berns, "Die Festkultur der deutschen Höfe zwischen 1580 und 1730: Eine Problemskizze in typologischer Absicht," *Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 34 (1984): 295-311; Eberhard Straub, *Repraesentatio Maiestatis oder churbayerische Freudenfeste: Die höfischen Feste in der Münchner Residenz vom 16. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (München: Stadtarchiv München, 1969); Richard Alewyn and Karl Sälzle, *Das große Welttheater: Die Epoche der höfischen Feste in Dokument und Deutung* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1959) and Gestrich.

rivalling power centres.[403] This is of course not only true for courtly societies in Europe – the same mechanisms have been remarked for festivities at the Safavid and to a lesser extent the Mughal court, both dynasties, which were dependent for the upholding of their rule upon the integration of various power holders and did so by a culture of court festivals centred around a highly visible, public ruler.[404] The early modern feast was moreover the locus where a pre-civic ("vorbürgerlich") public constituted itself, which increasingly had a stake in the legitimation of power, despite all claims to absolutist rule by early modern sovereigns.[405] At Saʿdâbâd and Kâğıthane we can observe precisely these mechanisms at work, so I hold, which a closer analysis of the feasts and ceremonies at Saʿdâbâd shall demonstrate.

Festivities at Saʿdâbâd were held at various occasions throughout the year such as religious holidays, the birth, circumcision or wedding of the sultan's children or in the honour of foreign ambassadors. In their basic outline, these festivals bore great resemblance to each other: tents were set up at the edges of the Cirîd Square, by the Cedvel-i Sîm and in front of the palace buildings[406] for the sultan, the grand viziers, other dignitaries and invited guests. After the arrival of the sultan and all the dignitaries in a pompous procession from the Mirahor Köşkü, where they had previously arrived by boat coming from the Topkapı Palace, after moreover the obligatory deference rituals accompanied by the offering of coffee and sweets, different entertainments and shows would start to be performed on the Cirîd Square. Usually, the artillery and gunners started by show shootings on targets, for which

[403] See in particular Schmitt, 713-715; Straub 4-11.

[404] Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze," 306-317; on the use of Mughal gardens as sites of political and leisurely activities see Catherine B. Asher, "Babur and the Timur Char Bagh," in: *Environmental Design: Mughal Architecture, Pomp and Ceremonies* 1-2 (1991), 46-55 and for the Safavid case see Mahvash Alemi, "Urban Spaces as the Scene for the Ceremonies and Pastimes of the Safavid Court," *Environmental Design*: *Mughal Architecture, Pomp and Ceremonies* 1-2 (1991), 98-107.

[405] Gestrich, 63-74; Schmitt, 713-715.

[406] For a plan with the set out of the tents at the 1740 festival in the honour of the Prussian ambassador by Gudenus see Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 65.

they were rewarded with gold coins by the sultan, followed by *cirîd* games, horse races, animal fights, wrestling, the shows of acrobats and jugglers, as well as dance performances and singing. Significant is the fact that at these occasions up to thousands of commoners assembled on the hillsides around Saʿdâbâd in order to watch the performances. The chronicler Subhî relates for example that at a grand vizieral feast at Saʿdâbâd in the spring of 1741 (1154), more than 30000 thousand spectators (*sıbyân u ricâl*) had assembled on the hills in order to enjoy the games and performances and persevered throughout the whole feast for about eight hours despite the burning sun.[407] And at the feast held upon the completion of Saʿdâbâd in August 1722, the public which had convened around the Cirîd Square in order to watch the events (*meydân temâşâya cemʿ olan esnâf-ı nâsdan*) was even integrated into the games: they were called to take part in a race at the end of which the winners were rewarded with gifts.[408]

While urban commoners had as audience been part of feasts and festivals hosted by the sultan or the court elite in the previous centuries also,[409] in the eighteenth century the performances of the Ottoman "theatre state"[410] reached a new intensity: festivals were now held more often, on greater scale and were spatially no longer confined to the Hippodrome (*Atmeydanı*) close to the Topkapı Palace, but were literally taken out into all parts of the city. Pompous imperial processions were

[407] Subhî, 690.

[408] Raşid, vol. V, 449.

[409] For example at the 1582 circumcision feasts under Mehmed III or those under Mehmed IV at Edirne in 1675. For the 1582 celebration see Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: An Imperial Celebration* (Istanbul: Koçbank 1997); Robert Stout, *The Sur-i Humayun of Murad III: A Study of Ottoman Pageantry and Entertainment* (PhD dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1966); Derin Terzioğlu, "The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 84-100. The 1675 celebrations at Edirne are subject of the work by Özdemir Nutku, *IV. Mehmet'in Edirne Şenliği* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972).

[410] I have borrowed the term from Rahimi, who in turn has borrowed it from Clifford Geertz in order to denote "a set of invented or reconstructed ceremonies aimed at enacting and representing power through ritual performance." Babak Rahimi, "Nahils, Circumcision Rituals and the Theatre State," in: *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee: Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Dana Sajdi (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 93.

traversing the city space at the occasion of festivals or when the sultan would move to one of his numerous summer palaces – amongst them prominently featuring Saʿdâbâd.[411] The following remark by Lenoir, French dragoman at the Porte who accompanied Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi to France in 1721, shows this trend very clearly:

> Quand il [le sultan] sort en pompe, & pour faire voir sa magnificence, il est accompagné de quinze mille hommes à Cheval, tous armés de pied en cap de toutes sortes d'armes complettes, & traverse de cette maniere, la Ville d'un bout à l'autre, jusques à la Porte qui va à Andrinople, pour aller à une Maison de plaisir qui est à une lieue de la Ville.[412]

At Saʿdâbâd, the ceremony of the sultan's arrival followed similar lines. The sultan would set out from his permanent residence at Topkapı Palace by boat in the morning, rowing down the entire length of the Golden Horn. Strips of the Golden Horn's coasts were among the busiest quarters of the entire town, especially those at Karaköy and Eminönü, as these were the port and commercial areas of Istanbul, and the sultan in his colourful and splendid boat must have attracted considerable attention. Usually, the sultan would descend at Mirahor Köşkü, the pavilion of the head of the imperial stables, which was situated at the mouth of the Kâğıthane river. At this pavilion the sultan would already be awaited by the grand vizier and other dignitaries as well as janissary and other military units. Together these would form a procession of considerable dimensions, accompanied by the music of the *mehterhâne*, the military band, and then parade – the sultan and dignitaries on horse back, lesser ranks on foot – upstream along Kâğıthane river, cross it by the Fil Köprüsü (literally Elephant Bridge) in order to finally arrive at Saʿdâbâd palace. Considering that the entire riversides were public *mesîre* and that moreover the dignitaries' pavilions were situated on the hillsides, this procession was probably

[411] Rahimi, "Nahils," 97-99. For the 1720 celebrations see Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname, The Story of an Eighteenth-century Ottoman Festival* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 1999) and eadem, "The Story of an Eighteenth-century Ottoman Festival."

[412] Sieur de Lenoir, *Nouvelle description de la ville de Constantinople, avec la relation du voyage de l'Ambassadeur de la Porte Ottomane et de son séjour à la Cour de France* (Paris: Simar & Osmont, 1721), 128.

observed by a considerable number of commoners and perhaps also court dignitaries, as long as these were not themselves involved in it, and were obviously devised precisely for this purpose: to be seen and admired. The chroniclers consequentially all underline in floury language the pomp (*ihtişâm, meymenet, haşmet*) of these ceremonies, which according to them were a source of awe especially for foreign ambassadors.[413]

It is obvious that these parades were a major array of sultanic display, both to the own population and court society, as well as to foreign ambassadors.[414] At the same time, they also made manifest and continually enacted court hierarchy in spatial terms, as the parade would proceed in a particular, carefully staged order, to the description of which the chroniclers devoted considerable attention. Arrived at Saʿdâbâd, this hierarchy of status and rank would again be enacted in the allocation of the tents from where the performances on the Cirîd Square were watched. Here, accessibility to the imperial tent of sultan and grand vizier as well as seating order were clear markers of a person's status in the context of the court society. The sketch by Gudenus of the tent arrangement at the 1740 festivity in the honour of the Prussian embassy at Saʿdâbâd clearly reflects this: closest to the imperial tent, the tents of the "ministers of the Porte" (*Ministren der Pforte*) were placed, next to which those of the ambassador and of "lesser Turks" (*geringere Türcken*) had been installed.[415]

The enactment of status was all-pervasive – dignitaries would line up according to their rank, would be allowed to pay their reverences according to their

[413] See for example the remarks of Subhî on the Iranian ambassador in whose honour a feast was held at Saʿdâbâd in 1154. Subhî, 693.
[414] Hamadeh comes to the same conclusion taking into account the total of eighteenth-century building activities in Istanbul patronized by the court, which she characterizes as "a long and sustained effort to create an imperial capital that reflected a glorious image of Ottoman sovereignty" (34) addressed both at foreign diplomats and Ottoman society. Hamadeh, *City's Pleasures*, 34-36.
[415] Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 65.

position at court, and would be allocated robes of honour in accordance with their status. We thus see at these ceremonials both a self-display of the court society towards the outside – addressing the urban population or foreigners – and the careful enactment of court society for itself. Procession and ceremonial were thus as much directed towards the exterior as towards the interior, in the former case having the function to testify to the sultan's power and might, both in order to inspire awe and in order to demonstrate that the sovereign actually lived up to the status he held,[416] and in the latter case serving to enact and thereby reinforce existing hierarchical systems while at the same time carrying the potential for re-negotiating them.[417] Essential for the legitimative function of both feast and ceremonial, be it directed towards the wider public or internal court circles, was thus the emergence of the ruler from an invisible monarch to being conspicuously present in urban space. Faced with a society in flux, which challenged previous sultanic prerogatives, visibility became the key to legitimation.

In Search of Allies: Changing Power Relations and 120 Pavilions

Underlying this shift in legitimation were complex transformations in the social, political and economic spheres that had taken place during the seventeenth century.[418] Often regarded as a period of 'crisis' or decentralization, these

[416] Straub, 7-11.

[417] On the political and social functions of court ceremonies in the European context see Elias, 144, Berns, pp. 299-301. For an analysis of the ceremonial and gift exchange at the 1720 circumcision feasts with regard to the French ambassadors role in them see Faroqhi, "Negotiating a Festivity."

[418] For social, political and economic transformations of the Ottoman Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth century see (amongst many others; this does of course not claim to be an exhaustive list): Rifaʿat Ali Abou El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: the Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 2005); Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization* (Ithaca: Cornell University 1994); Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: the Historian Mustafa Ali (1541-1600)* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Realities," *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962): 73-94; Madeline C. Zilfi, *Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)* (Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1988); Rifaʿat Ali Abou-El-Haj, *The 1703 Rebellion and the Structure of Ottoman Politics* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-

transformations had – amongst other effects – uprooted the elite structure of the classical age and caused significant shifts in the distribution of political and economic power tendentially away from the sultan and the core of the imperial household. The person of the sultan had lost importance in actual governing matters of the empire and real power was concomitantly wielded by a grandee-directed bureaucracy – a bureaucracy dominated by the structural element of households, which were frequently engaged in factional strife.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the imperial centre around sultan and grand vizier was therefore engaged in the attempt to regain the upper hand and consolidate its power by securing the loyalty and support of the various power holders. With respect to the *ulemâ'*, for example, this was done by strengthening the patrimonial prerogatives of a restricted number of Istanbul-based *ulemâ'* families and in this way authorizing what in effect amounted to the institutionalization of an *ulemâ'* aristocracy.[419] Moreover, as a measure to secure the loyalty of court dignitaries towards the dynasty, these were married to Ottoman royal princesses, who thus became the heads of their own imperial households and bore considerable political influence. As political power in the empire henceforth resulted from marriage to these royal princesses, these households came to be the *loci* of real power.[420] Moreover, power had over the course of the seventeenth century not only become diffused among the elites of the capital but also on an empire-wide level, with provincial authorities – the so-called *â'yân* – coming to hold a greater share of

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Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1984); Ariel Salzmann, *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire: Rival Paths to the Modern State* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2004); Ariel Salzmann, "An Ancien Régime Revisited: "Privatization" and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *Politics and Society* 21/4 (1993): 393-423; *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History*, ed. by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977); Leslie Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire*, ed. by Virginia H. Aksan and Daniel Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[419] Zilfi, *Politics of Piety*.

[420] Artan, "Theatre of Life" and eadem, "Charismatic Leadership."

power by the eighteenth century. The institution of the *mâlikâne* system was a response to this constellation: the centre awarded the right to tax collection to provincial power holders and gained their loyalty (as well as cash in advance) in return.[421] As Salzmann has pointed out, one may conceptualize these moves by the centre aimed at securing its hold over various power holders as a mechanism of the "redistribution of rights", which was a typical feature of the *ancien régime*, whether in Europe or Asia.[422] By doing so, the Sublime Porte emerged in the early eighteenth century again as the principal regulatory force that oversaw not only one but several circuits of redistribution of privilege and power both in the provinces and the centre.[423]

This dynamic is very clearly reflected in both spatial layout and practices at Saʿdâbâd – the significance of architectural transparency and feasts in this respect has already been examined. Furthermore, the attempt to incorporate the lesser court elite, dignitaries and office holders into the centre of power became physically concrete in the form of the more than 120 pavilions belonging to court dignitaries, located on the hillsides of Kâğıthane and the neighbouring valleys and constructed one year after Saʿdâbâd upon imperial decree. This spatial constellation reminds of similar arrangements in France under Louis XIV, where nobles were likewise ordered to build their summer residences in close proximity to the royal palace of Versailles and where the supposedly absolute monarch was also dependent upon the support of the nobility.[424] In the case of Saʿdâbâd, too, these pavilions were a means to integrate the lesser power holders and bind them indeed very physically to the dynasty. This function of reinforcing the bonds between the sultan and important

[421] Mehmet Genç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Devlet ve Ekonomi* (Istanbul: Ötüken, 2007), 99-152; Salzmann, "Measures of Empire".
[422] Salzmann, "Measures of Empire," 50 and eadem, "Ancien Régime Revisited."
[423] Salzmann, *Tocqueville*, 78-79.
[424] Elias, 71.

court grandees is exemplified by the fact that the sultan would even stay overnight in the grandees' pavilions, as happened for example during a feast at Saʿdâbâd in May 1729 (Şevval 1141), when Sultan Ahmed III spent the night at the *kasır* of the Defteremini Abdullah Efendi, situated near the opposite end of the Cedvel-i Sîm.[425]

Moreover, the grandees' pavilions at Saʿdâbâd also suggests the penetration of urban, public space by the *entire* court society and not as had been common before only by its core, consisting of the sultan and his harem. This move in turn entailed that the lesser dignitaries, too, were encouraged to engage in conspicuous consumption at their summer pavilions. Subhî for example remarks that upon the distribution of land titles (*mülknâme*) to the dignitaries in 1723, which entitled them to construct their own pavilions, the new land owners started eagerly competing with each other concerning the embellishment of their pavilions and gardens: *herkes mâlik oldukları arsa-i hâliyelerinde birbirlerine ızhâr-ı çemen-pîrâzî-i mahâret ve arz-ı kâlây-ı berg ü şâh-ı gayret ile (…) her bağ-ı behîn tarh-ı nev-bünyâd-ı reşkîn-sâz-ı irem-i zâtü'l-ʿımâd olmuştu*.[426] Although we have no information about what actually happened in terms of social and cultural life at these pavilions in the years between 1722 and 1730, it is certainly not too far fetched to suppose that their owners led a quite leisurely life at these summer residences, probably comparable to that of the sultan yet less pompous. The notoriously crabby Şemdanizade seems to suggest this in one of his comments condemning the vice and debauchery at Saʿdâbâd's pavilions: *[İbrahim Paşa] Sa'd-âbâd'ı âbâdan etmekle binâ' olunan köşklerde olan iʿlân-ı fısk-u fücûra ruhsat verdi*.[427]

Significantly, it was these summer residences, which were destroyed during the Patrona Halil Rebellion in 1730 – and not as is commonly believed the imperial

[425] Çelebizade, 612.
[426] Subhî, 138.
[427] Şemdanizade, vol. I, 4.

palace itself – in a symbolic act ordered by the new sultan Mahmud I as one of his first imperial decrees. The chronicler Sâmi relates that the new sultan did not consent to the suggestion by Istanbul's *kadı* to burn (*ihtirâk*) the pavilions, but only gave permission to their destruction (*hedm ü tahrîb*), because to burn them down would constitute a "cause for laughter" (*bâ'is-i hande*) for the Christian nations, the enemies of the Ottoman state (*aʿdâ-yı dîn ü devlet olan milel-i Nasârâ*).[428] This indicates that the Ottoman elite was in fact quite concerned about its international reputation and more specifically, that it was aware of the symbolical significance Saʿdâbâd carried for the Europeans at the time. Abdi writes in his account of the rebellion, that it was during the sultan's procession to Eyüp for the sword girding ceremony that the sultanic decision to have the pavilions destroyed in a period of three days was cried out by the *çâvûş âğâları*. Differing from other accounts, according to Abdi this notification was apparently not intended as an invitation for pillaging towards the urban commoners sympathizing with the rebels, but instead directed at the owners of the pavilions, that is, at the state dignitaries themselves (*âlây ortasından Sa'dâbâd'da köşkü olan*), who were thus in fact ordered to destroy their own residences (*köşk sâhipleri köşkleri hedm edesiz*)[429] – quite obviously a symbolic act ordered by Mahmud I in order to distinguish himself from the old regime, both a concession to the rebels and at the same time perhaps also a symbolic demonstration of authority by the new sultan towards the court grandees, who were almost humiliatingly ordered to pull down the splendid pavilions they had been commanded to erect just a few years earlier. Contrary to Abdi, Sâmi relates that it was the common population – in his words "the mob" (*haşarât*)[430] – who was responsible for the destruction. One might speculate that enraged rebels arrived at the

[428] Subhî, 38.
[429] Abdi Efendi, 45.
[430] Subhî, p. 38.

site before the pavilion owners and started pillaging it, but at this point there is no further evidence that would resolve the contradiction.[431]

Yet, the fact that in both narratives it is the dignitaries' pavilions that stand at the centre of the controversy and not the sultanic palace itself throws a different light on the question of legitimacy obviously involved here. As the sultanic decree for the destruction was quite clearly issued as a reaction towards the crisis of legitimacy caused by the rebellion – being among the first legal acts of the new sultan – one might assume that it was these pavilions and probably the conspicuous consumption they were the site of, which the rebels disapproved of, and not the conspicuous consumption by the sultan himself. Moreover, it seems that the spatial arrangement of Saʿdâbâd as constructed in 1722 with the over one hundred surrounding pavilions was a symbol of the order before the rebellion, which the rebels had risen up against. This is also evident in the strong moral stance Sâmi takes against the destruction of the pavilions, which he finds to be a malicious and immoral act of guilt done to Muslim property (*ümmet-i Muhammed'in emlâkine mücerred fısk u fesâd olmak töhmetiyle hedm ü tahrîbi*)[432] – the court historian, himself part of the court elite, obviously condemned here the destruction of the symbol that represented the world he himself was a part of.

Saʿdâbâd's character thus did significantly changed with the Patrona Halil Rebellion and the destruction of the pavilions.Their demolition symbolized a departure from the specific power constellation between centre and contending *loci* of power as it had been orchestrated by İbrahim Pasha. While the culture of courtly festivities at Saʿdâbâd was again taken up under Mahmud I – at latest in 1736/37

[431] Artan holds this to be the case based on Ayvansarayi's entry on Saʿdâbâd's mosque (Artan, *Theatre of Life*, 53). However, Ayvansarayi does not mention anything of that kind; he just states that the pavilions were destroyed in 1730: "1141 senesi rebîü'l-evvelinin on beşinde (19.10.1728) vukû' bulan Patrona ve Muslî fitnesinde erkân-ı devletin Saʿdâbâd'da vâki' yüz yiğirmi aded kasırları hedm olunmuşdur." (Ayvansarâyî Hüseyîn Efendi, 385)

[432] Subhî, 38.

(1149) when a feast was held in honour of the Iranian ambassador – the destruction of the pavilions was final, an attempt at revival never made. In fact, in 1731/32 (1144), the old owners were expropriated and the entire land that had formerly been occupied by the dignitaries was endowed as *vakıf* land to the *bostâncı*s, who were to cultivate it in order to prop up their income.[433] With the *bostâncı*s constituting a kind of urban police force responsible for keeping up public order, this property exchange might be interpreted as an increase in control by the authorities over the public gardens at Kâğıthane.

Conspicuous Consumption and the Emergence of Taste

Yet conspicuous consumption at Saʿdâbâd continued until the last quarter of the century, when the palace was again neglected until its major reconstruction in 1809 – and this conspicuous consumption can indeed be considered a *leitmotif* of the spatial practice at Saʿdâbâd on the part of the elite. Conspicuous consumption is of course not a phenomenon unique to the eighteenth century, but an increased level of consumption that was no longer confined to the core of the elite, but now also practiced by wider segments of the society was indeed a novelty.[434]

At the basis, it was economic and political circumstances, which made this increased consumption – which the Tulip Age is so famous for – possible. Politically, the early eighteenth century was a time of stability: in 1711 the Russians had been defeated at the Pruth, in 1718 the Passarowitz Treaty settled the conflict with the Venetians and Austrians, the Iranian front was more or less quiet until the late 1730s and diplomatic relations with European states had been strengthened with permanent embassies set up in Paris and Vienna. With the absence of costly wars,

[433] Subhî, 138-139.
[434] On the subject of (conspicuous) consumption see the collection *Consumption and the World of Goods*, ed. by John Brewer and Roy Porter (Routledge: New York and London, 1994).

economic resources of the state were thus freed and the Ottoman economy in fact experienced an expansion in practically all sectors until about the 1760s.[435] The early eighteenth century was moreover a time of expanding global markets in preindustrial mass consumer goods, which transformed urban life and patterns of social interaction – the tulip being one of those goods along with textiles, coffee and tobacco. Alongside with the flourishing international market for luxury goods, the Ottoman domestic market for consumer goods, especially textiles, also grew in the eighteenth century.

The increased prosperity of state and society and the new consumption practices had complex repercussions on the social field, as traditional hierarchies were put into question. Aspiring middle classes and women of all social ranks challenged the established elites by engaging in the field of conspicuous consumption, previously confined to a limited section of the state's elite – as already mentioned a controversial development, which is reflected in the sumptuary laws of the period. In the field of clothing for example, the previously cited edict of 1725/26 [1138] asserts that the female population of the capital did no longer dress according to their ranks (*merâtib-i nâsa göre*) and as prescribed by religious and sultanic law (*kıyâfet-i hasb-el-âdeler-i ruhsat-ı şerʿiyye mutâbık ve kavânîni hikmet ihtivâ'ya muvâfık*)[436] since they had used the absence of the court at Edirne to adopt shameful and immoral innovations in clothing – the danger posed to established ranking by consumption becomes clearly manifest here. Apart from the clearly moralistic discourse directed at women and their bodies, what is moreover of interest is that the decree mentions economic consequences of these new trends: women were reproached for their involvement in economic matters and for their wasteful

[435] Mehmet Genç, "L'économie ottomane et la guerre au XVIIIe siècle," *Turcica* 27 (1995), 177-196.
[436] Ahmed Refik, *Hicri On İkinci Asırda*, 87.

expenditure by purchasing fashionable clothing (*elbise-i nev-zuhûr tedârikine ikdâm iderek zî-kudret olanları zükûr ü nisâye harâm olan isrâfı mâl ve itlâfı emvâl ile günehkâr*) and moreover for causing damage to the artisans of the city, whose by now old-fashioned products were no longer in demand (*kâr-i kadîm olan elbise ve akmişe kâsid ü bî-itibâr olduğundan ehl-i sûkda ve sair ehl-i beldede zarûret ü ihtiyâc vukûʿuna bâ'is*).[437] We see here the emergence of a system of relatively rapidly changing fashions, which had both economic and social repercussions unsettling the old order.

Thus that people not belonging to the traditional elite could purchase the signs that had previously been a secure marker of elite status caused considerable concern; and since this trend could despite all legislation not be contained, it obliged the elite to look out for other signs of distinction – and this is precisely the place where taste and refinement become important notions. With this in mind, the seemingly unreasonable craze for tulips by Ottoman elite members can be understood as a way of defending the loosening boundaries of the nobility by making taste (*zevk*) and refinement the decisive categories for belonging to the noble (*kibâr*) estate.[438] Interestingly, a very similar trend of such an "invention of taste"[439] can be observed in Ming China, although about a century earlier, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. There, too, as traditional elites saw their social position threatened, taste provided "a mechanism to stress not just the things possessed but the manner of possessing them"[440] and prevented the cultural and economic hierarchies from collapsing into each other until it would become only a matter of

[437] Ahmet Refik, *Hicri On İkinci Asırda*, 87.
[438] Ariel Salzmann, "Age of Tulips," 88-94. See also Madeline C. Zilfi, "Goods in the Mahalle: Distributional Encounters in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul," in: *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922: An Introduction*, ed. by Donald Quataert (Albany NY: State University of New York Press, 2000), 290.
[439] Craig Clunas, *Superfluous Things: Material Culture and Social Status in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), xiv.
[440] *Ibid.*, xiv.

wealth to be able to belong to the cultured nobility: "Here, taste comes into play, as an essential legitimator of consumption and an ordering principle which prevents the otherwise inevitable-seeming triumph of market forces."[441]

In Europe, too, the notion of taste emerged during the eighteenth century, and the intellectual discussion on the subject ended up defining taste as the capability to distinguish universal aesthetic beauty and therefore as being opposed to fashion – in this way, taste became the characteristic of the elite, while fashion was only the bad taste of the masses.[442] Consequentially, taste seems to have indeed easier transcended cultural than class boundaries: members of the Ottoman, Persian and European elites were perhaps closer in their understanding and appreciation of material culture as they were to the lifestyle of their respective compatriots of the lower classes. The travel reports by European travellers for example attest to such a shared transcultural elite consumer culture, which becomes apparent in their great interest and praise of Ottoman material splendour and magnificence, although this praise was surely also coloured by a good pinch of Orientalist interest in the exotic East, whose art and cultural achievements European Orientalists regarded as not going beyond decorative artefacts and ornamentation.[443] Yet despite all exoticism, a genuine appreciation of Ottoman elite material culture shines through the travelogues, especially through those of the eighteenth century, when the feeling of absolute superiority among Europeans had not yet evolved, which would come to determine the nineteenth-century discourse.

On the side of the Ottomans, the same can be said for Yirmisekiz Çelebi Efendi whose account of his experiences in France is to a large degree focussing on

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[441] *Ibid.*, 171.

[442] Szambien, 103-105.

[443] Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, CA: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), in particular chapter 4: "Ornamentalism and Orientalism: The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century European Literature," 61-71.

the material culture of the French court – and the fact that he was able to appreciate this court culture so enthusiastically points to a framework of shared or at least comparable aesthetics and consumption practices. Ottomans were moreover in direct contact with elite European material culture, which lay just a boat ride away in Galata and Pera, on the opposite side of the Golden Horn, where the ambassadors of the European states had their residences, where European travellers were housed and where Christian missionaries established their churches. The Ottoman elite was not at all ignorant of this fact and displayed a keen interest – the degree of which admittedly varied according to individual personality – towards their neighbours' architecture, attire and way of life. On 14 March 1759 (15 Receb 1172) for example, when splendid festivities were held throughout the city at the occasion of the birth of a royal princess, the sultan, while spending one day at the Galata Palace, used the opportunity to pay a visit to the residences of the European ambassadors at Pera in order to inspect the decoration and embellishment of their houses.[444] What this suggests is the existence of what Ariel Salzmann has termed a "shared material civilization", which "linked court societies across early modern Europe and Asia"[445] – in terms of trading relations, consumer patterns and aesthetic values.

The focus on Saʿdâbâd and Kâğıthane as social space, as a space which was made use of by a wide array of different 'user groups', has highlighted social, political and economic transformations of eighteenth-century Ottoman and in particular Istanbul society. The new emphasis on sultanic visibility, which constituted a definite departure from the manner of sultanic self-representation during the Ottoman classical age, was a central theme of social practices at Saʿdâbâd and Kâğıthane. This

[444] Şemdanizade, vol. II, 26.
[445] Salzmann, "Age of Tulips," 93 and 97.

motive was manifest both in the architecture and spatial layout of Saʿdâbâd, putting an emphasis on openness and transparency, as well as in the practice of sultanic feasts and the accompanying ceremonial. Together, architecture and feasts were aimed at displaying the dynasty's pomp and magnificence to the public, which would assemble in masses on Kâğıthane's hillsides and thus literally turn Saʿdâbâd into an amphitheatre – an amphitheatre on whose stage unfolded the drama of sultanic legitimation of power. This drama of legitimation now more than ever before addressed as its audience the urban public – the sultan visually demonstrated at Saʿdâbâd as well as at other locations in the city his might and magnificence, thereby inspiring awe and deference among the commoners and emerging triumphant over aspiring power contenders. As a result of complex political, economic and social transformations since the beginning of the seventeenth century power had become diffused by the early eighteenth century and the distinction lines between 'state' and 'society', between 'elite' and 'commoners' were more flue than ever and constantly being contested. In this situation, the centre of power – epitomized in the figures of the sultan and his grand vizier – was now in need to search for allies and gain the support and loyalty of potential contenders. At Saʿdâbâd, we see this dynamic physically enacted in space: ceremony and feasts determined hierarchies and established obligations on the part of the dignitaries towards their sultan and their pavilions on the hills surrounding the palace were a physical imprint into space of the bound between court grandees and the sovereign.

But social practice is also the site of potential resistance against hierarchies – and Kâğıthane in its quality of being public space, which was less constrictive than other spaces inside the city was precisely such a site. Here, women who were engaged in the conspicuous consumption of fashionable clothing actively questioned the boundaries of established hierarchies, lovers set out for secret amorous

adventures, dervishes practiced the recitation of heterodox poetry and even rebellious commoners conspired on Kâğıthane's meadows. These meadows were the site where this hard to quell, not at all quietly obedient public came into physical contact and direct interaction with the power holders – and this interaction was governed by the themes of visibility and conspicuous consumption; themes, which had become the essential ingredients of sultanic legitimacy.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

As I have tried to show in this study, the sultanic summer palace of Saʿdâbâd cannot be reduced to a mere illustration for swift general statements about the nature of the Ottoman eighteenth-century or the Tulip Age. Acknowledging that the space made up by the palace and the surrounding gardens and public meadows was a socially produced space has enabled me to challenge stereotypical judgements, which see Saʿdâbâd either as a metaphor for the Tulip Age as an area of carefree pleasure and joy or as a first manifestation of Ottoman Westernization attempts. Considering Saʿdâbâd to be a socially produced space in Lefebvre's sense instead highlights the immense complexity of this spatial constellation, where several levels interpenetrated each other: a produced, in the literal sense 'constructed' physical reality actively influenced different mental representations of and discourses about Saʿdâbâd while being at the same time determined by them. Both of these aspects – physical and mental space – in turn informed the lived experience various people had in their interaction with the physical environment of Saʿdâbâd and accordingly influenced the social practices taking place at this location.

The analysis of these spatial levels as undertaken in this study suggests that despite all complexity sultanic visibility and display can be identified as the dominant themes of Saʿdâbâd's spatiality, which come to the fore on all three spatial levels. As far as the physical materiality of Saʿdâbâd is concerned, transparency and an orientation towards the exterior were the key characteristics of the palace's light and ephemeral architectural style. Moreover, the setting of the palace at the bottom of the Kâğıthane valley with steep surrounding hillsides meant that the palace and its residents were exposed to the gaze of those assembled on the surrounding meadows in a way literally resembling an amphitheatre. The setting of the more than 120

residences belonging to court dignitaries around Saʿdâbâd accentuates all the more the high degree of visibility, which differed so marked from the sultan's seclusion during the so-called classical age as incorporated in the architecture of the Topkapı Palace.

On the level of social practice, too, it was sultanic display in the form of pompous processions and festivities often attended by crowds of commoners, which constituted a determining element of Saʿdâbâd's social space. These in turn informed the mental representations of the sultanic palace, as the Ottomans closely associated the building with its patrons, Sultan Ahmed III and his grand vizier, İbrahim Pasha. This marked emphasis on sultanic display, so I have argued, needs to be understood as a strategy by the sultan to uphold legitimacy: the display of wealth and magnificence both towards other elite members and the urban public served to attest to the power of the sultan and maintain his position at the apex of a hierarchy of lower ranking power holders. Conceptualizing these feasts, pageants or imperial building programmes as manifestations of conspicuous consumption instead of instances of wasteful expenditure by the elite has highlighted their structural significance, since in a highly status conscious society the ostentatious display of wealth was vital for the upholding of rank and legitimacy.

Ceremonies and festivities held at Saʿdâbâd were moreover an important means to integrate the various power holders that had by the early eighteenth century come to wield a significant share of political and economic power due to complex developments of 'decentralization' during the seventeenth century. In the early eighteenth century, the Porte was therefore in the need to maintain its superiority towards these potential contestants. This was – as in many other early modern states – achieved through establishing networks of obligation between the central authority and the lesser power holders by the distribution of rights and privileges on the part of

the Porte. Feasts and ceremonies with their complex ceremonial regulations – often taking place at Saʿdâbâd – were another important means of binding the dignitaries to the centre and reinstate hierarchies and ranks. Moreover, having the court grandees erect summer residences around Saʿdâbâd palace represented another strategy of guaranteeing their tight integration into the network of power at the apex of which stood the sultan in a very concrete, material manner – the grandees were effectively obliged to participate in the sultanic performance of pomp and magnificence that was staged at Kâğıthane.

The grandees' summer residences at Kâğıthane also indicate that it was not only the sultan, who was engaged in a process of penetrating the urban space of the Ottoman capital during the first half of the eighteenth century, but in fact the entire court elite. In marked difference from the regime of visibility of the classical age, Saʿdâbâd in exemplary form signals the emergence of the sultan from his seclusion behind the high walls and cypress screens of the Topkapı Palace. It was urban public space, which now became the stage on which the sultan and his entourage presented their splendour – yet this stage was not an uncontested one: it was at the same time invaded to an increasing degree by the urban commoners. Moreover, the sultan presented himself not only in urban space, as had already been the case in previous centuries, but it was now his very residence itself – even if only temporal – which was being exposed to the public gaze, adding a new quality to the Ottoman regime of visibility.

When looking at the wider space surrounding Saʿdâbâd, it becomes clear that far from being an exclusive space reserved for sultanic use, Kâğıthane can be considered a public space and a prime location where an urban public constituted itself. To determine with more accuracy the exact composition of this public remains to be researched in the future; yet the sources suggest that formerly less represented

population groups like women and non-Muslims now became more visible. Being a public space, social and moral norms were less strictly observed in Kâğıthane than in other parts of the city – lover and beloved, women, heterodox dervishes and the city's 'riffraff' all made use of this public *mesîre*. By doing so, these social groups were involved in constantly challenging and (re)negotiating the boundaries of the socially permissible, despite the regime of control that was instituted over Kâğıthane and similar public gardens by the *bostâncı*s and series of sumptuary laws.

What is decisive is that Saʿdâbâd's spatial layout suggests that the interaction between this public on the one and the sultan and the court elite on the other hand was apparently an intended one: the palace garden, the Cedvel-i Sîm and the Cirîd Square were all relatively freely accessible, the palace's inner courtyards was observable from the hillsides and commoners were moreover integrated into sultanic festivities. An increased dominance of state power in the public space did thus obviously *not* entail the exclusion of urban commoners but on the contrary encouraged their presence and sought interaction. This is indeed significant as it points to the changed status of this public, which had apparently become an increasingly important factor for sultanic legitimation.

As far as the seemingly never-ending debate concerning the 'imitation question' is concerned, the focus on the aspect on architectural discourse has allowed distinguishing between a European and an Ottoman discourse on Saʿdâbâd, which attributed very different meanings to the palace building. The accounts of European travellers continually purport Saʿdâbâd to be an imitation of French palace models and naturally enough, when the travellers were in reality confronted with the alleged Ottoman version of Marly or Versailles upon their visit to the "Sweet Waters of Europe", their judgement was prone to be a negative one – Saʿdâbâd was predestined to perform badly in comparison with the monumental and strictly symmetrical

originals. As a result, Saʿdâbâd could only be an imperfect imitation of the European models – a narrative solution, which allowed maintaining a safe distance between the superior Europe and the inferior Orient. It is precisely this discourse which has been taken up uncritically by modern historiography and whose legacy continues until today, turning Saʿdâbâd into a symbol for a first attempt at Westernization by an Ottoman Empire that had allegedly begun to achieve consciousness of its own inferiority and turned to the West for inspiration and reform.

In contrast to their European contemporaries, the eyes of eighteenth-century Ottoman observers were turned towards the opposite direction: they saw Saʿdâbâd in a line with the famed palaces of mythical Persian kings as well as in comparison with the celebrated Safavid capital of Isfahan – and judged, that Saʿdâbâd was so splendid and magnificent that it surpassed all these models. The Ottoman poets and chroniclers here set themselves within a Turko-Persian cultural tradition and at the same time singled out Ottoman cultural achievements as the culmination of this tradition. Moreover, in the context of the current political tensions with the Safavid Empire during the mid-eighteenth century, maintaining the superiority of Saʿdâbâd over Persian architectural model was an obvious move that translated the political strife onto the cultural sphere. Hence, in the Ottoman eyes, Saʿdâbâd was not at all perceived as a Western imitation – quite on the contrary, the sultanic palace was considered as so unique in its splendour that it remained beyond any worldly comparison.

The disparity between the Ottoman and European discourses is noteworthy and suggests an ambiguity surrounding the building of Saʿdâbâd, which the Ottomans seem to have known how to employ. Saʿdâbâd could thus serve as the manifestation of Ottoman superiority in chronicles and poetry and be ostentatiously presented to Iranian ambassadors visiting the Ottoman capital while simultaneously

allowing İbrahim Pasha to make reference to Versailles when conversing with the French ambassador to the Porte.

Different from the – perhaps intended – ambiguity on the level of discourse, on a factual level there is considerable evidence suggesting that French models were in fact the decisive source of inspiration in the planning of Saʿdâbâd: apart from the enthusiastic but in architectural terms vague report by Yirmisekiz Mehmed Efendi, the head of the corps of royal architects, Mehmed Âğâ, might have made use of plans and architectural handbooks from France at the sultan's private library at the Topkapı Palace when designing the layout of Saʿdâbâd palace and its garden. Moreover, İbrahim Pasha, the grand vizier who commissioned the palace, seems to have consulted these sources, too – he himself attested to have been inspired by French palace models when commissioning Saʿdâbâd in a conversation with the French ambassador Marquis de Villeneuve.

Acknowledging this influence does not necessitate an adherence to a framework which positions the Ottomans in a passive and inferior position to Western Europe, since cultural exchange is not necessarily based on the relationship between an active donor and a passive recipient. In fact, the recipient plays a crucial and active role in cultural transactions by choosing, appropriating and potentially rejecting what is on offer. If one acknowledges French models to have been a main source of inspiration for Saʿdâbâd, the question, which then needs to be asked, is why these models appeared attractive to the Ottoman decision makers and why they were chosen to be applied in this particular way. On the one hand, one can point here to the indigenous tradition of gardens featuring geometrical and symmetrical layouts – the French fashion of axiality and rigid symmetry was thus not as foreign to Ottoman aesthetics as commonly assumed. After all Ottoman garden planning was informed by Turko-Persian garden traditions, which were based on the principle of

the *chaharbagh* arrangement, featuring symmetrical layouts with a main water axis – elements constitutive of Saʿdâbâd's design. Despite their differences, French models therefore easily fit within a familiar set of aesthetic and planning principles. On the other hand, the application of schemes emphasizing axial vistas and monumentality – although in Saʿdâbâd this never reached the scale of French, Safavid or Mughal architecture – seems to indicate a concern on the part of the Porte for a visually more impressive, more monumental representation of sultanic power than had been the case in the imperial gardens of the classical age with their natural, asymmetrical compositions – which brings us back to the main theme of sultanic display; a theme, as we have seen, which pervaded all levels of Saʿdâbâd's spatiality.

There are of course still many questions to ask and answers to find. One area, which remains to be investigated concerns the social constitution of the public, which made use of the *mesîre* of Kâğıthane, and what their 'use' of the space actually consisted of. Similar questions might be asked with respect to the dignitaries who built residences on the hillsides of Kâğıthane – who exactly were they, what were their motivations in constructing a residence with view on a sultanic palace and what use did they make of their residences? Additionally, clearer knowledge of the property relations of the land in question would add to our understanding of the underlying economic mechanisms structuring the space of Kâğıthane.

Yet despite all shortcomings and questions left open, this study has started re-considering the history of an architectural monument, which has acquired such an emblematic stance in modern historiography that a mere hint at it is enough to evoke a number of stereotypical images concerning the Tulip Age and an Ottoman Empire allegedly at the outset of Westernization. By unravelling the historical process of the production of Saʿdâbâd as a social space through physical intervention, written and

visual discourse and social practices, it has however become clear that a specific regime of visibility that was intricately linked with the legitimation of sultanic power lay at the heart of the building and structured the different spatial levels connected to it. Nothing is here to be found of the indulgence in worldly pleasures far apart from the world of politics in the manner described by Ahmed Refik, nor of a full-scale copying of European models. Instead a subtle play of seeing and being seen was staged at the amphitheatre of Kâğıthane, with a highly visible sultan performing a play of pomp and magnificence in front of the court elite and the urban public – yet what became increasingly blurred in this play, was the neat distinction between actors and spectators. As much as the sultan performed before court and public, so did the commoners in turn manifest their presence in public space.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Transcriptions of Selected Archival Documents

Cevdet Maliye (C.ML) 9990

[1] Mülknāme-i hümayūn yazıla kė

[2] Dergāh-ı ʿālī cebeci başısı Sebzī Seyyīd Mehmed zīde mecdehu ʿarż-ı ḥāl ėdüb Saʿdābād'ıñ cānibinde [3] (…)de vāḳıʿ bir ṭarafı dergāh-ı ʿālī cebeciler ketḫüdāsı Abdullāh āġā bāġı ve bir ṭarafı bōstāniyān-ı [4] ḫāṣṣa oda başısı bāġına muttaṣıl olub ʿarżen otuz ve ṭavlen yüz elli ẕirāʿ [5] olmaḳ üzere mutaṣarrıf olduġı bāġıñ yedine mülknāme-i hümāyūnı vėrilmek ricāsına istidʿā-yı [6] ʿināyet ėtmegin mūcibince baş muḥāsebeye ḳayd olunub mülknāme-i hümāyūn vėrilmek fermān-ı ʿālī [7] ṣādır olmaġın vech-i meşrūḥ üzere muḳaddimā mālīyede olduġu şürūt ẕikrī ile [8] mülknāme-i hümāyūn yazılmaḳ içūn işbu kāʿime vėrildi

fi 23 ş[aʿbān] sene 1135

[imza:] Seyfullāh

[mühür:] Seyfullāh ʿabd ve mā il-maġz il-emn ʿabdullāh [?]

Cevdet Saray (C.SM) 8953

[...]

[1] Terḳos nāḥīyesi nā'ibine ḥükm kė

[2] Sa'adābād-ı feraḥ-i bünyāda vāki' ba'żı maḥallerde ġars olunmaḳ içün bu def'a daḫī bir mıḳdār [3] eşcār ü mütenevvi'a getürülmek (...) olmaġla nāḥiye-i mezbūrede elli 'aded ḳara āğāç ve elli [4] 'aded uḥlamūr ve elli 'aded kestāne ve elli 'aded çınār ve elli 'aded dışbūdāḳ kė mecmū' [5] iki yüz elli 'aded eşcār-ı mütenevvi'a ihrāç ve sefīneyle āsitāne-i sa'adete naḳl ve teslim ettirilmek [6] üzere tertīb olunub lakin eşcār-ı mezkūre gelüb ġars olunduḳda taḥalluḳ eylemeyüb ṭutmaḳ içün [7] iḫrāç oldıġı vaḳitde ve gerek naḳlında mehmāemken kökerlinin ṭoprāġı dāġılamaḳ ve yerin [8] ve şāḥları daḫī zedelenmemek içün bir ḥoşça muḥāfaẓaya muhtāç olduġından gayrī [9] her birisi yedişer ve sekizer yaşında biri birine olgūn āġāçlardan olub biri birinden [10] büyük ve küçük olmamaḳ ve dālları daḫī perīşān olmayüb endāmları mevzūn ve müsāvī [11] ve ḳaddları berāber olmaḳ ve çatāl olmayüb perīşān üzere olması lāzım [12] ḥālden olmaġla īmdī işbū emr-i şerīf celīl-ül-ḳadrim ile mübāşir ta'yīn olunān [13] zide ḳadrühū vardıḳda īcāb eden ücretlerini re'āyanıñ tekālīflerinden naḳīṣ ve maḥsūb [14] olmaḳ üzere ol-mıḳdār eşcār-ı mütenevvi'a mübāşir-i mümā-ileyh ma'rifetiyle nāḥīye-i merḳūmede vāḳi' ṭaġlardan [15] (...) ve intiḥāb ve ḳara āġāçları küçük yaprāḳlı olmayüb ba'żı yaprāḳlı olān ḳara [16] āġāçdan olmaḳ ve kezālik ḥīn-i ġarsında muḳaddem ḳıble cānibine mütevecciḥ olān maḥala müceddeden [17] dīkilecek yerde yeşīlı boyāsıyla daḫī yīne ḳıble ṭarafına vāḳi' olmaḳ içün çıḳārılacaḳ [18] āġāçların ḳıble ṭarafına düşen yerlerine işāretler vāḳi' olduḳdan ṣoñra mehmāemken [19] kökleriniñ ṭoprāḳları dāġılmadan ṭoprāḳlarıyla ma'ān maḥallerinden iḫrāç ve ḥīn-i iḫrācında [20] 'acele olunmayüb te'eyyüd ile mecmū' yerden kökleriyle çıḳārılub ve ṭoprāḳları bir hoşça [22] ṣārdırılüb ve bāġlandırüb 'arablara taḥmīn ve gerek muḥāfaża olunaraḳ nāḥīye-i [23] mezbūreniñ semtine ḳarīb iskeleye naḳl ve iskeleden daḫī kökleri ve dālları bozulmaḳsızın [24] sefāine vāż' ve taḥmīn ve āsitāne-i sa'adete naḳl ve īṣāl ve teslīm etdirmekden ziyāde [25] ihtimām eyleyüb ihmāl ve müsāmaḥadan beġāyet ictināb eylemek bābında fermān-ı 'alī [26] ṣadr olmaġın şurūṭiyle emr-i şerīf yazılmaġa tezkere verildi

fi 22 ṣ[afer] 1136

[27] Bālarda Terḳos nāḥīyesi yāzılān ma'ān mūcibince Midye ve Yoros ve Şīle ve Āḳābād [28] ve Rūmeliyle ve Ānaṭolı Ḥıṣārları cāniblerine daḫī veçh-i meşrūḥ üzere asḳe (...) bir ḳıṭ'a [29] emr-i şerīf yazılmaġa şerḥ verildi

fi 24 ṣafer 1136

[imza]

APPENDIX B: Illustrative Material

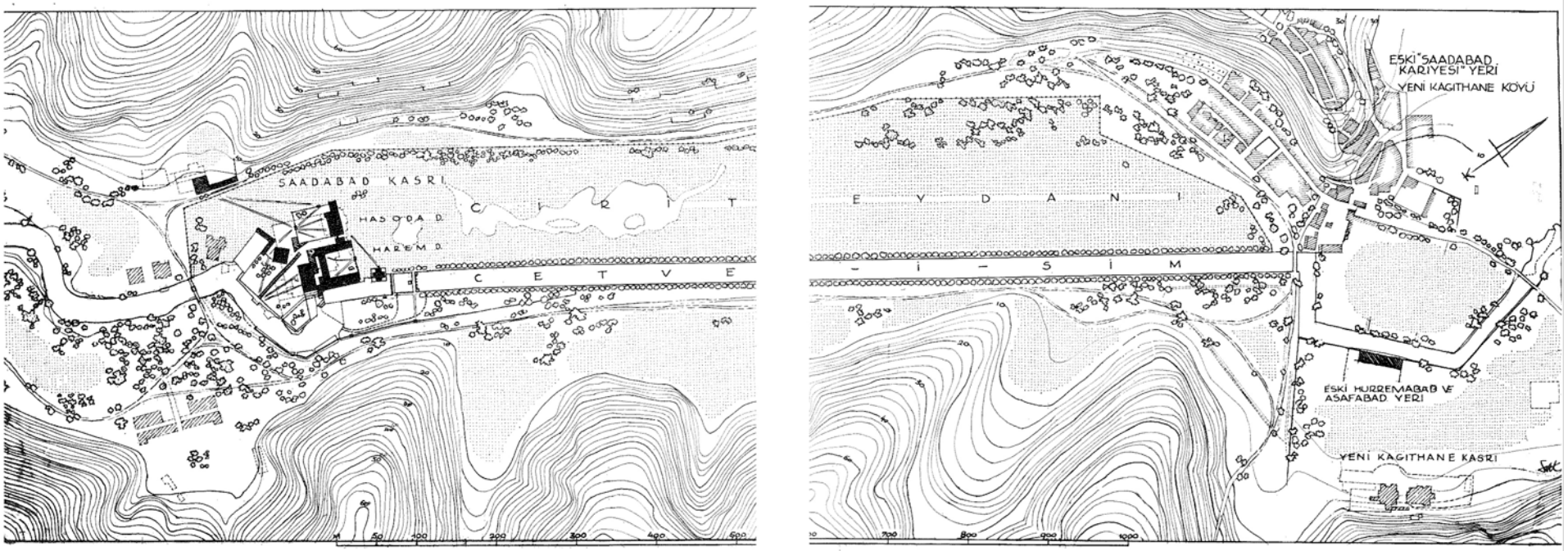

Fig. 1 Plan of Saʿdâbâd with gardens and *Cedvel-i Sîm* by Eldem.
Reproduction from Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 20-21.

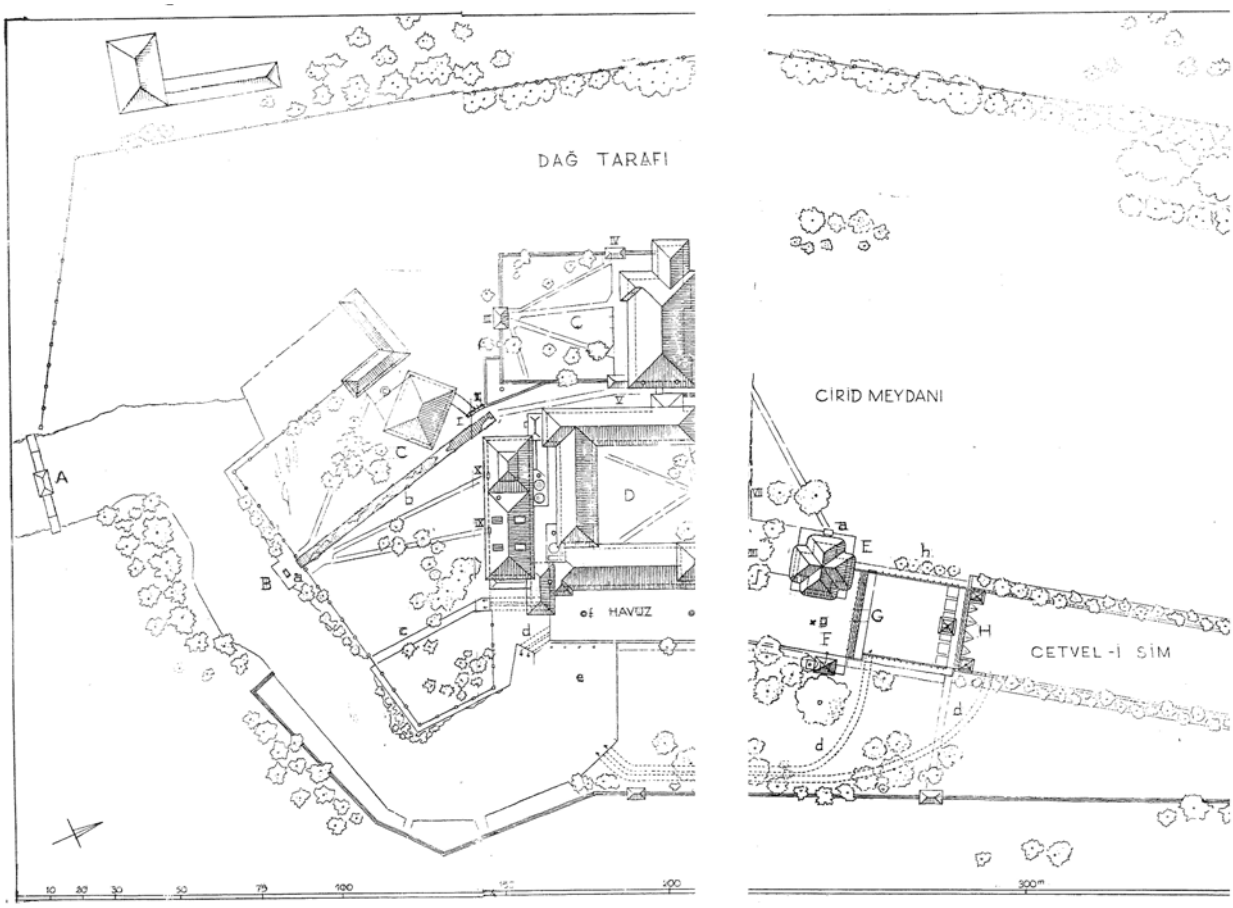

Fig. 2 Plan of Saʿdâbâd. Reconstruction by Eldem based on Gudenus' sketches.
Reproduction from Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 34-35.

A bridge (*köşklü köprü*), B imperial landing pier, C mosque, Ç courtyard of the *hâss odası* D courtyard of the *harem*, E Kasr-ı Cinan, F Çeşme-i Nur, G smaller cascade, H larger cascade
a mounting steps (*biniş taşı*), b covered path, pergola, c overflow tunnel of watermill, d cascade and underground tunnels for overflow water, e regulatory water reservoir, f marble water jets, g dragon headed bronze fountain, h five willows

Gates
I gate leading to mosque, II uphill gate, III main gate to the *hâss odası*, IV uphill gate of the *hâss odası*, V side of the *hâss odası* VI secondary gate to the *harem*, VII the *harem*'s main gate, VIII gate to the quarters of the *darü's-saʿâde âğâsı*, IX kitchen entrance, X entrance to servant quarters

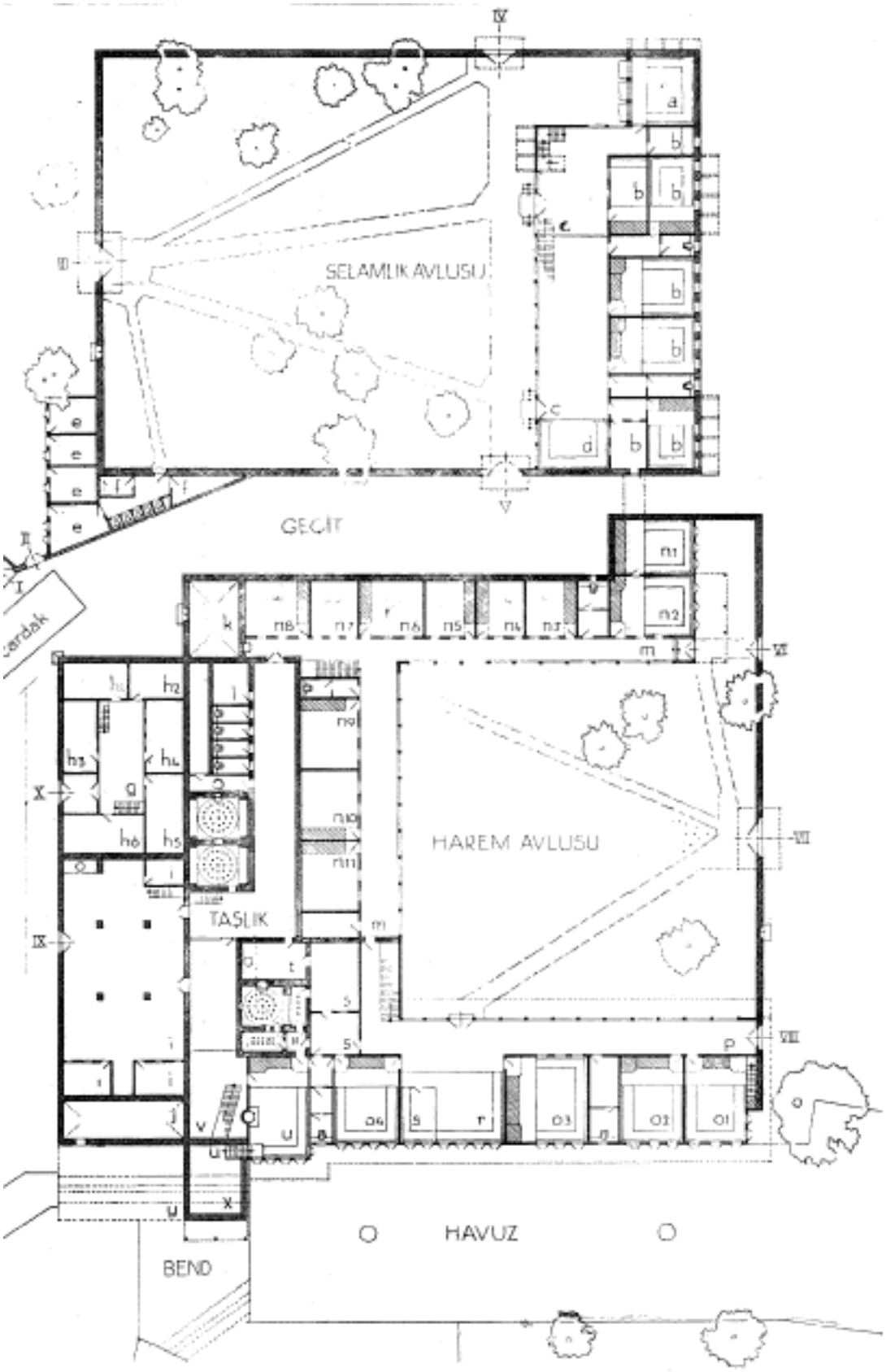

Fig. 3 Ground floor plan. Reconstruction by Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 36 based on the plan by Gudenus from 1740

Hâss Odası: a Tahtânî kasır, b rooms with *sedir*, c small entrance hall with stairs, ç reception and audience hall (*dîvânhane*), d sitting area, e *bostâncı* quarters, f coffee kitchen, g quarters of palace servants, h1-h6 rooms, i kitchen, j water mill, k water reservoir with fountain, l water closets and hamam, m gallery (*sofa/hayât*), n1-n11 rooms, according to Gudenus for female servants, o1-o4

rooms of *darü's-sa'âde âğâsı* apartment, p gallery (*sofa/hayât*), r open room of *darü's-sa'âde âğâsı* aparment, s service rooms, t *hammâm*, u room, ü stairs leading to upper room, v paved and covered court, x stone supporting walls of upper room, y not defined by Gudenus

For the gates see the caption of fig. 2

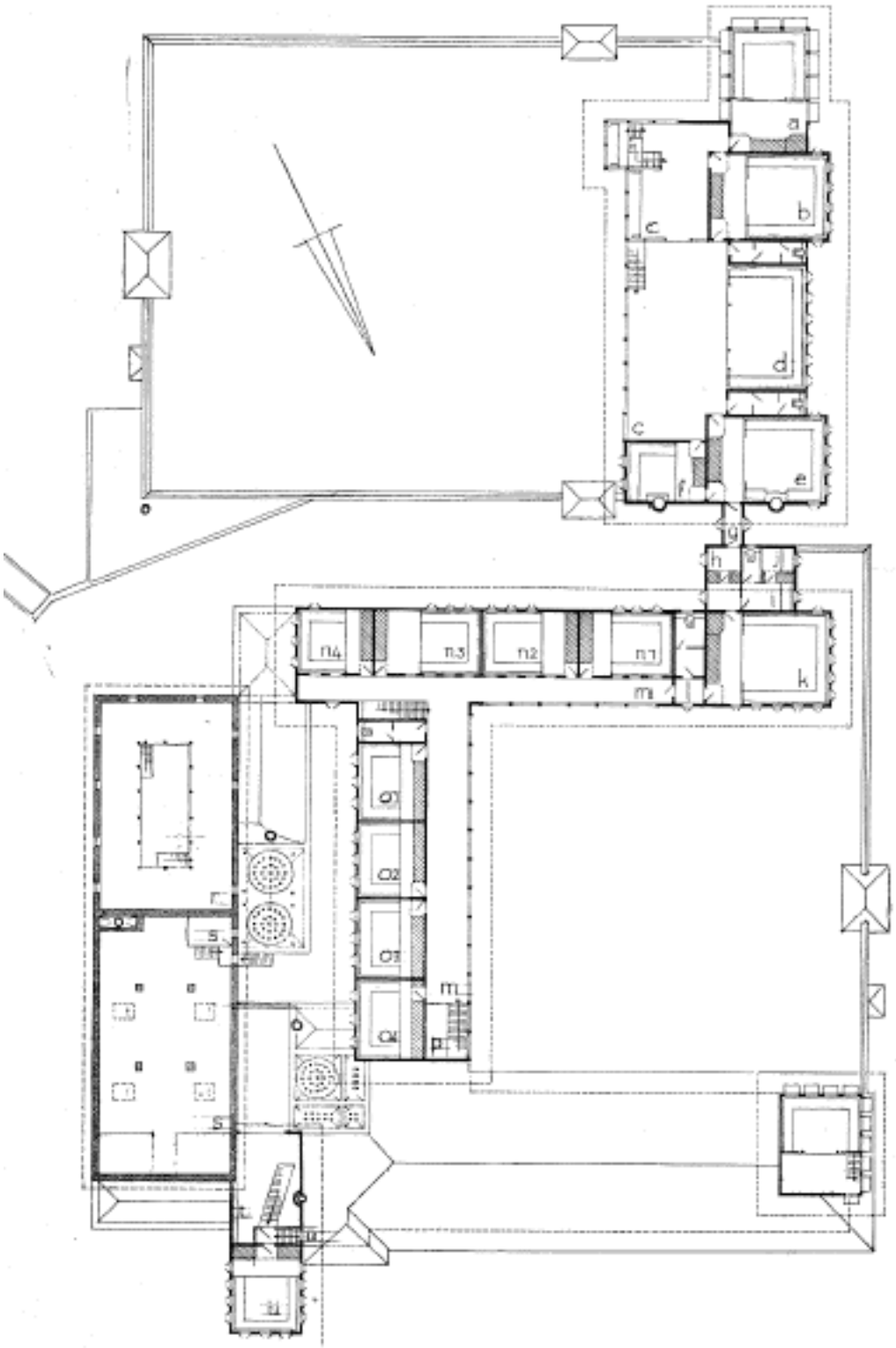

Fig. 4 Upper floor plan. Reconstruction by Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 38 based on the plan by Gudenus from 1740.

Hâss odası: a *fevkânî kasr-ı hümâyûn*, b room, c small upper hall, ç reception hall (*sofa*), d room, e room, f room, g passage bridge
Harem: h passage room, h-i-j passage rooms, k room (probably the sultan's), l watercloset, m gallery (*sofa/hayât*), n1-n4 rooms, o1-o4 rooms, p stair to the ground floor, r quarters of palace servants, s room of the head of the kitchen (*ahçıbaşı*) (Eldem does not give a reference for this), ş upper part of the kitchen with four openings in roof surface, t void above apartment underneath, u upper level room above dam, ü room with view

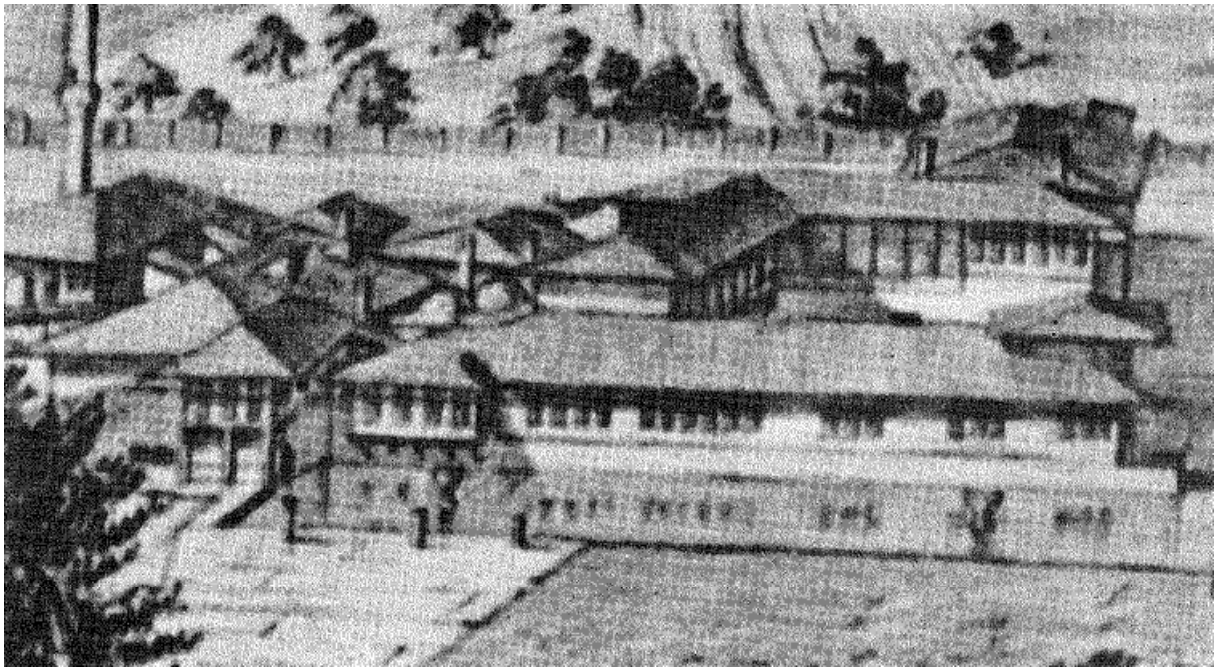

Fig. 5 Detail of a sketch by Gudenus of Saʿdâbâd from 1740. Reproduction from Eldem, *Saʿdabad*, 40.

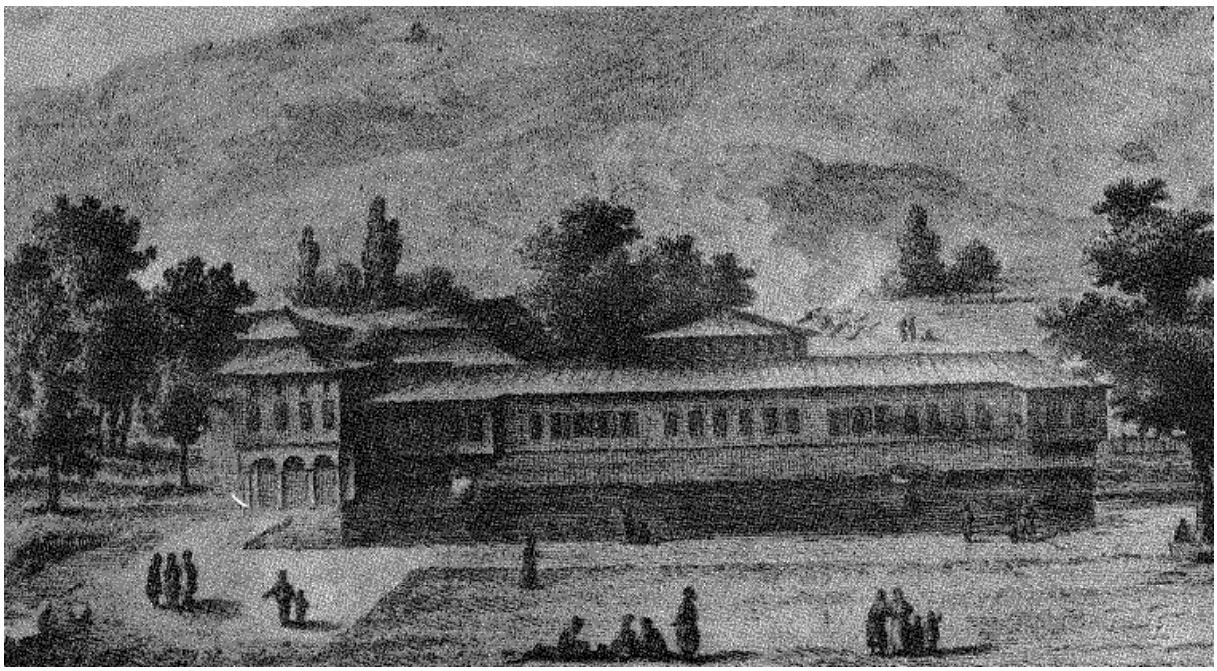

Fig. 6 Detail from the engraving of Saʿdâbâd by Hilaire in M.-G.-F.-A. Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, vol. II, 2 (Paris: Blaise, 1809), plate XCII, p. 487. Reproduction from Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 40.

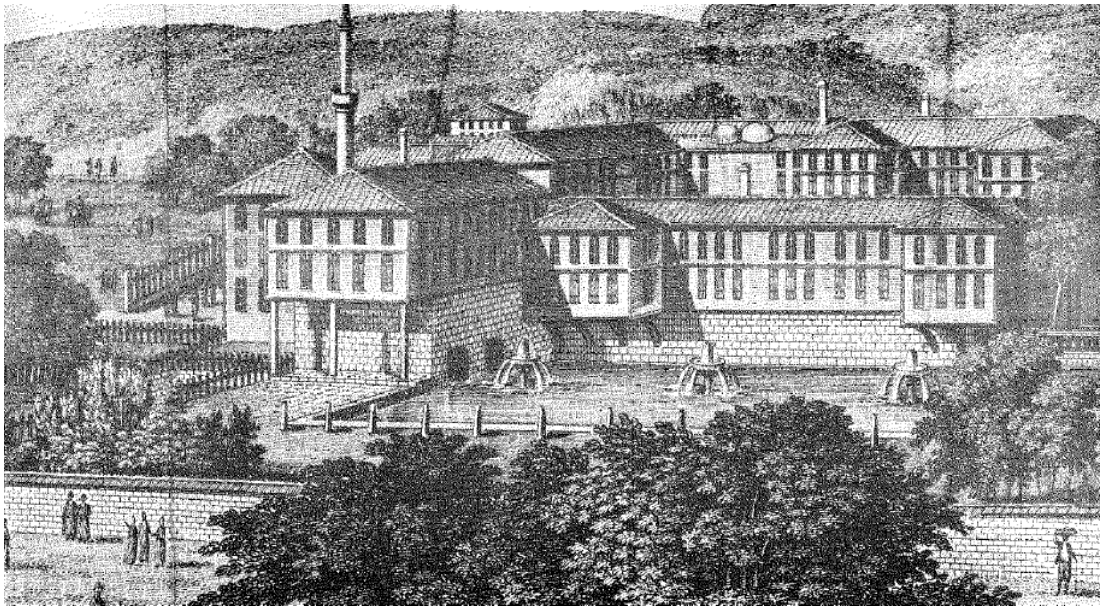

Fig. 7 Detail of the illustration in Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau générale* by the painter l'Espinasse, ca. 1770s. Reproduction from Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, 41.

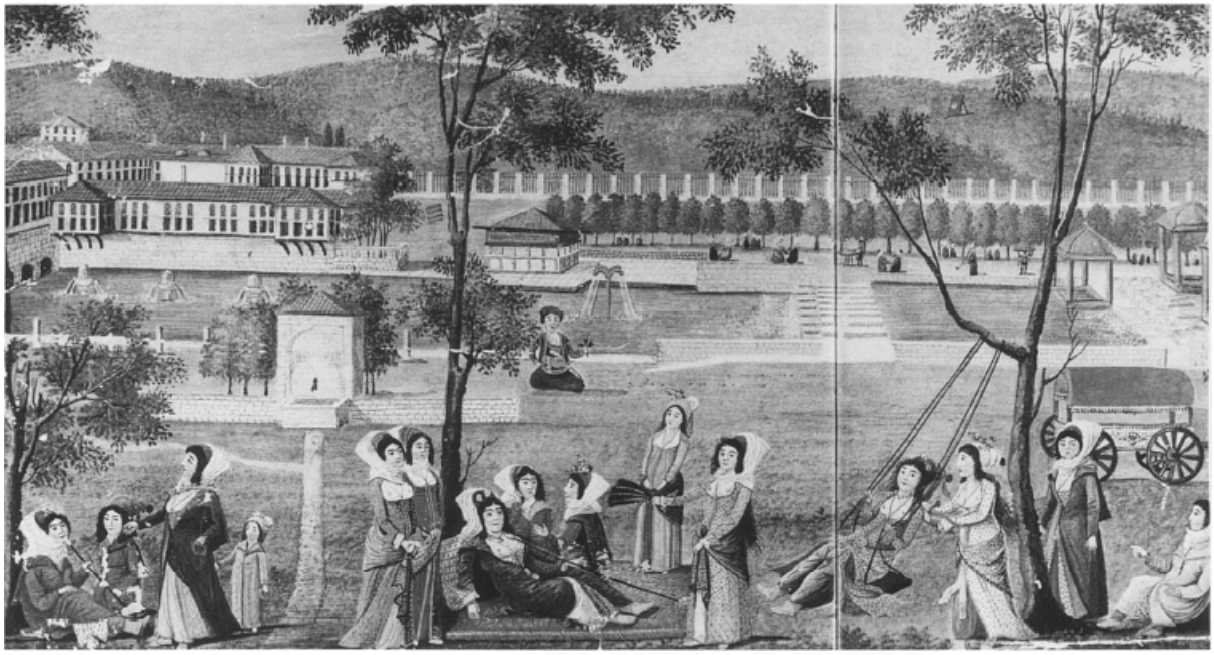

Fig. 8 Anonymous painted illustration in Enderunlu Fazıl's Zenanname depicting Saʿdâbâd and its gardens ca. 1720s.
Reproduction from Hamadeh, "Question of Westernization," 39.

Fig. 9 Illustration in Mouradgea d'Ohsson's *Tableau générale* of Saʿdâbâd and the surrounding area by the painter l'Espinasse, ca. 1770s.
Reproduction from Hamadeh, "Question of Westernization," 39.

Fig. 10 “The Sweet Waters of Europe” in Thomas Allom, *Constantinople ancienne et moderne comprenant aussi les sept églises de l'Asie mineure* (Paris: Fisher, Fils et Co., 1840)

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