

Connectivity, Mobility, and Mediterranean “Portable Archaeology”: Pashas from the Dalmatian Hinterland as Cultural Mediators

Gülru Necipoğlu

Considering the mobility of persons and stones is one way to reflect upon how movable or portable seemingly stationary archaeological sites might be. Dalmatia, here viewed as a center of gravity between East and West, was central for the global vision of Ottoman imperial ambitions, which peaked during the 16th century. Constituting a fluid “border zone” caught between the fluctuating boundaries of three early modern empires—Ottoman, Venetian, and Austrian Habsburg—the Dalmatian coast of today’s Croatia and its hinterland occupied a vital position in the geopolitical imagination of the sultans. The Ottoman aspiration to reunite the fragmented former territories of the Roman Empire once again brought the eastern Adriatic littoral within the orbit of a tri-continental empire, comprising the interconnected arena of the Balkans, Crimea, Anatolia, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa.

It is important to pay particular attention to how sites can “travel” through texts, drawings, prints, objects, travelogues, and oral descriptions. To that list should be added “traveling” stones (spolia) and the subjective medium of memory, with its transformative powers, as vehicles for the transmission of architectural knowledge and visual culture. I refer to the memories of travelers, merchants, architects, and ambassadors who crossed borders, as well as to Ottoman pashas originating from Dalmatia and its hinterland, with their extraordinary mobility within the promotion system of a vast eastern Mediterranean empire. To these pashas, circulating from one provincial post to another was a prerequisite for eventually rising to the highest ranks of vizier and grand vizier at the Imperial Council in the capital Istanbul, also called Kostanṭiniyye (Constantinople).

Archaeological sites can migrate and become influential through the evocative yet elusive medium of personal and collective memories; creatively translated into familiar architectural idioms, they are sometimes transformed to the point of no longer being recognizable. Such a process of cross-cultural visual translation through the transformative prism of memory has been posited by Deborah Howard with respect to Venetian officials, who spent long periods in

the Levant before being elevated to higher posts in Venice. She attributes the uniqueness of Venetian visual culture, with its orientalizing flavor, to a process of translation in which remembrance, nostalgia, and oral communication played a fundamental role.¹ I believe that a comparable phenomenon contributed to the emergence in the 15th and 16th centuries of a distinctive Ottoman visual culture, which is neither Eastern nor Western but a conscious fusion of both. Besides the agency of particular individuals, it was infrastructural networks of geo-spatial connectivity within the Ottoman transnational space that facilitated the circulation and reuse of much-coveted stones boasting a Greco-Roman or late antique Byzantine pedigree, which thereby transcended limitations imposed by the fixity of architectural monuments resistant to mobility.

Pashas

During the late 15th and 16th centuries, most pashas were recruited as slave-servants (*kul*) in their youth from the empire's indigenous Christian subjects in the Balkans (and to a lesser degree Anatolia), thus becoming integrated into the multiethnic Ottoman ruling elite (see image from *Moeurs et Fâchons des Turcs*, Fig. 1). The childhood memories of these upwardly mobile "tribute" children (*devşirme*), generally chosen according to their distinguished physiognomy, no doubt conditioned their new identities and their profiles of cultural patronage. The selected youths, some of them already in their late teens, were required to convert to Islam and received a rigorous education in the royal court or other households before being appointed to military and administrative services. The most talented among them were destined for the highest vizierial posts as pashas (a privilege less likely to be enjoyed by those born as Muslims), after having served as sanjak (sub-province) governors and governor-generals in the provinces, where they would have encountered various ancient archaeological sites.²

¹ Deborah Howard also considers the role of travelogues, images, drawings, and portable objects in processes of transmission. See her *Venice & the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, esp. xi–xv, pp. 50–53, and Deborah Howard, "Venice between East and West: Marc'Antonio Barbaro and Palladio's Church of the Redentore," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 3 (2003): 306–325.

² On the prominence of imperial office holders from a *devşirme* origin in the so-called classical period of the Ottoman Empire during the 15th and 16th centuries, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture in the Ottoman Empire*. London and Princeton, NJ: Reaktion Books, 2005; London and Chicago: Reaktion Books, 2011, pp. 27–46.



FIG. 1 Pieter Coecke van Aelst, *Friday prayer procession of Sultan Süleyman through the Hippodrome of Istanbul in 1533*. Woodcut from *Moeurs et Fashions des Turcs* (Antwerp, 1553) (after Stirling Maxwell, *The Turks in 1533*. London and Edinburgh, 1873).

The recruitment of *devşirmes* is presented as the backbone of the meritocratic Ottoman regime in a miniature painting illustrating the *Sulaymānnāma*, a Persian chronicle of the reign of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–1566).³ This painting depicts the selection of tribute children from a Christian town in the Balkans, judging from its architectural setting, with recruited boys lined up in their newly acquired red uniforms, while a janissary officer records their names, physical descriptions, and places of origin (Fig. 2). Apprehensive parents and the local priest are shown witnessing this emotionally charged procedure, which, not surprisingly, provokes from them mixed reactions and attempts at negotiation.

Intended to bolster dynastic autocracy by curtailing the formation of a hereditary aristocracy, tribute children came to occupy a prominent place in Sultan Süleyman's increasingly centralized regime. Often seeking out their families, these high-ranking grandees are known to have encouraged the religious conversion of relatives and acquaintances in order to qualify them for official posts as well as to “save” their souls. They also maintained links with Christian relatives who occasionally came to visit them in Istanbul. The late 16th-century historian Mustafa Āli noted the widespread sense of kinship that grandees felt for their own groups, which did not contradict their official identity as Ottomans within the multicultural framework of a polyglot empire.

³ Esin Atlı, *Süleymannname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent*. Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art; New York: H.N. Abrams, 1986, pp. 94–95.



FIG. 2 *Recruitment of tribute children from a Balkan village, c. 1558. Watercolor from Arifi's Persian Sulaymānnāma. Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1517, fol. 3v*
(PHOTO COURTESY THE TOPKAPI PALACE MUSEUM LIBRARY).

Observing that no vizier failed to “fully incline towards his own people,” Ālı wrote, “And whenever a grand vizier or vizier is Bosnian, it is for certain that the prestige of imperial council members belonging to that group will daily increase through advancement and promotion to higher posts. If he is Albanian, his own group becomes fortunate, for he is likely to promote his relatives and siblings, appointing to reputable positions those from his own city and hometown.”⁴

The same author observed that members of the Imperial Council had increasingly been integrated into the royal family through marriage to Sultan Süleyman’s sisters, granddaughters, and daughter. Most of them were products of the royal palace: “Making the viziers his sons-in-law and selecting the majority of the grandees among the fortunate ones exiting from his inner palace was his innovation; in his reign no other type of accomplished and judicious person was given the vizierate.” Indeed, of the 23 viziers and grand viziers of this sultan’s reign, only four were born as Muslims, the rest being converts who had personally served him as loyal palace pages or eunuchs.⁵

The artistic implications of the hybrid identities of the Ottoman ruling elite for the subject of this essay have not been much explored.⁶ Here, in this essay, the focus is on the cultural agency of three influential pashas from the mid-16th century who came from the Dalmatian coast and its hinterland, encompassing the sanjaks of Bosnia (Bosna) and Herzegovina (Hersek), with their seats based in Sarajevo and Mostar respectively. It was in the age of Sultan

4 Mustafa Ālı Gelibolulu, *Mevā'idi'n-nefāis fī Ḥavā'idi'L-mecālis*, ed. Mehmet Şeker. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1997, p. 320. See also Metin Ibrahim Kunt, “Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (1974): 233–239.

5 Mustafa Ālı Gelibolulu, *Künhü'l-ahbār*, Nuruosmaniye Library, Ms. 3409, fol. 3r. Tadashi Suzuki, “Kanuni Sultan Süleyman’ın Veziriazamları ve Vezirleri,” in *V. Milletlerarası Türkiye Sosyal ve İktisat Tarihi Kongresi*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1990, pp. 885–888. Sultan Süleyman’s great-grandfather, Mehmed II, also preferred to appoint converts as his grand viziers, with the exception of the last one: see Theoharis Stavrides, *The Sultan of Vezirs: The Life and Times of the Ottoman Grand Vizir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453–1474)*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

6 For the Ottoman ruling elite, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 27–46. The diverse ethnic and geographical origins of elite patrons who commissioned mosques from Sinan are charted in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, Appendix I, pp. 558–562. See also my article “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II’s Constantinople,” *Muqarnas* 29 (2012): 1–81, and Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital*. University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.

Süleyman that most of present-day Croatia came under Ottoman control after the Battle of Mohács in Hungary in 1526 and the 1537 campaign against Apulia and Corfu. Bosnia would subsequently become a province (*vilâyet*), comprising several sanjaks, in its own right in 1580, when its administrative center was moved to Banjaluka. During the second and third quarters of the 16th century this region assumed a rising prominence in East–West trade as a nodal point for dynamic networks of mobility and cultural translation across the Ottoman territories and beyond. Three Slavic grand viziers of Sultan Süleyman dominated the later part of his reign, with the last one continuing to hold onto his post under the next two sultans (Selim II [r. 1566–1574] and Murad III [r. 1574–1595]); they are Rüstem Pasha (g.v. 1544–1553, 1555–1561), Semiz Ali Pasha (g.v. 1561–1565), and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (g.v. 1565–1579).

Rüstem Pasha

Rüstem Pasha married the only daughter of Sultan Süleyman and his beloved wife from the Ukraine, Hürrem Sultan, known in the West as “Roxolana” or “La Rossa.” A 1558 report in a travelogue written by Nicolò Michiel, who accompanied the Constantinople *bailo* Antonio Barbarigo (a representative of the Venetian Republic and head of the Venetian community in Istanbul), characterizes this powerful pasha as a “second Süleyman.”⁷ [Originating from “the Bosnian nation/people from a most ignoble background, he had been placed in his childhood in the seraglio.”] The Venetian nobleman noted that the 57-year-old grand vizier, who commissioned numerous public buildings, had accumulated a great treasure from gifts, and speculated that this might soon become the cause of his ruin. Rüstem Pasha seems to have been fluent in the “Croatian” (“Croatice”) language (proto Serbo-Croatian, frequently referred to in this period’s sources as “Slavic” or “Slavonic”). Ambassadors from the Dubrovnik Republic (Ragusa)—a tribute-paying vassal of the Ottoman state—often conversed with and wrote to the pasha in their common “Slavic language” (“lingua schiava”). A Ragusan document dated 1550 referred to him as “our protector and kinsman, and as a man who speaks our language.” The grand vizier preferred to negotiate in his native tongue, rather than through the intervention of a translator into Turkish, during an audience he gave in 1553 to two Austrian Habsburg ambassadors: the Dalmatian Catholic bishop of

⁷ Nicolò Michiel’s report (1558) is published in *Relazioni di ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, vol. 14: *Constantinopoli, Relazioni inedite (1512–1789)*, ed. Maria Pia Pedani-Fabris. Padua, Ausilio Aldo, 1996, pp. 91–109.

Pecs in Hungary, Antun Vrančić and the Hungarian Franz Zay. Luigi Bassano da Zara, a Venetian subject from Dalmatia who was in Istanbul during the early part of Sultan Süleyman's reign (ca. 1532–1540), affirmed the prevalence of “Slavonic” (“Schiavona”) as a vehicle for communication, not only within the Ottoman lands but also between the empire and its neighbors in Christendom. This informant from Zadar (Zara) reported that the sultan, whose role model was Alexander the Great, knew only Turkish and “Slavonic” a language he “greatly esteem[ed],” given its widespread currency in many areas, including Dalmatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, Thessaly, Thrace, the Peloponnese, Wallachia, the German borderlands, Poland, Bohemia, and Russia. According to Luigi Bassano, among the languages known to him there was none more useful than “Slavonic” for whoever wanted to “see the world,” especially the East and the North. He added that this language was “customarily esteemed in Turkey because the Grand Turk has always had pashas from that nation—now he has Rüstem Pasha, who is the son-in-law of this Grand Turk—as well as sanjak governors, governor-generals, janissaries, aghas, messengers (*çavuş*), and most of the cavalry soldiers (*sipahi*).”⁸

Many Muslim converts living on the Ottoman Empire's Dalmatian frontier were Slavs. For instance, the sanjak governor of Klis, Mehmed Beg, was the descendant of a famous line of pro-Venetian viziers from the Hersekzade

8 Rüstem Pasha's origin is mentioned in *ibid.* (p. 109): “He is of the nation of Bosnia, of most ignoble origin, and was from his childhood placed in the seraglio” (“Egli è di nazione della Bosna, d'ignobilissima condizione, e fu da fanciullo posto nel seraglio”). For the oral and written communications between Dubrovnik ambassadors and the pasha, see James D. Tracy, “The Grand *Vezir* and the Small Republic: Dubrovnik and Rüstem Paşa, 1544–1561,” *Turkish Historical Review* 1 (2010): 196–214, especially the quotation on 203 (n. 43). The grand vizier's 1553 audience is described in the diplomatic report of Antun Vrančić (a.k.a. Anton Wranczy or Antonius Verantius). During the initial ceremonial greetings the two envoys had with Rüstem Pasha, the conversation held in Turkish with an official interpreter was suddenly interrupted when the pasha asked if Zay and Vrančić spoke “Croatian” (Croatice). The interpreter was then dismissed, and they proceeded in Croatian throughout their negotiations. See Antun Vrančić, “Putovanje iz Budima u Drinopolje,” in Alberto Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, ed. Josip Bratulić. Zagreb: Globus, 1984, pp. 115–145. The fluidity of pre-modern terms denoting languages and ethnic identities in the western Balkans is analyzed in John Van Antwerp Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006. Luigi Bassano da Zara, *I Costumi et i modi particolari della vita de' Turchi*. Rome: Antonio Blando Asolano, 1545, rept., ed. Franz Babinger. Munich: M. Hueber, 1963, pp. 110–111. On Sultan Süleyman's emulation of Alexander the Great as a role model, see Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation,” pp. 48–52.

family (Hercegović: progeny of the last duke of Herzegovina, subjugated in the mid-15th century by Sultan Mehmed II [r. 1444–1446 and 1451–1481; d. 1481]). In a letter addressed to the doge in 1564, this governor of a sanjak close to the Venetian city of Split (Spalato) enthusiastically inquired about relatives descended from his ancestor, Duke Stjepan Vukčić-Kosača (d. 1466), who were reportedly living in Venice. If they were indeed there, he begged His Highness to send their names in a letter and bestow benevolence upon them. Receiving the doge's letter confirming the truth of the matter would "be the cause of much friendship and affection."⁹ Likewise, in a letter dated 1559, the above-mentioned Antun Vrančić (the Austrian Habsburg envoy who in 1553 had conversed with Rüstem Pasha in "Croatian"), found it worth negotiating, "for the sake of our common Croatian origin," with Hasan Beg, the sanjak governor of Hatvan: "The letter from Your Lordship was the gesture of a good neighbor, and it gave us much pleasure, most of all because of the kinship that exists between us owing to the fact that we both belong to the Croatian nation [*nationis Croatae*], which both Your Lordship and myself pride ourselves in having descended from." Referring to Christian peasant unrest in Hasan Beg's territory, Vrančić pleaded for the sanjak governor's mercy toward those peasants in the name of their neighborly relations and their shared descent from the "Croatian people [*gentis Croaticae*]."¹⁰

According to the travel diary of Hans Dernschwam (for the period 1553–1555), who accompanied ambassadors Vrančić and Zay to Dubrovnik, Rüstem Pasha and his younger brother Sinan Pasha had both been recruited as lowly "swineherds" from "Bosnia." We know that the latter served as sanjak governor of Herzegovina (Hersek) between 1547 and 1550 before becoming grand admiral of the Ottoman navy, a high-ranking position he held for nearly 4 years, until his death in 1554.¹¹ The Venetian *baile* Bernardo Navagero specifies in his report of 1553 that the 55-year-old Rüstem Pasha was from "a village near

⁹ Mehmed Beg's Ottoman Turkish letter to the doge is published in M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Türkçe Belgeler Kolleksiyonu ve Bizimle İlgili Belgeler," *Belgeler* 5–8 (1968–1971): 126 (n. 196). On the Hersekzade family, see Hazim Šabanovic, "Hersek-zâde, Ahmed Pasha," in *Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition* (henceforth cited as *E.I.2*), vol. 3. Leiden: Brill, 1954–2004, pp. 340b–342a, and Erdmute Heller, *Venedische Quellen zur Lebengeschichte des Ahmed Paşa Hersek-oğlulu*. Munich, 1961.

¹⁰ Quoted in Catherine Wendy Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992, p. 34; Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans*, p. 256.

¹¹ Hans Dernschwam, *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, ed. Franz Babinger. Munich and Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1923, pp. 32, 41, 58. For the two brothers and their architectural patronage, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 296–231, 416–421.

Sarajevo.” Characterizing him as the “absolute ruler of this empire,” the *bailo* reports that the grand vizier had personally told him how his former master (*padrone*) voluntarily gave him away, being unable to pay the head tax (*haraç*). Rüstem was thereupon taken to the palace of pages in the Pera (Galata) district of Istanbul, eventually entering the service of Sultan Süleyman in his privy chamber at the Topkapı Palace. Navagero added that Rüstem first attracted the sultan’s attention by gallantly jumping from a window to retrieve an object that fell from his royal master’s hand, thereby outshining the other royal pages, who merely ran down the stairs to fetch it.¹²

According to Mustafa Ālı, the sultan was thoroughly impressed by the intelligence, alacrity, and service of his “Croatian” (*hurvādīyü'l-asıł*) page Rüstem, regarding his loyalty, politeness, sobriety, and religiosity as ideal qualities for a son-in-law earmarked for the grand vizierate, even though his physiognomy was “mediocre.”¹³ In a letter dated 1555, the Austrian Habsburg envoy Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq observed that, of all the pashas, Rüstem “enjoyed [the] most influence and authority with the Sultan.” He wrote:

A man of keen and far-seeing mind, he [Rüstem] had largely been instrumental in promoting Soleiman’s fame. If you wish to know his origin, he was a swineherd; yet he was not unworthy of his high office but for the taint of mean avarice... Yet even this vice of his was employed in his master’s interest, since he was entrusted with the privy purse and the management of his finances, which were a cause of considerable difficulty to Soleiman. In his administration he neglected no source of revenue, however small.... The result was that he amassed large sums of money and filled Soleiman’s treasury.¹⁴

¹² See Bernardo Navagero, “Relazione,” in *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato durante il secolo XVI*, ed. Eugenio Albéri, ser. III, 3 vols. Florence: Società editrice fiorentina, 1840–1855, pp. 88–89, 98–99. Navagero says that Rüstem was “Serbian.” Sources variously refer to him as Croatian, Serbian, or Albanian, confirming the fluidity of identity labels in the pre-modern Balkans: noted in Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans*. On the biography of Rüstem Pasha, see Christine Woodhead, “Rüstem Pasha,” in *E.I.2*, vol. 8, pp. 640–641 and Şinasi Altundağ and Şerafettin Turan, “Rüstem Paşa,” in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9. İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basimevi, 1950–1988, pp. 800–802, and Erhan Afyoncu, “Rüstem Paşa,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 35. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988, pp. 288–290.

¹³ Ālı, *Künhü'l-ahhbär*, fol. 122r.

¹⁴ Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, *The Turkish Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, Imperial Ambassador at Constantinople 1554–1562*, trans. Edward S. Forster. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927, pp. 29–30.

It is unclear from which Catholic village near Sarajevo Rüstem Pasha was brought to Istanbul. An alternative claim in modern scholarship is that he was born either within the present borders of Croatia, near the Dalmatian coast, in Skradin (Scardona), ruled by the Ottomans between 1522 and 1684, or in the port city of Makarska, which came under Ottoman control in 1499 (see Fig. 3a–c).¹⁵ More research is necessary to confirm whether this grand vizier came from the vicinity of Sarajevo or closer to the eastern Adriatic coastal belt. In 1544, Rüstem Pasha did endow some properties in Skradin and Vrana—the towns had only recently been incorporated into the newly created sanjak of Klis (Fig. 3b) just northeast of Split, which the Ottomans had

¹⁵ Rüstem Pasha was from the region of Makarska in Dalmatia, according to Darko Zubrinić, who does not cite a source; see his “Croats in Bosnia and Herzegovina” (1995; online at www.croatianhistory.net/etf/eto2.html). This pasha originated from Skradin in Dalmatia, according to Lovre Katić, “Granice izmedju Klisa i Splita kroz vjejkove,” *Starohrvatska prosjjeta* ser. III, 6 (1958): 208, quoted in Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans*, 215. Rüstem Pasha came from the neighborhood of Klis, according to Nenad Moačanin, “Klis,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfi Islam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 26, p. 128 ([http://openlibrary.org/books/OL18859269M/T%C3%BCrkkiye_Diyanet_Vakf%C4%B1%C4%BCsl%C3%A2m_ansiokpedisi](http://openlibrary.org/books/OL18859269M/T%C3%BCrkkiye_Diyanet_Vakf%C4%B1%C4%BCsl%C3%A2m_ansiokopedisi)). The encyclopedia entries mentioned in n. 12 above generally agree that Rüstem Pasha was from Bosnia, near Sarajevo. They refer to a register from the kadi court at Sarajevo, dated 974 (1557), which records the sale of a house by the *waqf* administrator (*mütevelli*) of Rüstem Pasha’s covered bazaar (*bedesten*) in that city, on behalf of “Nefisa Khanum, daughter of Mustafa and sister of Rüstem Pasha.” While this register entry shows that the pasha’s Muslim sister had a property in Sarajevo and their father Mustafa had also converted to Islam, it does not prove their origin from near Sarajevo. These encyclopedia entries often cite Ciro Truhelka (*Bosnische Post*. Sarajevo, 1912, n. 80), who proposed that Rüstem Pasha came from Butomir or a village to the west of Sarajevsko Polje, adding that his family name was Opuković or Čigalić. I believe the latter name can be ruled out: it is the family name of the husband of Rüstem Pasha’s two granddaughters, who successively married Cigalazade Yusuf Sinan Pasha (ca. 1545–1605), a member of the noble Genoese family of Cigala, whose descendants are buried in the Üsküdar mosque complex of Rüstem Pasha’s royal wife, Mihrümah Sultan. Hence, the progeny of Rüstem Pasha and his wife came to be known as Čigalić, which has little to do with his own origin. It has also been claimed that Rüstem Pasha was the brother of Karagöz Mehmed Beg (a large-scale fiefholder [*zaim*]), who commissioned a mosque from the architect Sinan in Mostar, and is thought to have been born near Mostar. This claim is based on a misinterpretation of the mosque’s inscription. Rüstem Pasha’s only known brother is Sinan Pasha, and the claim that the grand vizier was born near Mostar, like his alleged brother Karagöz Mehmed, remains unsubstantiated. In fact, the Arabic inscription of the mosque in Mostar refers to the founder’s father as Abu al-Sa’adat, whereas both Rüstem Pasha’s and his brother Sinan Pasha’s *waqfyyas* (endowment deeds) identify their converted father’s name as Mustafa. See Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 317, 419, 440–442.

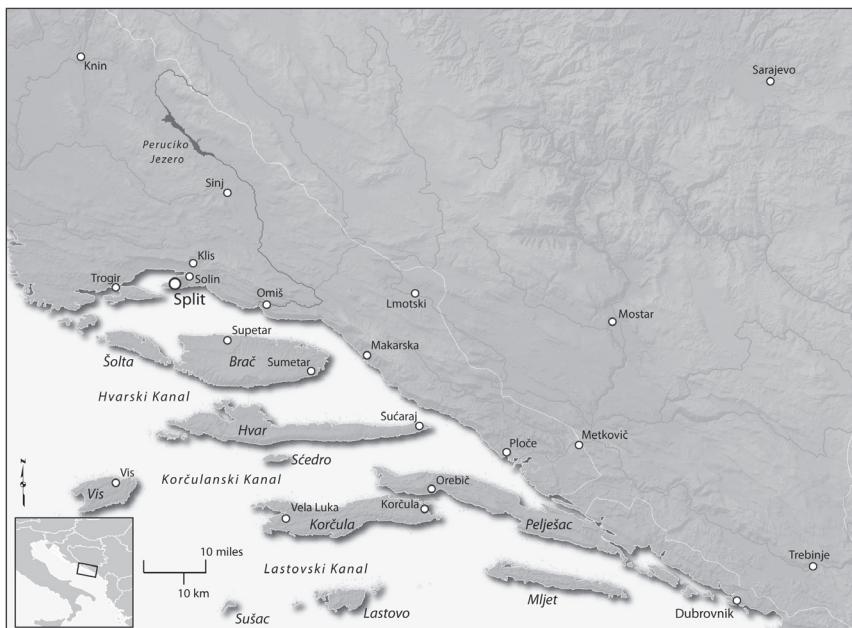
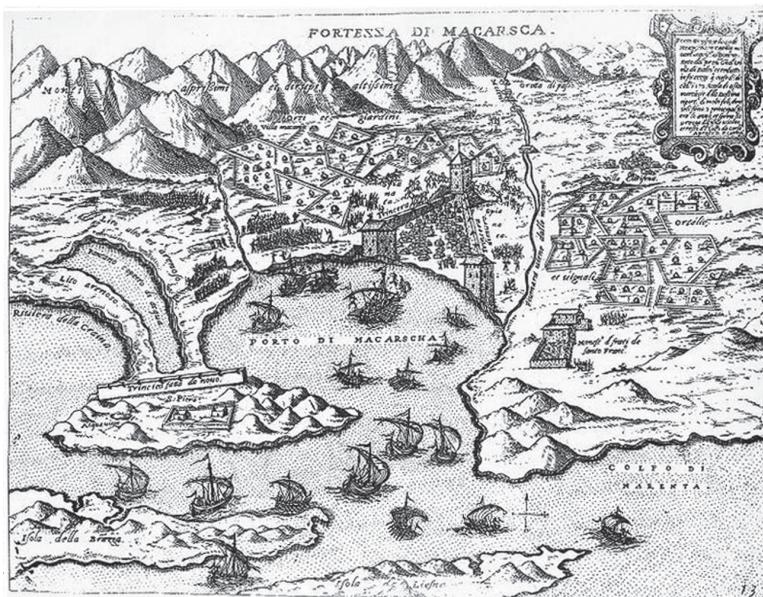
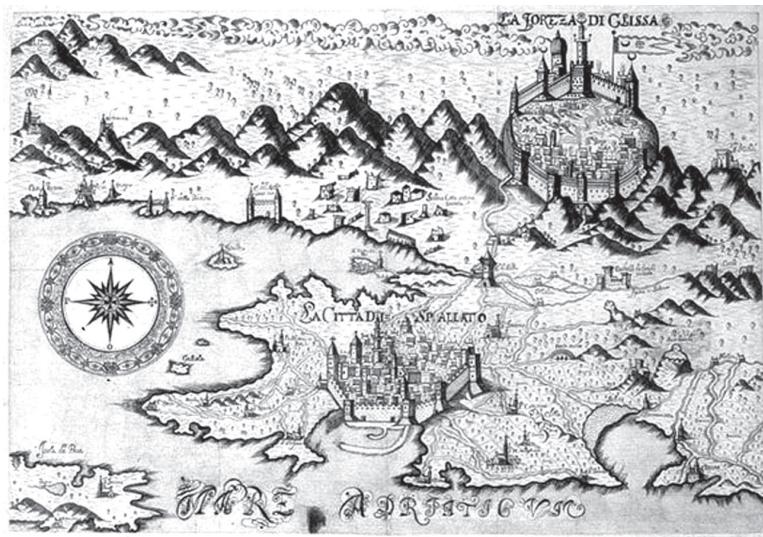


FIG. 3A (A) Modern map of the Dalmatian Coast (COURTESY SCOTT WALKER).

conquered from the Habsburg garrison during the 1537 Apulia–Corfu war. These income-producing properties, consisting of 23 mills and an arable field, were complemented by public monuments that the pasha endowed in and near Sarajevo. It is noteworthy that the pious endowments (*waqf*) of the grand vizier’s brother, Sinan Pasha, included public monuments in the sanjak of Herzegovina (where he had been posted as governor between 1547 and 1550), as well as in Sarajevo.¹⁶

¹⁶ On Rüstem Pasha’s *waqfs* in the sanjak of Klis—at İskradin (Scardona) and İvranya (Vrana)—and in Sarajevo, see Aydin Yüksel, “Sadrazam Rüstem Paşa’nm Vakıfları,” in *Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi Hatira Kitabı*. Istanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1995, pp. 226, 229, 251–252, 274. His brother Sinan Pasha endowed real-estate properties and mills in Herzegovina, which supported, among other monuments, his mosque at Hisn-i Nova (Nova Castrum) and his mosque with an elementary school near Foça. He also built an elementary school in Sarajevo: see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 418–419. On the map illustrated in Fig. 3b of this essay, see James P. Krokar, “New Means to an Old End: Early Modern Maps in the Service of an Anti-Ottoman Crusade,” *Imago Mundi* 60, pt. 1 (2008): 23–38, and, by the same author, *The Ottoman Presence in Southeastern Europe, 16th–19th Centuries: A View in Maps*. Chicago: Hermon Smith Center for the History of Cartography, Newberry Library, 1997, pp. 18–25.



FIGS 3B–C (B) Christof Tarnowsky, view of Klis with Split and surrounding region, titled “Clissa, chief fortress of the Turk in Dalmatia and key to the Kingdom of Bosnia, 5 miles away from Split” (Clissa principal fortezza del Turco nella Dalmatia, et chiaue del regno. di Bosna lontano da Spallato miglia 5/fatta da Xhofo. Tarnowskij). Pen and ink drawing, 1605. Newberry Library, Chicago, Franco Novacco Map Collection, Novacco 2 F 208 sheet 3 of 3 (PrCt) (PHOTO COURTESY THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY).
 (C) G.F. Camocio, view of the fortress of Makarska and the island of Brazza (Brac) across from it during the Battle of Lepanto. Woodcut from Isole famose, porti, fortezze, terre marittime della Repubblica di Venetia et altri principi cristiani (Venice, 1571).

Some of Rüstem Pasha's endowed properties were among those contested by the inhabitants of Split. The dispute between the two sides was mediated by Caterino Zeno, the Venetian ambassador to the Ottoman court from 1547 to 1550. After arriving from Venice by ship in Split, Zeno, accompanied by the *bailo* Alvise Renier, surveyed the “differences that the Spalatines have with the Magnificent Rüstem” concerning the ownership of such properties as mills, small castles, and salt mines. The Venetian diplomats thereafter moved with their retinue to Solin (Salona) and Klis, both under Ottoman control, en route to Istanbul. Renier reported in 1550 that Rüstem Pasha was furious when he heard the complaint of the sanjak governor of Klis—a protégé of the grand admiral Sinan, Rüstem's brother—that the “Spalatini” occupied terrains the grand vizier possessed in the “contado di Spalato.”¹⁷ Years later, in 1576, another Venetian ambassador charged with negotiating border disputes in Dalmatia reported that the “Sultana,” namely the late Rüstem Pasha's widow, Mihrümah Sultan (d. 1578), showed “extreme interest” in the territory bordering that of the Spalatines, toward whose claims her “agents” displayed considerable opposition.¹⁸

Semiz Ali Pasha

The birthplace of Rüstem's successor, Semiz Ali Pasha, whom Dernschwam identified as “a Croat” (“ein krabat”), is likewise uncertain. Nicknamed “the Fat” (“Semiz”), this grand vizier was celebrated for his corpulence, sense of humor, and gentle character, traits that endeared him to European and Ottoman contemporaries alike. Mustafa Āli described him as so tall and huge that “a horse capable of carrying him could not be found.” The “jovial and witty vizier of great glory” was “prudent and wise, and inclined toward justice and fairness”; his witticisms were sufficiently celebrated to be recorded in books of jokes. Mustafa Āli added that this grand vizier, the son of an Islamized Christian peasant (“bir poturuñ oğlu”) had been recruited as a *devşirme* from the town of “Pirāça” in Herzegovina. He entered the sultan's palace as a page through the intervention of a relative, Çeşte Bali, the influential steward of Sultan

¹⁷ Caterino Zeno, “Descrizione del viazo di Costantinopoli [1550] de ser Catharina Zen, ambassador straordinario a Sultan Soliman e suo ritorno,” in *Dva Talijanska Putopisa po Balkanskom Poluotoku iz XVI. Vieka*, ed. Petar Matković. Zagreb: Tiskom Dioničke tiskare, 1878, p. 4. The report (“Relazione”) of the *bailo* Alvise Renier (1550) is published in Pedani-Fabris, *Relazioni di ambasciatori Veneti*, pp. 52–55.

¹⁸ The report (“Relazione”) of Giacomo Soranzo (1576), in Pedani-Fabris, *Relazioni di ambasciatori Veneti*, p. 223.

Süleyman's grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha (born in Parga in Venetian Albania; d. 1536).¹⁹

"Piräça" is generally thought to be Praća (Brazza), about 35 kilometers east of Sarajevo, but Mustafa Āli specifies that this town was in the sanjak of Herzegovina (Hersek) rather than that of Bosnia.²⁰ Moreover, in a letter dated 1562, the humanist Austrian Habsburg ambassador Busbecq unambiguously identified Semiz Ali Pasha as Dalmatian in origin. In that same letter, Busbecq painted a highly favorable portrait of this grand vizier in his late 60s, whose amiable character is contrasted with that of his unfriendly predecessor, Rüstem Pasha, who died in 1561:

It so happened that not long afterward Roostem was attacked by dropsy and died. His successor was the second of the Vizieral Pashas, a kind and intelligent Turk if ever there was one.... From this period dates my close friendship with Ali Pasha and our constant conversations about peace. By origin a Dalmatian, he is the only really civilized man whom I ever met among those Turkish barbarians. He is of a mild and calm disposition, polite, and highly intelligent; he has a mind which can deal with the most difficult problems, and a wide experience of military and civil affairs. He is now well advanced in years and has continually held high office. He is tall of stature, and his face has a serious expression which is full of charm. He is devoted to his master [Sultan Süleyman], and nothing would please him better than to obtain for him the peace and quiet which would enable him to support in greater comfort his age and infirmities. He is anxious to obtain by courtesy and fairness—in fact treating one as a friend—the objects which Roostem sought to gain by bullying and intimidation and threats.... My interviews with Roostem were always brief; whereas Ali purposely extended them over several hours, and his

¹⁹ Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, p. 215; Āli, *Künhi'l-ahħbār*, fols. 124v–125v. Semiz Ali Pasha's *waqfiyya*, dated 1565, gives his Muslim father's name as Hüseyin but the date of his father's conversion is unknown: Ankara Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Defter 1961, no. 441, 444–462, discussed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 384–389. For this pasha's biography, see Robert Mantran, "Ali Pasha, Semiz," in *E.I.2*; vol. 1, p. 398. Erhan Afyoncu, "Semiz Ali Paşa," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 36, pp. 495–496; and Tayyip Gökbilgin, "Ali Paşa, Semiz," in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 1, pp. 341–342.

²⁰ See the encyclopedia entries cited in the preceding note. On a small mosque in Praća hypothetically attributed to Semiz Ali Pasha without concrete evidence, see Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri: Yugoslavya*, vol. 2, bk. 3. İstanbul: İstanbul Fetih Cemiyeti, 1981, pp. 283–284. No such mosque is mentioned in Semiz Ali Pasha's *waqfiyya*, cited in the preceding note.

kindliness made the time pass pleasantly. Meanwhile the Turks who had come to pay their respects or to consult him would fret and fume because my presence prevented the Pasha from giving them an audience. I myself used to suffer the pangs of hunger, for I was generally summoned to him after midday, and I almost always went without having taken a meal, in order that I might have as clear a brain as possible for conversation with a man of such keen intellect.²¹

The peace treaty negotiated by these two prudent statesmen was signed shortly thereafter. The parting gifts the grand vizier gave to Busbecq consisted of three well-bred horses, a “really beautiful” robe interwoven with gold thread, a box containing an antidote from Alexandria for poison, and a glass vessel filled with balm worthy of an “allied prince,” which he had acquired as governor-general of Egypt (1549–1553). The pasha personally requested the following rarities from the Austrian Habsburg envoy: “a coat of mail of a size to fit his tall and stout frame, a sturdy charger to which he could trust himself without fear of a fall (for he has difficulty in finding a horse which is equal to his great weight), and lastly, some bird’s-eye maple, or similar wood, such as we use for inlaying tables.”²² In light of Busbecq’s account, which testified to his exceptionally close rapport with Semiz Ali Pasha, the grand vizier must have indeed been from Dalmatia. If so, perhaps he came from the island of Brač (Brazza, Turkish Birāç or Birāsa), as is proposed in some modern publications.²³ Located not far from Split, this Venetian-ruled island just across from the Ottoman port of Makarska, along the eastern Adriatic coast, was the site of the celebrated quarries that provided the calcareous white stone used in the nearby Palace of Diocletian and in Solin (Fig. 3a–c).

The *bailo* Daniele Barbarigo, who had previously befriended Semiz Ali Pasha when he was governor-general of Egypt while he himself was serving as

²¹ Edward S. Forster, trans., Busbecq, *Turkish Letters*, pp. 183, 190–191, 193.

²² Ibid., pp. 229–231.

²³ On the spelling “Birāç,” in reference to this “island across from the landing station of Makarska,” see an Ottoman Turkish document dated 1566, published in Gökbilgin, “Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Türkçe Belgeler Kolleksiyonu,” pp. 127–128 (n. 198) (note that Gökbilgin has misread this word as Diraç/Durazzo in n. 6). The alternative spelling “Birāsa” is found in Piri Reis, *Kitab-i Bahriye*, 2 vols. Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Turkish Republic, 1988, pp. 774–775. The pasha was “the son of a Dalmatian from Brazza,” according to the entry “Ali Pasha,” in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st ed. On the speculation that Semiz Ali Pasha was a Slav recruited as a *devşirme* from the island of Brazza/Brač along the Dalmatian coast, see also İsmail Hami Danışmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, vol. 2. İstanbul: Türkiye Yaynevi, 1971, p. 322.

Venetian consul in Cairo, noted how much the aged Sultan Süleyman was attached to this grand vizier: the ruler conferred on him more favor and authority than any of his predecessors, with the exception of İbrahim Pasha. When Ali Pasha fell ill in 1564, the forlorn sultan refused to go hunting without him as an escort.²⁴ When Süleyman's beloved grand vizier died the next year, he was succeeded by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Nicknamed "the Tall" ("Tavil"), the latter is perhaps the most famous of all Ottoman grand viziers, having managed to hold this office uninterruptedly under three successive sultans. He was born into a semi-noble Serbian Orthodox family that derived its name from the village of Sokolovići (close to modern-day Rudo, near Višegrad in Bosnia), where he built a now-lost mosque and the famous Drina Bridge nearby, accompanied by a caravansaray for travelers.²⁵

Sokollu Mehmed Pasha

The *bailos* Marcantonio Tiepolo (1576) and Giovanni Correr (1578) reported that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had been recruited for the sultan's service when he was 18, while attending mass at the monastery of St. Sava (Mileševa), where his uncle was a monk.²⁶ Promoted to the grand vizierate at the very end of Süleyman's reign, the pasha maintained that post as "virtual emperor" under his father-in-law, Selim II, and with diminished authority under Murad III, until he was stabbed to death in 1579. Tiepolo remarked that conversing with

²⁴ Daniele Barbarigo, "Relazione," in Albéri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*, vol. 2, pp. 26–32.

²⁵ Mustafa Âli locates Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's place of origin in Bosnia; see his *Künhi'l-ahḥbār*, 125v. The pasha is identified as Serbian in Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, p. 215. For Sokollu's biography, see Gilles Veinstein, "Sokollu Mehmed Pasha," in *E.I.2*, vol. 9, pp. 706–711; Münir Aktepe, "Mehmed Paşa. Muhammed Paşa Sokollu, Tavil" in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 7, pp. 595–607; Erhan Afyoncu, "Sokollu Mehmed Paşa," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 37, pp. 354–357; Radovan Samardžić, *Mehmed Sokolovitch: Le destin d'un grand vizir*, trans. Mauricette Begić. Lausanne: Age d'Homme, 1994; and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 331–368. On the bridge over the River Drina at Višegrad, see Slobodan Curčić, *Architecture in the Balkans from Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010, p. 786.

²⁶ Marcantonio Tiepolo, "Relazione," in Albéri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*, vol. 2, pp. 156–158, and Giovanni Correr, "Relazione" (1578), in Pedani-Fabris, *Relazioni di ambasciatori Veneti*, p. 254. On the Mileševa monastery, see Curčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, pp. 502–503, and Samardžić, *Mehmed Sokolovitch*, pp. 15–20.

the imposing 70-year-old grand vizier was more like “negotiating with a Christian prince than with a Turk.”²⁷

While Rüstem Pasha had been tainted by his proclivity for bribery, Sokollu attracted criticism for bolstering a nepotistic regime through his network of protégés, dominated by converted kinsmen from Bosnia whom he appointed to governorships spread over a large geographical area extending from Hungary to Syria. His relatives occupied governorship positions in Bosnia and Herzegovina for decades. Family members who remained Orthodox Christian, however, held major ecclesiastical posts, serving as patriarchs after the Ottomans restored the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate of Peć (İpek) in 1557, as a counterweight to the Catholic Church. One of the grand vizier’s favored relatives was his paternal cousin, Sokollu Mustafa Pasha (d. 1578), who served as sanjak governor of Bosnia and, subsequently, governor-general of Buda (Budin, today’s Budapest) in Ottoman Hungary. In these provinces he improved communications and urban networks by building numerous bridges, paved roads, caravansarays, marketplaces, and thermal baths. Marcantonio Pigafetta, a traveler from Vicenza, attended an audience at this pasha’s riverfront palace in Buda, overlooking the Danube, while accompanying an Austrian Habsburg embassy sent to congratulate the newly enthroned ruler Selim II in 1567. Pigafetta noted in his *Itinerario* that Mustafa Pasha’s interpreter was a Paduan Jew, who translated the oral negotiations held in Turkish and Italian, even though both parties could have easily communicated in “Croatian” (“crovato”). Pigafetta provides further testimony about the prevalence of “Croatian” among Ottoman officials in Istanbul when he observed that this language was “familiar to nearly all Turks and especially men of war,” even though they preferred to conduct major official negotiations in Turkish for the sake of ceremonial decorum. Mustafa Pasha’s palace in Buda was located next to his mosque (and tomb), the only “prestige” monument he commissioned from the chief architect Sinan. These no longer extant edifices were complemented by other mosques and endowed public works created by the same pasha in order to Ottomanize Buda, the seat of the province of Hungary, which was newly established in 1541.²⁸

27 Tiepolo, “Relazione,” pp. 156–158.

28 Sokollu Mehmed Pasha’s relatives include Makarije Sokolović (Serbian Patriarch from 1557 to 1571), Antonije Sokolović (Serbian Patriarch from 1571 to 1575), Gerasim Sokolović (Serbian Patriarch from 1575 to 1586), and Ferhat Pasha Sokolović (Ottoman governor, d. 1586). On Sokollu Mustafa Pasha, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 439–440, and Marcantonio Pigafetta, *Itinerario di Marc’Antonio Pigafetta Gentil’Huomo Vicentino*, ed. Michela Petrizzelli. Vicenza: Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, 2008, pp. 51–52, 131–133.

Sinan

The three grand viziers considered thus far were among the leading patrons of Sinan, who served as chief royal architect for half a century (1539–1588) under three sultans, and was himself a *devşirme* from Ağırnas, a Christian village in Kayseri, in central Anatolia. The pious foundations (sing. *waqf*) that supported Rüstem Pasha's and Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's architectural monuments included privately sponsored paved roads, bridges, aqueducts, and fountains, which were linked to an enormous empire-wide network of income-producing commercial structures built for these pashas, such as mills, baths, rental rooms, shops, bazaars, and caravansarays (see Fig. 4a and b). The unprecedented scope of these building projects not only promoted urban development but also contributed to the integration of Ottoman imperial geographies through networks of trade, exchange, and communication. Rather than monolithically unifying the empire, these global networks dynamically linked different regions while allowing them to coexist by retaining their indigenous individuality and diversity.²⁹

Rüstem Pasha, who endowed some income-producing properties in the sanjak of Klis near Split (as mentioned above), also commissioned five stone bridges in the sanjak of Bosnia that were accompanied by paved roads, a caravansaray, a thermal bath, a public fountain, and a *bedesten*. Built in Sarajevo in 1551, the latter is an extant covered bazaar with six hemispherical domes, which was known as the Bedesten of Bursa because it specialized in the sale of Ottoman silk brocades made in that Anatolian city.³⁰ I have argued elsewhere that Rüstem Pasha, as part of his fiscal policy, fostered the consumption of domestic fabrics by restricting the former large-scale importation of Italian

See also Burcu Özgüven, "A 'Beylerbeyi' from Budin: Sokollu Mustafa," in *Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, eds. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu and Lucienne Thys-Şenocak. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999, pp. 253–263.

²⁹ The *waqfs* of these two grand viziers are compared in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 314–368, 578–579 (maps 4, 5). For a comparison of imperial geopolitical policies in Sokollu's grand vizierate with those of his predecessors Rüstem and Semiz Ali, see Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

³⁰ Rüstem Pasha's *waqfs* were entrusted to revenue collectors based in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Sarajevo) as well as in Dalmatia (Skradin/Scardona, Vrana). See Yüksel, "Sadrazam Rüstem Paşa'nın Vakıfları," pp. 226, 229, 251–252, 274. The *waqfs* in the sanjak of Klis are cited in n. 16 above. Only one bridge on the Zelinje river (Ilica village) and the Sarajevo *bedesten* seem to be extant: see Yüksel, "Sadrazam Rüstem Paşa'nın Vakıfları," p. 229 (n. 25), and Ayverdi, *Avrupa'da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri: Yugoslavya*, vol. 2, bk. 3, pp. 195, 395–397, 401–402.



FIG. 4A (A) Map of Rüstem Pasha's pious foundations and income-producing structures, not including landed properties, mills, and shops (based on map in Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan).

luxury textiles for use in the Ottoman court. In his report, the *bailo* Bernardo Navagero stated that this pasha, who was “born as a man of business,” did everything to promote “those silk and gold Bursa textiles of his, sometimes even wearing vests made of these” (instead of the customary European luxury fabrics). His *bedesten* in Sarajevo was complemented by four others endowed in eastern Anatolia (Afyon, Van, Erzurum, and Erzincan) that, I suggest, may have been built to compete with Safavid silk textiles imported from Iran for

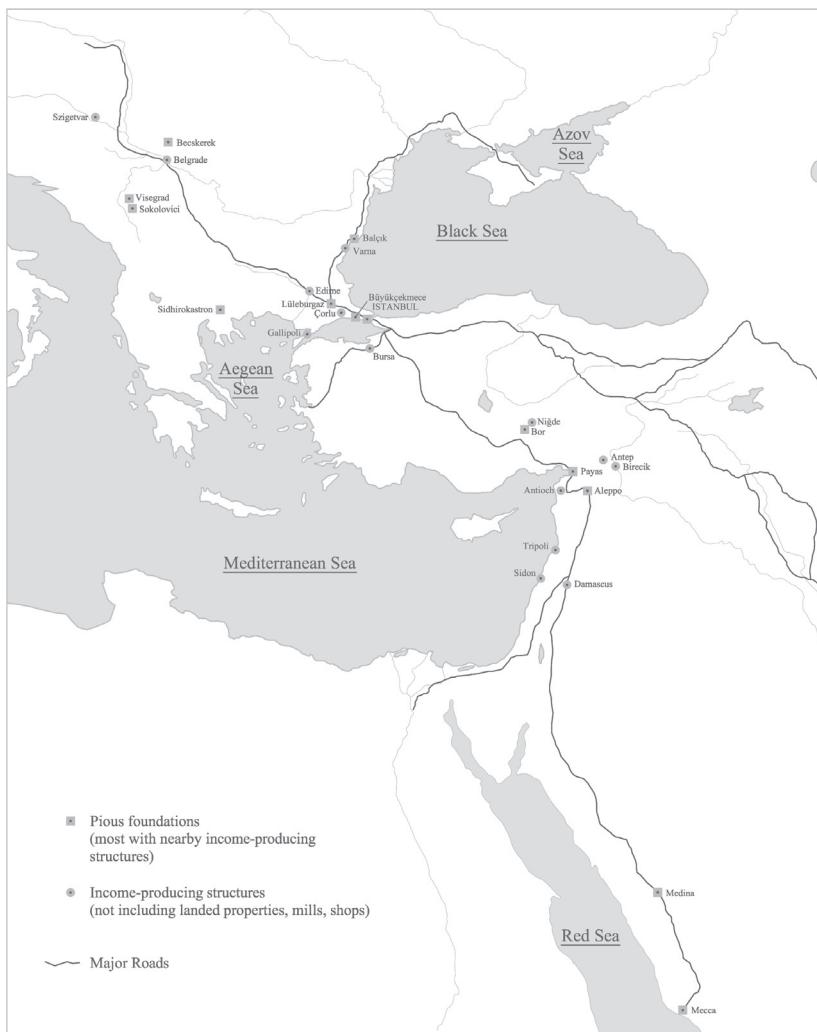


FIG. 4B (B) *Map of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's pious foundations and income-producing structures, not including landed properties, mills, and shops (based on map in Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan).*

domestic consumption in that region and perhaps to promote the sale of Ottoman fabrics to Iranian merchants.³¹ Not surprisingly, the two monumental

³¹ Gülru Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman–Habsburg–Papal Rivalry," *Art Bulletin* 71, no. 3 (September 1989): 401–427; Gülru Necipoğlu, "A Kanun for the State, a Canon for the Arts: Conceptualizing the Classical Synthesis of Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps*, ed. Gilles Veinstein. Paris: La Documentation française, 1992, pp. 198–201; and

mosques designed by Sinan for the business-minded Rüstem Pasha, which feature extensive commercial dependencies, are sited in lucrative ports: Tahtakale in Istanbul and Rodoscuk (Rodosto) in eastern Thrace (Fig. 5a and b, and see map, Fig. 4a). The latter town is situated on an extension of the Via Egnatia, the ancient Roman route across the southern coast of the Balkans that linked the Adriatic littoral to the Marmara and Aegean seas.³²

Each of the three grand viziers discussed here commissioned impressive mosque complexes from the chief architect Sinan on major imperial highways connecting Istanbul to Europe and Asia. The caravansarays and hospices located within such complexes housed ambassadors as well as merchants, travelers, and pilgrims, who were given free lodging and food for up to 3 days. In these spaces of encounter, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish travelers intermingled. The complexes of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, in particular, span the empire's diagonal central artery, connecting Ottoman Hungary all the way to Syria, Mecca, and Medina (see map, Fig. 4b). The grand vizier commissioned complexes from Sinan on that route, both for himself and his late son, Sokollu Kasim Pasha (d. 1572), the former governor of Aleppo who died while he was the sanjak governor of Herzegovina. Those roadside complexes aimed to cultivate commercial relations with the port of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). This semi-autonomous city-state on the eastern Adriatic shore constituted the starting point of many embassies from Italy to Istanbul, following an inland route parallel to the coastal trajectory of the Via Egnatia (see map, Fig. 3a). Only 31 kilometers east of Ragusa, along that inland route, was the town of Trebinje in Herzegovina, where Sokollu Mehmed Pasha improved travel conditions by commissioning a bridge and caravansaray complex commemorating his late son, so that travelers would “pray for his soul.” These structures were built between 1572 and 1574 by local stonemasons imported from Dubrovnik.³³

Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 314–315. The four other *waqf bedestens* are listed in Yüksel, “Sadrazam Rüstem Paşanın Vakıfları,” pp. 226, 223, 265–266.

³² Both monuments are analyzed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 314–331. On Rodoscuk, see İlber Ortaylı, “Rodosto (extension en Marmara de la Via Egnatia au XVI^e siècle),” in *The Via Egnatia Under Ottoman Rule, 1380–1699*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou. Rethymnon: Crete University Press, 1996, pp. 193–202.

³³ On the constructions in Trebinje, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 444–447. The caravansaray is no longer extant. The bridge endowed by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha was subsequently named after Arslan Ağa (Arslanagić), perhaps an agent of the grand vizier. This extant bridge has been moved to another location in Trebinje. See Ayverdi, *Avrupa’da Osmanlı Mimari Eserleri: Yugoslavya*, vol. 2, bk. 3, pp. 469–470, and Samardžić, *Mehmed Sokolovitch*, pp. 308–312. On Dubrovnik, see Barisa Krekić, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries: A City between East and West*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972; Antonio di

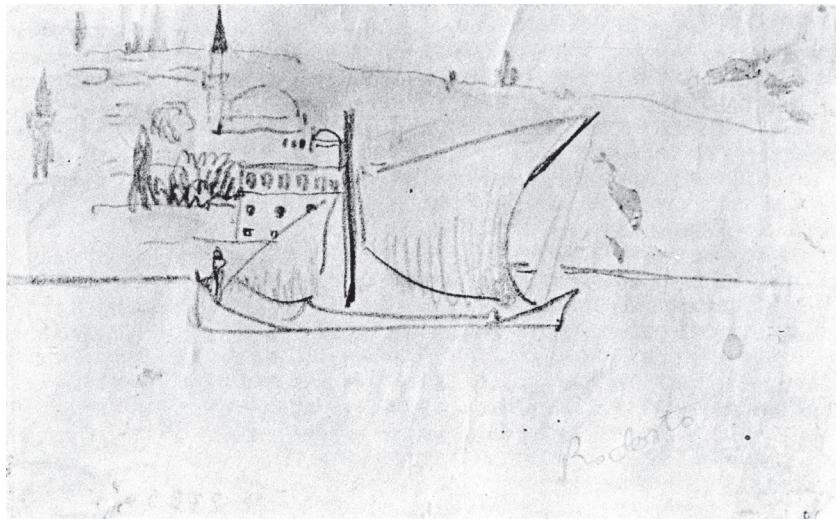
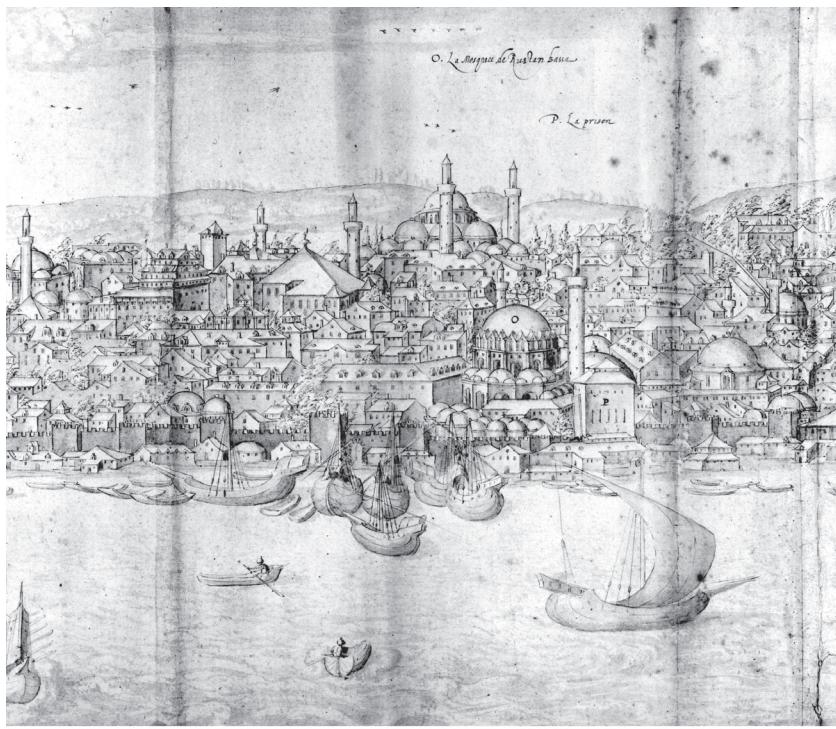


FIG. 5A–B (A) Rüstem Pasha's mosque complex at Tahtakale in Istanbul. Ink drawing, ca. 1566–1582. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Res. B. 10 (PHOTO COURTESY THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE). (B) Le Corbusier, sketch of Rüstem Pasha's mosque complex in Rodosto, 1911 (FROM LE CORBUSIER, JOURNEY TO THE EAST, ED. IVAN ŽAKNIĆ. CAMBRIDGE, MA, 1989).

While traversing the road from Dubrovnik to Istanbul in 1575, the Venetian ambassador Jacopo Soranzo particularly admired the artistic design of two mosque complexes with ample facilities for travelers, located near Adrianople (Edirne). The architect Sinan had recently built these complexes for Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and his late son in Lüleburgaz and Havsa, respectively (Fig. 6a–d). By comparison, Soranzo was less enamored of the now-destroyed caravansaray of Semiz Ali Pasha’s mosque complex in Babaeski, which was along the same route and had also been commissioned from Sinan: it was “neither large nor commodious, [featuring] small rooms where we lodged, though tightly.”³⁴

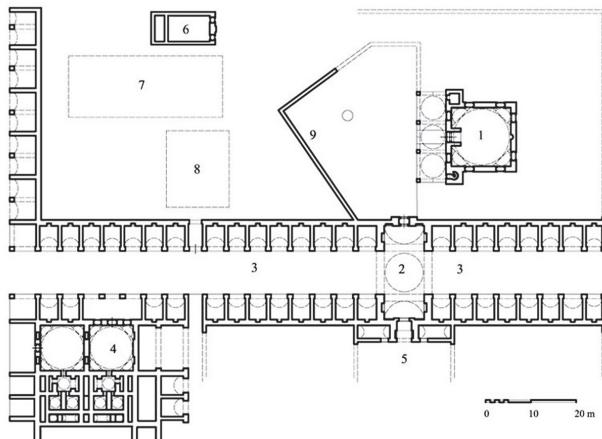
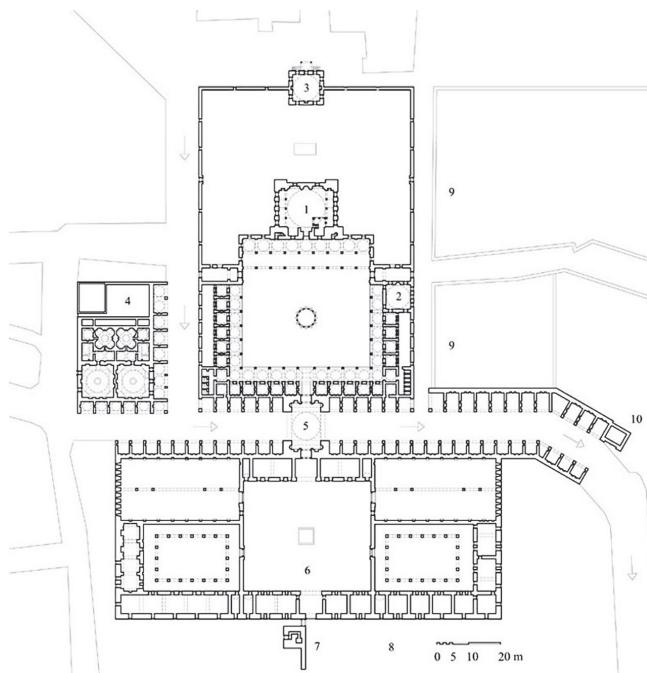
The innovative rectilinear layout of three roadside mosque complexes (in Havsa, Lüleburgaz, and Payas), designed by Sinan for the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha on the main diagonal highway of the empire, feature shop-lined avenues, each with a central domed baldachin (see Figs. 6a–d and 7a, b). The highway complex next to the Payas fortress near Aleppo has a vaulted avenue of shops, translated into local Syrian-Mamluk forms and once again featuring an Ottoman-style hemispherical domed baldachin that acts as a triumphal arch, or the lynchpin of two intersecting axes. I propose that these unprecedented, orthogonally arranged complexes could have been inspired by the archaeological remains of Roman towns, with their straight avenues, the intersecting axes of which were sometimes punctuated by a domed tetrapylon (as in Ottoman Thessaloniki), and bordered with shops.³⁵ This conjecture is not too farfetched, given that the widely traveled Sinan (an architect-engineer and expert in hydraulics) was intent on studying antique ruins. Among these, his autobiography mentions a collapsed Roman bridge and aqueducts in the vicinity of Istanbul, which he rebuilt and prided himself on having improved.³⁶

Vittorio, “Un grande nodo postale fra Oriente e Occidente in età moderna: La Repubblica di Ragusa,” in *Ragusa (Dubrovnik), una repubblica Adriatica: Saggi di storia economica e finanziaria*, eds. Sergio Anselmi, Paola Pierucci, and Antonio di Vittorio. Bologna: Cisalpino, Istituto Editoriale Universitario, 1994, pp. 57–83; and Boško I. Bojović, *Raguse et l’Empire Ottoman (1430–1520)*. Paris: Association Pierre Belon, Diffusion, De Boccard, 1998.

³⁴ Jacopo Soranzo, quoted in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 387–388, 444–445.

³⁵ On the domed tetrapylon in Thessaloniki, and domeless tetrapylons in Split, Constantinople, and Antioch, see Curčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, pp. 22–32, 42. The domed “vestibule” preceding the palace block in Split, which marks the intersection of two axes and is lined up with the tetrapylon (*ibid.*, pp. 32–37), is also reminiscent of the baldachins in complexes that Sinan designed for Sokollu.

³⁶ Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 132–133, 140–142, and Necipoğlu, “Sources, Themes, and Cultural Implications of Sinan’s Autobiographies,” in *Sinan’s Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*, ed. and trans. Howard Crane and Esra Akin. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006, pp. vii–xvi.



FIGS 6A–B (A) Plan of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's mosque complex in Lüleburgaz (DRAWN BY ARBEN N. ARAPI, AFTER PLAN IN NECIPOĞLU, AGE OF SINAN). (B) Plan of Sokollu Kasim Pasha's mosque complex in Hafsa, posthumously built by his father (DRAWN BY ARBEN N. ARAPI, AFTER PLAN IN NECIPOĞLU, AGE OF SINAN).



FIGS 6C–D (C) Luigi Mayer, view of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's mosque complex in Lüleburgaz, including its domed baldachin; the shop-lined artery is also shown. Print from *Views in Turkey in Europe and Asia*. London, 1801.
 (PHOTO COURTESY THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY).

(D) Luigi Mayer, view of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's mosque complex in Lüleburgaz, showing central courtyard of the double-caravansaray. Print from *Views in Turkey in Europe and Asia*. London, 1801.

(PHOTO COURTESY THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY).

However, tracing archaeological “influences” on Sinan is not easy, as he concealed his multiple sources of inspiration, transforming them into something altogether new by filtering them through the lens of canonical Ottoman forms.

As a culturally sophisticated and equally widely traveled patron of architecture, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha may have also played a role in the invention of the

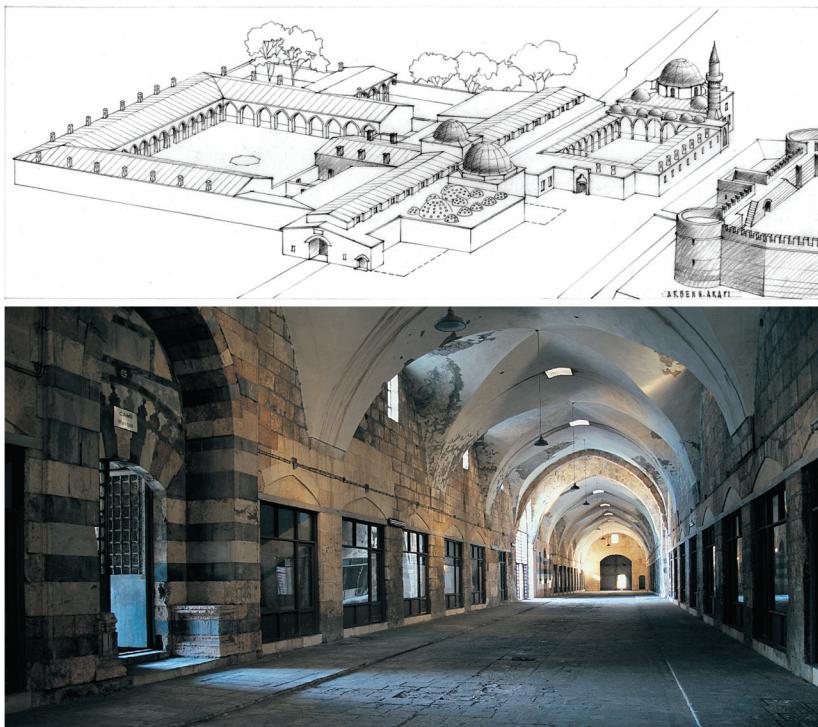


FIG. 7A–B (A) Axonometric plan of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's mosque complex in Payas (DRAWN BY ARBEN N. API, AFTER PLAN IN NECIPOĞLU, AGE OF SINAN). (B) Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's mosque complex in Payas, vaulted shopping artery (PHOTO: REHA GÜNEY).

cross-axial layout, only used in his own highway complexes as a special kind of “signature.” One might speculate that the combined agency of patron and architect was responsible for this innovation. The mosque complex in Payas formed the nucleus of this city, which became the new commercial port of Aleppo. Payas was provided with a landing station (*iskele*, from the Italian *scala*) of its own, where customs duties were collected for the grand vizier’s *waqf*. As part of that project, Sinan designed for Sokollu the most magnificent caravansaray of Aleppo.³⁷ Built in 1574 and known as Khan al-Gumruk (Customs Khan), it functioned as Aleppo’s customhouse, providing residential

³⁷ On the Payas complex, the Khan al-Gumruk in Aleppo, and Sokollu’s other *waqfs* in Aleppo, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 355–362. The khan is described in Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The Image of an Ottoman City: Imperial Architecture and Urban Experience in Aleppo in the 16th and 17th Centuries*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004, pp. 94–114.

facilities for consuls and foreign merchants, who congregated in this international center for exchanging information. I find the Khan al-Gumruk comparable to a building type that emerged in western Europe in the early 16th century: the “exchange,” variously known as *bourse*, *borsa*, *loggia*, *lonja*, *portico del cambio*, or *portico della mercanzia*. The origins of Sinan’s design can ultimately be traced to the *fondaco* (Greek *pandcheion*, Arabic *funduq*), which was prevalent in the Mediterranean region since late antiquity, with numerous medieval Islamic examples dotting the Ottoman territories.³⁸ However, the Khan al-Gumruk, an inventive urban complex arranged around a porticoed courtyard and creatively combining Ottoman with Syrian-Mamluk forms, can also perhaps be seen as an early modern descendant of the ancient Roman forum (as reconstructed in Vitruvius’s illustrated treatises printed in the 16th century). A century after its creation, the Venetian nobleman Ambrosio Bembo, writing in his travel journal (1671–1675), did, in fact, liken the spacious arcaded courtyard of the Khan al-Gumruk in Aleppo to an urban piazza serving as a “public square”:

Both these consuls [French and British] and the other merchants have their houses above the Grand Khan (Great Caravanserai), which is a square area with houses all around it and beneath them many warehouses and the customs house, the officials of which are called *titabanni* [Turkish *dideban*, market police] and are all Jews, atrocious thieves, through whose hands pass all business concerning the duties on the Franks.... In this plaza and in the adjoining bazaar the Frankish merchants gather in the morning to stroll and to do their business, since that place serves as a public square.³⁹

38 It is noteworthy that a *lonja* (Turkish *lonca*) existed in Ottoman Thessaloniki and in the Pera/Galata district of Istanbul, originally a Genoese colony. In many Mediterranean Christian cities, the term *loggia* supplanted *fondaco*. On early modern market places and the “exchange” as a building type in Europe, see Donatella Calabi, *The Market and the City*, trans. Marlene Klein. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004, and Donatella Calabi and Derek Keene, “Exchanges and Cultural Transfer in European Cities, c. 1500–1700,” and, by the same authors, “Merchants’ Lodgings and Cultural Exchange,” both in *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe, 1400–1700*, eds. Donatella Calabi and Stephen Turk Christensen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 286–314, 315–348. On the *fondaco*, see Ennio Concina, *Fondaci: Architettura, arte e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia e Alemagna*. Venice: Marsilio, 1997.

39 Ambrosio Bembo, *The Travels and Journal of Ambrosio Bembo*, trans. Clara Bargellini and ed. Anthony Welch. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2007, pp. 60–61.

Routes

What has been dubbed the Pax Ottomana flourished particularly in the 16th century, when major networks of Balkan transversal land routes connecting the eastern Adriatic coast with Asia came under the empire's centralized control. These communication systems, linked by postal and courier stations, became nodes for the redistribution of goods and the circulation of "things" as well as people in trans-Balkan trade. Some stretches of these routes revived the paved ancient Roman roads that had long ago lost their transit function between Italy and Byzantium. The revitalization of the *Via Egnatia* is a case in point (see map, Fig. 8).⁴⁰ The connectivity of land routes, complemented by overseas connections between Mediterranean ports featuring arsenals for the Ottoman navy, was a crucial precondition for mobility and "portable archaeology." The 16th-century trajectory of these land and sea routes was shaped by an Ottoman imperial vision of geopolitics in which the Adriatic Sea—an extension of the Mediterranean, like the Aegean, Marmara, and Black seas—occupied a pivotal position between East and West.

Elizabeth Zachariadou has argued that this vision reveals "a political aspiration to empire" as early as the 1380s, when the Ottoman sultan Murad I (r. 1360–1389) intended to secure control of what remained of the *Via Egnatia*, which in ancient times had connected Rome and Constantinople, the two capitals of the Roman Empire. That route, leading from the Adriatic coast of Albania to the future Ottoman capital of Istanbul (officially designated *Koṣtanṭiniyye* on Ottoman coins), was the horizontal extension of the *Via Appia*, which vertically crossed from Rome to Brindisi in southern Italy (see map, Fig. 8). The ports of Avlona (Valona, or Vlora) and Durazzo (Durres or Drač) in Albania formed its two starting points along the eastern Dalmatian littoral. Zachariadou notes that Murad I not only conquered Thessaloniki (Selanik) and Monasterion (Manastir, Bitola) but also attacked Avlona and Durazzo in Albania, all of these being towns strategically situated on the *Via Egnatia* that eventually became Ottoman possessions. After the second Ottoman conquest of Thessaloniki in 1430, pious foundations (*waqf*) began to sprout during the 15th and 16th centuries on this partially resuscitated road and its various new branches, along which endowed architectural monuments were created for renowned dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire (including the three grand viziers).⁴¹ As noted by Nicolas Oikonomides, in order to be operational again, the fragmented medieval trans-Balkan highway "needed a unify-

⁴⁰ See essays in Zachariadou, ed., *Via Egnatia*.

⁴¹ Elizabeth Zachariadou, "From Avlonya to Antalya: Reviewing the Ottoman Military Operations of the 1380s," and Vassilis Demetriadis, "Vakufs along Via Egnatia," in

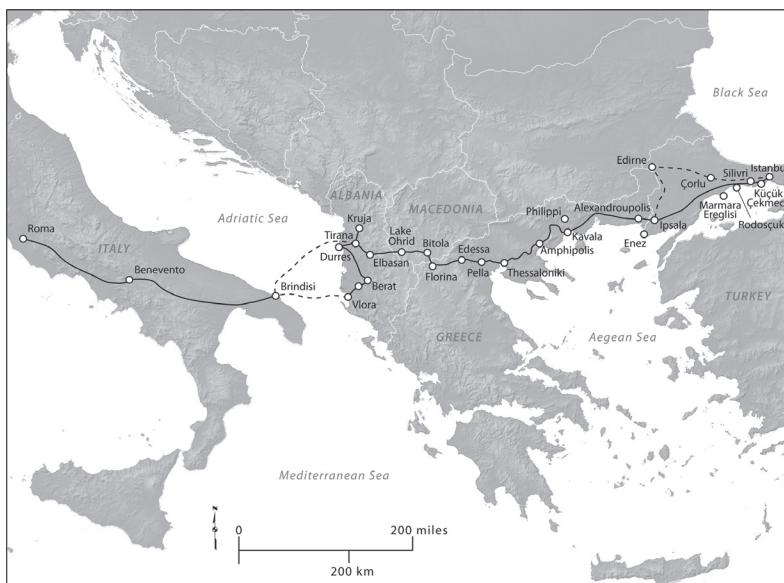


FIG. 8 Map of *Via Egnatia* (COURTESY SCOTT WALKER).

ing power that would control it from one end to the other, that would have a keen interest in its strategic and economic potential, and would guarantee maintenance and security. This was to come with the Ottoman conquest.”⁴²

The *Via Egnatia* would play a vital military role in Sultan Süleyman’s unfulfilled project, during the early part of his reign, of invading southern Italy and then conquering Rome—especially in his preparations for the 1537 expedition against Apulia and Corfu.⁴³ The sultan’s dream of renewing the ancient Roman Empire by reuniting its two former capitals had been initiated in 1453, with his great-grandfather Mehmed II’s conquest of Constantinople. The Greco-Venetian humanist Niccolò Sagundino, who met the 21-year-old conqueror of Constantinople during Venetian peace negotiations that year, reported that the youthful ruler believed that crossing the Adriatic Sea from Durazzo to Brindisi would pose no difficulty. He was therefore resolved to make himself the master of Rome and Italy.⁴⁴ Indeed, it is only a short distance from the

Zachariadou, ed., *Via Egnatia*, pp. 85–95, 227–232. Endowed structures built by Sinan on the *Via Egnatia* include Rüstem Pasha’s mosque complex in Rodosuk (Rodosto), Semiz Ali Pasha’s mosque in Marmara Ereğlisi (Perinthos/Heraclea), and Sokollu’s complexes near Edirne and Thessaloniki (Sidhirokastron); see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 314–321; 345–355, 384–386, 444–447.

⁴² Nicolas Oikonomides, “The Medieval *Via Egnatia*,” in Zachariadou, ed., *Via Egnatia*, p. 16.

⁴³ Demetriades, “*Vakıf*s along *Via Egnatia*,” pp. 92, 95.

⁴⁴ For Mehmed II’s dream of reuniting Constantinople with Rome, see Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy

Dalmatian coast to the Apulia region in southern Italy. But it was not until the end of his reign that Mehmed II could begin to implement his global vision by conquering Otranto, in the Apulia region near Brindisi, in 1480. This was accomplished by his navy, when it launched an attack from the nearby Albanian port of Avlona, which had functioned as a cosmopolitan Ottoman naval base for shipbuilding since 1417 (although by the 16th century its predominantly Christian populations mingled with new Jewish settlers from Spain, Portugal, Sicily, Otranto, and Calabria).⁴⁵

The conquest of Otranto was intended as a step toward the realization of Mehmed II's aspiration to control eastern Mediterranean sea routes. That aspiration had triggered a 16-year-long Ottoman–Venetian War (1463–1479), after the sultan became the new master of southeastern Europe through his conquest of Serbia (1459), the Morea (1458, 1460), Bosnia (1463), and Herzegovina (1465). During this protracted war, Venice lost many strongholds in the Morea and Albania, including the port of Scutari (Shkoder), which a Florentine chronicler characterized as the “right eye of the [Adriatic] Gulf” (“l'occhio ritto del gholfo”).⁴⁶ Soon after Mehmed II's demise in 1481, Ottoman forces withdrew from Otranto under a truce with the Kingdom of Naples, partly due to a dynastic succession crisis. Once that matter was resolved by the new sultan, Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), the unabated objective of possessing the Adriatic littoral triggered the second Ottoman–Venetian War, between 1499 and 1503, during which the sanjak governor of Bosnia organized raids on the Serenissima's Dalmatian strongholds (including Zadar, Trogir, Šibenik, and Split). In the course of alliance negotiations with the ambassador of the king of Naples, Bayezid II promised to supply the king with 23,000 soldiers, but only if he could have Taranto in return. Besides several strategic islands (Lepanto, Modon, and Coron in southwestern Greece), among the ports conquered by the Ottoman

in Mehmed II's Constantinople,” pp. 1–35. Sagundino's report is published in *La caduta di Costantinopoli: I. Le Testimonianze dei Contemporanei; II. L'eco nel mondo*, vol. 2, ed. Agostino Pertusi. Verona: Mondadori, 1976, pp. 126–141; quoted in Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, ed. William H. Hickman and trans. Ralph Mannheim. Princeton, NJ : Princeton University Press, 1978, pp. 494–495.

- 45 Machiel Kiel, “Avlonya,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 4, pp. 118–120; Gilles Veinstein, “Une Communauté ottomane, les Juifs d'Avlonya (Valona) dans la 2^e moitié du 16^e siècle,” in *Gli Ebrei e Venezia, Secoli XIV–XVIII*, ed. G. Cozzi. Milan: Edizioni Comunità, 1987, pp. 781–828; and Gilles Veinstein, “Avlonya (Vlorë), une étape de la Voie Egnatia dans la seconde moitié du XVI^e siècle?” in Zachariadou, ed., *Via Egnatia*, pp. 217–225.
- 46 Benedetto Dei, *La Cronica dall'anno 1400 all'anno 1500*, ed. Roberto Barducci. Florence: F. Papafava, 1984, p. 175.

forces at that time was Durazzo (1501) in Albania. One of the terminal points of the Via Egnatia, it featured antique ruins, including a Roman amphitheater.⁴⁷

As noted above, the Adriatic Sea once again became the focus of Ottoman attention in 1537, when Sultan Süleyman unsuccessfully attempted to coordinate a two-pronged land and sea attack with his ally, King Francis I (r. 1515–1547), against the forces of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (r. 1519–1556) in Italy and Dalmatia. The sultan marched along the Via Egnatia to the port of Avlona (Vlora) in Albania, where his land and naval forces met (see map, Fig. 8). Süleyman camped there for a while, as the Ottoman fleet captured 80 castles near Otranto, spending about a month in the emperor's Apulian territories. The sultan then moved from Avlona southward, toward the island of Corfu, blocking the entrance to the Adriatic Gulf in order to punish the “rebellious” Venetians, who not only refused to join the Ottoman–French alliance but also acted in unison with the Habsburg navy. This “disloyalty” in turn resulted in the third Ottoman–Venetian War (1537–1540), after 34 years of continuous peace since 1503.⁴⁸

The sultan's grandfather, Bayezid II, had previously sent a fruitless expedition to Corfu upon the advice of his admiral, Kemal Reis (d. 1511), who described that island as “the right eye of Venice” (the left eye being Modon, conquered by the same admiral in 1500).⁴⁹ It was during Sultan Süleyman's otherwise ineffective Apulia–Corfu campaign, directed against the Habsburgs and the Republic of Venice, that a number of Dalmatian castles were captured by the Ottomans. One of these was the Habsburg fortress Klis (meaning “key”), which occupies a commanding position on a mountaintop just a few kilometers inland from Venetian Split (see Fig. 3b). This formidable fortress, overlooking the main

47 Machiel Kiel, “Draç,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 9, pp. 522–524. On Bayezid II's Western campaigns, which consolidated his domination over a third of the eastern Mediterranean, bringing East–West trade under Ottoman control, see Selahattin Tansel, *Sultan II: Bâyezît'in Siyâsî Hayatı*. İstanbul: M.E.B. Devlet Kitapları Müdürlüğü, 1966, esp. 133–226, and Hans J. Kissling, “İkinci Sultan Bayezid'in Deniz Politikası Üzerine Düşünceler,” *Türk Kültürü* 7, no. 84 (1968): 894–906.

48 For a justification of Süleyman's campaign, see Lütfi Paşa, *Lütfi Paşa ve Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman*, ed. Kayhan Atik. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2001, pp. 127–128.

49 Kemal Reis's statement, reported by his nephew Piri Reis, is quoted in İdris Bostan, “Korfu,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 26, pp. 201–202. For the original text, see Piri Reis, *Kitab-i Bahriye*, vol. 2, p. 709: “Concerning this island [Corfu, Korfuz], the late Kemal Reis always used to say, ‘Venice has two eyes; its left eye is the castle of Modon and its right eye is this island of Corfu.’ He offered this opinion to the late Sultan Bayezid, who thereupon brought his land and sea forces in a campaign against that island with the intention of conquering it.”

road from Split to its hinterland, guards the highly strategic mountain pass that from early times was the “key” to controlling central Dalmatia. Murad Beg Tardić, who captured the fortress of Klis, was a convert from that region serving as military commander under the sanjak governor of Bosnia, Gazi Hüsrev Beg—Bayezid II’s grandson from his daughter Selçuk Sultan—who sporadically occupied that position between 1521 and 1541. Together, this sanjak governor and his loyal steward (*kethüda*) Murad Beg Tardić jointly expanded the borders of Bosnia by conquering many neighboring castles. The two are buried in individual mausoleums within the mosque complex of Gazi Hüsrev Beg in Sarajevo. Murad Beg’s brother, Juraj Tardić, was a Catholic priest in their native city of Šibenik. The latter frequently interceded with his Muslim sibling on behalf of Venice, indicating that family ties were not easily dissolved by conversion in this “border zone,” which was inhabited by many Slavonic-speaking recent converts to Islam. Soon after its conquest, Klis became the seat of a new sanjak in Ottoman Croatia, called “vilâyet-i hîrvâd,” with Murad Beg as its first governor. After protracted negotiations, a landing station was subsequently established in the neighboring Venetian port of Split. Its creation had been proposed to the doge as early as 1573 by an Ottoman sanjak governor of Klis, upon the suggestion of Daniel Rodriguez, a Portuguese Jewish merchant active in the Levant. This was meant to divert transit trade away from Ragusa, thereby avoiding the attacks of Uskok pirates, who were supported by the Austrian Habsburgs. This project, which was finally realized in 1592 with the consent of the Venetian Signoria, exemplifies the augmented importance of Ottoman Jewish merchants and trans-Balkan land routes linking the ports of Dalmatia/Croatia and Albania with the East and West.⁵⁰

50 On Murad Beg/Voyvoda and Gazi Hüsrev Beg, see Moačanin, “Klis”; Muhammed Tayyib Okiç, “Gazi Hüsrev Bey,” in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 13, pp. 453–454; and Semavi Eyice, “Gazi Hüsrev Bey Külliyesi,” in ibid., vol. 13, pp. 454–458. On Murad Beg’s Christian brother, see Bracewell, *Uskoks of Senj*, 34 (n. 39). The *scala* of Split and attacks by Uskok pirates are discussed in Bracewell, *Uskoks of Senj*, pp. 178–180, and in İdris Bostan, *Adriyatik’tे Korsanlık: Osmanlılar, Uskoklar, Venedikliler, 1575–1620*. İstanbul: Timaş, 2009, pp. 104–109. On the landing station of Split, see Renzo Paci, *La “Scala” di Spalato e il commercio Veneziano nei Balcani fra cinque e seicento*. Venice: Deputazione di storia patria per le Venezie, 1971, esp. 48ff, and Cemal Kafadar, “A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986): 191–218. The growing prominence of Ottoman Jewish merchants in the 16th century is demonstrated in Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Eastern Mediterranean*. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1995.

Exchanges

Extant documents record increasing commercial and cultural exchanges with Venice along the eastern Adriatic coast soon after the signing of a peace treaty in 1540 that made the Serenissima's prosperity dependent more than ever on her trade with the Ottoman Empire.⁵¹ A patronizing imperial decree sent by Sultan Süleyman to the doge in 1547, for instance, “commands” him to dispatch, without further delay, “masons, carpenters, laborers, and provisions” for the renovation of Nadin Castle (near Zadar) in the sanjak of Klis. The decree, whose outcome is not recorded, hints at potential Ottoman–Venetian architectural exchanges in this contested frontier region.⁵²

It is worth mentioning that Sultan Süleyman's future chief architect Sinan was present during the 1537 Apulia–Corfu campaign; a member of the royal elite guard, he was enrolled in the janissary regiment of catapults and war machines, thanks to his expertise as an engineer. In fact, war was a leading catalyst for cross-cultural exchange, which often tends to be overlooked in favor of peaceful contacts engendered by trade, diplomacy, and pilgrimage. During his encampment at Avlona, Sultan Süleyman commissioned an octagonal fortress (which is no longer extant) with a freestanding, seven-story-high, dome-covered tower, known from European sketches. The mid-17th-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi attributed that tower to the architect Sinan. Although there is no evidence to support this attribution, it is tempting to imagine Sinan participating in its construction as a military engineer and even finding time to inspect monuments and archaeological sites during that campaign. As a protégé of the Albanian-born second vizier Lutfi Pasha who commanded the naval forces to Apulia, Sinan may even have accompanied the fleet that made conquests around Otranto.⁵³

⁵¹ Only by the second half of the 16th century did Balkan transversal routes become dynamic arteries of commerce and cultural exchange. See Veinstein, “Avlonya (Vlorë), une étape de la Voie Egnatia,” pp. 217–225.

⁵² Gökbilgin, “Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Türkçe Belgeler,” p. 17 (n. 104). The sultan's decree informs Doge Francesco Donato that the sanjak governor of Herzegovina had complained about the delay. Other documents refer to items that the sanjak governors of Herzegovina sought from Venice, including salt, rice, and luxury textiles, as well as pleas for cooperation against Uskok pirates: *ibid.*, pp. 34, 36, 57, 119, 121–128.

⁵³ On Sinan's participation in the Apulia–Corfu campaign and his close relationship with Lutfi Pasha, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 132–135, 293–296. Evliya's “Avlonya” description is in *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 8, eds. Seyit Ali Kahraman, Yücel Dağlı, and R. Dankoff. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayımları, 2000: pp. 312–314. On the constructions and Evliya's comment, see Kiel, “Avlonya,” and Curčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*,

Any sketches that Sinan may have drawn during his travels on military expeditions have not survived. In his autobiography, he explains how after being trained in the science of geometry as a military carpenter in Istanbul, he eagerly examined buildings and ruins on campaigns with Süleyman's father in Safavid Iran and Mamluk Egypt (1514–1518): "For a while, in the service of the sultan [Selim I], I wandered in the Arab and Persian lands, deriving my sustenance from the pinnacle of each *iwan* [arched vault], and my lodging from the corner of every ruin."⁵⁴ Later on, as a janissary, Sinan encountered many ancient and contemporary monuments that probably fueled his architectural imagination while taking part in Sultan Süleyman's early campaigns (1521–1538) in Rhodes, Belgrade, Mohács, Buda, Vienna, Baghdad, Apulia/Corfu, and Moldavia, during which he built wooden bridges and warships.⁵⁵

After he was appointed chief architect in 1539, upon the recommendation of Lutfi Pasha, who had by then become grand vizier, Sinan only rarely left Istanbul, from which he directed long-distance building operations. His plans on paper and three-dimensional models, which are mentioned in written sources, have not survived; but they circulated throughout the territories of the empire, to which his assistants, enrolled in the centralized corps of royal architects, were dispatched for diverse construction projects. During the decade between 1557 and 1566–1567, one of these architects, Mimar Hayrüddin, built the celebrated Mostar Bridge and probably the neighboring mosque of Karagöz Mehmed Beg, who was the construction overseer of that bridge on behalf of the sanjak governor of Herzegovina. According to the Ottoman traveler-geographer Mehmed Aşık's compendium of geography, written in the 1590s, the architect of the Mostar Bridge was a native of that region. Upon the request of the next sanjak governor of Herzegovina, Hüseyin Paşa-Boljanić (a relative of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha), the chief architect Sinan was ordered by imperial decree in 1568 to appoint and send the architect Hayrüddin to construct a fortress in the nearby Dalmatian port of Makarska (Fig. 3c). Another imperial decree bearing the same date asked the rector (chief magistrate) of the Republic of Ragusa to dispatch paid masons, "with their tools," for the construction of this fortress. Planned just before the Ottoman naval campaign against Venetian Cyprus, the fortress had not yet been completed in 1570. No longer featuring any fortifications, Makarska, which was particularly

pp. 774–775. Sultan Süleyman also commissioned a mosque in Avlona, which replaced the Halveti shaykh Yakub Efendi's small *masjid*.

⁵⁴ Translated in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 131.

⁵⁵ On campaigns attended by Sinan, see Crane and Akin, *Sinan's Autobiographies*. His construction of warships and a bridge are mentioned in *ibid.*, pp. 115–116.

vulnerable to plundering raids by Uskok pirates, is now one of the most captivating beach resorts of Croatia, situated between the idyllic coastline of Split and Dubrovnik.⁵⁶

Evidence exists for architectural exchanges between Ottoman Bosnia-Herzegovina and Ragusa, in the form of several official documents. For example, Sultan Süleyman, in a decree addressed to the Rector of Ragusa in 1556, requested that salaried master masons be sent, “with their tools, for the construction of the bridge in the township of Mostar, in the sanjak of Herzegovina.” In accordance with the local Dalmatian building tradition, the hemispherical domes of Karagöz Mehmed Beg’s mosque near that bridge—in all probability built by the architect Hayrüddin according to a design prepared by Sinan—are of stone masonry, unlike typically Ottoman brick domes. Masons from Dubrovnik were employed in other Ottoman building projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina, including the aforementioned caravansaray and bridge that Sokollu Mehmed Pasha commissioned in Trebinje for the soul of his late son. In these cross-cultural exchanges, architectural knowledge must have flowed in both directions.⁵⁷

56 Documents related to Mimar Hayrüddin are published in Andrej Andrejevic, “Neimar Hajreddin i Njegov Rad u Hercegovini,” *Hercegovina* 7–8 (1990): 39–51. On the Mostar Bridge and the neighboring mosque, see Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 155, 441, 565. The skillful architect of this bridge, who is not named, was from that region, according to Mehmed Âşık (Âşık Mehmed), *Menâzırı'l-Avâlim*, ed. Mahmut Ak, 3 vols. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2007, vol. 1, pp. ccxii–ccxiii and vol. 2, p. 322. Mostar Bridge, destroyed during the war in 1993, was rebuilt by 2004; I was a member of the UNESCO committee overseeing its reconstruction. The Makarska castle, commissioned in 975 (1568) was not yet complete in 977 (1570); see Istanbul, Prime Ministry Archives, BA, MAD. 7, no. 1216, 423, date: 9L. 975. and MAD. 7, no. 1218, 424, date: 9L. 975. Related archival documents are quoted in Bostan, *Adriyatik'te Korsanlık*, 115 (n. 29). Uskok raids on Makarska in 1565 and 1566 are mentioned in Bostan, *Adriyatik'te Korsanlık*, 104. On piracy, see also Bracewell, *Uskoks of Senj*.

57 The decree concerning Mostar Bridge is discussed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 441. Karagöz Mehmed Beg was not Rüstem Pasha’s brother, as is generally assumed; see n. 15 above. Repeating this error, Tracy mentions craftsmen and materials supplied from Dubrovnik for the neighboring mosque of Karagöz Mehmed Beg in Mostar: see Tracy, “Grand Vezir and the Small Republic,” p. 204 (n. 46). On craftsmen and materials sent from Dubrovnik to help in rebuilding Castelnuovo, following its reconquest by the Ottomans from Spanish forces in 1539, see Tracy, “Grand Vezir and the Small Republic,” p. 202. Other documents in the Dubrovnik archives, referring to the use of Ragusan builders in various Ottoman architectural projects at Bosnia and Herzegovina, are mentioned, without footnotes, in Samardzić, *Mehmed Sokolovitch*, pp. 310, 312. See also Curčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, pp. 761, 774–775, 785–786, 879 (n. 94).

Hayrûddin, who was a native of that region, undoubtedly saw the ancient ruins and contemporary monuments of Dalmatia during his more-than-decade-long presence in the sanjak of Herzegovina. In the course of his extended stay there, he may have traveled to Istanbul for instructions and perhaps described some of these sites to Sinan. In the previously mentioned 1568 imperial decree ordering the chief architect to send Hayrûddin, the architect of the Mostar Bridge, to Makarska as requested by the sanjak governor of Herzegovina, it is implied that he had returned to the capital after completing the bridge in 1566–1567. One Roman archaeological site with which Hayrûddin must have been familiar is the Ottoman port of Solin (Salona), the birthplace of the Roman emperor Diocletian (r. 284–305), only 5 kilometers northeast of Split. The ruins of this classical port are labeled “*Salona Citta antiqua ruinata*” on a view depicting Ottoman Klis (as “Clissa”) and Venetian Split (“Spallato”) (see Fig. 3b). Nowadays, Solin boasts fewer archaeological remnants, the most impressive ruin being an amphitheater (destroyed in the 17th century by Venetian generals who gained possession of the city and decided to level this imposing structure rather than leave it for the encroaching Ottomans), a bath complex, an urban villa, a forum, an aqueduct, Christian basilicas, and an octagonal baptistery. Ottoman Salona is described in Michiel’s 1558 report, who encountered its antique vestiges along the Adriatic coastline together with those of Diocletian’s Palace in Split while on his way to Istanbul:

Eight miles from Traù [Trogir], one finds the shores of the antique city of Salona, built by the Emperor Diocletian. One sees most beautiful columns, vaults, walls, and aqueducts, and vestiges demonstrating that it had been a most beautiful and most grand city. It is now within the district of Clissa, in Turkish territory.... [Near the fortress of Clissa] along the sea is the territory of Spalato, which is said to have been the palace of the Emperor Diocletian, constructed with great magnificence, all of marble, and one still sees six columns of diverse colors. This adjoins another section at the western side, recently built; in the middle is a place which is said to have been a temple with 32 columns and 8 façades, very beautiful.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ According to Evliya, the castle of Solin was built by the sanjak governor of Bosnia, Gazi Hüsrev Beg, and his steward (*kethüda*), Murad Beg, in 941 (1534–1535); these two subsequently seized the castle of Klis in 943 (1536–1537). Evliya explains that Solin Castle was demolished by the Venetians so that it would not fall into Turkish hands; see *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 5, eds. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman, and İbrahim Sezgin. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, p. 260. An imperial decree sent by Sultan Süleyman to Doge

The “very beautiful” temple (now the cathedral of Split where Christian martyrs are buried) is no doubt the octagonal mausoleum of Diocletian (d. 316), who was devoted to pagan gods and claimed to be a descendant of Jupiter. It is ornamented with precious columns, some of Egyptian granite, along with a sphinx brought from Egypt. Its imported white marble revetments and capitals are thought to have been produced in the workshops of Proconnesus Island in the Marmara Sea (a long defunct Roman marble quarry that would be revived during Sinan’s tenure as chief architect).

I would like to suggest that during the period of peace prior to the Cyprus and Lepanto wars, the architect Hayrûddin could have explored the antiquities of Venetian Split as well, including Diocletian’s sumptuous domed mausoleum featuring an inner and outer colonnade. Without explaining how its “influence” traveled to Istanbul, this late antique funerary monument has been posited by Doğan Kuban as a possible model for Sultan Süleyman’s octagonal mausoleum at the Süleymaniye mosque complex, which boasts unprecedented inner and outer colonnades. Assuming that Sinan had no way of informing himself about the design of Diocletian’s distant mausoleum, however, Uğur Tanyeli dismisses this possibility.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, it may not be a coincidence that the sultan’s posthumous mausoleum, built by Sinan between 1566 and 1568, was created just after Hayrûddin had returned to the capital upon completing the Mostar Bridge (1566–1567) and soon before he was

Andrea Gritti in 1531 announced the construction of a seashore castle in Solin within the sanjak of Bosnia, and asks that no interference be made by Venice in this regard; Gökbilgin, “Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Türkçe Belgeler Kolleksiyonu,” pp. 24–25, and Nicolò Michiel, “Viaggio e relazione,” pp. 91–92.

59 The mausoleum in Split is described in Curcic, *Architecture in the Balkans*, pp. 14, 26–37, 40–42. On the influence of Diocletian’s mausoleum on that of Süleyman, see Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul: An Urban History, Byzantium, Constantinopolis, Istanbul*. Istanbul: Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 1996, p. 263: “This octagonal space, covered by a double shell dome and surrounded by an outer arcade overhung by large eaves, follows a Mediterranean tradition. Its plan is a reworking of the plan of Diocletian’s Mausoleum at Spalato (today Split). In spite of their similarity as geometrical schemes, the architecture of Süleyman’s tomb is a radically different composition.... If this reminiscence is evidence of a Mediterranean Roman strain in the classical architectural culture of the Ottoman period, it also stands as proof of the creative interpretation of the Turkish architect.” On the rejection of the influence of Diocletian’s mausoleum, see Uğur Tanyeli, “Kanuni ve II: Selim Türbeleri Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” *Taç Vakfı Yıllığı* 1 (1991): 93–94, and, by the same author, “Klasik Osmanlı Dünyasında Değişim, Yenilik ve ‘Eskilik’ Üretimi,” in *Afife Batur'a Armağan: Mimarlık ve Sanat Tarihi Yazılıları*. İstanbul: Literatür Yayımları, 2005, pp. 29–31.

dispatched again to Dalmatia for the Makarska castle project (1568). I have argued elsewhere that another likely model for the unique layout of Süleyman's mausoleum, with its double-shell dome, is the late antique-flavored Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, dated 692. Believed to be the site of Solomon's Temple, this octagonal commemorative structure, featuring a double ambulatory with two rows of internal colonnades and crowned by a double-shell wooden dome, had recently been renovated with ceramic tiles (completed in 1551–1552) by the Ottoman sultan, who fashioned himself as the "Second Solomon" and "Solomon of the Age." For the posthumous mausoleum of his greatest patron, Süleyman the Magnificent (d. 1566), the foundations of which had been laid in 1550, Sinan may well have drawn inspiration from several models with prestigious imperial associations, including both the Dome of the Rock and Diocletian's mausoleum.⁶⁰

Late antique monuments with domed centralized plans were, in fact, highly admired by Ottoman travelers and dilettantes, judging by Mehmed Aşık's description of the late Roman rotunda in Thessaloniki, which had been converted into the Church of St. George and decorated with opulent Byzantine gold mosaics.⁶¹ The 16th-century traveler-cum-geographer, who resided in

60 The foundations of Süleyman's "future tomb" were laid together with those of his mosque complex in 1550; see Pierre Gilles, *Pierre Gilles' Constantinople*, trans. Kimberly Byrd. New York: Italica Press, 2008, p. 156. On Süleyman's posthumously built mausoleum, for which skilled masons and marble cutters were recruited in a decree dated 975 (1567–1568), and its cross-reference to the Dome of the Rock, see Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul: An Interpretation," *Muqarnas* 3 (1985): 113 (n. 1), and Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 207–222. The renovation of the Dome of the Rock in several campaigns between 1528–1529 and 1561–1562, the most prominent feature of which was the recladding of its exterior with Ottoman tiles (dating from 1545–1546 to 1551–1552), is analyzed in Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest: 'Abd al-Malik's Grand Narrative and Sultan Süleyman's Glosses," *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 17–105. My view that Süleyman's mausoleum makes a cross-reference to the Dome of the Rock is accepted, with some qualifications, by Uğur Tanyeli, who draws attention to the unique structural design of this tomb and that of Süleyman's son Selim II; see Tanyeli, "Kanuni ve II. Selim Türbeleri Üzerine bir Değerlendirme," pp. 93–94, and Tanyeli, "Klasik Osmanlı Dünyasında Değişim, Yenilik ve 'Eskilik' Üretimi," pp. 29–34.

61 Mehmed Aşık, *Menâzirü'l-'avâlim*, Topkapı Palace Library, E.H. 1446, fol. 356r, quoted and discussed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 58–59. For a recently published version based on a different manuscript, see Âşık Mehmed, *Menâzirü'l-'avâlim*, 3 vols, ed. Mahmut Ak. Ankara, 2007, pp. 986–988. On the controversial dating of the rotunda in Thessaloniki, see Robin Cormack, *Byzantine Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 25–31. It is generally identified as the mausoleum of the 4th-century Roman emperor Galerius, with its conversion into a church hypothetically dated to the late 5th or early 6th century. For a

Ottoman Thessaloniki for several years, says that this landmark was a favorite excursion spot prior to being converted into a mosque during his second visit to the city in 1595. Its cultic transformation required the addition of a minaret, mihrab, minbar, and muezzin's tribune, as well as a courtyard fountain that incorporated a large monolithic antique white marble basin laboriously excavated and transported from the residence of a Christian inhabitant located a mile away. Mehmed Aşık, who composed the mosque's foundation inscription celebrating the “conquest” (*feth*) of the church by Muslims, wrote, “Whenever this author went for a pleasurable outing (*teferrüç*) to that church with several acquaintances from the people of Selanik, we would wish it to become a sanctuary of the community of Islam (*ma'bed-i ehl-i İslām*); with the help of God, after a short while, our wish was granted.” Appropriation thus went hand in hand with aesthetic attraction and desire. This partly explains the preservation of the rotunda's extraordinary early Christian mosaics (Fig. 9a–d), which remained exposed to the view of Muslim congregations over the centuries. Around the middle of the 17th century, Evliya Çelebi was awestruck at the wondrous “sights” (*temâşâgâh*) of this light-filled mosque, with its lofty dome resting on eight “rainbow-like” arches and decorated with exemplary mosaics on which “masters of the past” (*üstâdân-i selef*) had demonstrated their unsurpassed artistry. He displays his connoisseurship by remarking that Greek chronicles identify the rotunda's patron as Empress Helena (d. ca. 327), the mother of Emperor Constantine (r. 306–337), who commissioned it before the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem was built for her. Evliya's remark reflects an awareness of the familial affinity between the two commemorative structures in Thessaloniki and Jerusalem (both of which are described admiringly in his travelogue). This affinity is also apparent in Islamic adaptations of such late antique prototypes, including the Dome of the Rock and Sultan Süleyman's mausoleum.⁶²

different view, see Curčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, pp. 22, 54–55, 68–71, 202–204, where it is attributed to Emperor Constantine, who may have started it as his mausoleum before moving his capital to Constantinople; according to this hypothesis, the incomplete edifice, abandoned ca. 324, was probably decorated with mosaics under Theodosius I in the late 5th century.

⁶² Mehmed Aşık, *Menâzırı'l-'avâlim*, fol. 356r; Aşık Mehmed, *Menâzırı'l-'avâlim*, vol. 3, ed. Mahmut Ak, pp. 986–988. The rotunda in Thessaloniki was named as the mosque of Shaykh Hortâcî, after the Sufi shaykh who presided over its conversion by means of an imperial decree obtained by the vizier Sinan Pasha. On the conversion, see Richard Franz Kreutel, “Ein Kirschraub in Selânik,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 69 (1977): 75–90. For Evliya's description, see Kahraman, Dağlı, and Dankoff, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 8, p. 69. Evliya enthusiastically declared that the Umayyad Dome of

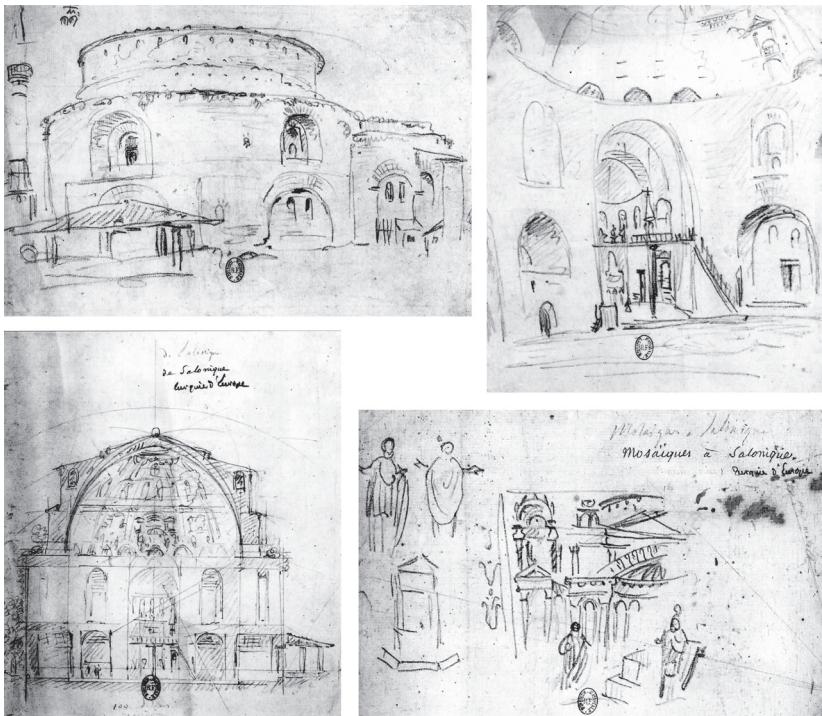


FIG. 9 (A–D) *Louis-François-Sebastien Fauvel, sketches of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki. Crayon, 1781–1782. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cabinet des Estampes, Gb 15b petit folio, fols. 202r, 203r, 142r, 141r (from Byzance retrouvée: Érudits et voyageurs français, XVIe–XVIIIe siècles, exh. cat. Paris, 2001).*

Despite the absence of a humanistic cult of antique revival in the Ottoman cultural realm, daily interaction with the reused monuments of antiquity and familiarity with ancient archaeological ruins could not but augment the “classicism” of aesthetic sensibilities in the age of Sinan. These sensibilities had become attuned to the ever-present landmarks of pre-Islamic Mediterranean architecture since the empire’s emergence in the early 14th century. Nevertheless, accounts like that of Mehmed Aşik, which shed light on the personal emotions behind the Ottoman reception of Greco-Roman and Byzantine antiquities are extremely rare, the travelogue of the resourceful Evliya Çelebi being an even more exceptional example. Given the scarcity of textual and visual evidence, it is difficult to trace abstract architectural “influences,” which

the Rock in Jerusalem, another mosaic-decorated domed octagonal building with a central plan, was the most wondrous monument he ever saw in his 38 years of travel; the passage is quoted in Necipoğlu, “Dome of the Rock as Palimpsest,” p. 69.

are much easier to document in other mediums, such as portable objects and painting. Not surprisingly, the current scholarly interest in cross-cultural artistic exchanges has focused primarily on the portability of “things,” whose mobility across and beyond the Mediterranean has been documented through the ages. By contrast, exchanges in the static, unmovable medium of architecture remain unexplored, particularly the elusive realms of architectural imagination and memory.

With its infrastructure of road networks and interconnected seaports, which redefined the early modern mechanisms of mobility in the eastern Mediterranean region, the so-called Pax Ottomana facilitated the traffic in “things.” In this network, Dubrovnik played an important role in fulfilling the Ottoman court’s requests for artifacts, such as Murano glass and luxury textiles, particularly in periods of diplomatic tension with the Venetian Republic. While restricting the importation of Italian fabrics for large-scale consumption at the Ottoman court, Rüstem Pasha continued to place private orders via Dubrovnik for high-quality Venetian prestige textiles for his own use, in keeping with hierarchical codes of decorum.⁶³ Just as patterns on paper were sent from Istanbul and Cairo to Venice in the 1550s for commissioned objects (including patterned brocades, Murano lamps, and lanterns for the sultan’s barge),⁶⁴ architectural drawings that are no longer extant may have flowed in

63 For Venetian luxury textiles ordered via Dubrovnik by Rüstem Pasha, some of which may have been intended as samples to be copied in Ottoman workshops, see Tracy, “Grand Vezir and the Small Republic: Dubrovnik and Rüstem Paşa, 1544–1561,” pp. 196–214, and Verena Han, “Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Trade in Glass between Dubrovnik and Turkey,” *Balcanica* 4 (1973): 163–178. On Ottoman–Venetian exchanges of artifacts, see Julian Raby, “The Serenissima and the Sublime Porte: Art in the Art of Diplomacy, 1453–1600,” in *Venice and the Islamic World, 829–1797*, ed. Stefano Carboni, exh. cat. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007, pp. 90–119, and Deborah Howard, “Cultural Transfer between Venice and the Ottomans in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” in *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, vol. 4, *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700*, ed. Herman Roodenburg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 138–177.

64 Two types of design on paper for mosque lamps and hanging lamps (*cesendello*), commissioned by Sokollu Mehmed Pasha from Murano, are illustrated and discussed in Rosa Barovier and Stefano Carboni, “Enameled Glass between the Eastern Mediterranean and Venice,” in *Venice and the Islamic World*, p. 270, figs. 11 and 12. A drawing made in 1599 for the sultan’s three boat lanterns is illustrated and discussed in *Venezia e Istanbul: Incontri, confronti e scambi*, ed. Ennio Concina, exh. cat. Udine: Forum, 2006, pp. 148–149, cat. 70. Documents referring to patterns on paper featuring written instructions, which were sent to Venice for textiles ordered by two pashas in 1554, are discussed in Gülrü Necipoğlu, “From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles,” *Mugarnas* 7 (1990): 155, 169 (n. 49). One of these documents is a Turkish

both directions. These drawings were plausibly complemented by European architectural prints and printed treatises with illustrations intended for an international market. The ground plan on paper of an Ottoman bathhouse made for an Austrian Habsburg ambassador in the 1570s, either by one of Sinan's assistants or perhaps by the chief architect himself, and the copy of that plan featuring explanatory annotations in German, show that in some instances "influence" did travel from East to West.⁶⁵ Such concrete proofs of reciprocal cultural interaction are, however, uncommon. Given that architectural models were often unrecognizably transformed during the process of creative translation, it is rarely possible to go beyond conjecture in pinpointing cross-cultural exchanges in this medium, but there is copious evidence of contact, as indicated above.

Stones

Much can be learned about the materiality of exchange by paying particular attention to the traffic in antique stones, perhaps the most common way in which archaeological sites traveled across spatial and temporal boundaries.

letter sent from Cairo to Venice, by Dukakinzade Mehmed Pasha (the governor-general of Egypt since 1553) to Propicia Mano, the former *bailo* of Aleppo; the pasha had befriended him while governing that city and asks him, for the sake of their old friendship, to help in the production of textiles ordered from Venice. For this purpose, the pasha had a designer make a pattern ("nakkāşa resm itdirüb") in Cairo, which was sent with the accompanying letter to Venice via the new *bailo* in that city. This document (Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Documenti Turchi 657) is published in M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, "Venedik Devlet Arşivindeki Vesikalalar Külliyyatında Kanunî Sultan Süleyman Belgeleri," *Belgeler* 1, no. 2 (1964): 219–220 (n. 99). I discovered the other reference to four types of design, sent to Venice for cushions Rüstem Pasha ordered for his daughter, among Antonio Erizzo's dispatches. These designs on paper were annotated with Turkish instructions, which this *bailo* had ordered to be translated to French; Archivio di Stato, Venezia, Dispacci al Senato, Costantinopoli, Filza 1A, fols. 62b–63a, 28ob.

⁶⁵ On the role of architectural drawings and prints in the transmission of knowledge, see Howard, *Venice & the East*, pp. 53–59; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 98–102; and Gülrü Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Architectural Practice," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 45, no. 3 (1986): 224–243. The bath plans are described and reproduced in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 98; Necipoğlu, "Plans and Models," pp. 225–227; Howard Burns, "Dialoghi mediterranei: Palladio e Sinan," in *Palladio*, eds. Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns, exh. cat. Venice: Marsilio, 2008, pp. 236–243.

By the second half of the 16th century, there are no reports of sultans having antiquarian pursuits comparable to those of Mehmed II, who during excursions to Troy and Athens is said to have displayed an avid interest in antiquities and classical heroes, about whom he was tutored by two Italian readers in Greek and Latin. The reader in Greek was a “companion” of the renowned antiquarian humanist, Cyriacus of Ancona. According to a history of Mehmed II’s reign, written in Greek by his courtier Kritoboulos of Imbros, the sultan’s primary role model was Alexander the Great. Like the Macedonian world conqueror, Mehmed, during his 1462 visit to Troy, inquired “about the tombs of the heroes, Achilles and Ajax and the rest,” who were fortunate to “have the poet Homer to extol them.” Then he boasted of having avenged Troy and its inhabitants through his own conquests, a boast acknowledging the Renaissance conflation of the Turks with the Trojans. Kritoboulos also described the sultan’s “enamored” tour of Athens, after it was conquered in the Morea campaign of 1458, during which he was eager to learn about all its monuments, “especially the Acropolis itself, and of the places where those heroes carried on the government” and accomplished “wonderful deeds.” Amazed by the remains and ruins, the sultan reconstructed “mentally the ancient buildings, being a wise man and a Philhellene.”⁶⁶

Soon thereafter, the Parthenon was converted from a Latin cathedral into a mosque (Fig. 10a). Its mihrab apse continued to display a mosaic image of the Virgin Mary and Christ Child (as in the Hagia Sophia mosque in Istanbul) until the building exploded in 1687 during a Venetian bombardment (Fig. 10b). The Propylaea, which had been transformed into a palace during the 14th century by the Florentine duke Neri Acciaiuoli, became the official residence of the city’s Ottoman governors. Kritoboulos reported that after staying in Athens for 4 days, Mehmed II indulged in a sightseeing tour of Boeotia and Palataea, “looking all over the Hellenic sites.” He then paid a visit to Euboea (Negroponte), which he would subsequently seize from the Venetians in 1470

66 On the sultan’s two Italian readers, see Julian Raby, “Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II,” *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 43 (1980): 242–246, and Kritoboulos of Imbros, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Kritououlos (1451–1467)*, trans. from the Greek by Charles Riggs. Princeton, NJ, 1954, pp. 136–137, 181–182. On the identification of the Turks with the Trojans in some Renaissance sources, see James Hankins, “Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995): 111–207; Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); and Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II’s Constantinople,” pp. 10–11, 51.

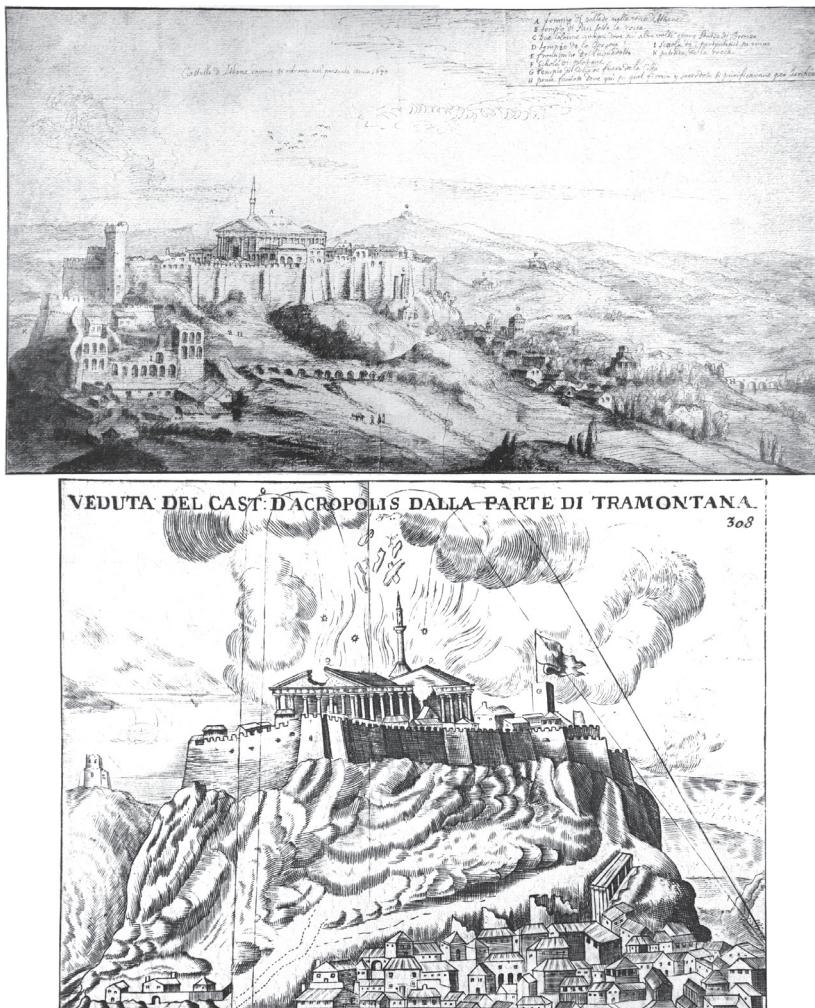


FIG. 10A–B (A) *View of the Acropolis in Athens, showing the Parthenon transformed into a mosque by Mehmed II and other antiquities. Ink drawing, 1670, Kunstmuseum, Bonn (from Henri Omont, Athènes au XVIIe siècle. Paris, 1898).* (B) *Depiction of the Venetian bombardment of the Acropolis in Athens. Drawing from Fanelli's Atene Attica (1687) (from Henri Omont, Athènes au XVIIe siècle. Paris, 1898).*

as one of the former territories of the “Empire of Constantinople” that was “rightfully his.”⁶⁷

67 On the conversion of the Parthenon’s Latin church into a mosque and descriptions of the apse mosaic, which survived until the Venetian bombardment of 1687, see Robert Ousterhout, “Bestride the Very Peak of Heaven’: The Parthenon after Antiquity,” in

Among 16th-century sultans, Selim I (r. 1512–1520) and his son Süleyman continued to regard themselves as rightful inheritors of the Eastern Roman Empire and to read translated histories of Alexander the Great as one of their role models. To a lesser degree than Mehmed II, both of these rulers sustained an engagement with the visual culture of Renaissance Italy and northern Europe. However, this engagement would diminish with the codification, in the 1550s, of a “classical” Ottoman idiom in the arts and architecture.⁶⁸ During the second half of the 16th century, a prominent dimension of the Ottoman aesthetic response to monuments of antiquity was centered on their materiality, expressed in the re-use of colored marble columns and panels (porphyry and Egyptian granite) removed from ancient ruins. This phenomenon was often deplored in the anti-Turkish discourses of western European humanist texts. One such example is the French antiquarian Pierre Gilles’s mid-16th-century book on the ancient topography of Constantinople, which blames the barbarous Turks, “who in the last century have not ceased utterly destroying the vestiges of the ancient city.”⁶⁹

The Parthenon: From Antiquity to the Present, ed. Jenifer Neils. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 317–324. A reconstruction of the Acciaiuoli Palace is proposed in Tasos Tanoulas, “Through the Broken Looking Glass: The Acciaiuoli Palace in the Propylaea Reflected in the Villa of Lorenzo il Magnifico at Poggio a Caiano,” *Bollettino d’Arte* 82, no. 100 (1997): 1–32; see also Tanoulas’s wider discussion of the Propylaea in his book *Τα προπύλαια της Αθηναϊκής Ακρόπολης κατά τον Μεσαίωνα*. Athens: Hē en Athénais Archaiologikē Hetaireia, 1997. Mehmed II, accompanied by his Palaiologan intimate, Has Murad, declared to the Venetian ambassador in 1468 that Negroponte, Crete, and all Venetian territories in the Levant belonged to him as the rightful heir of the “Empire of Constantinople” (*Io’nporio di Ghostantinopoli*); see Dei, *La Cronica*, p. 166.

- 68 The emulation of Alexander the Great and the Western artistic orientations of these three sultans are discussed in Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II’s Constantinople,” pp. 6–22, 46–52.
- 69 On discourses by humanists on the barbarism of “the Turk,” see Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Turks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004, and Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*. See also Kimberly Byrd, “Pierre Gilles and the Topography of Constantinople,” in *Myth to Modernity: Istanbul, Selected Themes*, no. 1, eds. Nezih Başgelen and Brian Johnson. Istanbul: Archaeology and Art Publications, 2002, p. 4; *Pierre Gilles’ Constantinople*, trans. Byrd, 47, pp. 224–225. Greek archaeology began and ended with Cyriacus of Ancona, according to Roberto Weiss, who points out that Western Europeans took no great interest in the ancient monuments of Byzantium until Gilles, even though Greek archaeological sites were not entirely inaccessible: “Renaissance archaeology was simply Roman archaeology” and “despite its Greek veneer, the humanism of the Renaissance was

The precarious condition of late antique ruins sprouting with vegetation in the very heart of Sultan Süleyman's capital is hinted at in a series of prints published in Antwerp in 1553, titled *Moeurs et Fachons des Turcs* (mentioned briefly above), one of which is shown in Figure 1. The series is based on sketches made by the Flemish artist Pieter Coecke van Aelst in 1533, when he stayed for a year in Istanbul and learned to speak Turkish during a failed attempt to negotiate a commission of tapestries at the sultan's court.⁷⁰ Antique ruins in papal Rome that were even more overgrown with vegetation are depicted in the roughly contemporary sketches of Marten van Heemskerck (ca. 1532–1537). Together, these images document an overlooked parallel between the two capitals of Old and New Rome. Sixteenth-century Western visitors to the Levant often downplay such parallels and the comparable use of antique spolia in Renaissance Europe, preferring instead to lament the barbaric destruction of antiquities in the Ottoman lands and especially Constantinople. However, it is well known that in Rome (and other Roman sites such as Venetian Pula along the Adriatic coast) precious marbles and columns were extensively spoliated throughout the 15th and 16th centuries by the very admirers of antiquity. The historian Roberto Weiss observed that "ironic as it may seem, the Renaissance brought more destruction on the Roman ruins than any other age: the new Rome of the Renaissance meant the annihilation of the old." Leonard Barkan has argued that Raphael's appointment by Leo X as papal stone inspector (*commissario della antichità*) had more to do with "acquiring marble for the construction of Saint Peter's than with humanist preservation." In their famous "Letter to Leo X," Raphael and Castiglione expressed admiration for the innovative contemporary architecture of the papal capital "that revived and seems close to the style of the ancients," but they were more impressed by the material qualities of the magnificent buildings of imperial Rome, boasting ornaments made of "precious materials" with "infinite expense."⁷¹

essentially Latin"; see Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1969, pp. 130–134, 142–144, 206.

⁷⁰ W. Stirling Maxwell, *The Turks in 1533: A Series of Drawings Made in That Year at Constantinople by Peter Coeck of Aelst and Published by His Widow in Antwerp in 1553*. London and Edinburgh: Privately Printed for W.S.M., 1873. For Pieter Coecke van Aelst's Istanbul visit and the tapestry project, see *Le livre des peintres de Carel van Mander, Vie des peintres flamands, hollandais et allemands*. Harlem: Voor Paschier van westvysch Boeck vercooper, 1604, trans. Henri Hymans. Paris: J. Rouan, 1884, vol. 1, pp. 184–189, and Necipoğlu, "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg-Papal Rivalry," pp. 419–421, 424.

⁷¹ "Enthusiasm for Antiquity neither prevented nor even slowed down the destruction of Roman ruins"; see Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*, pp. 98–100,

Leon Battista Alberti's humanist architectural treatise explicitly states that valuable stones and columns are what make a monument impressive, “especially if the stone comes from abroad and has been conveyed along a difficult route.”⁷² The Ottoman ruling elites likewise prized colored marble or granite columns and revetments, laboriously transported from great distances. This shared pan-Mediterranean aesthetic preference contributed to Ottoman competitiveness with regard to the ownership of antiquities in their own domains and to their resistance to allowing these monuments to be sketched by foreigners.⁷³ The vigilant guarding of ancient stones, earmarked for the prestige monuments of the royal family and privileged grandees, is revealed by an imperial

205–206. The destruction of Renaissance Rome, especially for the New St. Peter's, is noted in Michael Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present: Building with Antiquities in the Medieval Mediterranean*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009, p. 529. On Raphael's appointment, see the pope's order and discussion in Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999, pp. 37–40. The “Letter to Leo X,” has recently been interpreted from a more balanced viewpoint that argues for the simultaneous destruction and preservation of antiquities in Renaissance Rome in David Karmon, *The Ruin of the Eternal City: Antiquity and Preservation in Renaissance Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 156–159. Studies on spolia include Derek A.R. Moore, “Notes on the Use of Spolia in Roman Architecture from Bramante to Bernini,” in *Architectural Studies in Memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. Cecil L. Striker. Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1996, pp. 119–122, 120–121; Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican*. Hilversum, 2004; Dale Kinney, “Spolia,” in *St. Peter's in the Vatican*, ed. William Tronzo. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 16–47; and Bente Kielerich, “Antiquus et modernus: Spolia in Medieval Art, Western, Byzantine and Islamic,” in *Medioevo: Il tempo degli antichi*, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle. Milan: Electa, 2006, pp. 135–145.

- 72 Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, eds. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor. Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1989), pp. 25, 163. Ancient Romans also preferred “foreign marbles, from as far away as possible,” because “their dignity required exoticism”; see Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present*, pp. 443–444.
- 73 Concerning the difficulty of sketching ancient edifices in Istanbul, “for fear of arousing the suspicions of the Turks, who were jealous of these monuments,” see Eve Borsook, “The Travels of Bernardo Michelozzi and Bonsignore Bonsignori in the Levant (1497–98),” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 160. Pierre Gilles complained that the inhabitants of the city impeded his antiquarian inquiries and asked, “How did I dare to measure anything or ask anything freely, not only of the barbarians, but even of the Greeks?”; see *Pierre Gilles' Constantinople*, trans. Byrd, p. 224. Hans Dernschwam (1553–1555) confirmed that it was with great difficulty that one could scribble down a few words on a slate or make a small sketch in Istanbul, before the barbaric Turks (*ein barbarisch volkh*) would threaten to beat the interested observer, especially because such activities were perceived as espionage; Dernschwam, *Tagebuch*, pp. 99–98.

decree from 1577. This document shows how much the same stones were coveted by Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire and by western Europeans. Copies of the decree were sent to various administrators in the Morea, namely, the sanjak governor of Negroponte, as well as the kadis of Athens, Livadia (near Coron), and İstefe (Thebes). The recipients were ordered to guard such stones in appropriate storage places and to forbid the sale of antique marbles to “unbelievers”:

It has been reported by a petition presented to my threshold of felicity that some carved marble columns and porphyry marbles (*yontulmuş mermer direkler ve şomaklı mermerler*) found in your districts have been taken and used in the construction of churches by Christian subjects and sold by them to infidel enemies and to others; I order that when [this decree] arrives hold onto such columns and porphyry marbles (*ānuñ gibi direkleri ve şomaklı mermerleri*) in appropriate places at your district and do not allow their sale to unbelievers.⁷⁴

Such jealous guarding of esteemed ancient marbles casts doubts on later claims by modern colonial powers that the ignorance of the Ottomans, oblivious to the value of antiquities, justified transporting these treasures from the Levant to museums in the West.⁷⁵ Nor was spoliation only an Eastern problem; as Michael Greenhalgh has noted, antiquities also disappeared in Europe, especially “during the centuries of antiquarianism and museums.” The decree cited above testifies to the prestige value of precious colored marbles and columns among dominant social groups sharing a common visual language of status throughout the Mediterranean area. Awareness of the scarcity of these

74 On the comparable papal monopoly on valuable ancient building stone in Rome, established by Pope Nicholas V, see Karmon, *Ruin of the Eternal City*, p. 65, translated in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 180; original document published in Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmaret-i İnşaati (1550–1557)*, 2 vols. Ankara, 1972–1979, p. 31 (n. 69): “Südde-i sa’adetüme ‘arz-ı hâl şunilup taht-ı ķazâñuzda ba’žı yontulmuş mermer direkler ve şomaklı mermerler olup kefere tâ’ifesi alup kiliseler yapup ve hârbî kâfirlere ve sâ’ire bey’ eyledükleri i'lâm olunmağın buyurdum ki: Vardukda ānuñ gibi direkleri ve şomaklı mermerleri taht-ı ķazâñuzda münâsib olan mahallerde žabt idüp kefereye bey’ ittiürmeyesiz.”

75 On the tensions involved in the transfer of antiquities from Ottoman territories to German museums, which sometimes triggered diplomatic crises because representatives of the sultans were fully cognizant of their value as cultural heritage, see Suzanne L. Marchand, *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

no longer quarried marbles made them all the more desirable, placing an added value on the “competence in finding, transporting and erecting” them.⁷⁶

It is not surprising, then, that the autobiography of chief architect Sinan focuses less on spatial design innovations than on the transportation and erection, in accordance with the “science of mechanics” (*cerr-i sakil*), of the collection of rare marble columns reassembled at the Süleymaniye mosque, which was built for Sultan Süleyman between 1550 and 1557 as part of a large complex completed in 1559 (Fig. 11a–e). I have formerly argued that this “collecting” extravaganza was partly inspired by late 15th- and 16th-century Persian and Turkish adaptive translations of the *Diegesis peri tes Hagias Sofias*, an early medieval (probably 9th-century) Byzantine text. These written sources

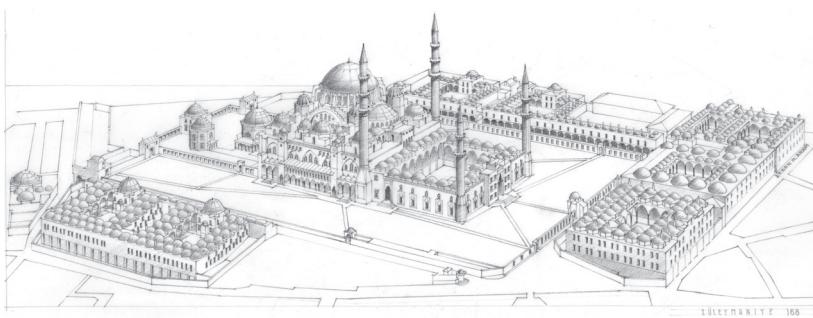
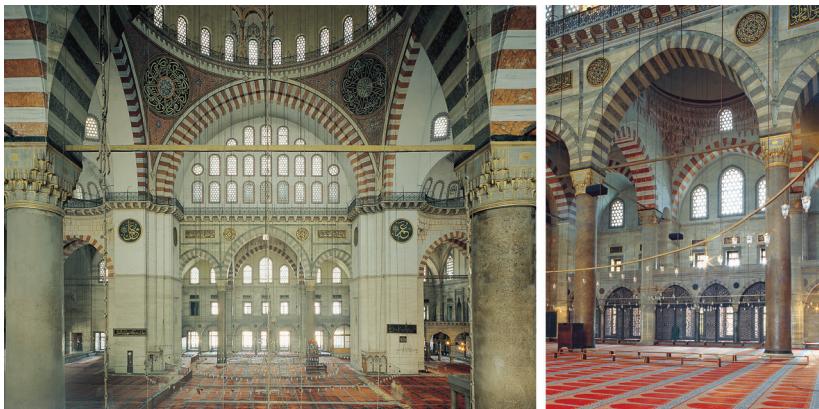


FIG. 11A (A) Axonometric plan of the Süleymaniye mosque complex in Istanbul (drawn by Arben N. Arapi, after Necipoğlu, Age of Sinan).



FIGS 11B–C (B, C) External lateral arcades of the Süleymaniye mosque in Istanbul (PHOTOS: WALTER B. DENNY AND ALINA PAYNE).

76 Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present*, pp. 8–9.



FIGS 11D–E (D, E) Internal views of the Süleymaniye mosque in Istanbul (PHOTOS: REHA GÜNEY).

describe how Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–565) appropriated spolia from pagan temples and antiquities throughout his empire for the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Decrees are said to have been sent to provincial governors, vassals, and judges, ordering them to search for columns, pillars, slabs, and veneers, which were then to be conveyed to Constantinople on rafts. Ottoman versions of the semi-mythical *Diegesis* were well known to Sinan, who cites them in his autobiography. The texts refer to spoliated stones brought to Constantinople from Rome, Ephesus, Cyzicus, the Cyclades, the Troad (Biga peninsula), Baalbek, Palmyra, and Egypt.⁷⁷ Paul the Silentiary's 6th-century *ekphrasis* of the Hagia Sophia names its variegated marbles, emphasizing how difficult they were to extract and transport, and treating them as proof of the extent of Justinian's domain, a kind of "material map" of empire.⁷⁸

77 On the Greek text and translations, see Gilbert Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des Patria*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1984, and Stéphane Yerasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques*. Paris: Institut français d'études anatoliennes; J. Maisonneuve, 1990. Sinan's quotations from the Turkish texts are discussed in Necipoğlu, "Sources, Themes, and Cultural Implications of Sinan's Autobiographies," p. x. On the Ottoman reception of Hagia Sophia's textual traditions, see Gülrü Necipoğlu, "Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium," in *Hagia Sophia: From the Age of Justinian to the Present*, eds. Robert Mark and Ahmet Ş. Çakmak. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 195–225. The collecting of antiquities in Byzantine Constantinople in an effort to fashion its distinct historical identity is analyzed in Sarah Basset, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

78 Quoted in Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present*, pp. 35, 70.

The Hagia Sophia, converted by Mehmed II into the principal imperial mosque of Istanbul, had been designed for Justinian as the New Temple of Solomon in a competition known to Ottoman audiences from adaptations of the *Diegesis*. The converted church therefore constituted one of the primary models for the mosque of Sultan Süleyman, who, styling himself after his namesake as the new Solomon, renovated the Dome of the Rock around the time his mosque complex in Istanbul was being built. The spoliated marbles of this mosque—associated with the prophet-king Solomon (from Cyzicus and Baalbek), Alexander the Great (from Alexandria in Egypt), and the emperors of Constantinople—evoked an affinity between past and present, as expressed in one of the titles claimed by Süleyman, “master of the lands of the Roman Caesars and Alexander the Great.”⁷⁹ The array of reused colored marble and granite columns and panels brought from Eastern Mediterranean ports constituted a virtual catalogue of Ottoman territories. Portraying an image of empire, the collection of stones recontextualized in the Süleymaniye mosque projected the sultan’s self-definition as Muslim successor of the greatest emperors and prophet-kings of the Mediterranean-centered, tri-continental ancient *oecumene*, which continued to carry considerable cultural capital, despite the discovery of the New World. Thus, for Süleyman and his archrival Charles V, both of whom vied for the imperial title of Roman Caesar, the notion of “universal empire” remained largely confined to areas once ruled by the Roman emperors of antiquity.⁸⁰

Pierre Gilles was in Istanbul between 1544 and 1547 as King Francis I’s agent in charge of purchasing ancient Greek and Latin codices, and again in 1550. He commented on the Süleymaniye’s precious marbles, which had been recycled over the centuries in previous royal buildings, noting that the components of the sultan’s mosque complex “are now being constructed out of bright marble collected from many regions of the Turkish Empire. You may see thrown on the ground infinite kinds of marble, not only those recently taken out from the stone quarry, but countless others for many ages wandering through different buildings of the rulers not only of Byzantium but of all Greece and even of

79 Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 27–28, 207–222.

80 The argument that the emerging New World had relatively little significance for Charles V’s self-portrayal as universal ruler is made in Harald Kleinschmidt, *Charles V: The World Emperor*. Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2004. I disagree with Greenhalgh’s judgment that the “Ottoman Turks had no connection whatever with Graeco-Roman civilization, but this did not prevent re-use” of the past, which underestimates their self-conscious engagement with the Roman-Byzantine imperial tradition; see Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present*, p. 482.

Egypt.” Sinan, in his autobiography, made the following proud remark about these rare stones reassembled like an album at the Süleymaniye mosque (see Fig. 11a–e): “Each of its colored marbles, which arouse admiration in men of perception, came from a different land as a keepsake. According to historians, most of them originated from the palace Solomon had built for the Queen of Sheba. The white marbles were newly quarried in the Marmara Island [Proconnesus] and the green ones came from the Arab lands [Alexandria], while the incomparable porphyry roundels and panels were priceless treasures.”⁸¹

This passage identifies the antique marbles in the sultan’s mosque as mementoes and relics of the past, admired by “men of perception.” Playing a cognitive role by simultaneously evoking cultural memories and enhancing the mosque’s aesthetic value, these cherished stones with multilayered associations turned the Süleymaniye into a “lieu de memoire.” The abovementioned Solomonic palace was Hadrian’s Temple in the Temaşalık district of Cyzicus (Aydincık), which had been considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World in the late Roman period. The Ottomans associated its ancient ruins with Solomon, while *verde antique* marbles brought from Alexandria were appropriate relics for the sultan who also claimed to be the “Alexander of the Age.”⁸²

The places of origin of the four colossal red Egyptian granite columns supporting the mosque’s “heavenlike” monumental dome are identified by Sinan in his autobiography: two from Constantinople, one from Alexandria in Egypt that was carried on a barge, and one transported on a slipway from Baalbek (the Temple of Jupiter, associated with Solomon) up to the Mediterranean coast, where it was likewise loaded onto a barge (see Fig. 11d and e).⁸³ These

81 Pierre Gilles’ *Constantinople*, trans. Byrd, 156. The passage from Sinan’s autobiography is translated in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 142.

82 Necipoğlu, “Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul.” Sultan Süleyman is eulogized as the Alexander and Solomon of the Age in Latifi’s biographical dictionary of poets written in 1546; see Mustafa İsen, ed., *Latifi Tezkiresi*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990, p. 13.

83 The provenance of the four colossal red granite columns—one of these being the Maiden’s Column (Kıztaşı) in Istanbul, which was shortened with the sultan’s permission—is discussed in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 142–143. Each of these columns is 9.020 meters high; on the Maiden’s Column, which was shortened 1.348 meters and reduced 0.156 meters in its lower diameter, see Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger and Arne Effenberger, “Die ‘columna virginea’ und ihre Wiederverwendung in die Süleymaniye Camii,” in *Millennium—Jahrbuch*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2004, pp. 369–407. The assertion that the Column of Theodosius (*Colona Istoriana*) was reused in the

extremely potent gigantic columns, accompanied by numerous smaller ones forming internal and external palatial arcades, imbued the Süleymaniye mosque with an aesthetic of subdued classicism, characterized by restrained ornament and a harmonious system of proportions that was conditioned by the classical dimensions of its antique columns (see Fig. 11b–e). The composite yet visually unified and symmetrically ordered assortment of columns and re-cut marble revetments gathered at the Süleymaniye mosque conceal their sources. Following a trend set by the former imperial mosques of Istanbul, starting with that of Mehmed II (built between 1463 and 1470), antique column shafts were provided with newly cut Ottoman-style capitals that enhanced their unity. This was a conspicuous departure from re-used classical columns incorporated into early Ottoman monuments and their medieval Islamic counterparts in North Africa, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt, which generally flaunt diverse spoliated capitals with an implicit triumphalist tone. The Süleymaniye mosque’s collection of uniform antique marble column shafts with matching new capitals embodied an early modern attitude, one also prevalent in Renaissance Europe, that departed from the conspicuous display and flagrant exhibition of medieval spolia, characterized by an aesthetic of *varietas*.⁸⁴

It is worth noting that two of the pashas, Rüstem and Semiz Ali, were intimately involved in the construction process of the Süleymaniye mosque, whose rich assortment of marble columns and panels was rivaled only by those of Mehmed II’s mosque in Istanbul, which replaced the dilapidated Church of the Holy Apostles. The latter mosque (rebuilt after an 18th-century earthquake) was praised by a Venetian observer in 1573 as a “bellissima moschea” occupying the most beautiful site of Constantinople and exquisitely “ornamented with the

Süleymaniye mosque is untenable; see Serpil Çelik, *Süleymaniye Külliyesi Malzeme, Teknik ve Süreç*. Ankara, 2009, p. 48. The Theodosian column was dismantled from the grounds of the Old Palace around 1500 to make room for a bathhouse adjoining Bayezid II’s mosque complex on that site; see Necipoğlu, “Visual Cosmopolitanism and Creative Translation: Artistic Conversations with Renaissance Italy in Mehmed II’s Constantinople,” pp. 26–27. The association, in Islamic sources, of the Temple in Baalbek with the palace that King Solomon built for the Queen of Sheba is mentioned in Necipoğlu, “Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul,” p. 104 (n. 104).

84 On the late medieval Mamluk treatment of spolia in Cairo, without attempt at visual unification, see the essay by Doris Behrens-Abouseif in this volume. The Italian Renaissance and Baroque periods do not “display recognizably reused pieces,” a change that is either a “matter or aesthetics, as when Raphael’s shop simply re-cut what was needed, or when making some historicizing point”; see Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present*, p. 30.

most beautiful columns one can find in the whole world, of which it has an infinite quantity" (*ornata delle più belle colonne che si possono trovar al mondo, et ve ne sono un numero infinito*). The same observer judges the mosque of Süleyman as "surpassing all others in beauty" (*di bellezza passa tutte le altre*).⁸⁵ The grand vizier Rüstem Pasha, as the head of the Imperial Council, was responsible for supervising written decrees related to the construction of the Süleymaniye. One of these was sent in 1550 to Semiz Ali Pasha, who was then the governor-general of Egypt residing in Cairo. (He subsequently moved to Istanbul upon being promoted vizier of the Imperial Council in 1553, while the Süleymaniye mosque—inaugurated in 1557—was still under construction.) The imperial decree that this pasha received in Cairo, about 3 months after the foundations of the Süleymaniye were laid, specified the dimensions of columns required from Alexandria and asked him also to send colored marble revetments:

In Alexandria there are supposed to be four pieces of red sparrow's eye columns (Red Aswan Granite, *kızıl serçe gözü direkler*) seventeen cubits long and two cubits wide. Since it is necessary to bring these columns here, I order you to immediately report where the aforementioned columns are, and how much their transportation will cost, and what type of ship they need to be loaded on, after fully informing yourself about the truth of the matter in detail. And besides the aforementioned columns, send as many esteemed green and red porphyry columns (*yeşil ve şomaklı mu'teber direklerden*) five to six cubits [long] as you can and the best marbles suitable for revetments (*dösemeye münâsib gäyet eyü mermerlerden*).⁸⁶

85 The Venetian report is "Aurelio Santa Croce al séguito del bailo Marcantonio Barbaro, Notizie da Costantinopoli (1573)," in Pedani-Fabris, *Relazioni di ambasciatori Veneti*, pp. 190–191. Nicolò Michiel (1558) praised the extremely beautiful and shining stones (*bellissime et lucidissime pietre*) of the Süleymaniye; see "Aurelio Santa Croce al séguito del bailo Marcantonio Barbaro," p. 102. On the stones of the Süleymaniye, see Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaası*; J. Michael Rogers, "The State and the Arts in Ottoman Turkey, Part 1: The Stones of Süleymaniye," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14 (1982): 71–86; Stéphane Yerasimos, *La Mosquée de Soliman*. Paris: Paris-Méditerranée : CNRS éditions, 1997; Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 142, 156–157, 174, 178–181, 220–221; and İlknur Aktuğ and Serpil Çelik, "Ottoman Stone Acquisition in the Mid-Sixteenth Century: The Süleymaniye Complex in Istanbul," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 249–272, in particular 256, fig. 1, which shows the location of stone resources for the Süleymaniye complex.

86 Translated in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 174; the Ottoman Turkish text is published in Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaası*, vol. 2, p. 13 (n. 15).

Decades later, al-Tamgrouti, a Moroccan ambassador to Istanbul in 1589–1591, reported that he was informed by an eyewitness how the city wall of Alexandria (see Fig. 12) had to be pierced to move four colossal columns destined for the Süleymaniye mosque (those mentioned in the decree above), only two of which were used there, since the ship carrying the other pair had sunk in a storm.⁸⁷

According to archival documents, the two huge columns arrived along with marble revetments from the Alexandria storehouse, where imperial construction materials were kept. They had been stockpiled there before 1547 by the former governor-general of Egypt, Davud Pasha, and consisted of 110 chest loads and 71 bundles of costly Egyptian stone.⁸⁸ Semiz Ali Pasha, the new governor-general, was surely aware of the prestigious cultural associations of these marbles, which he promptly dispatched to Istanbul. If he was indeed



FIG. 12 Luigi Mayer, *ancient ruins in Alexandria*. Print from *Views in Turkey in Europe and Asia*. London, 1801 (PHOTO COURTESY THE HOUGHTON LIBRARY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY).

87 Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali bin Mohammed al-Tamgrouti, *En-Nafhat el-Miskiya fi-s-Sifarat et-Tourkiya, Relation d'une ambassade Marocaine en Turquie, 1589–1591*, trans. and ed. Henry de Castries. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1929, pp. 53–54.

88 Aktuğ and Çelik, “Ottoman Stone Acquisition in the Mid-Sixteenth Century,” pp. 264–265.

from the Dalmatian island of Brač, celebrated for its quarry of white stone that approximated marble when polished, his connoisseurship of stones could have gone back to his childhood. It is not a coincidence that a manuscript dedicated to Semiz Ali Pasha emphasizes the importation of Egyptian marble columns for the Süleymaniye mosque, which we know were supplied by him. This freely elaborated, composite version of the *Diegesis* and *Patria* in Ottoman Turkish, titled the “History of Constantinople,” was dedicated to the learned grand vizier in 1562–1563. It ends with a eulogy of the Süleymaniye mosque complex and the recently completed madrasa (1559–1560) of Semiz Ali Pasha near Edirnekapı in Istanbul. Built for the “Solomon of the Age” and the “Alexander of the Epoch,” the new imperial mosque featuring “columns from Alexandria and Egypt and elsewhere” is referred to as an unrivaled monument that no other monarch “on the face of the earth” had been destined to create. The description of the mosque highlights the use of imported spolia laden with potent memories, paralleling those of the Hagia Sophia, which are enumerated in the same text as evidence for the extent of Justinian’s empire. Much like Sinan’s autobiography, composed in the 1580s, the author emphasizes the materiality of the Süleymaniye mosque’s stones, characterizing them as souvenirs of monarchs mentioned in the Koran and as mementos of the empire’s provinces:

Each of the materials and components and stones and columns deployed in it was the tribute of a land and the renown of a province. And each of its porphyry columns (*ol şomakī ‘amūdları*) was the souvenir of a sovereign. Some of them were from the Throne/Palace (*taht*) of His Highness, the Prophet Solomon—may salutations be upon him—and some came from the Throne/Palace of the Mirror of Alexander, the Two-Horned [a Koranic reference to Alexander the Great].⁸⁹

89 İlyas Efendi, *Tārīħ-i Koṣṭanṭīniyye*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Turc 147, dated 970 (1562–1563). For a summary and French translations of selected passages from this unpublished manuscript, see Yerasimos, *La foundation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques*, pp. 223–232 (the quoted passage is translated on 231–232). I have consulted the Paris manuscript, where the author, ‘Ali al-‘Arabī İlyās, identifies himself as a madrasa professor on fol. 2r. The Süleymaniye is described on fols. 43r–44r: “Ve anda olan esbāb ve ālāt ve aḥcār ve iştivānāt her biri bir memleketiň ḥarāci ve bir vilāyetüň şem-i sirāci idi. Ve ol şomakī ‘amūdları birer pādişāhıň yādgāri idi. Ve bir kāçı ḥaźret-i Süleymān peyğamber ‘aleyhi’s-selām tahtından ve bir kāçı İskender el-ḳarneynūň äyinesi tahtından idiler.”

The systematic search for stones for the Süleymaniye complex amounted to a veritable archaeological survey of major classical sites and quarries within the Ottoman domains. Distributed along the empire's eastern Mediterranean shores (also encompassing the Aegean and Marmara Seas), some of these sites were located on the resuscitated Via Egnatia. The daily account books for the construction of the complex name the royal architects sent between 1550 and 1553, by imperial decree, to fetch stones from archaeological ruins that were apparently well known to Sinan and his superiors at the Ottoman court. Instructed not to destroy standing monuments, these royal architects scouted antiquities throughout the empire's coastline: wherever they located suitable marbles and columns, they were to mark them with a sign (*nişan*). Accompanied by provincial governors and kadis (judges), they had to prepare catalogues containing stone samples (*numune*) chipped from the ruins, specifying number, dimensions, color, and estimated transportation costs, including the construction of landing stations in nearby ports.⁹⁰ The stones were collected from numerous sites (see Figs. 13 and 14): Constantinople and its environs (Hebdomon/Makrihorya, Chalkedon/Kadıköy, Chrysopolis/Üsküdar, Çengelköy, Hieron/Yoroz); Nicomedia (İznikmid, now İzmit), Nicea (İznik), Cius (Gemlik), Cape Triton (Bozburun), Myrlea (Mudanya), Lopadion and Miletropolis (Mihaliç), Cyzicus (Aydincik), Perinthos/Heraclea (Ereğli), Viza (Vize), Adrianople (Edirne), Thessaloniki (Selanik), Sidhirokastron (Sidrekapsi), Tenedos (Bozcaada), Alexandria Troas (Eski İstanbulluk), Neandria (Eyne/Ezine), Mytilene (Midilli), Pitane (Candarlu), Chios (Sakız), Miletus (Balat), Seleucia (Silifke), Danisanclus (Mud), Hierocaesarea (Selendi), Baalbek, Ashkelon (Askalan), and Alexandria (İskenderiyе). Stockpiles of precious stones were located at the imperial storehouse of the Topkapı Palace, as well as in such sites as Coracesion (Alaiye), Gülnar, Mersin, Tarsus, Magarsus (Karataş), Adana, Misis, Euboea (Ağrıboz), Athens (Atina), Thebai (İstefe), and Livadia (Livadya).⁹¹

By cross-referencing the construction process of the Hagia Sophia under Emperor Justinian, Sultan Süleyman proclaimed his own “marble map” of the Mediterranean (see Fig. 13). The long list of sites shows that by the 16th century the Ottomans had inherited the main supplies of ancient marble, which they supplemented by reopening the dormant Roman quarry of Proconnesus

⁹⁰ Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, pp. 156–167.

⁹¹ On the stones, see n. 85 above. The list of sites is plotted on a map in Aktuğ and Çelik, “Ottoman Stone Acquisition in the Mid-Sixteenth Century,” p. 256, fig. 1 (redrawn here as Fig. 13).

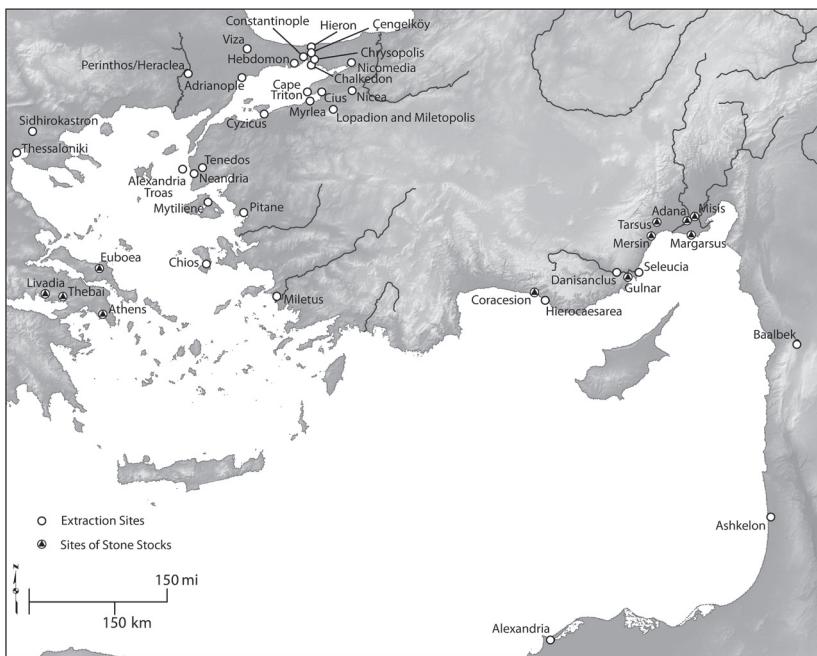


FIG. 13 *Marble map showing the location of stone resources utilized for the Süleymaniye complex* (REDRAWN FROM AKTUĞ AND ÇELİK, “OTTOMAN STONE ACQUISITION IN THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY: THE SÜLEYMANİYE COMPLEX IN İSTANBUL”).

Island. This white marble quarry possibly resumed operations during Süleyman's reign, rather than later, as has been assumed. A previously unnoted report of by a Venetian who visited the island in 1573 implies that some quarrying went on in the 1550s for the Süleymaniye mosque, as was stated in the above citation from Sinan's autobiography, which referred to white marbles newly excavated from Marmara Island (Proconnesus) for this mosque. The Venetian visitor to the island, which was largely inhabited by Greeks, mentions a mosque built there for Sultan Süleyman's son Cihangir (d. 1553), during the prince's lifetime. It is likely that local marbles were quarried for this mosque as well. The same visitor notes that the Proconnessus quarry was functioning at full capacity during the construction of the Selimiye mosque in Edirne (which was also built by the architect Sinan, 1568–1574), and probably not for the first time: “In Marmara Island, which currently is 100 miles from Constantinople... originate distinguished marbles, brought out in infinite quantity, [and] columns of this marble are infinite, mostly in mosques, and now they are

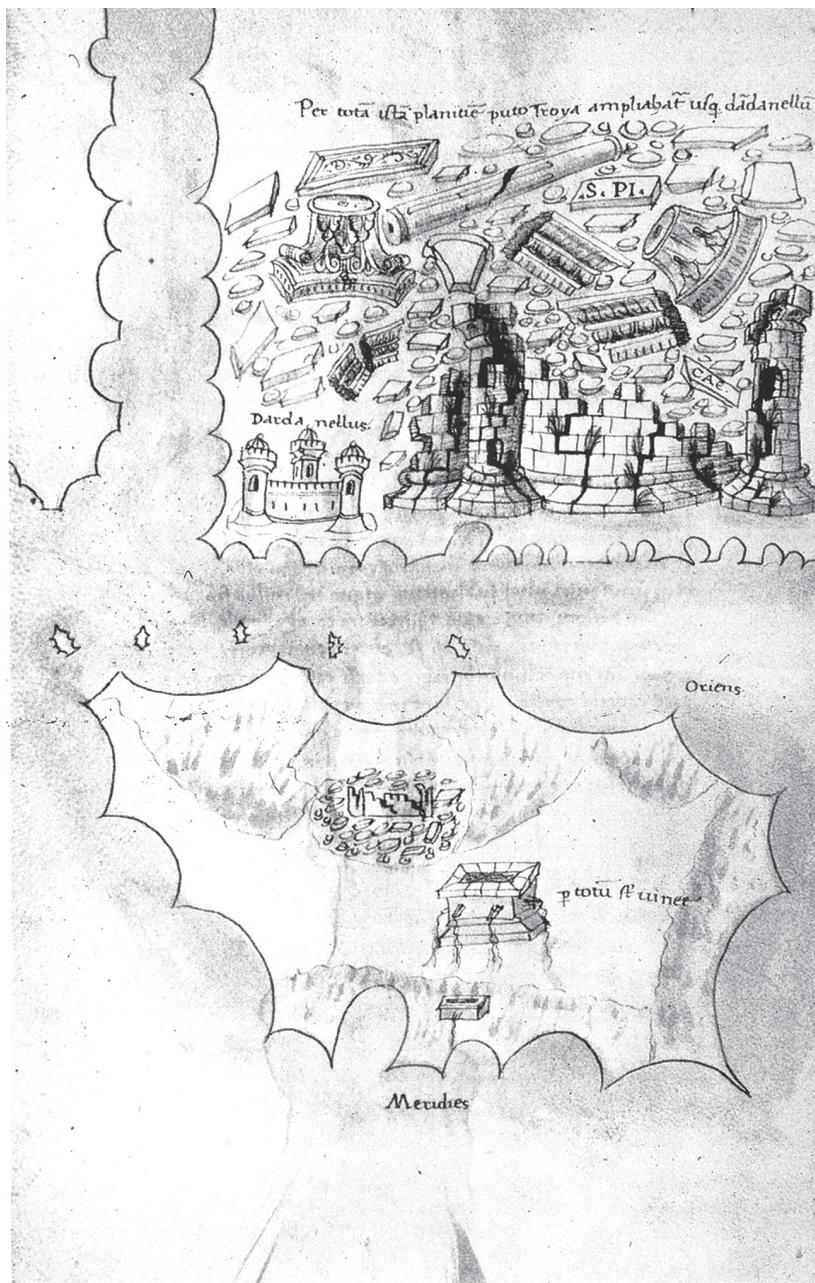


FIG. 14 *View of the Dardanelles and the plain of "Troy" (actually, Alexandria Troas: Eski İstanbulluk).* Ink drawing from Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*. Vatican Library, ms. Chig. F.Vno, fol. 39v (after Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*. Oxford, 1969).

extracting it in order to prepare another large quantity for the mosque in Adrianople.”⁹²

The elaborate cataloguing of stones for the Süleymaniye complex went hand in hand with the preparation of registers by judges, who were asked to list the names of skilled builders and masons under their jurisdiction suitable for paid labor. In 1550, all the kadis and sanjak governors of Rumelia (the European territories of the Ottoman Empire, centered in the Balkans) received the following order from Sultan Süleyman: “Presently, since masons and carpenters are required for the needs of the imperial complex that is being built in Istanbul, if the chief of my architects Sinan, may his glory increase, appoints and requests with a memorandum masons and carpenters under your jurisdiction, hand them over to the man who arrives and send them to Istanbul.”⁹³ Paid stonemasons working in the Süleymaniye complex included masters from Bosnia; these artisans were familiar with the techniques of masons from Ragusa, who were often imported for building projects in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁹⁴ Communications with distant Ottoman provinces triggered by

92 On the Süleymaniye mosque's cross-reference to the stones of Hagia Sophia, see Necipoğlu, “Life of an Imperial Monument: Hagia Sophia after Byzantium.” The concept of a “marble map” is discussed in Greenhalgh, *Marble Past, Monumental Present*, pp. 35, 444. On the view that the reopening of the Proconnesus quarries dates after the reign of Süleyman, with the earliest textual references appearing during the reign of his successor, Selim II, see Nicolas Vatin, “Notes sur l'exploitation du marbre et l'île de Marmara Adası (Proconnèse) à l'époque ottomane,” *Turcica* 32 (2000): 307–362. It is assumed that this quarry began to be used after the Süleymaniye complex was built because there is no mention of it in the account books of that mosque complex. But the account books are not complete: those corresponding to the early years of construction are lost. For Sinan's statement, see n. 81 above. The Venetian report by Aurelio Santa Croce (1573), from the retinue of Bailo Marcantonio Barbaro, is published in Pedani-Fabris, *Relazioni di ambasciatori Veneti*; the passage describing Marmara Island, on pp. 188–189, mentions that the four colossal columns from this island that were used in the Süleymaniye mosque were not pleasing because of their uniform diameter. These may be the four non-monolithic white marble columns accompanying the four colossal monolithic Egyptian granite columns: “L'isola Marmara al presente è lunge da Costantinopoli 100 miglia, è men mezzo della Propontide più verso l'Asia, opportuna a lei; qui nascono marmi egregii, menati in quantità infinita, colonne di quel marmo sono infinite, et massime nelle moschee, et hora se cavano et per far altro gran quantità per la mosca di Andrinopoli. Ve ne sono 4 fra le altre di smisurata grandezza nella mosca di Solimano in Costantinopoli, mal fatte perché sono pari di grossezza dalla base al capitello.”

93 Translated in Necipoğlu, *Age of Sinan*, p. 180.

94 Ibid., 185.

the construction of the Süleymaniye complex helped reinforce large-scale patterns of political-cultural integration. The coordination of these long-distance operations across imperial geographies performatively enacted the sultan's authority in mobilizing the manpower and material resources of the empire, amalgamated by a collective architectural culture.

Conclusion

In this essay, I attempted to sketch out mechanisms and infrastructures of communication through which the early modern Dalmatian coast and its hinterland came to occupy a pivotal position as a fulcrum of crossed destinies, mediating between East and West. I stressed the role of individuals originating from this region as living agents of cultural transfer, exchange, and translation. My focus on some pashas, architects, and their combined agency in construction activities scratches only the surface of the multifaceted cultural interactions that involved more modest actors, such as merchants, soldiers, local administrators, and inhabitants. Hints of this type of interaction are contained in the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi, who vividly recounts his impressions of the Venetian-ruled eastern Adriatic littoral with brief descriptions of Zadar, Trogir, Šibenik, Solin, and Klis (the last two had by then reverted to Venetian control). Most fascinating is his admiring account of Split (referred to as “İspilit”), which he visited for 3 days as the head of an embassy sent by the pasha of Bosnia to reciprocate a gift-bearing peace mission from the Venetian governor of Split. Evliya's ambassadorial sojourn in this city involved another exchange of gifts and captives. He met translators fluent in Turkish, from whom he learned many words in Italian and found those in the Venetian dialect the “sweetest” of all. He also admired the city's beautiful men and women, worthy of the expression “Frankish beloved,” for whoever sets eyes on them “loses ones' head.” Evliya observed that the well-defended port, filled with diverse vessels, had two huge Venetian ships used to carry merchandise between Split and Venice, whose oarsmen were Muslim captives. He was impressed by the vibrant harbor and its shore, lined with the storerooms of merchants, from which woolen cloths, silks, brocades, leather, and the “goods of eleven kingdoms” were regularly sent overland to Bosnia and from there to the rest of the Ottoman domains. Our discriminating traveler, who considered himself an architectural connoisseur, was, above all, enamored of the governor's palace (formerly that of Diocletian) and what he poetically described as the “endearing” (*sırıñ*) and “ornate” (*müzeyyen*) city wall of “ancient work” (*kār-i kadīm*),

cleaned annually to “resemble a white swan” (Fig. 15).⁹⁵ Once again, the resounding response to this “infidel” city in enemy territory was one of aesthetic attraction and desire.

Additional archival documents and narrative sources promise to shed more light on the interactive processes that governed exchanges at the micro and macro levels between the Dalmatian coast, its hinterland, and the Mediterranean space at large. As a modest starting point, I have emphasized the “centrality” of this “border zone” by situating it within a wider early modern global perspective that emphasizes transregional connectivity and carries the potential to revise dichotomous paradigms that tend to stereotype East and West. In this regard, a promising concept is that of crossed histories (*histoire croisée*), which explores intersections among practices, persons, and objects capable of generating transformative relational configurations across time and space.⁹⁶ From such a viewpoint, the shifting and unstable Dalmatian



FIG. 15 *Robert Adam, sea walls of the city of Split, formerly "Diocletian's Palace," engraving (FROM THE PALACE OF EMPEROR DIOCLETIAN AT SPALATRO IN DALMATIA. LONDON, 1764).*

95 *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 5, pp. 241–263; for the description of Split, see pp. 242, 260–263.

96 Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond Comparison: Histoire Croisée and the Challenge of Reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (2006): 30–50, and Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, eds., *De la comparaison à l'histoire croisée*. Paris: Seuil, 2004, pp. 15–49.

frontier might be better conceptualized as a contact zone and meeting point, rather than a stable dividing line. Besides emphasizing the geo-political and cultural in-betweenness of this region, I have stressed the agency of some remarkable individuals who crossed fluid boundaries by virtue of their integration into the Ottoman polity—a polity that in its own distinctive ways restored some of the legacies of the Eastern Roman Empire.⁹⁷

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97 Although the early modern Adriatic Sea is generally seen as a “frontier zone,” documents testify to “a more complex reality,” with undefined borders and a sea that was “a means of contact and not of division”; see Maria Pia Pedani, “Ottoman Merchants in the Adriatic: Trade and Smuggling,” *Acta Histriae* 16, no. 1–2 (2008): 167.

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