Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul

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This article portrays the initial century of Westernization in Ottoman culture by studying the architectural developments of the eighteenth century. The political and cultural center of the Ottoman Empire was the ancient city of Istanbul, located between two continents. Because of Istanbul's location, the study of its culture and architecture sheds light on how the Islamic world took over ideas from the Christian West. Much research has been done on Orientalism, but the material culture of the Ottoman response to Europe during the eighteenth century has not yet been the topic of a comprehensive study, in spite of some important preliminary studies.

Relevant background research on social evolution and institutions in Turkey and its Arab provinces in the eighteenth century has been done by Hamilton A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen; Dogan Kuban's work, the first extensive study of an architectural style that is best described as Ottoman baroque, catalogs Ottoman buildings with baroque and rococo elements; Ayda Arel examines texts written by Western travelers about Ottoman Turkey and its architecture; Bernard Lewis offers a general survey of the contact between the Muslims and the West from the earliest Islamic age to the twentieth century, touching upon many aspects of cultural life; Serim Denel contextualizes the urban characteristics of Istanbul in the eighteenth and, primarily, the nineteenth century by discussing building

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codes and regulations. A different approach is adopted by Fatma M. Göcek, who describes the Ottoman French relations by contrasting Ottoman and French cultures in the eighteenth century; Maurice Cerasi's visual perceptiveness enables him to point to the distinctive stylistic characteristics of the architecture of Ottoman buildings and towns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[1] Nevertheless, what is yet lacking is a comprehensive study of eighteenth-century developments and the reasons for the later restrained reception of Western modes. This essay will approach that task by demonstrating how material objects reflect the dynamics of the first remarkable encounter between the Islamic East and the West.

Mercantile Business Ventures and the Traditional Ottoman Social System

The defeat of the Ottoman army before the gates of Vienna in 1683 signaled the beginning of the Ottoman retrogression: a series of defeats and peace treaties disadvantageous for the empire followed, and Turkey gradually retreated from Eastern Europe. European economic rivalry ensued. The Treaty of Pasarowitz (1718) strengthened the political power of the Habsburg Empire in Central and Eastern Europe, and the inauguration of the Trieste port in 1719 by Charles VI heralded Austria's economic ascendancy in the Mediterranean.[2] That, in turn, gave an impetus to Ottoman-French diplomatic and economic relations, so that France became the foremost trade partner of the Ottoman state in the eighteenth century, and until the nineteenth century French capital dominated Oriental markets.[3] Though prohibited by law, merchandise from Austria—especially porcelain, tile, and textiles—nevertheless penetrated Ottoman bazaars, and Ottomans became the principal consumers of Bohemian porcelain.[4] In 1784, Austrian trade vessels were given the right to sail freely among Ottoman harbors. After 1765 the Venetian Republic controlled some twenty trade companies located in Istanbul, Izmir, Aleppo, Alexandria, and Cairo, and the commercial leaders were Jews and Christians living in the harbors of the Levant and North Africa. The eighteenth century is the period, then, when the economic dominancy of Western Europe was felt in the intercontinental trading activity of the Ottoman Empire (Mantran, *XVII*, 164–65, 168).

European commercial ascendancy in the Middle East brought about political and social changes. Western governments started to back their

respective companies in order to maintain economic dependencies in the Ottoman lands, and because political power was dependent on economic power, the delegates of trade companies acquired a great deal of power and became the official representatives of their countries. The Ottoman government (Sublime Port) acknowledged their new status and started to discuss diplomatic, political, commercial, and even religious issues with them (Mantran, *XVII*, 222, 219). Thus, the Ottoman state entered into an age of lively relationships with the Western European capitals and their representatives in the East.

The Ottoman social system was also affected. Before the eighteenth century Ottoman society contained two major classes: one was comprised of the court, the army, civil servants, and clergy; the other of all those who paid taxes but had no part in the government.[5] Hence, in the beginning of the eighteenth century a bourgeois middle class was absent from Ottoman society. On the other hand, military men with higher incomes as well as the members of the ruling class in Istanbul were the chief consumers of imported merchandise.[6] Whereas Muslim merchants concentrated on domestic trade, minority Christians and Jews traded with the West at the time when its influence was steadily growing. In the eighteenth century, minorities accumulated wealth and started to pursue a European style of living in the major cities of the Empire. Thus did Christian minority groups emerge as a kind of commercial bourgeoisie.[7]

Because of the economic and military changes in Western Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century, *âyan* (notables), in close relationship with the janissaries who were by this time equipped with firearms against European infantrymen, replaced fief-holder cavalry as lessees or tax collectors in the state-owned lands. The land and taxation system, which had initially been organized by the fief holders, decayed after their elimination by the notables and the highborn, who were the intermediaries between the central government and the townspeople. In the eighteenth century, therefore, a semifeudal aristocracy started to appear in the provinces of the empire, at the same time the empire was becoming decentralized (Inalcik, 125–28; Ortayli, "Problem," 232). The members of this class, mostly retired military men and state officials such as tax collectors, played an active social role in towns as wealthy and esteemed elites, and after 1726 their authority was legalized when the post of provincial governor was created.[8] At the end of the century, a group of young officials, educated in the Western style, became the members of a Muslim Turkish bureaucratic bour-

geoisie in the capital (Göcek, *Ottoman*, 138). In the countryside, however, the great landlord was still the sole proprietor of considerable wealth.[9]

With the emergence of the wealthy *âyan* and well-paid bureaucrats, traditional society began to dissolve. The provinces, where powerful local lords controlled huge agricultural estates, developed the most intense trading activities with Western markets. The urban elite and provincial *âyan* spent profusely on the construction of mansions, waterside houses, and charity endowments (Ortayli, "Onsekizinci," 87). The seeds of a consumer society began to flourish in "an age of crisis," when the poverty of the masses and unrestrained consumption of the elite existed side by side (89); and Halil Inalcik holds that it was then that for the first time the West began to be admired, and "western culture as a whole took the form of a prestige culture for the elite" (51). France was the most admired country, and French was the principal foreign language learnt by the educated classes. It is in this context during the first quarter of the eighteenth century that Rococo decoration initially appeared in domestic architecture.[10]

Versailles was a cultural model for absolute monarchies everywhere.[11] Halls of mirrors, silver furniture, fancy ironwork, decorative objets made of gold and silver—all emblems of a hereditary absolutist monarchy—were highly esteemed in European courts, and aristocratic and other wealthy Ottomans shared that preference for French designs, which also embellished architectural designs. The precious gifts presented to the Palace and nobles presumably created a demand for luxurious items, which at the same time cultivated a taste for current European styles (Kuban, 133): Arel concludes that minor arts were a "source for Baroque understanding in Ottoman architecture" (10).

Curiosity for the Other

In the second quarter of the century, Ottoman interest in Western decorative style went along with a new attitude toward Western civilization, which until then had been considered inferior. Political agreements with Western governments no longer contained statements stressing the supremacy and glory of the sultan.[12] As Lewis remarks, the Ottomans became aware that they were "no longer the Empire of Islam confronting Christendom but one state among several, among whom there might be allies as well as enemies" (45). The waning of Western hostility toward the Turks and a new

Turkish approach to Europeans opened avenues for dialogue.[13] The first recorded initiative of this dialogue was the publication of the travels of the former janissary Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi, who was sent to Paris as an envoy of Sultan Ahmed III on 7 October 1720. Çelebi was to restore French-Ottoman relations after a period of dissonance during the reign of Louis XIV and sign a pact with the French king, but from the beginning Çelebi also intended to collect detailed information about French civil and courtly life.[14]

On 21 November 1720, Çelebi landed in Toulon and traveled to Paris via Toulouse, Bordeaux, Orléans, and Corbeil. Sailing on the Canal du Midi on the way to Bordeaux, he observed the dams, pools, and bridges; in Paris he visited palaces, gardens, a medical school, the botanical Jardin du Roi, the zoo, industrial plants, the observatory, and a printing house. Louis XV invited him on a hunting party and to operas performed at the Opera House and the Palace Opera. In the observatory, Çelebi was introduced to the new director, was shown modern astronomical instruments, and looked at the moon through a telescope, giving a written report from the director to Ottoman astronomers upon his return.[15] The good impression he made in France helped create a different image of the Turk. According to Alan Palmer, "he helped dispel the legendary suspicion of the 'cruel Turk' and stimulated a fashionable interest in *turquerie*."[16] It has to be noted here that the style *à la Turque* was more than a passing fancy, and by mid century had become an integral part of European fashion.[17]

Çelebi brought back gifts for Sultan Ahmed III, as well as pictures and plans of French palaces and gardens,[18] and presented a manuscript account of his travels to the sultan and his vizier, Damat Ibrahim Pasha. Çelebi describes French urban life and the landscape of the countryside, gives detailed information on the equipment used in daily life, and relates the life and manners of the nobles, their palaces, gardens, courtly ceremonies, and amusements. Çelebi was welcomed and entertained in the palaces of Saint Cloud, Meudon, Versailles, Trianon, and Marly (55–67), and he emphasizes certain characteristics of the architectural complexes: the systematic organization and grandeur of the gardens, the specific role played by water, the type of architecture created for royal ceremonies and royal entertainment, and the splendor of the buildings and furniture (Arel, 25). In the Ottoman capital, by contrast, the composition of the palace sought to establish an organic harmony between architecture and nature, and the modest size of the royal pavilions stood in stark contrast to the pompous grandeur of Ver-

sailles. Çelebi's eulogy on the lively courtly life and elaborate royal architecture of Paris testifies to his admiration for French technological achievements, which he rates as outstanding. His account initiated a series of changes in Istanbul, especially among state officials and the military in Istanbul. In fact, Çelebi was so successful a spokesman for French culture and technology that the Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha, on whom he managed to cast a spell, introduced a new lifestyle to his entourage.[19]

Halil İnalcik states that prior to Çelebi's embassy "no Ottoman had really ever felt or expressed the kind of fascination with or admiration of western culture as he did," and Frances Mannsåker concludes that despite the European fascination with *turquerie* the Ottoman fascination with the West was far more extensive.[20] The degree and kind of fascination needs to be clarified, however. Ottoman culture was primarily interested in practical knowledge, so—to cite a remarkable example—instead of rendering the theoretical astronomical treatises of Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Newton into Turkish, Ottomans concentrated on the timetables to be found in Cassini's and Lalande's works. Abstract scientific debates were considered irrelevant: even when the idea of a sun-centered universe was publicized by Ibrahim Müteferrika in his 1732 supplement to Kâtip Çelebi's *Cihannumâ* (1648, 1654), it met with little response from Ottoman intellectuals.[21] According to Lewis, Ottoman intellectuals, in general, showed no interest in the languages, literatures, arts, and philosophies—including natural philosophy, that is, science—of Europe (159); and Ahmed Evin asserts that "desiring to learn from the West in order to score victory over the West was a fundamental characteristic of the early period of Turkish Westernization."[22] Perhaps this is why in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ottoman geographers had already become familiar with the European methods of map making.[23] Çelebi's narration certainly aroused fascination, but it is not to be understood as signifying that the Ottoman culture sought an intellectual understanding of Western culture and civilization; in fact, Albert Hourani concludes that Çelebi's narrative "signified some broadening of curiosity, but not yet a real change in values."[24] Çelebi Mehmed Efendi and Ibrahim Müteferrika did not aim to have the Ottoman world take on European ways: their interest was mainly conditioned by state affairs and specific needs.[25]

Only at the end of the eighteenth century did the Ottoman elite recognize the importance of having information on European lands and civilization (Lewis, 119). Sultan Selim III (who ruled 1789–1807), the first

reformist sultan of the Ottoman Empire, sent Ebu Bekir Ratib on an information-gathering mission to Vienna in 1791. Ratib's detailed report on the military and administrative establishments, and on technology and social advances, was then used by Selim to begin a systematic modernization of the military (Inalcik, "Political," 129). In 1789 Mahmud Raif Efendi referred to this reformist era as a *Nizam-i cedid* (new order/new civilization) in a book printed in French by the engineering school of the Ottoman army *Tableau des nouveaux règlements de l'Empire Ottoman*.[26] The administrative reforms of the nineteenth century developed out of the acculturation that took place during the eighteenth.

The Western Style in the Capital of the Empire

The Europeans (also called the Levantines) and other minorities living in Istanbul mainly populated the districts of Galata and Pera—later collectively called "Constantinople" after the first Christian Roman emperor—located on the hills that overlook the Golden Horn on the north (figure 1).[27] Embassies of the European powers and residences for notable Europeans were built in this part of the city during the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century there was a lively cultural life around the mansions of the foreign envoys.[28] The Levantines also gained considerable political and economical power and gradually came to be admired by the Ottoman elite, who, though still strictly bound to their traditional manners and customs, sought to emulate the enticement and material comforts of the other city across from the peninsula (Stamboul). The Western-style wall paintings in their mansions provide evidence of this new inclination. Landscapes and architectural ensembles painted on plaster started to appear in wall paintings and murals in Istanbul from the middle of the century,[29] and the new trends soon spread to the provinces. By the end of the century, in the mosques funded by the *âyan* new motifs and techniques replaced traditional floral compositions in wall decorations.[30]

During the eighteenth century, the number of Christians employed in the design and construction of religious and residential complexes gradually increased.[31] In a book of illustrations by Jean-Baptiste Van Mour (1671–1737), an Armenian architect from Istanbul is, therefore, depicted with hammer and axe. We learn from the subtitle of this illustration that in the first decades of the eighteenth century, the majority of architects

Figure 1. A view of the city of Istanbul from the Garden of the Palais de France in Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (Paris, 1782), vol. 2, plate 76. Courtesy National Library of Australia.

and master builders in Istanbul were Armenian.[32] In this age many Christians were hired as architects and master builders without being asked to convert (Cerasi, "Town," 49). In *Usul-i Mimari-i Osmani* [*L'architecture Ottomane*], a treatise on Ottoman architecture prepared for the Vienna Exposition in 1873, French and Armenian artists and architects are mentioned as the developers of the new style;[33] and Kuban holds that together with was appointed master-builder in the site of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (25); and nearly 80 percent of the masons were also Christian.[34] As early as the late seventeenth century prestigious roles had opened up for Greeks, and conversions to Islam became less frequent;[35] but it was in the following century that Greeks significantly improved their position in the Ottoman government (Gibb and Bowen, 238). A new generation of Ottoman Greeks appeared in Istanbul, who must have had greater liberty to express themselves in different fields, including architecture.

In constructions funded by Muslim Seljuks and Ottomans earlier architects and artisans from diverse religious and cultural backgrounds had been employed, especially Central Asian Turks, Iranians, Arabs, and Christians.[36] On the other hand, all architectural projects had to be approved by the *Sermimaran-i Hassa* (head of architects). Until members of the Balian family were given this title in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, this post had never been given to a Christian (Kuban, 25). Thus, we can safely say that the new style, which assimilated a certain degree of local Byzantine and European influence, received approbation among the Muslim upper classes of the Empire.

The first baroque interior was created in the so-called Fruit Room of the Topkapi Palace, which was built for Sultan Ahmed III in 1705. Various flowers in vases and fruits in baskets are painted in false niches on wood-paneled walls, rectangular bands ornamented with inverted intersect and frame the main motifs, and mirrors on the walls and on the ceiling contribute to this visual illusion: the design creates perspective and a sense of spaciousness. The rectangular paneling recalls the interiors from the end of the seventeenth century in Versailles and the Grand Trianon.[37]

The fountain of Sultan Ahmed III (1728) outside the Royal Gate of the Topkapi Palace creates a baroque urban space for public assembly in between the gate and the Mosque of Aya Sofya (formerly Hagia Sophia Church) at the junction of the roads leading to the city and the palace (figure 2). Godfrey Goodwin observes that the projecting roof forming deep eaves and harboring an elaborate paneled ceiling is reminiscent of the baroque (374). Earlier public fountains were modest spots attached to the walls of the buildings, but now they became independent cubic structures with projecting eaves and cells (*sebil*) for the preparation of drinks at the corners. The drinks were distributed gratis.[38] Ornate fountains placed close to religious complexes attained prominence in urban planning, recalling the public fountains of baroque Rome. According to Goodwin, "Water in itself is the essence of Baroque, as the great fountains of Rome demonstrate" (170). European features of Sultan Ahmed's fountain are not confined to the undulating eaves and a new understanding of urban space. The floral decoration filling the spandrels and tympana of the pointed arches above the water faucets on the north, east, and south sides is traditional; but the decorative motifs of the western face differ in their form and plasticity. The traditional scroll and palmet motifs fuse with more volumetric, real-

istic plant forms in bands above the *sebil* on the southwest corner (figure 2). The bands also cover the western facade, which faces the ceremonial palace gate that leads to Aya Sofya, the palace mosque. Clearly, the foliate and plant motifs rendered realistically and carried out in higher relief were fashionable when the fountain was built. Kuban draws attention to the use of French scroll patterns (*rinceaux*) on the fountain (Kuban, 134). The curled leaves attached to flowers on the western facade recall the bouquets and foliage patterns in the cornice decorations made by Pierre Lepautre in the Trianon Palace in 1703–6. According to Kimball, "In Lepautre's work, the profiles of the mouldings are reduced to a linear slenderness and lightness in complete contrast to the plastic massiveness of the Baroque" (figs. 70–72, 75). Lepautre's designs heralded the rococo of Louis XV. In Istanbul, they first appeared in conjunction with new Baroque forms. These developments, incidentally, happened in the decade following Çelebi Mehmet Efendi's return from Paris.

According to Tülay Artan, during the age of Sultan Ahmed III (1703–30) the role and image of the sultan changed. As his image as a horseback leader in war faded, his authority was announced by the erection of new waterside palaces and ceremonies attached to their use. The banks of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn had never before witnessed such magnificent and elaborate activities around the royal residence (figure 3), and the transparency of the *yali* (waterside houses) exposed once isolated lives to full public view from the water.[39] A comparable change had occurred in Europe, where "the development of the city-palace and villa meant a loss of importance of the feudal seat, the castle, and the need for a substitute within the city."[40] The emergence of a new area of royal habitation on the north shore of the historic peninsula shows the desire of the ruling class to be closer to the life in the "other" city. Another reason could have been that the *âyan* challenged the authority of the sultan, which probably induced him to display his might and grandeur in the capital. Artan maintains that the Bosphorus replaced Divan Yolu (the main thoroughfare of the ancient city) as a ceremonial axis ("Sultan," 112), and boats instead of coaches were used for transport between the villages of the Bosphorus. To promenade on the shores of what was known to Europeans as the "Sweet Waters of Europe and Asia," which with the new royal residence seemed all to comprise a vast pleasure garden, was a source of novel amusement. The new public style of the Muslim elites signaled the beginning of a

Figure 2. Sultan Ahmed Fountain (1728) at the Royal Gate of the Topkapi Palace (photograph by James Robertson, 1850s, Canadian Centre for Architecture). Courtesy National Library of Australia.

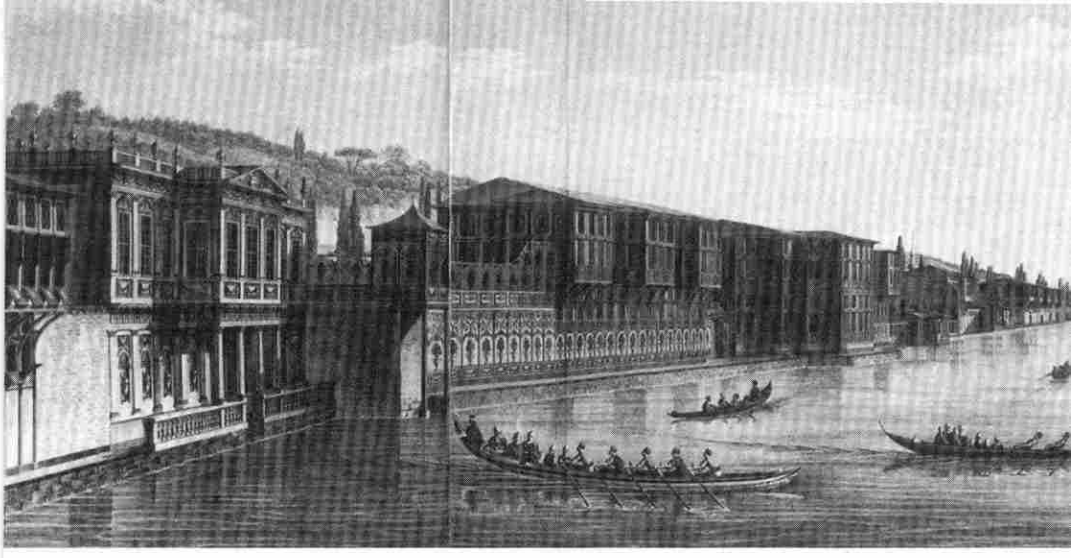

Figure 3. Hatice Sultan Palace at Defterdarburnu (end of the eighteenth century), engraving after the drawing by A. I. Melling subsequent to the completion of his renovations, in his *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore* (Paris, 1819). Courtesy National Library of Australia.

period of Western-style outdoor activity (Artan, "Architecture," 3). The palace built on the shores of the Kâgithane River by Sultan Ahmed III in 1722 was named Sadâbâd the Auspicious (figure 4).[41] It was one of the earliest buildings with a baroque flavor in its site plan and decoration and was probably modeled after a palace Çelebi had described. In the Kâgithane Valley overlooking the Golden Horn, a baroque axis was created, emphasizing the straight line of the river by planting rows of trees. The fields adjoining this stretch of water were arranged as a park wherein many notables were invited to build mansions: about one hundred seventy residences and gardens were built on the slopes of the hills overlooking the river.[42] The sides of the river were paved with marble, in the river itself jets ending in dragon's heads like the ones Çelebi saw in Saint-Cloud Palace were constructed, and the waters of the Bosphorus were channeled in canals and waterways throughout the park. Marble pools on several levels were built along these canals.[43] The French Ambassador, Marquis de Villeneuve, presented forty orange trees in tubs to Sadâbâd and in his account[44] relates that the pavilions were in Ottoman style with additions *à la française* (Goodwin, 373). With parts located on both sides of the river and boasting kiosks for dignitaries, Sadâbâd's palace resembled French palaces of the time (Arel, 28). Ahmed Refik states that although some of the houses were in Isfahan (Persian) style, architectural plans brought from Paris by a dragoman from the French embassy inspired some others,[45] and according to Denel although the ambience on the shores of the Kâgithane River

reflected Ottoman art and social life, it demonstrated a number of Western influences (19). The plans for Sadâbâd were a direct result of a new understanding, but its wooden houses with bay windows overlooking the river continued a traditional style of habitation.[46]

In 1749–55 the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1749–55) appeared close to the Divan Yolu and the Covered Bazaar (figure 5). With its domed square prayer hall and arcaded courtyard it is typically Ottoman. However, the interior of this monument below the level of the cornice separating the dome and the lower structure is closer to European baroque palaces than to an Islamic house of God, and the oval shape of its courtyard is a further curiosity. According to Çerasi, "Nuruosmaniye is no rough quotation or mere imitation of foreign styles, but a clever transposition of a foreign vocabulary into a perfectly dominated indigenous poesy. This implies more than mere artistic intuition, perhaps a historicist approach of which we have no precise knowledge" (Çerasi, "Late," 98). The line that separates the "Orient" of the building from its "Occident" is subtle. The mosque's particular method of reconciling indigenous elements (such as the stalactite niche) with baroque elements (such as plasters filling the stalactites) required a carefully planned equilibrium.

The simultaneous emergence of a new attitude toward Christians in the capital and of a class of notables in major towns such as in Izmir

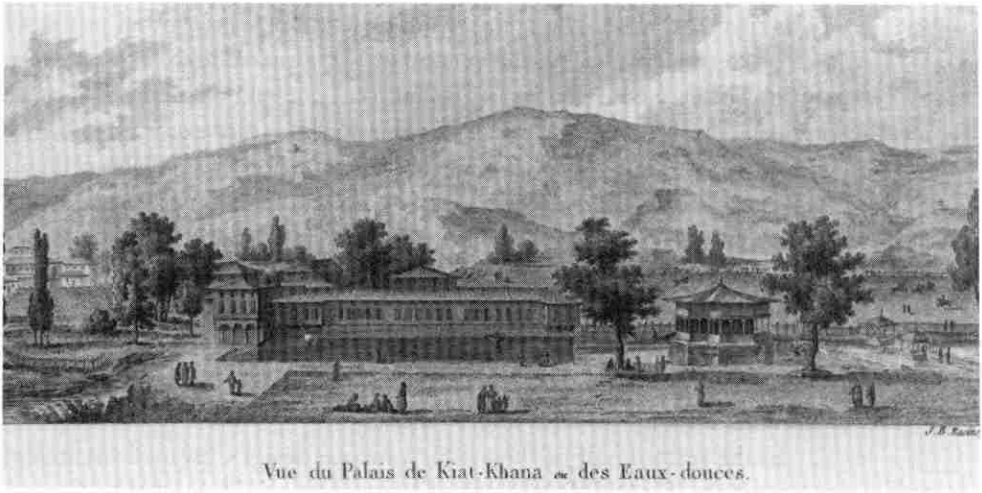

Figure 4. Sâdâbad Palace in Kâgithane (1722) in Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque*, vol. 2, plate 92. Courtesy National Library of Australia.

Figure 5. Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1749–55) and Covered Bazaar in Istanbul (photograph by James Robertson, 1850s, CCA). Courtesy National Library of Australia.

(Smyrna) resulted in a new provincial style. Late baroque and rococo decorations were introduced into the interiors of the *âyan* houses and the mosques in the Aegean region. Latin and Genoese heritage on Aegean islands channeled new trends from Europe to western Anatolia. Ayda Arel maintains that "while the architecture of Istanbul was inspired primarily by French models, the Aegean version of Westernized architectural decoration is often a combination of Italian Baroque and elements of Gothic origin."[47] The so-called Ottoman Baroque style was also exported to Cairo. The return to Mamluk forms reflected the traditionalist policies of Emir Abdurrahman Kethüda (Kazdagli) (1726–75), a member of the janissary house that ruled Cairo in the eighteenth century. However, during the second half of the century Cairo experimented with Mediterranean elements and with compromises between the new trends from Istanbul and the indigenous Mamluk style.[48] The buildings of Cairo, therefore, provide another example of how the major cities of the empire shared the tendency to mix local traditions with foreign ideas.

In the second half of the century, rococo designs invaded the harem rooms of the Topkapi Palace, which were sequentially funded by Osman III, Abdulhamid I, and Selim III (Kuban, 70). At the end of the century Hatice Sultan, after consulting with Baron Hubsch, who was the emissary

of Denmark in Istanbul, hired the architect Antoine Ignace Melling. Melling's drawing of his renovation of the 1726 Nesetâbad Palace at Defterdarburnu (figure 3) shows a palace dominated by a neoclassic facade with colonnades and a pediment. The second floor rests on Doric columns placed in front of the recessed walls of the ground floor.[49] According to Artan, the pediment was a royal symbol used to decorate the facade of the palaces belonging to the sultans and their sisters or daughters ("Sultan," 112–13).

The Essence of the Exotic in Istanbul

The ancient city of Istanbul has always been open to an influx of peoples and ideas from two continents. In time they became part of the rich Istanbul tradition, discernible in every sphere of human activity and production. We know that the acceleration in the flow of European concepts and modes characterized the eighteenth century. Hence, we may try to explain how architectural concepts imported from the West were integrated into the Ottoman traditions.

That Western forms employed in the traditional structure of Ottoman art were out of their original context is self-evident, and lack of a true baroque spirit is evidenced by there being no theoretical manuals from this period. Cerasi remarks on the lack of a conceptual framework: "Various arts (in the Ottoman milieu) had no common theoretical basis to fall back on" ("Late," 94–95). This is to say that Ottoman architects did not theorize their manner of employing European baroque forms. Goodwin even goes so far as to argue, harshly, that "the Ottoman royal interest in European culture came from curiosity about the ideas of the victorious . . . not from any desire to achieve intellectual equality" (384).

Scholars are agreed that there is nothing like a gradual, widespread, and profound assimilation of baroque elements into traditional Ottoman architecture over a number of years we might think of as a period of transition. Kuban, for example, argues that the mixed style reflected the personal building grammar of the practitioners (37), and Arel suggests that social change was the primary factor in architectural innovations of the eighteenth century ("Onsekizinci," 105). One essential feature of the baroque absent from eighteenth-century Ottoman architecture is a special awareness of space. Aptullah Kuran maintains that "unlike their European

counterparts, Ottoman Baroque buildings do not possess an intricate space conception or a strong sense of movement."[50] Thinking of baroque as the architecture of space and of rococo as a decorative style, Kuban calls the baroque period in Turkey "a period of Turkish rococo" (Kuban, 136). Similarly, Cerasi argues that "18th century Ottoman architecture, even in its manifestations usually classified as Ottoman Baroque, kept to a line of development dissimilar to that of French baroque and rococo."[51]

Such qualifications are partly the result of a problematic terminology, which is compounded by the coexistence of elements from extrinsic styles and an indigenous Anatolian tradition. Baroque and rococo elements appear but never outweigh Ottoman, Persian, and Byzantine (including Greek) elements. Byzantine traditions surpass the others, especially in civic buildings. For example, the facade of the libraries built with consoles beneath the bay windows, sawtooth cornices, and alternating courses of brick and stone are replicas of old Greek houses in Fener on the Golden Horn.[52] The Atif Efendi Library (1741–42) and the Sehit Ali Pasa Library (1715) are typical examples. Cerasi states that a revival of Byzantine masonry and composition techniques were mixed with Persian and Western influences: in the second half of the eighteenth century baroque elements represented the moods, but not the substance, of the architecture ("Town," 38–39, 41–47). According to Evin, in the first quarter of the century "the placing of equal emphasis on history, geography and European institutions reflects the comprehensiveness of the efforts to discover the causes of as well as remedies against decline . . . the contrast between the past glory and present exigencies led on the one hand to the development of a reflective historical sensibility and on the other to the rise of a worldly outlook" ("Tulip," 138). This dichotomy found its expression in works of architecture throughout the century. While baroque and rococo decorations as well as neo-Byzantine elements reflected exposure to Christian culture as well as social change, revivalism was an outcome of the need for a secure position against the perils of unwelcome ideas from the West.

Ottoman buildings of the eighteenth century were not built as part of an urban project prescribed by a mighty political or religious ruler such as a king or pope. As Christian Norberg-Schulz states, "a Baroque building is a part of a superior system" (12). Except for the attempts of Damat Ibrahim Pasha, who redesigned a village in Central Anatolia, improved the monuments of Istanbul, and funded a whole list of waterside palaces on the

Bosphorus and the Golden Horn in the 1720s, no serious effort was made to plan an Ottoman city. The Friday mosques—like gothic cathedrals—still dominated the city and created an *axis mundi* in the center of a group of charity buildings (figure 5). In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, a series of buildings displaying a modest side-by-side combination of *sebil*, fountain, courtyard gate, and transparent precinct walls with grills spread all over the city (figures 6, 7). The undulating forms of the rococo decorative elements in them replaced the rigid walls of the classical complexes. According to Çerasi, "The Baroque 'method' . . . offered novel richness of visual sequences, softer transitions and more fluent 'narrative' composition of ensembles" ("Historicism," 37). Unquestionably, architects and artisans knew many of the features of Western art, even if they were not familiar with its underlying philosophic principles, and Goodwin (419), Renda ("Europe," 18), and Kuran (327) agree that despite Western influences Ottoman architecture preserved its own identity.

In Europe, Orientalism was mainly a decorative style. Patrick Conner states that "buildings with Orientalist flavour were not faithful reproductions, but interpretations of Oriental architecture."[53] Juxtaposed forms and motifs from Indian, Chinese, Moorish, and Turkish traditions were fashionable. J. M. MacKenzie states that in the West "Oriental forms offered the irregular and asymmetrical as a relief from the rigidity of classical rules. Orient offered an alternative court of aesthetic appeal."[54] Buildings with Oriental flavor were either interpretations of Oriental models or a mixture of Oriental styles. Ottoman architects, however, integrated the European baroque into their own indigenous traditions. Eighteenth-century Ottoman monumental architecture revived local Byzantine building techniques and then embellished its own classical style with Western features. Imported forms from the West were assimilated to the existing system of construction, which thus experienced slight changes, whereas in European Orientalist architecture the building compounds are unique because they exhibit an amalgamation of Oriental traditions. Nor did Orientalism permeate public royal and religious architecture. Hence, Ottoman Occidentalism (to coin a usage not available by applying Webster's one definition of the term: "the characteristic features of occidental peoples or culture") cannot be an exact equivalent of European Orientalism in the realm of architecture.

Ian Richard Netton identifies four elements in the Enlightenment sense of the East: "A dislike of the alien, a fear of the threat, a fascination

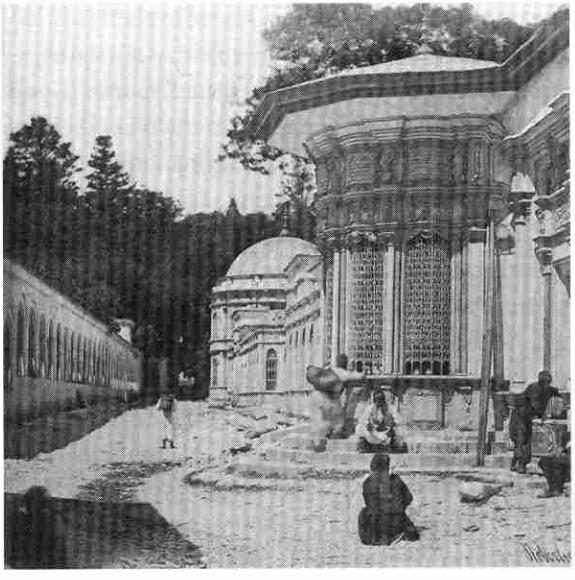

Figure 6. Right to left: Mihrisah Sultan Fountain, Sebil (1795), and Turbe (1792) in Eyup, Istanbul (photograph by James Robertson, 1850s, CCA). Courtesy National Library of Australia.

Figure 7. Left to right: Sah Sultan Fountain, Turbe, and Sebil in Eyup, Istanbul (photograph by James Robertson, 1850s, CCA). Courtesy the National Library of Australia.

with the exotic and an occasional slight sympathy towards its subject."[55] Nevertheless, "Orientalism" denoted a broadened interest in the East. The concept of an intellectually broad interest in the Occident was absurd in the Islamic world, however. The manners and mores, arts, and architecture of the West remained obscure in Istanbul. As Evin states, "Wide-ranging social implications of the term 'Westernization', are inapplicable to Turkish society at large in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" ("Tulip," 133).

Occidentalism emerged only at the end of the nineteenth century, when attempts to learn and understand Western civilization spread through the Islamic world. As Zeynep Celik explains, at that time the Ottoman intelligentsia maintained that civilization was centered in Europe (for many, in Paris).[56] During the eighteenth century, by contrast, general knowledge about Europe was much more limited. So while Ottoman architecture liberally embraced and integrated Western forms and motifs, the Ottoman Occidentalism (here used as a parallel to Webster's third definition of *Orientalism*: "Characteristics of western art or culture appearing in eastern practice") in Ottoman architecture was a skin-deep style, similar to that in Europe which applied Oriental forms and motifs to temporary structures such as exhibition halls or pleasure houses (baths, movie theaters, etc.). The "exotic" from the West remained a passing fancy for details, and because it was unsupported by philosophic/aesthetic theory, after the second quarter of the nineteenth century this fancy was replaced first by eclectic and later by Neo-Ottoman styles.

Notes

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Mekânlarda Degisim ve Nedenleri [*Design in Istanbul in the Westernization Period and Change in Urban Space*] (Ankara: Orta Dogu Teknik Univ., 1982); Fatma M. Göcek, *East Encounters West: France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford Univ., 1987); Maurice Cerasi, *La Città del Levante: Civiltà urbana e architetture sotto gli Ottomani nei secoli XVIII–XIX* (Milan: Editoriale Jaca, 1986), trans. Asli Ataöv as *Osmanli Kenti: Osmanli Imparatorlugu'nda 18. ve 19. Yüzyillarda Kent Uygarligi ve Mimarisi* [*Ottoman Towns: Urban Civilization and Architecture in the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*] (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi, 1999), and "Town and Architecture in the 18th Century," *Rassegna, Themes in Architecture: Istanbul, Constantinople, Byzantium*, no. 72 (1997): 37–51.

2. Ragnhild Hatton, *Europe in the Age of Louis XIV* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1969), 98; Ilber Ortayli, "The Problem of Nationalities in the Ottoman Empire Following the Second Siege of Vienna," in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. G. Heissund and G. Klingenstein (Vienna: Verlag fur Geschichte und Politik, 1983), 230.

3. Robert Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962), trans. M. A. Kilicbay and Enver Özcan as *XVII. Yüzyilin Ikinci Yarisinda Istanbul: Kurumsal, Iktisadi, Toplumsal Tarih Denemesi* [*Istanbul in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century: An Essay on Institutional, Economic, and Social History*], 2 vols. (Ankara: V, 1986), 2:172. See also Mantran, "XVIII. Yüzyilda Osmanli İmparatorlugunda Ticaretin Degismesi," *Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi* [*Journal of Historical Research*] 3 (1987): 159–75 (originally "La transformation du commerce dans l'Empire Ottoman au XVIIIe siècle," in *L'Empire Ottoman du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* [London: Variorum Reprints, 1985]).

4. Ilber Ortayli, "18. Yüzyılda Akdeniz Dunyasi ve Genel Cizgileriyle Türkiye" ["The Mediterranean World and Turkey in the Eighteenth Century"], *Toplum ve Bilim* [*Science and Society*] (spring 1977): 83.

5. Halil Inalcik, "Political Modernization in Turkey," in *From Empire to Republic: Essays on Ottoman and Turkish Social History* (Istanbul: Isis, 1995), 125.

6. Mehmet Genc, "18. Yüzyilda Osmanli Sanayii" ["Ottoman Industry in the Eighteenth Century"], *Toplum ve Ekonomi* [*Economy and Society*] 2 (1991): 107–8.

7. Fatma M. Göcek, *Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford Univ., 1996), 96, 138.

8. Yücel Özkaya, *Osmanli Imparatorlugunda Ayânlik* [Ayân *in the Ottoman Empire*] (Ankara: Ankara Univ., 1977), 124.

9. Kemal H. Karpat, "The Transformation of the Ottoman State, 1789–1908," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (1972): 259–60.

10. Günsel Renda, "Europe and the Ottomans," in *Europa und die Kunst des Islam 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Elisabeth Liskar (Vienna: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1985), 18.

11. Max Beloff, *The Age of Absolutism, 1660–1815* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1962), 47.

12. H. Uzuncarsili, *Osmanli Tarihi* [*Ottoman History*] (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 1988), 1:250.

13. Accounts by French travelers contributed to this development. See A. O. Evin, "1600–1700 Arasi Batililar'in Türkiye'yi Görüslerinde Olan Degisim" ["Modification of the Europeans' View of Turkey, 1600–1700"] *Türkiye Iktisat Tarihi Semineri, Metinler/Tartismalar (8–10 Haziran, 1973)* [*Proceedings of a Seminar on the Economic History of Turkey, Texts/Discussions (8–10 June 1973)*], ed. Osman Okyar and H. Ü. Nalbantoglu (Ankara: Hacettepe University Press, 1975), 173, 181.

14. Yirmisekiz Mehmet Çelebi, *Sefâretnâme-i Yirmisekiz Çelebi* [*Embassy-Letter of Yirmisekiz Çelebi*] (ms. in Ottoman Turkish, Istanbul, 1720–21), trans. and ed. Sevket Rado as *Fransa Seyahatnamesi* [*Travels in France*] (Istanbul: Hayat Tarih Mecmuası, 1970), 5–6. The degree of Ottoman-French diplomatic relations can best be appreciated through the correspondence between Sultan Selim III and Louis XVI in the years 1786–87, when Selim was heir to the throne. In these letters, young Selim asks for support from the French king in his struggles for the throne. See I. H. Uzuncarsilioglu, "Selim III'un Fransa Krali Lui XVI ile Muharebeleri" ["Correspondence between Selim III and French King Louis XVI"], *Belleten* [*Bulletin of the Turkish Historical Society*] 2 (1938): 211–13.

15. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, "Introduction of Western Science to the Ottoman World: A Case Study of Modern Astronomy (1660–1860)," in *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World*, ed. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1992), 107.

16. F. R. Unat, *Osmanli Sefirleri ve Seyahatnameleri* [*Ottoman Envoys and their Travel Accounts*] (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 1987), 56; and Palmer, *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: M. Evans, 1992), 3.

17. Auguste Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au dix-huitieme siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1911), trans. Nevin Yucel-Celbis as *Bogazici Ressamlari* (Istanbul: Pera, 1988), 78.

18. Münir Aktepe, *Patrona Isyani (1730)* [*Patrona Revolt, 1730*](Istanbul: Istanbul Univ. Edebiyat Fakultesi, 1958), 50.

19. Robert Mantran, "Onsekizinci Yüzyilda Osmanli Devleti: Avrupa Baskisi" ["The Ottoman State in the Eighteenth Century: European Pressure"], in Osmanli, *Histoire de L'Empire Ottoman* ([Paris]: Fayard, 1989), trans. Server Tanilli as *Imparatorlugu Tarihi I: Osmanli Devletinin Dogusundan XVIII. Yüzyilin Sonuna*, ed. Robert Mantran (Istanbul: Cem, 1995), 333.

20. Frances Mannsäker, "Some Remarks on the Ottoman Turkey's Modernization Process," in *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World*, ed. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1992), 51, and "Elegancy and Wilderness: Reflections of the East in the Eighteenth-Century Imagination," in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester Univ., 1990), 185. Although there was a prior body of literary knowledge about the West in the Ottoman world, Çelebi's *Travels* was the first reliable source on current European life and customs. Before him traveler and romancer Evliya Çelebi (1611–82?) had written a *Seyahatname* [*Book of Travels*] that includes chapters dedicated to some European countries; however, Evliya never attempted to authenticate his sources (Lewis, 112–13). In 1655, the Ottoman geographer and polymath Kâtip Çelebi had written a book on the history of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Christians; but he

relied on an abridged version of Mercator's *Atlas* and other Western sources and gives only very limited historical and geographical information. Two other notable historians, Hüseyin Hezarfen (d. 1691) and Münejjimbasi (d. 1702), like Kâtip Çelebi, had based their knowledge of Europe on the same sources (Lewis, 135–36, 153, 158).

21. "The Tulip Age and Definitions of 'Westernization,'" in *Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071–1920), Papers Presented to the First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey (Ankara: Hacettepe Univ., July 11–13, 1977)* (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980), 138.

22. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, "Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanli Bilim ve Egitim Anlayasi" ["The Ottoman Notion of Science and Education before and during Tanzimat"], in *150. Yilinda Tanzimat* [*Tanzimat on Its 150th Anniversary*] (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 1992), 341.

23. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ottoman geographers were familiar with European cartographic methods. *Kitab-i Bahriye* [*Book of Navigation*], produced by the first Ottoman cartographer, Piri Reis (d. 1550), and the anonymous *Tarih-i Garbi* [*History of the West*] demonstrate this; and Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Major* was translated by Ebu Bekir in 1685 (Ihsanoglu, 76). "See also Ihsanoglu, "Tanzimat," 335–39.

24. Albert Hourani, in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History*, ed. Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ., 1977), 255–57.

25. Evin, "Tulip," 143. After the 1730s, information in Çelebi's *Travels* was replaced by actively sought foreign expertise. Count De Bonneval, Baron de Tott, Toderini, Kampell, Le Roy, Du Reste, de Lafitte Clavé, Monnier, and Brune are some of the Europeans who were employed as teachers and experts in military schools and in the palace. A Swiss-born Frenchman, A. I. Melling, holds a notable place among these men: an artist-architect, he was employed by Hatice Sultan, a sister of Sultan Selim III (1789–1807).

26. A. M. C. Sengor and Kazim Cecen, "Mühendishane-i Berri-i Hümayun" ["Imperial School of Military Engineering"], in *Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* [*Encyclopedia of Istanbul from Past to Present*] (Istanbul: Turkish Economic and Social History Foundation, 1994), 6:14–15.

27. Ilber Ortayli, "Istanbul'da Yerlesme Düzeninin Evrimi Üzerine" ["On the Evolution of Settlement Organization in Istanbul"], in *Istanbul'dan Sayfalar* [*Pages from the History of Istanbul*], collected articles, 2d ed. (Istanbul: Hil, 1987), 220; see Mantran, *XVII*, map 5.

28. Robert Mantran, *La vie quotidienne à Constantinople au temps de Soliman le Magnifique et de ses successeurs (XVIe et XVIIe siècles)* (Paris: Hachette, 1965), trans. M. A. Kilicbay as *XVI.–XVII. Yüzyilda Istanbul'da Gündelik Hayat* [*Daily Life in Istanbul in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*] (Istanbul: Eren, 1991), 19, 57, 130.

29. Günsel Renda, *Batililasma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanati 1700–1850* [*Turkish Art of Painting in the Westernization Period*] (Ankara: Hacettepe Univ., 1977), 125, 197.

30. Rüchan Arik, *Batililasma Donemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanati* [*The Art of Representation in Anatolia in the Period of Westernization*] (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1988), 140.

31. Christian artists designed albums containing sultans' portraits rendered in Western style (Renda, *Batililasma*, 56, 188). Dilatzu Çelebi Rapayel (Refail) was one of the more prominent. See Günsel Renda, "Refail," in *Dünden Bugüne*, 6:312.

32. J. B. Van Mour, *Recueil de cents estamps représentant différentes nations du Levant* (Paris 1714), trans. Cenap Yazansoy as *Yüzyilin Basinda Osmanli Kiyafetleri: Fransiz Büyükelcisi Marquis de Ferriol'un Hollandali Ressam Van Mour'a Yaptirdigi 100 Resim ile Türklere ait bazi Törenler ve Aciklamalar* [*Ottoman Costumes at the Turn of the Century: Paintings of Van Mour Commissioned by French Ambassador Marquis de Ferriol, Turkish Ceremonies and Their Explanations*], ed. Sevket Rado (Istanbul: n.p., 1980), 27.

33. *L'Architecture Ottomane, Ouvrage autorisé par iradé Imperial et publié sous le Patronage de son excellence Edhem Pacha Ministre de travaux publics, président de la commission impériale Ottomane pour l'exposition universelle de 1873, à Vienne. Texte Français par Marie de Launay, dessins par Montani Efendi, Boghoz Efendi Chachian et Maillard -documents techniques par Montani Efendi, execution matérielle par Sebah* (Constantinople, 1873). It is interesting to note that de Launay denounces the contribution of the French and Armenians to Ottoman architecture. During the time of Ahmed III she says,

> des ingénieurs et architectes hydrauliciens ayant été alors appelés de France pour divers travaux, amenèrent à leur suite d'autres artistes, sculpteurs, peintres, décorateurs, qui bientôt altérèrent la pureté du goût de l'architecture ottomane jusqu'au point de la dénaturer complétement, ainsi que nous le voyons de la manière la plus frappante par l'exemple des mosquées Nour-i-Osmanié et Lalèli. C'est dans ce même goût dépravé que furent bâtis, un peu plus tard, le palais d'Esma Sultane et d'autres encore à Defterdar Bournou. L'école de Sinan s'éteignit de la sorte pour fair place à un architecte renommé: Rafaël, et à ses élèves les constructeurs arméniens. Ceux-ci, tant par suite de leur ignorance des premiers principes de l'art ottoman, déjà réduit à l'état de glorieux souvenir, que pour sa conformer autant que possible à l'engouement général, toujours de plus en plus prononcé, pour les sciences et les arts exotiques, essayèrent tour à tour les différents styles connus. S'efforçant en vain de les adapter, tantôt séparément, tantôt dans une confusion aussi ridicule qu'impuissante, aux exigences des édifices ottomans religieux et autres, ils ne produisirent guère que de monstrueuses ou de plates conceptions. L'architecture ottomane semblait donc avoir terminé dès lors sa carrière et dit son dernier mot. (6–7)

34. M. M. Cerasi, "Late Ottoman Architects and Master Builders," *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 90.

35. W. H. McNeill, "Hypothesis Concerning Possible Ethnic Role Changes in the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth Century," in *Social and Economic History of Turkey*, 129.

36. Zeki Sönmez, *Anadolu Türk-Islam Mimarisinde Sanatçılar—Baslangicindan 16. Yüzyila Kadar* [*Masters of Anatolian Turkish-Islamic Architecture from the Beginnings to the Sixteenth Century*] (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society, 1989), 474.

37. Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1971), fig. 369, and Fiske Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo Decorative Style* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1964), figs. 19, 25–27.

38. Ayla Ödekan, "Cesmeler" ["Fountain"], in *Dunden Bugune*, 2:488.

39. Tülay Artan, "Sultan Efendi Saraylari" ["Palaces of the Sultan Efendi"], *Istanbul* 3 (1992): 112, and "Architecture As a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus," Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989, 12.

40. Semavi Eyice, "Istanbul Halkinin ve Padisahlarinin Ünlü Mesiresi: Kâgithane" ["Kâgithane: Famous Excursion Spot of the Sultans and Public in Istanbul"], *Istanbul Armagani* [*Dedication to Istanbul*] 3 (1997): 75–95.

41. Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Baroque Architecture* (London: Faber and Faber, 1986), 16.

42. Ugur Tanyeli, "Transfer of Western Urban Planning Concepts and Techniques to Turkey (1718–1840)," in *Transfer of Modern Science and Technology to the Muslim World*, ed. Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1992), 348–49, and S. H. Eldem, *Sa'dâbâd, the Auspicious Palace* (Istanbul: Ministry of Culture, 1978), 19.

43. Arel, 27, and Filiz Yenisehirlioglu, "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the Eighteenth Century," in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein (Vienna: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1983), 165.

44. Marquis de Villeneuve, *Lale Devri* (1908), trans. Dursun Gürlek as *Tulip Age* (Istanbul: Timas, 1997), 41.

45. The art of painting was also modified in the period when Ahmed III reigned. New techniques of representation, including the play of light and shadow, employed in the miniatures by Levnî Abdülcelil Çelebi (d. 1732), display a degree of European influence; during the reign of Mahmud I, in the 1730s and 1740s, Abdullah Buhari experimented with perspective; and in the second half of the century the popularity of the European style of portraiture in the palace strongly affected traditional miniature painting (Renda, *Batililasma*, 35, 42, 45). See also Gül Irepoglu, "18. Yüzyil Betimlemesine Bakis" ["An overview of the art of representation in the eighteenth century"], in *18. Yüzyilda Osmanli Kultur Ortami (Sempozyum Bildirileri, 20–21 Mart, 1997)* [*Ottoman Cultural Environment in the Eighteenth Century (Proceedings of the Symposium, 20–21 March 1997)*] (Istanbul: Art History Association, 1998), 169; for rococo decorative motifs and realism in Levnî's miniatures see Süheyl Ünver, *Levni* (Istanbul: Maarif, 1957), 8, 14, and illustrations.

This tendency toward Western naturalism was also reflected in the prose of contemporary storytellers (*meddah*) who now selected their heroes from daily life, and even mystical (*tasavvuf*) literature adopted motifs from nature and saintly (*evliya*) stories became more realistic (Ilber Ortayli, "Istanbul'da Barok" ["Baroque in Istanbul"], *Tarih ve Toplum* [*History and Society*] 28 (1986): 218.

46. A.Vandal, *Une ambassade Française en Orient sous Louis XV—La mission du Marquis de Villeneuve, 1738–1741* (Paris: Plon, 1887).

47. Ayda Arel, "Gothic Towers and Baroque Mihrabs: The Post-Classical

Architecture of Aegean Anatolia in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 215–17.

48. André Raymond, *Le Caire des Janissaires: L'apogée de la ville ottomane sous 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda* (Paris: CNRS, 1995), trans. Alp Tümertekin as *Yenicerilerin Kahiresi: Abdurrahman Kethüda Zamanında Bir Osmanlı Kentinin Yükselisi* [*Cairo of the Janissaries: Apogee of an Ottoman Town under 'Abd al-Rahman Katkhuda*] (Istanbul: Yapi Kredi, 1999), 135, 154.

49. A. I. Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore, d'après les dessins de M. Melling, architect de l'Empereur Selim III, et dessinateur de la Sultane Hadidgé sa soeur, Publié par MM. Treuttel et Würtz à Paris chez les éditeur*, 2 vols. (Paris: L'Imprimerie de P. Didot, L'Ainé, imprimeur du Roi, 1819), plate 29. See also *Antoine-Ignace Melling (1763–1831), artiste-voyageur*, ed. Cornelis Boschma and Jacques Perot (Paris: Editions Uniepers Abcoude, 1991), 20.

50. "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Architecture," in Naff and Owen, *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Islamic History*, 318.

51. "Historicism and Inventive Innovation in Ottoman Architecture—1720–1820," in *VII Centuries of Ottoman Architecture, A Supra-National Heritage* (Istanbul: Turkish Chamber of Architects, 1999), 38.

52. See illustrations in Celâl Esad Arseven, *Constantinople: De Byzance à Stambul* (Paris: H. Laurens, 1909), trans. Dilek Yelkenci as *Eski Istanbul (Abidât ve Mebânisi)* [*Ancient Istanbul (Monuments and Buildings)*], ed. Dilek Yelkenci (Istanbul: Celik Gülersoy Vakfi, Istanbul Kütüphanesi, 1989), 191.

53. Patrick Conner, *Oriental Architecture in the West* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1979), 6.

54. J. M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory, and the Art* (Manchester: Manchester Univ., 1995), 76.

55. "The Mysteries of Islam," in *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, ed. G. S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (Manchester: Manchester Univ., 1990), 39–40.

56. *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at the Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1992), 12. See also Celik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1986), trans. Selim Deringil as *Degisen Istanbul: Ondokuzunca Yüzyilda Osmanli Baskenti* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi, 1996), 122.

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