

The *Nakkařhane*

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Within the discourse of “classicism” in Ottoman art historical studies, the *nakkařhane* has been depicted as a central institution which codified a distinctively Ottoman visual and aesthetic vocabulary (its “classical synthesis”) and then diffused this to other sectors of Ottoman cultural production. This narrative precludes the possibility of any discrepancies and inconsistencies in the cultural production of the *nakkařhane*. It is to these notions of “classicism,” “homogeneity” and “uniformity” that the questions of this study have been addressed. Attention is thus focused on the *nakkařhane*’s predecessor institutions in the Iranian *Kitab-Khana* tradition, and also on the changing organization and institutional mechanisms of the *nakkařhane* itself. The gradual evolution and development of the *nakkařhane* and its artistic production from the mid-fifteenth century to the late-sixteenth century is examined, along with the conceptual frame that encircled the works of the *nakkařhane*. The designs of the *nakkařhane* provide first hand information on the development and gradual transformation that the *nakkařhane* underwent. The study concludes that the established visual codes of the *nakkařhane* were neither as rigid nor as distinct as is generally assumed. Hence, in some cases, some inclusiveness and experimentation continued, even after the emergence of the Ottoman synthesis.

Key Words: *Nakkařhane*, *Ehl-i Hiref*, *nakkař*, *kitab-khana*, design, classicism, synthesis.

Introduction

The *Nakkařhane* was one of the most productive and influential branches within the organization of the *Ehl-i Hiref* (meaning trades people, craftsmen, artisans¹). As an institution, its mark on the Ottoman visual arts was momentous because it was the main unit for the codification of a distinctively Ottoman visual and aesthetic vocabulary. Following the general estimation, its maturation and full development was achieved by the 1550s after which the *nakkařhane*, like many other branches of the Ottoman state, reached its “classical synthesis.” Within the discourse of “classicism,” the *nakkařhane* has been depicted as a mature institution which codified a visual language of its own, and diffused this to other sectors of Ottoman cultural production. Within this narrative, all discrepancies seem to be isolated from the organization and language of the *nakkařhane*. This study intends to

question the notions of “classicism” and “uniformity” that have been ascribed to the works and organization of the *nakkaşhane*.

Both structurally and stylistically, the period between 1450 and 1550 was an experimental phase for the *nakkaşhane*. Towards the end of the reign of Süleyman (r. 1520-1566), the “classical” synthesis of Ottoman imperial arts and architecture had been culminated and a sense of unity and standardization appeared out of this development. In fact, the common use of the term “classical” is illusive because, generally, it is not certain what is meant by “classical.” Primarily, there is a lack of standardized use of the term in art-historical studies. Generally, the term connotes firmness and definiteness, and it is thought of as the ultimate pinnacle of the court arts. This definition excludes any kind of alterations or experimentations within the established patterns, and it thus sets boundaries between the period we call “classical” and the others which preceded and followed it. One example of this sort of usage of the term is Celal Arseven, the well-known Turkish art historian, who was the first to use the term “classical” for Ottoman architecture. His use of the term “classical style” evokes the purity and superiority of this style,² and this usage has left a strong mark in subsequent art-historical studies. Yet the definition of the notion of “classicism” in matters of style is not the only problem; the period labeled as “classical” differs, raising the problem of periodization. As far as history writing is concerned, the age of Süleyman is generally labeled as the “classical age” of Ottoman history; when it comes to architectural history it is Mimar Sinan that represents the golden age of Ottoman architecture, and his style sets the standards of the “classical style”; for the court arts, on the other hand, the “classical synthesis” is only achieved in the latter years of Süleyman’s reign. There is thus a relative multiplicity of periodization strategies, none of which are unchanging because, within the age which we refer as the “classical,” there exist features that we firmly define as outside of “classicism.” These indicate that “classical” is an unstable term, rather than being absolute and definite.

To this end, my discussion will focus attention on the organization and institutional mechanisms of the *nakkaşhane* itself, and on the *nakkaşhane*’s predecessor, the Iranian *kitab-khana* tradition. At the same time, I will also concentrate on the conceptual frame that encircled the works of the *nakkaşhane*. The designs of the *nakkaşhane* provide first hand information on the development and gradual transformation that the *nakkaşhane* underwent. By looking at the designs that appear in various media, such as on tiles, manuscript illustrations, and textiles, I aim to interrogate notions of “homogeneity” and “uniformity,” in order to pose a counter argument to the notion of “classicism” in the domain of the imperial arts.

1. The *Nakkaşhane*: Its Organization and Institutional Mechanisms

In the Ottoman state court, artists were organized as part of the palace administration and as salaried officials called the *Ehl-i Hiref*. The *Ehl-i Hiref* were divided into branches; the *mücellidhane*, the *nakkaşhane*, and the *imalathane*. Each branch had its own sub-structure with its own hierarchy of masters and apprentices. *Ehl-i Hiref* artists were officials and members of the imperial guard (*Kapıkulu*), and they were tied to the imperial army (*Ordu-yu Hümayun*). Being officially counted as soldiers, the members were requested to join the sultan on his campaigns and his departures from the capital. For example, a *nakkaş* called Kasım-ı Arnavud, whose name was listed among *Rumiyan* corps (*Cemaat-i Rum Nakkaşları*) in the *Ehl-i Hiref* registers of 1557 and 1558, was destined to join Sultan Süleyman during his visit to Edirne.³ The *Ehl-i Hiref* members were generally chosen from among *Pençik*⁴ and *Devşirme* corps, according to their special talents in the arts. However, if projects required more artists, others belonging to the local guilds could also be employed in the *Ehl-i Hiref*, such as the carpet weavers from Uşak and Cairo, fabric weavers from Bursa and ceramicists from Iznik, who complemented occasional projects.⁵ Sometimes, officials working outside the organization of the *nakkaşhane* could be very influential within it, such as Nigari, Piri Reis and Matrakçı Nasuh, whose documentary illustrations were very inspiring. There were also invited artists, émigrés and captives among the members of the *Ehl-i Hiref*.

The *Ehl-i Hiref* was under the supervision of the Head-Treasurer (*Enderun-u Hümayun Hazinedarbaşısı*) who was responsible not only for the projects, but also appointment of the artists. The artists of the *Ehl-i Hiref* received salaries every three months. The lunar calendar was divided into four, and every three months comprised a unit of payment under a specific name; *maser mevacibi*, *recec mevacibi*, *reşen mevacibi*, and *lezez mevacibi*.⁶ However, there were also some extra payments and gifts that artists received when they presented their works to the sultan and when they finished their projects. The surviving deeds show the range of gifts that the artists would receive, from coins to valuable textiles and robes of honor:

Bir cild Türki Şahname tasvirilenüb ve nakş olundukda bir nakkaşa bir tak seraser ile bir tak kemha ve bir nakkaşa dahi bir tak kemha ve bir nakkaş şagirde dahi sekiz filuri ve katibe bir tak kemha inam olunub Hazinedarbaşısı yedinden mezburlara teslim, Şevval sene 983 (1575).⁷ Nakkaşbaşısıya hasene 60, hilat kaftan added 1sene 992 (1583).⁸

Artists not only received gifts; they were also obliged to present them to the sultan at special ceremonies, such as those for religious festivals (*bayram*). It was noted, for instance, that *nakkaş Şahkulu* presented a decorated dish to the sultan (“*nakkaş Şahkulu bir büyük nakuşlu tabak*”),⁹ and on another occasion, a painting of a nymph (“*nakkaş Şahkulu: bir kağıt üzerine peri sureti*”).¹⁰ The *nakkaş Kara Memi* appears in the registers as having presented a decorated ink holder and fifteen colored pens (“*nakkaş Kara Memi: bir nakuşlu divit onbeş boyalu kalem*”).¹¹ While giving information on the organization of the *nakkaşhane*, these registers also provide evidence on the range of artistic activities.

As an institution, the *Ehl-i Hiref* began to take shape during the reign of Mehmed II (r. 1444-1446, 1451-1481). It is assumed that during his reign there was already some form of centralized structure for the court artists,¹² but there was in fact only a rather mixed structure. It was in the reign of Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) that the court ateliers became firmly established, and the *nakkaşhane* appeared as a distinct body at some point between the reigns of Mehmed II and of Bayezid II. Although the establishment of the *Ehl-i Hiref* and the *nakkaşhane* has been attributed to the mid-fifteenth century (i.e., after the conquest of Constantinople), from the stylistic features of a few illustrated manuscripts, it appears that there was some form of an organization in the Edirne Palace as well. Two of the earliest manuscripts that are attributed to Edirne, the *Dilsuzname* of Badi al-Din Tabrizi (c. 1455-1456) and the *Külliyat-ı Katibi* (c. 1460-1480), show the beginnings of a local school of painting under the influence of the Shirazi school, and the manuscripts that were produced under Bayezid II were stylistically very close to these works.¹³ The Edirne Palace seems to have been an active artistic center throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as registers from the sixteenth century indicate the transfer of some artists from Edirne Palace to Topkapı Palace.¹⁴

The organizational structure of the *nakkaşhane* was documented in series of payroll registers, expense deeds, gift deeds and registers of the imperial treasury. From these documents, names, ranks, salaries and sometimes backgrounds of the artists have come to light. The term “*nakkaş*” did not simply mean painter; it had a more comprehensive meaning. Since a *nakkaş* was intended to engage in different projects and practiced more than one craft, the term was applied to both illustrators and illuminators. The duties of a *nakkaş* might include ruling marginal lines on folios (*cedvelkeş*), tracing designs, and making drawings, executing portraits of individuals (*şebihnüvis*), architectural rendition (*tarrah*), wall decoration and affixing the imperial signature (*tuğra*).¹⁵ Likewise, the documents indicate the multiple responsibilities of a *nakkaş*. For example, the name of a master of calligraphy, Hasan Çelebi, who was registered in the Süleymaniye Mosque’s project, also appears in the *Ehl-i Hiref* registers of the same period.¹⁶ Expense

deeds from the years 1591-92 include the name of the famous artist Nakkaş Osman, who worked on the wall paintings of the Topkapı Palace kiosks.¹⁷ Similarly, Lütfi Abdullah, who was noted as the head of the *nakkaşhane* (*sernakkaş*) in the 1596 registers, was also employed in the decoration of the Old Palace.¹⁸ Apart from these examples in various registers, it appears that artists were working on diverse projects, from book illustration to decorating the royal boat.¹⁹

As far as the location of the *nakkaşhane* is concerned, it seems that the name denotes an institution rather than an actual building. Although there are various estimates and assumptions of the exact location of the building, none of them can be verified. One argument suggests a building in the first courtyard of Topkapı Palace, while another points to a building called *Arslanhane* across the Hagia Sophia. From the two seventeenth century travel accounts – Eremya Çelebi Kömürçiyân's *İstanbul Tarihi*²⁰ and Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname*²¹ – it appears that there was certainly a building called *nakkaşhane* at this site, though whether it was a studio of local guilds or court artists is not clear.

In her article, "Saray Nakkaşhanesinin Yeri Üzerine Düşünceler,"²² Filiz Çağman deals with the question of the location of the *nakkaşhane*, while drawing attention to its flexible organizational patterns. As she points out, there were some temporary studios that were constructed within Topkapı Palace, and in other locations related to the projects. For instance, in his book *Menakıb-ı Hünerveran*, Mustafa Ali (1541-1600) mentions that the Nakkaş Şahkulu (the inventor of *Saz* style and the head of corps of *Rumiyan* in the 1545 register) had his own studio in the imperial palace, which was occasionally visited by Sultan Süleyman himself.²³ Similarly, at the end of the *Surname-i Hümayun* (the Imperial Festival Book which records the circumcision ceremony of the prince Mehmed III that was held in 1582), the Nakkaş Osman was said to have had his own atelier.²⁴ Additionally, in the expenses deeds of the *Şehname* series (comprising the time between the years 1552-1556) there is an indication of the construction of a room in the house of the first court historian, (*şehnameci*) Arifi.²⁵ This suggests that, for that project, a group of artists were under the supervision of Arifi in a studio that was constructed in the *şehnameci*'s own house, contrary to the general assumption that they ought to be working in the imperial palace. Çağman gives some other examples, all of which suggests that, rather than having been a permanent building, the *nakkaşhane* was a flexible organization which could alter according to the particular projects and the changing relationships between the masters and their patrons. Thus, it could sometimes be the palace or the house of the master that sheltered artists as they produced their works.

It should also be noted that the designs of the *nakkaşhane* had a strong impact on the decorative vocabulary of the age; they were frequently used by other crafts therefore the same patterns appear on various media from

tiles to textiles, inscriptions, and ceramics. For that reason, the *nakkaşhane* was one of the most prominent units in the *Ehl-i Hiref* institution.

2. The Predecessor of the *Nakkaşhane*: the Iranian *Kitab-Khana* Tradition

To find the predecessors of the *nakkaşhane* tradition, one should turn back to the Iranian world. The Iranian *kitab-khana* was in many ways very similar to the Ottoman *nakkaşhane*. Since Iran was one of the main sources of influence for Ottomans, this similarity is not surprising. Indeed, if one takes into consideration the great number of Iranian artists who either emigrated or were transferred to the Ottoman court, their prominence in the structural and artistic development of the *nakkaşhane* can be understood. Though *Kitab-khana* literally means “book house,” in the Iranian world it functioned as a scriptorium, studio and also a workshop. The *Kitab-khana* as an institution took its shape in the Ilkhanid period in the thirteenth century. It was the Ilkhanid vizier Rashid al-Din²⁶ (1247-1318) who established and supported an atelier in a suburb named Rab-i Rashidi, in which artists worked together to produce large-scale, high-quality manuscripts. As an idea, the *kitab-khana* existed in the Islamic world even before the Ilkhanids. The Artuqid rulers of Jazira had maintained a royal scriptorium a century earlier than the Ilkhanid one.²⁷ What distinguishes Rashid al-Din’s *kitab-khana* was the personal involvement of the patron in the process of book production and illumination. His book, *The Compendium of Chronicles (Jami al Tavarikh)*, with its high quality illustrations, was a production of his *kitab-khana*. This enormous enterprise opened new perspectives in book painting (and the idea of the *kitab-khana*).²⁸ Not only was this a high quality work, but it was also an official proclamation of Ilkhanid rule in Iran, transmitting the intentions of its patron. The patron’s direct involvement in the artistic processes, and his financial backing, would become key elements for the tradition of the *kitab-khanas* in the Iranian world. After Rashid al-Din, the *kitab-khana*, with its new function and meaning, continued to survive. After him, the Ilkhanid ruler Abu Said (r. 1317-1335) is reported to have had a royal *kitab-khana* in the Ilkhanid capital of Tabriz, and a high quality manuscript, *The Great Mongol Shahnama*, was attributed to it.²⁹ However, in the Iranian world, the *kitab-khana* as an institution was not bound to the imperial circle, and it did not function as an administrative unit of the state. There was dependence on the will of the patron; just as easily as he established his own *kitab-khana*, he could also disband it. For instance, the Timurid ruler Ulugh Beg dispersed both his artists and the *kitab-khana* in 1411.³⁰ Likewise, when the Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp (r. 1524-1576) lost interest in the arts of the book, he disbanded his *kitab-khana*, and allowed his artists to leave the court.³¹ Indeed, there were multiple centers of artistic production and *kitab-khanas*,

since ownership of the *kitab-khana* was most closely related to their local patrons. There was one at Shiraz, where the Injuid family (who rose to power around 1304 just before the dissemination of Ilkhanid power) had their own ateliers, and became appreciable patrons of the arts. In these respects, the Iranian tradition differed from the Ottoman *nakkashane*, since the *nakkashane* was part of the Ottoman administrative body, and it was tied to the imperial palace. Thus, its dispersion or establishment of another *nakkashane* in any of the provinces could not be the case.³² The *kitab-khana* tradition continued in the Iranian world under the Timurids and Safavids as well. In a very similar way to the Ottoman practice, multiple groups of craftsman and artists were united to undertake all kinds of decoration and building.

Some primary sources shed light on the Iranian *kitab-khanas* and their organization. From the *kitab-khana* of the Timurid prince Baysunghur (d. 1433), we have a document which seems to be one of the annual reports presented by the supervisor of the *kitab-khana* to his patron.³³ Prince Baysunghur is known to be the founder of Academy of Herat (thought to have been founded in the 1420s) which combined the most talented and significant artists of its age under its organization. An officer called Jafar left a document (*Tebrizli Cafer'in Arzi*)³⁴ which contains information about the workings of the projects that were undertaken in the *kitab-khana*, explaining the responsibilities of the artists and describing its organization and structure. The text itself announces that it was written in Herat in 1427 by Jafar, the chief officer of the *kitab-khana*. The report reveals that Jafar was responsible for supervising not only the manuscript production, but also all kinds of decorations, as well as some building activities. Four different kinds of artistic activities are identifiable in the report: the first is book production, ("Mawlana Ali is designing a frontispiece illumination for the *Shahnama*"³⁵); the second is building ("the Old Palace: the dome and parrette up to under the stalactites have been painted. The columns of the eastern wing have been replaced."³⁶); the third is decoration ("Mawlana Saduddin: has finished the lid of the Begim's little chest, and one side of it is ready for the final touches. The door panel that remains will be completed in fifteen days."³⁷); and the last is about preparation of a royal tent "all the painters are working on painting and tinting seventy-five tent poles"³⁸). The report also indicates that the artists had multiple responsibilities in the Timurid atelier, just as in the Ottoman case. For instance, one of the artists, Mawlana Saduddin, is mentioned as working on the decoration of a chest and on copying a book, just as all of the painters were recorded as working on decorating the royal tent while they were undertaking other projects.³⁹

These examples show that the function and organization of the *kitab-khana* was very similar to that of the Ottoman *nakkashane*. The influence of the Iranian world on Ottoman arts and the *nakkashane* persisted

throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One can see the shared cultural codes and notions between these worlds in three sixteenth century sources: Dost Muhammad's *preface* to Bahram Mirza (brother of Safavid ruler Shah Tahmasp) album (dated 1544, a Safavid source)⁴⁰; Mustafa Ali's *Treatise on Calligraphers and Painters* (*Menakıb-ı Hüververan*, dated 1578, an Ottoman source on calligraphers and painters)⁴¹; and Qadı Ahmad Qummi's *Gülistan-ı Hunar* (dated 1596, a Safavid source, includes information on the *kitab-khana* of İbrahim Mirza, nephew of Shah Tahmasp).⁴² A comparative perspective here shows to what extent the artistic and cultural language of the Iranian and Ottoman worlds were intermingled. The structural and thematic organization of the books is very similar, and in many instances they mention the names of the same artists and masters. This not only shows the adaptation of Iranian practices by the Ottomans (in the tradition of compiling books on the artists) but also the fact that culturally they had shared notions, conventions, and tastes. As a concluding remark, it should also be noted that the Iranian influence on the Ottoman *nakkaşhane* tradition and its arts was persistent, even after the *nakkaşhane* became firmly established.

3. An Age of Experimentation (1450- 1550)

The period between the conquest of Constantinople and the mid-sixteenth century is identified as an age of experimentation for the court ateliers and their artistic productions. Throughout the fifteenth century and until the mid-sixteenth century, the *nakkaşhane* was in a rather mixed condition. There was a combination of both European and Persian artists and styles under the organization of the *nakkaşhane*. In the fifteenth century, the Aqqoyunlu School of painting influenced the early Ottoman manuscripts, such as the *Dilsuzname*, the *Külliyat-ı Katibi* and the *İskendername* of Ahmedi. At the same time, there was a strong demand for European artists and artworks, especially during the reign of Mehmed II. In both the arts and architecture, Sultan Mehmed II demanded European models. Accordingly, European artists, such as Gentile Bellini, Constanza de Ferrara and some others were patronized by the Ottoman sultan. Mustafa Ali also wrote about the influence of the Europeans on the Ottoman arts. He mentions the name of the illustrator (*musavvir*) Sinan Bey as a court artist of Mehmed II, and he notes that Sinan was the student of a Venetian painter, Mastori Pavli.⁴³ Although the impact of these European artists was not long-lived on the Ottoman arts and ateliers, there was still some interest in Europeans during the reign of Bayezid II. For instance, he is said to have invited Michelangelo to Istanbul under his patronage, and, similarly, the Florentine scholar Francesco Berlinghieri dedicated his *Geograpia* to the sultan.⁴⁴ Nonetheless, one cannot claim that this European influence was as marked as the Iranian

one. Obviously, though, when compared to Persia, Europe stands out in terms of the recurrence of its impact.

The Iranian influence on the Ottoman arts, on the other hand, was persistent. Throughout the fifteenth-century, the Timurid (especially court of Hüseyin Bayqara at Herat [r. 1469-1506]) and Aqqoyunlu courts (esp. court of Sultan Yaqub [r. 1478- 1490]) were sources of inspiration and influence for the Ottomans. The Ottomans had already patronized Iranian artists in the fifteenth century. Indeed, the flow of artists and their books to the Ottoman court, both voluntarily and involuntarily, intensified these cultural interrelations. These were based in turn upon the intense political and military relations between the Ottoman and Iranian worlds. The first wave of émigrés came after the fall of the Aqqoyunlu state in 1501. The Aqqoyunlu Sultan Alvand (d. 1504) was one of those who fled to the Ottoman court with his artists and *kitab-khana*.

The victory of the Ottomans over the Safavids at the battle of Çaldıran (1514) was a crucial event for the artistic history and development of the *nakkashane*. After the Ottoman occupation of the Safavid capital Tabriz, Selim transferred numerous artists and craftsmen to his capital, some of whom either attended local guilds or were incorporated into court ateliers. One of the captives was the Timurid Prince Badi el-Zaman (he was the last Timurid ruler of Herat who had escaped to Tabriz when Herat was overrun by the Uzbeks in 1507) who was transported from Tabriz to Istanbul with his retinue and *kitab-khana*. One further example is the famous artist Şahkulu (he is also called Şahkulu-i Baghdadi, possibly referring his city of birth) who had been exiled from Tabriz to Ottoman province of Amasya. Thereafter, he joined to the Ottoman court in 1520s and became the master and head (*sernakkaş*) of the *nakkashane*. Artists and books continued to arrive at the court with Süleyman's successive campaigns in Iraq, Iran and Hungary which resulted in further enrichment of the *nakkashane*. From Europe, the libraries and artists of notables transferred to the capital as well. One of the most significant of these was the library of Matthias Corvinus (d. 1490, the Hungarian king) which was transferred to Istanbul after the conquest of Budapest in 1526.⁴⁵ His library, the Bibliotheca Corviniana, was rich in Florentine illustrated manuscripts and others executed for himself in his scriptorium.⁴⁶ Gülru Necipoğlu mentions that among the books of the library there was a copy of Vitruvius's *De Architectura* which was sent by the Duke of Milan to the Hungarian King, and thereafter entered Süleyman's library.⁴⁷

Other than the conquest of the cities, the constant struggle between the Safavids and the Ottomans was another reason for the flow of artists. Especially during times of crises, a number of Safavid princes sought refuge in the Ottoman court, and this situation continued throughout the sixteenth century. For instance, two of Shah Tahmasp's brothers, Sam Mirza (governor of Khorasan between the years 1521-1529 and 1532-1534) and Alqas Mirza

(governor of Shirvan between the years 1538-1547), who had unsuccessfully rebelled against their older brother, allied themselves with the Ottomans in 1535 and 1547 respectively,⁴⁸ and then fled to the Ottoman court. Alqas Mirza's arrival was especially significant in the sense that he brought with him in his retinue Fethullah Arif Çelebi (d. 1561-62?) known as Arifi, and Eflatun (d. 1569) who both held the position of *şehnameci* in the Ottoman court. Lale Uluç notes that the flow of artists and books was intense until the second Ottoman Safavid peace of 1590, and afterwards slowed down. As she relates, one outcome of the hostilities between the Ottomans and the Safavids was cultural exchange.⁴⁹

Certainly, Iranians were not the only foreign group in the *nakkaşhane*. From the payroll registers of the years 1526, 1545, 1557-58, 1566, it can be observed that various ethnic groups such as Hungarians, Bosnians, Georgians, and Franks co-existed in the *nakkaşhane*. Nevertheless, the impact of Iranian artists and masters in the *nakkaşhane* was outstanding. Especially from the 1520s to the 1550s, Iranian masters dominated the *nakkaşhane*, both stylistically and numerically. This fact was reflected in the organization of the *nakkaşhane* as well. In the 1545 payroll register, it can be seen that the corps was divided into two groups for the first time; the *Bölük-i Aceman* and the *Rumiyan*, each with their own hierarchy.⁵⁰ With the strong influence of the Iranian masters in the *nakkaşhane*, and the continuous relations with the Iranian world from the 1520s onwards, we see a rush of experimentation in Ottoman arts. In media from bookbinding to architectural decoration, the "International Timurid style" flourished in the Ottoman world. Its basic motifs were *Hatayi* and *Rumi*, which were adopted and re-interpreted by Ottomans for their own artistic expressions.⁵¹ *Hatayi* is a far eastern decorative pattern; even the word itself was a derivative of *Khitay*, which means China. Its basic motif is a lotus blossom placed on a delicate stem. This style was introduced to the Near East in the thirteenth century by the Mongols. From this time onwards, it became an extensively used style in the Islamic world. The name *Rumi* (also called "arabesque") on the other hand, comes from the world of Rum, that is, "Roman," referring to the realm of Eastern Romans. In the article "The Ottomans, From Mehmed II to Murad III: Art of The Ottoman Court," Serpil Bağcı and Zeren Tanındı note that this style can be traced back to the Byzantine and pre-Islamic art of the Near East.⁵² The *Rumi* style can be characterized by scrolling branches and two-dimensional leaves.

From the second half of the fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century, these forms, and their combinations and derivatives, dominated Ottoman patterns of decoration, extending from tiles to illuminations, carpets, and textiles. With the adaptation of different styles and the integration of various artists, the *nakkaşhane* in that era had an eclectic condition. This

phase of inclusiveness and experimentation would result in the emergence of an Ottoman synthesis by the mid-sixteenth century.

4. Emergence of an Artistic Canon and Its Reflections in Various Media

Gülrü Necipoğlu describes the 1550s in the following terms:

By the 1550s, the fluid boundaries of the Ottoman Empire had grown rigid as Süleyman's armies failed to push further along the eastern and western frontiers. With the establishment of territorial limits, a new sense of self-identity and cultural difference emerged.⁵³

This was a period of transition and culmination for the Ottomans. With the standardization and institutionalization in various branches of the state and administration, and with the designation of territorial limits, the Ottoman Empire gradually transformed itself to a tightly structured, extensively bureaucratized and centralized state. The Ottomans' attempts at centralization also spread to their visual and artistic expressions. By the 1550s, with the establishment of the post of *Şehnameci* (official court historian), the Ottoman state intended to control its historical and visual representations.

Within that process, the Ottoman state acquired a novel self identity, which differentiated it from its contemporaries both in the west and the east. In contrast to its former universalistic idioms and inclusiveness, by the mid sixteenth century the Ottoman state defined itself in a more concrete and definite manner, primarily as an "orthodox" Islamic society. In various sectors, after decades of experimentation, the Ottomans reached their own synthesis. As the word "synthesis" suggests, what appeared as the "Ottoman style" was not totally alien to established cultural and artistic traditions and patterns, since it came out of the experimental phases. However, at the same time it could not be defined as part of any widespread artistic convention. This was because the Ottomanization of artistic production gave Ottoman goods a distinctive presence in the market, distinguishable from the artifacts of Italy or the Safavid Empire.⁵⁴ Although the limits of this distinctiveness can be argued, it is certain that by the 1550s Ottoman arts had a codified set of characteristics which were expressed through its artistic production.

As with other developments, the emergence of the Ottoman artistic style was gradual and was outcome of a number of other facts. By the 1550s, the extensive bureaucratization was reflected in the court workshops (the *Ehl-i Hiref*). As units of the administration, the branches of the *Ehl-i Hiref* began to be dominated by artists and craftsman of *kul* origin. The trend towards

localization was reflected not only in the *nakkaşhane*, but also in other workshops under the organization of the *Ehl-i Hiref*, such as those of tile makers and goldsmiths.⁵⁵ Gradually, Iranian masters were replaced by their local trainees. For example, by the 1540s the chief architect Alaüddin, known as Ali of Persia (Acem Alisi), was succeeded by Sinan (the chief architect during the reigns of Sultan Suleyman, Selim II and Murad III, [d.1588]). Likewise, the head of the *nakkaşhane*, Şahkulu (who had emigrated from Tabriz to Amasya and then joined to the *nakkaşhane*), was replaced by his student Kara Memi at around the same time. Parallel to this development, the division of the corps of the *nakkaşhane* into the two branches of *Rumiyan* and *Aceman* disappeared as of the 1596 payroll registers, and afterwards there seem to be no such division.⁵⁶ The localization trend was transmitted to different sectors as well. For instance, the growth of the local textile and tile industry with the direct involvement of the state was an outcome of the same process. Eventually, all these factors were influential in the emergence of the Ottoman artistic style. Accordingly, Gülru Necipoğlu states that it was the central control of patronage, rigorous training of apprentices and the concentration of court ateliers in the capital that contributed to the unification of tastes, and the emergence of an original visual and artistic language during this phase.⁵⁷

By the 1550s, with the emergence of an Ottoman artistic language, the so-called “classical Ottoman synthesis,” it seems that among the *nakkaşhane*’s visual codes, two widely used styles of decoration stand out: the *Saz* style and the *Şukufe* (floral) style.⁵⁸ These styles were creations of the *nakkaşhane*, and thus represented its artistic codes of decorum. The *Saz* style was pioneered by the Iranian artist Şahkulu, and it was generally characterized by dagger-like twisting leaves intersecting each other. The style had grown out of *hatayi* and *rumi* lotus blossoms. Esin Atıl notes that this style had a central Asian origin, and it was frequently represented in fifteenth century drawings.⁵⁹ However, with its peculiar features it acquired a different form under the Ottomans. *Şukufe*, on the other hand, was initiated by the master Kara Memi, its principal motifs were flowers such as roses, carnations, tulips and irises, representing the heavenly gardens. Although the origins of this style are not certain, the Ottomans’ love for flowers and gardens may be one of the influences. J.M. Rogers and R.M. Ward mention that in Ottoman court poetry there is a rich vocabulary of floral topoi, and the Ottomans’ love for flowers and gardens were documented in Ottoman and European sources.⁶⁰

From about the 1550s, the shapes and figures became extensively standardized, and these styles were transferred to almost every form of Ottoman arts, and a sense of sameness and recurrence appeared in the works of the *nakkaşhane*. Similar and even identical motifs appeared in different materials such as tiles, textiles, illustrations, carpets, wood work, and stone

carving. Both in the *saz* style (fig. 1, 2) and the *şukufe* style (fig. 3, 4) one can observe the standardization of the motifs in great numbers, since the same patterns were transferred to diverse materials.

Yet the decorative vocabulary of the *nakkaşhane* was not limited to these two patterns; it was extremely rich and diverse. In addition to *saz* and *şukufe* , artists applied cloud bands (wavy bands fig. 6, 7),⁶¹ triple spots (*çintemani*) patterns⁶² (fig. 8, 9), spiral vines (fig. 3), crescent roundels (fig. 10, 11) to various media. And sometimes artists created new forms through combinations of these styles. For example, a combination of triple spots (*çintemani*) and wavy bands was a commonly used pattern (fig. 12, 13). These patterns show continuity over time because in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were still widely used (fig. 10, 13, 14). This fact shows the impact of the *nakkaşhane* on the Ottoman arts and its firm institutional mechanisms. Without being bound to a single artist, the patterns that were developed or created by the *nakkaşhane* were continuously used over time. This fact evidently ensures its artistic canon.

5. Homogeneity or Not?

By the 1550s, it is evident that the structure and organization of the *nakkaşhane* had attained its culmination. As a firmly established institution, it was in a position to codify its own visual and artistic language, and the so-called “classical Ottoman style” was a product this development. The discourse of classicism depicts a unified, homogenized picture of the *nakkaşhane* and its artistic expressions. However, the question that comes to mind at that point is the limits of this homogeneity. Can one in fact talk about one singular visual language of the *nakkaşhane* ? And does the word ‘classical’ refer to the fact that all features of eclecticism were swept away or not? In order to better answer these questions one should primarily look at the organization of the *nakkaşhane* after the 1550s. The last two payroll registers of the *nakkaşhane* from the sixteenth century are from 1596. These registers demonstrate that by the late sixteenth century the domination of foreign masters (especially Iranians) was broken, and that the *nakkaşhane* mainly consisted of *kul* origin artists. Nevertheless, this does not mean that there were no different ethnic groups in the *nakkaşhane* . Although they were a minority, one can still observe the existence of ethnically different artists. Georgian, Bosnian, Frank, Albanian and Greek artists were still employed under the structure of the *nakkaşhane* , such as the artists named Kaytas the Frank (*Kaytas-ı Freng*), Mahmud the Frank (*Mahmud-ı Freng*), Mahmud of Georgia (*Mahmud-ı Gürci*), İskender of Bosnia (*İskender-i Bosna*), Toma Manol, Şaban of Albania (*Şaban-ı Arnavud*).⁶³

Related to this, the flow of artists and books to the Ottoman court did not stop. In the late sixteenth century, the Ottoman court was still open to

émigrés from the Iranian world. For instance, former Safavid subjects, Muhammad Reza Tabrizi and Qasım Tabrizi, who were master calligraphers, came to Istanbul in 1585-86 and 1586-87, respectively.⁶⁴ This indicates that there was still some sort of receptivity to outside influences.

As far as the “classical Ottoman style” is concerned, although the general discourse depicts it as a mature, unified and easily distinguishable form, it seems that there are certain limits to these notions. For instance, J.M. Rogers and R.M. Ward argue that, as far as the repertory of illumination is concerned, and in spite of the general standardization of the forms, in the latter part of Süleyman’s reign, the *saz* style and *şukufe* style seem to have developed rather independently.⁶⁵ Additionally, some form of experimentation still continued within the domain of these two widely used styles of decoration. This can be clearly observed where the *şukufe* style was applied to the wavy vine format, which had its own experimentation. It seems that artists were confident making derivations from the style; while in its initial phase the emphasis was on the vine itself, as can be seen from the tile decorations of Rüstem Paşa Mosque (1560s, fig. 3), in its second phase, the emphasis moved from vine to flowers while the width and depth of the vine had been softened, as can be observed from the tiles of Eyüp Shrine (1570s, fig. 5.a), and in the third phase one sees a new wave of experimentation in the more naturalistic interpretation of the format, with the depiction of grapes and leaves, as evidenced in the tile decoration of Takkeci İbrahim Ağa Mosque (1592, fig. 5.b).⁶⁶ These examples show that the “classical style” was not static; it was still subject to certain changes and experimentation. This fact urges one to question the connotations of the word “classical,” since it generally excludes features of alteration.

The other point is the notion of “distinctness”, which has its limits and edges as well. Obviously, with the emergence of an artistic canon, Ottoman art works had their peculiar characteristics, yet they were also similar to some others in the market such as the Italian textiles. The patterns of Italian export textiles were close to those of Ottoman silks and it is assumed that they must have been based on Ottoman prototypes. Although, until today, only one direct copy from a specific Ottoman pattern could be identified (the Italian textile in fig. 16 is a direct copy of fig. 17 which is a surviving Ottoman silk), there are multiple examples of adaptations of Ottoman motifs.⁶⁷ Especially from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, the Ottoman market was a very significant locality for the Italian silk industry. Italian textile workshops catered specifically for the Ottoman market, not only by adjusting their loom widths to Ottoman measures, but also by copying and adopting Ottoman designs.⁶⁸ For that reason, it is sometimes impossible to differentiate Ottoman productions from Italian ones. For instance, many textiles that have Ottoman patterns were mistakenly

identified as Ottoman (fig. 15, 18). Undoubtedly, this fact shakes the notion of distinctness of *nakkashane* productions.

Eventually, where the emergence of a distinct visual code is concerned, it seems that some features of International Timurid style, *Hatayi* and *Rumi* patterns were continuously used even after the 1550s. Accordingly, Julian Raby in the book *Iznik* asserts that “Hatayi and Rumi have been applied to examples from almost any period from the fifteenth to eighteenth century”.⁶⁹ In that matter, the emergence of an artistic canon did not lead to a total exclusion of the former patterns, and these were still preferred and used by the *nakkashane*.

5. Conclusion

The second half of the sixteenth century was a period of culmination and institutionalization for the Ottoman Empire in general. After some decades of experimentation and receptiveness to various influences, from the bureaucratic organization of the state to its court arts, the Ottomans had reached their own synthesis. From that time onwards, the Ottoman court arts have generally been defined under the term “classical”; a term which ascribes “homogeneity” and “uniformity” to the court arts in general. The main argument of this paper has evolved around this notion. I have tried to question the discourse of classicism by looking at one of the most instrumental institutions for the codification of an artistic language; the *nakkashane*. I have tried to both understand the structure and development of the *nakkashane*, and to question the limits of uniformity and homogeneity that are supposed to have been brought to the court arts by the 1550s. The organization, gradual evolution and artistic productions of the *nakkashane* have been examined together with its predecessor, the Iranian *kitab-khana* tradition.

In the end, from examination of the structure, organization and visual language of the *nakkashane*, the picture which emerges is a rather flexible one. The established visual codes of the *nakkashane* were neither rigid nor distinct as is generally assumed. In some matters, some sort of inclusiveness and experimentation still continued even after the emergence of the Ottoman synthesis. For that reason, one should use the word “classical” with caution because, despite the fact that the word generally connotes firmness and definiteness, its boundaries were not as certain as has been thought.

Illustrations



Figure 1. Ceremonial caftan, mid-16th century.



Figure 2. Kılıç Ali Paşa Mosque, c.1580. Decoration on coverage of timber.



Figure 3. Tile decoration of Rüstem Paşa Mosque (1560s).

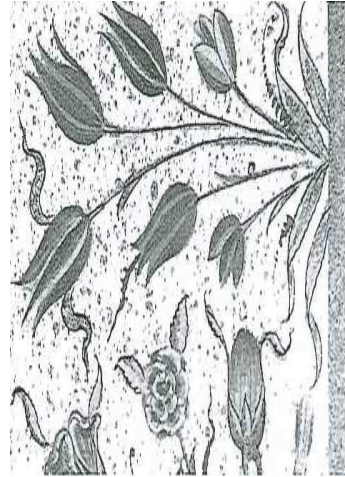


Figure 4. Kara Memi, illumination from Divan-ı Muhibbi.



Figure 5.a. A tile from Eyüp Shrine (1570s).

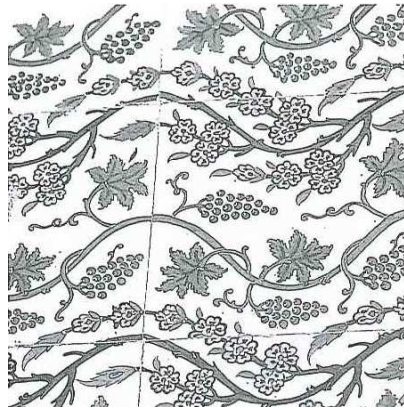


Figure 5.b. A tile from Takkeci İbrahim Ağa Mosque (1592).



Figure 6. Trousers, second half of the 16th century.

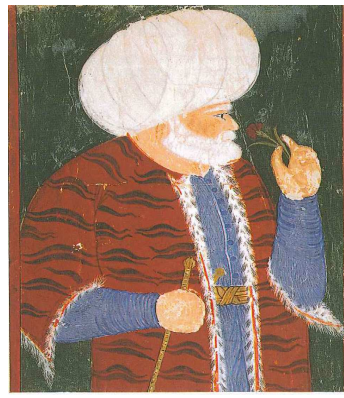


Figure 7. Nigari's portrait of Barbaros Hayreddin Pasha (c. 1540).

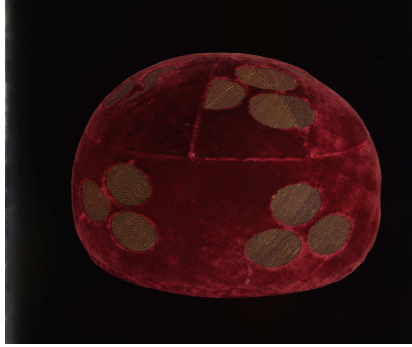


Figure 8. Head dress, late 15th century.



Figure 9. Wicker shield, second half of the 16th century.



Figure 10. Caftan, 17th century.



Figure 11. Ceremonial caftan, late 16th century.



Figure 12. Shield Cover, c. 1500s.



Figure 13. Caftan of Murad IV, 17th century.



Figure 14. Levni's Surname, 18th century.

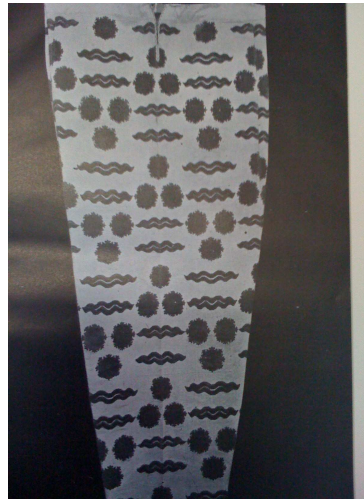


Figure 15. Trousers of Italian velvet, early 17th century.



Figure 16. Italian textile.

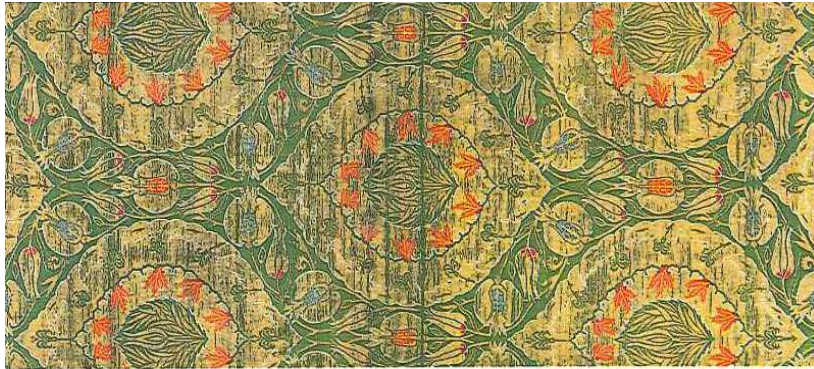


Figure 17. Ottoman silk.

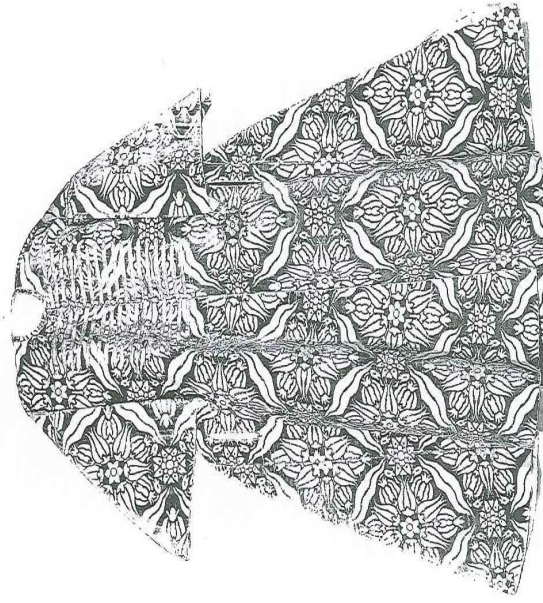


Figure 18. Italian textile caftan, second half of the 16th century.

Notes

¹ Here I used J. M. Rogers and R. M. Ward's translation of the word. See J. M. Rogers and R. M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent* (New York: Tabard Press, 1988).

² Celal Esat Arseven, *Türk Sanatı* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1984).

³ Rıfki Melül Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları I Vesikalar* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Türk ve İslam Tarihi Ens. Yayınları Sayı I, 1953), 7 (pl.V), 69 (pl.CXVII).

⁴ One fifth of the prisoners of war were the sultan's by right, and pençik corps were made up of these slaves.

⁵ Serpil Bağcı and Zeren Tanındı, "The Ottomans, From Mehmed II to Murad III: Art of The Ottoman Court," in *Turks, A Journey of a Thousand Years*, ed. D. Roxburgh (London: Royal Academy of Arts; New York: Distributed in the U.S. and Canada by Harry N. Abrams, 2005), 264.

⁶ With letters of each month a specific name came about for example, Receb, Şaban, Ramazan: Reşen , Şevval, Zilka, Zilhicce: Lezez, for more see Meriç *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları*, vii.

⁷ Ibid., 56 (CVI).

⁸ Ibid., 57 (CVI).

⁹ Ibid., 74 (CXXVII).

¹⁰ Ibid., 75 (CXXVIII).

¹¹ Ibid., 75 (CXXIX).

¹² Zeren Tanındı and Julian Raby, *Turkish Bookbinding in the Fifteenth Century: the Foundation of an Ottoman Court Style* (London : Azimuth editions on behalf of l'Association Internationale de Bibliophile, 1993), 59.

¹³ Esin Atıl, "The Nakkaşhane," in *The Age of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent* (Washington : National Gallery of Art; New York: H. Abrams, 1988), 66.

¹⁴ In 1526 payroll register among the apprentices three of them were recorded to be transferred from Edirne Palace. Yusuf, şagird-i Kasım: "Edirne Sarayından verilmiş Sultan Selim Han zamanında," Ali, şagird-i Rumi : "Edirne Sarayı'ndan verilmiş Fi 15 Şevval sene 925 (1518)", İskender, şagird-i diğer: "Edirne Sarayın'dan verilmiş Fi 6 Rebi'ül-evvel sene 926 (1519-1520)" Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları*, 4-5 (II).

¹⁵ Atıl, "The Art of the Book," 140.

¹⁶ Filiz Çağman, "Mimar Sinan Döneminde Saray'ın Ehl-i Hiref Teşkilatı," in *Mimar Sinan Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı ve Sanatı* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 1988), 77.

¹⁷ Serpil Bağcı, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Boyalı Nakışlar," in *Osmanlı Uygarlığı*, v. II, ed. Halil İnalçık and Günsel Renda (Ankara: T.C. Turizm ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2004), 737.

¹⁸ Emine Fetvacı, "The Office of the Ottoman Court Historian," in *Studies on Istanbul and Beyond*, The Freely Papers, volume 1, ed. Robert G.Ousterhour (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 11.

¹⁹ For an example, in one of the registers (*Harc-ı Hassa defteri*) head of the *nakkaşhane* (*nakkaşbaşı*) was indicated to be one of the members to get extra payment in return for his work on sultan's royal barge "sene 988 (1588) Saadetlü Padişah Hazretlerinin yeniden bir kayık işlenüb suya bırakıldıkda bazı hizmetkarlara verilen inam suretidir nakkaşbaşıya hasene 60." Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları*, 56.

²⁰ "Burada kubbe pencereleri kapanmış olduğu halde bir aslanhane vardır. Vaktiyle kilise olan bu bina şimdi fil, tilki, kurt, çakal, ayı, arslan, timsah, pars ve kaplan gibi hayvanlarla doludur...biraz daha yukarıda nakkaşhane vardır. Burada sarayın beylik nakkaşları otururlardı." Eremya Çelebi

Kömürciyan, *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, ter: Hrand D.

Andreasyan (İstanbul: Eren Yayıncılık, 1988), 5.

²¹ “Ayasofya deyrinin canib-i erbaasında bin bir kubab-ı azimeler bina idüp her birinde ayin-i din-i millet-i iryazilye olırdı...evvela bina olunan kubab-ı alinin biri hala arslanhane ve nakkaşhane olan kubbe-i nühtakdır.” Evliya Çelebi, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, cilt I, haz. Orhan Şaik Gökyay (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1996), 18.

²² Filiz Çağman, “Saray Nakkaşhanesinin Yeri Üzerine Düşünceler,” in *Sanat Tarihinde Doğudan Batıya, Ünsal Yücel Anısına Sempozyum Bildirileri* (İstanbul: Sandoz Kültür Yayınları, 1989), 35-46.

²³ “Saray’ı Amirede başlı başına nakkaşhanesi donatılmış ve..saadetlü padişah hazretleri gezip görmek için hayırlı işlerinin türlü lutuf ve ihsanı hazırlanıp yüz akça tam vazifeyle üstün tutulmuş olan eski ve yeni güzellikler sanatının üstadlar zümresinin başını yüzelteni Ağa Mir’in öğrencisi Şah Kulu nakkaş vardır...” Mustafa Âli, *Menakıb-ı Hünerveran*, ed. Müjgan Cunbur (Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 1982), 114.

²⁴ “Karhanesinde nakkaşlığa başlasa ol kadar güherpaşluklar eyleyub rumi ve hatayı berk-i rengamizle tahrir-i butsan eyleyub...” Çağman, “Saray Nakkaşhanesinin Yeri Üzerine Düşünceler,” 38.

²⁵ “Becihet-i ücret-i necceran, beray-ı sahten-i bölmeha-i odaha-i katiban-ı şehname-nibişan, derhane-i Fethullah Çelebi Şehnamegu y...” *ibid.*, 36.

²⁶ He was the vizier and historian of the Ilkhanid rulers Ghazan (r. 1295-1304) and Öljeitü (r. 1304- 1316).

²⁷ Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World* (London: Nour Foundation in association with Azmimuth and Oxford University Press, 1995), 90.

²⁸ Robert Hillenbrand, “The Arts of the Book in Ilkhanid Iran,” in *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia 1256-1353*, ed. Linda Komoroff and Stefano Carboni (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), 167.

²⁹ For more see Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1980).

³⁰ Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the 15th century* (Los Angeles: Smithsonian Press, 1989), 165.

³¹ Marianna Shreve Simpson, “The Artist’s Workshop: The Making of Manuscripts and the Workings of the Kitab-khana in Safavid Iran,” in *Studies in the History of Art* 38, ed. P. M. Lukehart (Washington. D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1993), 111.

³² It should also be noted that there were local workshops in the Ottoman Empire outside court's direct control, such as the İznik, Bursa, Kütahya workshops. However, they did not function in the same way as the *nakkaşhane*; rather they were specialized workshops (guilds) in one craft.

³³ Also Mustafa Âlî in his book *Menakıb-ı Hünerveran* noted that Cafer of Tebriz was both an artist and supervisor of the kitab-khana of Baysunghur "onların hünerli öğrencisi ve geçmişteki üstadların güzel eserleri olan yazı yazma sanatının kendisine uyulanı Mevlana Tebrizli Cafer'dir. Daha önce adı geçen Baysungur mirza'nın yazı okulunun hocası ve eserleri cennete benzeyen kitabevinin bilgi alameti başkanı..." Mustafa Âlî, *Menakıb-ı Hünerveran*, 66.

³⁴ This document is now in an album at the Topkapı Palace Museum and it is a unique example of a report from a Timurid atelier. For its Turkish translation see M. Kemal Özergin, "Temurlu Sanatına ait Eski Bir Belge: Tebrizli Cafer'in Bir Arzı," c.II (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Matbaası 1976); for the English translation see Wheeler M Thackston, "Album Prefaces and Other Documents on the History of Calligraphers and Painters," in *Studies and Sources in Islamic Art and Architecture, Supplements to Muqarnas*, v 10, (2001), 43-6.

³⁵ Ibid., 43.

³⁶ Ibid., 44.

³⁷ Ibid., 45.

³⁸ Ibid., 43.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Mustafa Âlî, *Menakıb-ı Hünerveran*.

⁴² Ahmad ibn Mir Munshi al Huseyni, *Calligraphers & Painters: A Treatise by Qadi Ahmad, son of Mir Munshi*, trans., V. Minorsky, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1959).

⁴³ "Sultan Muhammed Han'ın cennet benzeri haremde yetişen musavvir Sinan Big Frenk üstadlarından Venedik'te doğup büyüyen ve vadisinde nakkaşların en yücesi olan Mastori Pavli adlı yabancının öğrencisidir." Mustafa Âlî, *Menakıb-ı Hünerveran*, 118.

⁴⁴ Atıl, "The Art of the Book," 164.

⁴⁵ Atıl, "The Nakkaşhane," 67.

⁴⁶ For more information on Matthias' library see J.M. Rogers and R.M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, 31.

⁴⁷ Gülru Necipoğlu, preface to *Sinan's Autobiographies: five sixteenth-century texts*, by Howard Crane and Esra Akın (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006), ix.

- ⁴⁸ Lale Uluç, "Ottoman and Safavid Book Collectors" in *Turkman Governors, Shiraz Artisans, Ottoman Collectors: Sixteenth Century Shiraz Manuscripts* (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası, 2006), 490.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., 478.
- ⁵⁰ Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları*, 4, 5 (II, III).
- ⁵¹ For more information on *Rumi* and *Hatayi* see Serpil Bağcı and Zeren Tanındı "The Ottomans, From Mehmed II to Murad III: Art of The Ottoman Court," 265; Serpil Bağcı, "Osmanlı Mimarisinde Boyalı Nakışlar," *Osmanlı Uygarlığı*, v. II ed. Halil İnalçık and Günsel Renda (Ankara: T.C. Turizm ve Kültür Bakanlığı, 2004), 742; Nurhan Atasoy, et al., *İpek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*, ed. Julian Raby and Alison Effeny (London: Teb İletişim Yayıncılık, 2001), 227.
- ⁵² Bağcı and Tanındı "The Ottomans, From Mehmed II to Murad III," 265.
- ⁵³ Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State a Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Arts and Architecture," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. G. Veinstein. (Paris: 1992), 195.
- ⁵⁴ Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 233.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid., 197.
- ⁵⁶ Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları*, 7-10 (VI, VII).
- ⁵⁷ Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State a Canon for the Arts," 205.
- ⁵⁸ For more information on these styles see Bağcı and "The Ottomans, From Mehmed II to Murad III," 268; Nurhan Atasoy and Julian Raby, *Iznik : The pottery of Ottoman Turkey*, ed. Yanni Petsopoulos (London: Alexandria Press in Association with Laurence King, 1994), 219-223; Atıl, "The Art of the Book," 193; Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 231.
- ⁵⁹ Esin Atıl, *The Age of Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, New York: National Galery of Art, 1988), 33.
- ⁶⁰ J.M. Rogers and R.M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, 60.
- ⁶¹ Wavy band motif was also called tiger scratch (*kaplan çizgisi*) for more see Tahsin Öz, *Türk Kumaş ve Kadifeleri*, v. I (İstanbul: Milî Eğitim Basımevi, 1946), 84.
- ⁶² *Çintemani* was a frequently used pattern since the fifteenth century; it was also called leopard spots. For more see Ibid.
- ⁶³ Meriç, *Türk Nakış Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları*, 7-10 (VI, VII).
- ⁶⁴ Uluç, "Ottoman and Safavid Book Collectors," 493.
- ⁶⁵ J.M. Rogers and R.M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, 61.
- ⁶⁶ Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 235.
- ⁶⁷ For more see Atasoy et al., *İpek*, 182-5.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., 182.
- ⁶⁹ Atasoy and Raby, *Iznik*, 76.

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