VIEWING, WALKING, MAPPING ISTANBUL, CA. 1580

Çiğdem Kaftescioglu

Dirin Istanbul’a ben ehl-i nazâr deryâsi
Kesret-i nâsa nazâr nev’-i beşer deryâsi

I say Istanbul’s a sea of people of the gaze
Its populace abundant, a sea of all types

By the 1580s, when the Ottoman court gave new impetus to the creation of illustrated chronicles, histories and eulogies of the dynasty, Ottoman painters and cartographers already had a rich tradition behind them of portraying cities. From the early decades of the sixteenth century onwards, city images in a varied range of formats and representational modes had been a central constituent in historical and geographic writing projects sponsored by or presented to members of the court, partaking in the spatial imaging of the empire. Urban images mediated the representation of conquest and territorial expansion, possession of and control over the wide geographic expanse that the Ottoman polity ruled over or had claims on. They linked the Ottoman dynasty to the past and present of cities of symbolic significance then within their territories, Baghdad, Tabriz, and Cairo among them, enhancing the dynasty’s self-definition as rulers of a world empire, reinforcing links with a universal history and articulating forms of belonging to a newly expanding geography. Following separate courses in distinct book production contexts, two products of Ottoman geographical and historical writing, namely the two versions of Piri Reis’ Kitāb-i Bahriye written in the 1520s and the conquest narratives composed between the 1530s and 1550s by Nasuhü’s-Silahi (also called Matrakçı Nasuh), paved the way for this continuous practice. Urban images fully partook of the compos-


² Nasuhü’s Silahi signed some of his works as Nasuh, his first name, and others as Nasuh el-Matraki, with reference to a martial game he invented.
ite and varied nature of Ottoman cartographic production, whose development was connected in multiple ways to various modes of spatial representation in earlier and contemporary Islamic, Mediterranean, and European cultural spheres.³

The period between circa 1580 and the first decade of the seventeenth century constituted a new era in representations of the city and its urbanity in illustrated histories of the dynasty. Around 1580 new cartographic images of Istanbul were introduced in three works from the period. Public spaces and denizens of the capital city for the first time appeared in representations of mostly, but not exclusively, royal content. Shifts in the iconography of Ottoman historical manuscripts particularly during the reign of Murad III (r. 1574–1595), which departed from a largely Shâhnâma-inspired image of Ottoman monarchs that textually and pictorially underscored their prowess as able military leaders, picturing them in battle, holding court, and hunting, have been interpreted as a response to the sedentarization of the rule and changing modalities of rulership, which rendered themes centered on the warlike hero less relevant to courtly practices and the royal image of the time.⁴ In the context of a historiographic project launched to eulogize and legitimize a monarch who did not once venture out of the capital city during his twenty-one-year rule and whose infrequent public appearances came to a definitive halt towards the end of his reign (both issues of concern and debate on the part of Ottoman elites and the populace⁵), the representation of the dynasty and its then ruler in ways unrelated to the established royal iconography of court painting may not be surprising. A further dimension of this thematic and iconographic shift, namely the urban dynamics of the period as they affected the representations of Ottoman Istanbul, its denizens, and urban spaces, has attracted relatively little attention.⁶ As part of a broader inquiry into the urban imagery of the period in relation to shifting spatial practices and a changing regime of visibility at a time of rapid change in the capital city, this paper focuses on and presents a reading of the new cartographic image of Istanbul produced in the early 1580s within the context of court historiography.

Modern scholarship often refers to him as Matraķı Nasuh. On the author and his titles, see Nasuh’s-Silahi, Beğin-ı mendili-i seferr-i Trakyn-i Sultan Suleyman Hân, ed. by Hüseyin G. Yurdudayn, Ankara 1976, pp. 1–25.⁴


⁴ The historiographic context has been discussed by Christine Woodhead, “Murad III and the Historians: representations of Ottoman Imperial Authority in Late 16th-Century Historiography”, in: Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power, ed. by Hakan T. Karateke/Maurus Reichkowski, Leiden 2005, pp. 85–98. Regarding pictorial representation in Ottoman court histories, this transformation has most recently and most expansively been treated by Emine Fıvaci, Picturing History at the Ottoman Court, Bloomington/Indianapolis 2013.


⁶ For an example, see Derin Terzioglu, “The Imperial Circumcision Festival of 1582: An Interpretation”, in: Muqarnas, XII (1995), pp. 84–100.
The later sixteenth century was a period of remarkable dynamism, when the social and physical cityscape of Istanbul underwent significant transformations. A larger set of groups and individuals participated in cultural production and circulation processes. An expanding range of public spaces occupied a growing role in the social and cultural dynamics of the city; new group solidarities and new modes of expressing these within the urban sphere were formulated. The population boom that accompanied such cultural viability was owed in part to massive migrations from the countryside, the outcome of cycles of rural unrest that marked the Anatolian provinces during the later decades of the century. This was also a period of increasingly visible social unrest and frequent and ever more conspicuous expressions of popular dissent in the capital city, marking the onset of an era of recurrent economic and political crises, upheavals, and shifts in political alignments, which constituted the salient facet of a deep structural transformation of Ottoman modalities of rule and redistribution.8

The Cartography of Istanbul in Ottoman Histories, 1579–1585

Two multi-volume dynastic histories of the period, the Hünernâme and the Şehingênâme, feature variants of the new map of Istanbul, each within their first volumes (Figs. 1 and 2). Both were written by the court historiographer Seyyid Lokman and illustrated at the court ateliers by painters working under Nakkaş Osman, the head of the atelier of painters and illuminators at the time. The first is a thematic history of the reigns of the first Ottoman sultans up to Selim I (r. 1512–1520), and the second a history of the reign of Murad III, to whom both manuscripts were presented.9 Produced within the same years (1579/80–1584/85 and 1581 respectively) and covering different periods of dynastic history, the two works included versions of the same image in relation to different time frames and narratives: the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 in the Hünernâme and the reign of Murad III in the Şehingênâme, here focusing on the appearance of a comet in the Istanbul skyline in 1572, interpreted (by most) as an auspicious sign at a time of debates during the Safavid-Ottoman wars.10 The Hünernâme view presents the Constantinopolitan peninsula and the walled city on a double folio, with the city’s three boroughs, Eyüp, Galata, and Üsküdar, pictured in differing degrees of detail. On the contrary, the Şehingênâme view encompasses only the eastern sections of the walled peninsula on a single folio, but includes a larger and more detailed rendering of the Asian borough of Üsküdar. A painted map of the water distribution system encompassing the lands lying to the north and west of the walled city of Istanbul in the Süleymanâme, a historical work on the reign


9 I have not been able to study the first volume of the Şehingênâme manuscript; my focus here is therefore largely on the Hünernâme image. For the Hünernâme project, see Bağcı et al. (note 3), pp. 150–151; Serpil Bağcı, “Visualizing Power: Portrayals of the Sultans in Illustrated Histories of the Ottoman Dynasty”, in: Islamic Art, VI (2009), pp. 113–127; Fetvaci (note 4), pp. 149–189, and Christine Woodhead, “Reading Ottoman Şehnames: Official Historiography in the Late Sixteenth Century”, in: Studia Islamica, 104/105 (2007), pp. 67–80.

10 See Fetvaci (note 4), pp. 195f., for another painting referring to the same event. In his Kâbus-ı Akbar Mustafa Ali interpreted the comet as a sign

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3 Map of the Kırkçeşme water distribution system outside of Istanbul, in: *Süleymannâme*, 1579. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Turk Ms. 413, fol. 22v-23r
of Süleyman completed in 1579 (Fig. 3), suggests that the three images were part of a larger cartographic study of the city around this time.\(^{11}\)

The two completed volumes of the Hiinername, initially planned as a four-volume work, comprised historical biographies of Ottoman sultans, not so much to present a chronicle of each reign as to portray the ruler as an ideal monarch. The large view of Istanbul is attached to a section of the text (fol. 156r–162v) dedicated to the reign of Mehmed II and offers the reader a concise version of the foundation myths of Constantinople and the story of the construction of the Hagia Sophia, followed by a narrative of the Ottoman conquest of the city. Temporally disjunct from the narrative, for it represents Istanbul in the later sixteenth century, the view presents a visual counterpart to a textual mode of temporal connection frequently used by Lokman: he inserted comments giving praise and eulogies to the ruling sultan, Murad III, into the narratives and depictions of the Ottoman past. To readers of the Hiinername, the disjunction in the temporal frames of the image and the narrative would represent one of the links between the past and the present held in the manuscript.

\(^{11}\) All three are unique manuscripts originally held at the inner treasury of the Topkapı Palace. Nakkaş Osman himself and another member of the workshop, Veli Can, have been suggested as the possible authors of these images; see Orbay (note 3), pp. 74–80, and Bağcı et al. (note 3) for the first suggestion, and Nigar Anafarta, Hiinername Mıhayilleri ve Sanatları, Istanbul 1969, for the second. The topographic paintings present no immediate links to narrative paintings that have been attributed to Osman, but, on the whole,
The view is uncommon in its use of viewpoint and perspective in the representation of urban space. It displays the walled city as an entirely built-up area with the two exceptions of the Lycus/Bayrampaşa valley abutting the land walls and the Langa gardens, the ancient Theodosian harbor. The imperial capital is portrayed with all the monumental landmarks of the dynasty’s pious and charitable institutions, carefully including many founded by the elite; the Byzantine columns and the newly expanded dockyards are also depicted. Courtyard houses, towers, rows of houses and shops aligning the streets, and large single-story courtyard structures correspond to the range of buildings present in the archival sources of the city from the later sixteenth century. As İffet Orbay has observed, by depicting the monuments and the residential and commercial structures as facing the Marmara Sea to the south and the Golden Horn to the north, the mapmaker visualized a defining aspect of the Istanbulite cityscape: its multiple orientations towards the bodies of water surrounding the peninsula and the vantage points towards the city from across these waters. The uniform viewpoints retained in the representation of maritime neighborhoods and the uniform orienta-

attribution in this context may not be a rewarding pursuit. It might be noted that the maker of the two city views of Istanbul in the Hünername and the Şehinşehname, most likely the same artist, had access to and familiarity with European cartographic conventions that had been developed in the print medium, as will be discussed below.

12 The representation of some major Ottoman monuments in the view has been discussed by Orbay (note 3), pp. 73–116, who has provided an in-depth analysis of the image; my focus and interpretation differs from hers in several respects. On the Istanbul harbor and the expansion of the dockyards, see Idris Bostan, Osmanlı Bahriye Tıpkihâni XVII. Yüzyılda Tersâne-i Âmire, Ankara 1992.

13 The types of residential and commercial buildings can be followed in the nearly contemporary survey of pious institutions entitled Istanbul Vakıflar Tahrir Defteri 1009 (1600) tabii, ed. by Mehmet Canatar, Istanbul 2004. See also Stephanos Yerasimos, “Houses of Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century”, in: The Illuminated Table, the Prosperous House: Food and Shelter in Ottoman Material Culture, ed. by Suraiya Faroqi/Christoph K. Neumann, Würzburg 2003, pp. 321–335.

14 Orbay (note 3), pp. 83f., suggests that the map’s two pages are the work of different artists and that the Langa garden is depicted twice in the view. The apparent repetition of the Langa enclosure might be the result of a
tion of these areas towards the Marmara sea and the Golden Horn, however, are abandoned in areas further inland. Here, the draftsman presents a highly dense and complex urban fabric, depicting streetscapes from myriad points of view, interlocked with each other to form Escher-like spatial impossibilities within the space of the double page (Fig. 4).

Relocating the Ideal City
A comparison with the earlier cartographic image of Ottoman Istanbul produced within the context of court historiography may highlight the novelty and peculiarity of the Hürnürname view. The Mecnû‘-ı Memâ‘zil (1533–1535), Nasuhî’s Silahi’s chronicle of the Ottoman campaign on the Two Iraqs, also initiated a translation from other manuscript and printed views of the city in circulation, which depicted the Julian (the Kadirga limani in Ottoman times) and the Kontoskalion harbors as another walled-in enclosure. In my view the two pages of the view are more likely to be the work of the same hand; the two different enclosures are also visible in the Düsseldorf copy of Buon-delmonti’s Isolario; see Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital, University Park, Pa., 2009, map 4. The two pages of the view were possibly completed separately after the overall layout was determined: perhaps a vicissitude of work being carried out by calligraphers and painters in conjunction, and not always within the same spaces. Michael Rogers (note 3), pp. 249f., has also addressed the shifting points of view between the northern and southern shores of the peninsula and suggested that this was a solution to the problem of depicting relief.
particular mode of urban representation, one that remained viable in illustrated court histories throughout the course of the sixteenth century. The bird’s eye view of Istanbul that launches the visual narrative of this work shows a city of monuments founded by sultans, the dynastic family and the ruling elite, most of them identifiable, located within a paradisal landscape of blossoming trees and flowers (Fig. 5). A set of symbolic nodes and axes composed of the buildings of the ruling house endow it with a tight structure and hierarchies of size, location and artistry. An ideal order is created; and an urban system articulating an imperial vision is denoted.

Nasuh’s Silah’s expansive historiographic project, entailing translations of medieval histories, and chronicles and conquest narratives he authored (illustrated exclusively by topographic images), situated the Ottoman dynasty within world history and in an imperial geography. While the project did not survive him, the mode of urban representation that originated in the illustrations of the Mecmû’-i Menâzîl was well and alive at the time the team working on the Hûnernâmé volumes made a set of visual choices regarding the Istanbul view to be included in the book. Nasuh’s urban imagery, his merging of representational conventions of Italian urban mapping found in manuscripts of Ptolemy’s Geography and Buondelmonti’s Isolario with spatial, compositional, painterly and coloristic conventions and predilections of Ottoman book painting remained available to, and meaningful for patrons, authors, and painters of conquest narratives. In the gazanâmé focusing on the exploits of military commanders, a favored genre of the final decades of the sixteenth century, city views (now featuring hu-

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7 Tabriz, in Nasuh’s-Silah, Beyân-i menâzîl-i sefer-i ’ırakeyn-i Sultân Süleymân Hân (Meclî’s-i Menâzîl). Istanbul University Library, T. 5964, fol. 27v-28r

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16 For a discussion of Nasuh’s-Silah’s project and a reconstruction of the genesis of its separate parts between the 1520s and the 1550s, see the introduction by Hüseyin Yurdayan in Nasuh’s-Silah (note 2), pp. 121–143. Translations of earlier histories and attempts to render dynastic history part of a universal narrative continued in Ottoman historiography of the sixteenth century. Nasuh’s exclusive focus on urban cartography in the illustrated volumes of his work, on the other hand, remained one of the distinguishing traits of his histories.
man figures in contrast to Nasuh’s imagery, which was completely devoid of them) were inserted into visual narratives of siege, defeat, and reconstruction.17

Akin in spirit to Nasuh’s articulation of a paradisal image in his views of highly prestigious capital cities within the Ottoman domains is a view of Manisa appended to a panegyrical work from 1593/94, the Şemâlînâme-i Âl-i Osman by the then recently appointed court historian Talikizade (Fig. 6). Nasuh’s capital cities, Istanbul, Baghdad, Tabriz and Sultanıye among them, are laid out on double pages; the painters masterfully integrated idealizing order and aestheticizing detail to recreate each historic capital as a political locus (Fig. 7). The view of Manisa in Talikizade’s Şemâlînâme accompanies a section in verse that highlights the paradisal qualities of the princely capital and its significance as a center of learning. It transposes the type of urban image connected to themes of territorial expansion and consolidation in Matrakci’s work into a new context, a eulogy to Ottoman notions of rulership and sovereignty. Visually, however, it functions in a manner comparable to its model. This is the only topographic image in Talikizade’s account of the inherent nature of Ottoman sultans: a list of twenty ideal qualities of rulership in the Ottoman domains, in frequent comparison to the Safavid and ‘Frankish’ lands to their east and west. Among these were their possession of the unique and unparalleled capital city, Istanbul, their possession of territories in lands that encompassed the seven climes of the world, the abundance of pious institutions in their domains, which was in turn connected to the prosperity of their lands and the well-being of their subjects.18

Representing an imperial city, the favored princely residence throughout the later decades of the sixteenth

17 On the gazâname, see Bağcı et al. (note 3), pp. 164–175; Fetvaci (note 4), pp. 191–237. See note 27 for connections between urban images in the gazâname and city views in print.
century (which was connected to the personal histories of Talikizade and Murad III alike), the Manisa view is well-placed in its immediate book context. The princely capital at the foot of mount Split is orderly, geometrically laid out, and centered by a palace comprising multiple structures within a vibrant and blossoming garden. This mode of urban portrayal reproduces Manisa as a political center, as an imperial city home to the pious works of dynastic women and their ruling sons (with an emphasis on Murad III’s newly completed mosque complex) and as a wealthy and orderly commercial hub. It is connected to visual and textual allegories of the paradisal garden, a broad constellation of images referring to the heavenly abode and its earthly reflections in

pp. 30–33. On the painter Nakkaş Hasan and illustrations of Talikizade’s works, see Bağcı et al. (note 3), pp. 177–183.

palaces and cities. This trope of *longue durée* in the Near Eastern and Mediterranean worlds (alongside its often nearby opposite, the doomed and evil city) was adapted to diverse conjunctions and contexts; in Ottoman courtly literature and arts, garden imagery was often associated with metaphors of kingship and an ideal order of divine sanction that shaped architectural spaces as much as discourses on them.19

The population of Manisa was minuscule in comparison to that of late-sixteenth-century Istanbul.20 The stark contrast between the view of Istanbul in the first volume of the *Hünernâme* and Matrakci’s rendering of the Ottoman capital in the 1530s has also often been commented on in terms of the city’s population expansion through the intervening decades. The growth in population and settlement density are certainly one reason for the differences that separate the *Hünernâme* painting from earlier manuscript images of Istanbul: the city’s population expanded, possibly threefold, in those decades.21 The remarkable density of human settlement also came to define the city’s image in the Mediterranean nautical cartography tradition, for instance in an atlas from the later sixteenth century (Fig. 8) and in later manuscripts of Piri Reis’s *Kitâb-i Bahriye*.22 These images, which belong to an idiom that developed as a shared representational tradition within Mediterranean practices of nautical charting, masterfully exploit the theatrical setup of the Constantinopolitan peninsula facing the Golden Horn and, from across the Golden Horn, present an easily legible, captivating metonymy of an imperial capital: a rhythm of domes, minarets and columns forming summits within a uniform, homogeneous urban fabric. *Hünernâme*’s sibling image in the *Şehindehname* also retained a uniform vantage point above the city’s northern suburbs to convey a comparable, although more varied, settlement density (Fig. 2). The aesthetic of the *Hünernâme* view, by contrast, is not one of order, symmetry, and uniformity, but rather of diversity, asymmetry, and, partially, disorder, suggesting the impossibility of retaining an idealized vision of the capital comparable to that projected in the *Meclî’-şā Merâzîl* in the 1530s (Fig. 5) or to that in *Şemâîlnâme* representing contemporary Manisa (Fig. 6).

**Evoking Print, Playing with Perspective:**
**New Possibilities for the Multifocal Image**

To rather different visual effect, both European and Ottoman modes of spatial representation engaged with multifocal and multiperspectival representations of the urban body. In the 1530s, Nasuhü’s-Silahi and his followers formulated their particular mode of urban imagery by translating architectural representation in Persianate painting into representations of urban space; the former was a multifocal and multiperspectival mode that juxtaposed plan, section and axonometric views of buildings while also merging interior and exterior, frontal and side views of building masses and surfaces.23 The Ottoman translation was a dual process as the Persianate mode was not only transposed from individual buildings to the urban entity, but also absorbed into the conventions of urban cartography formulated in fifteenth-century Italy in manuscripts of Ptolemy’s *Geography* and Buondelmonti’s *Liber in-

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20 Manisa’s population has been estimated at between 8000 and 8500 individuals in the later sixteenth and around 18,000 in the later seventeenth centuries; Feridun M. Erneçen, *Tarhi şınde Manisa*, Manisa 2006, pp. 8f.

21 There are no clear population figures for Istanbul during this period; an estimate of 350,000 to 400,000 in the larger city is widely accepted for the later sixteenth century; a significant increase from an estimated 70,000 to 100,000 in the late-fifteenth century. For population estimates, see Halil İnalcık, “Istanbul”, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., IV, Leiden 1978, pp. 224–248.

22 See, as an example of the seventeenth-century views of Istanbul in the *Kitâb-i Bahriye* manuscripts, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. Turc 956, fol. 434v. The manuscript is dated 1550–1599 in the library catalogue; details of the Istanbul map suggest that it dates to the mid-seventeenth century and is possibly a later addition to the manuscript. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000438h.r=piri+reis (accessed on 4 April 2014).

sularum archipelagi.²⁴ The European “perspective plan” took a different route in its perspectival play: although it also created multifocal and multiperspectival urban representations, it remained staunchly loyal to notions of verisimilitude and a unitary viewer.²⁵ Hence the city and particular buildings may be pictured from aerial or profile views, various vantage points may be introduced, and the picture plane may bend to accommodate a horizon line and a distant landscape, all the while retaining the postulation of a unitary gaze above the city.²⁶ Versions of the perspective plan did circulate in Ottoman hands, as suggested by a later, 1617 copy of Georg Braun’s Civitates orbis terrarum, the most popular and widespread city atlas, in the Topkapı Palace Museum Library (A. 3712), and as evinced by Ottoman topographic and urban images in the gaznâme manuscripts of the 1580s that borrow freely from and reinterpret such printed material.²⁷ The Hüsûrnâme and the Şehînehnamê views also present interpretations of the perspective plan. Their juxtapositions of urban boundaries in plan with profile views of the boundary markers and areas immediately beyond, and their occasional recourse to aerial perspective for particular buildings and districts all correspond to contemporary practices of spatial representation in print, with its insistence on verisimilitude and its free manipulations of

²⁴ For a discussion of the links between the isolario imagery and Nasuh’s method of depicting urban space, see Kahescioğlu (note 14), pp. 207–209.
²⁶ The use of a curvilinear perspective to accommodate the horizon and the surrounding landscape in seventeenth-century printed views of Naples is discussed by Barbara Ann Naddeo, “Topographies of Difference: Cartography of the City of Naples, 1627–1775”, in: Imag Mundi, LV (2004), pp. 23–47. A similar use, in the medium of the painted map, is found in the Şehînehnamê view of Istanbul, which merges the aerial view with the view of the horizon, here to accommodate the auspicious shooting star of 1572 (Fig. 2).
²⁷ A case in point are the references to the view of Aden in Rumüzî’s Târîh-i Feth-i Yemen, Istanbul University Library, Ms. 6045, fol. 185v–286r, reproduced in Bağcı et al. (note 3), p. 175. The established printed image of Istanbul during this period was Giovann Andrea Vavassore’s bird’s eye view, reproduced in several copies and variations throughout the early seventeenth century, including one in the Civitates orbis terrarum. For the views of Constantinople and of Aden, see Georg Braun, Civitates orbis terrarum, Cologne 1572–1617, I, pp. 53f., and V, p. 143.
the planimetric and the pictorial.28 These images may have also been inspired by panoramas of Istanbul, in manuscript in the later sixteenth century and in print throughout the following decades, drafted by European artists from vantage points on the northern shores of the Golden Horn (Figs. 9 and 10). The Hiünernâme view’s responses to the printed image can also be recognized in its controlled and reduced color scheme (which goes beyond the coloristic restraint that characterized the painting of the period) and its rendering of non-urban areas (in parallel brushstrokes of green pigment) and the sea in ways that evoke conventions of topographic representation in print. The slightly earlier water distribution map (Fig. 13) also engages in the conventions of the printed view in the street divisions and urban blocks (which occupy only a small part of the double folio map) and in the rendition of the topographical features of the extramural areas, as revealed in a comparison with the rendering of extramural areas of Constantinople and Rome in Braun’s Civitates orbis terrarum (Figs. 11, 12, 14).

At a time when the Ottoman elites were relatively less receptive to cultural practices and artifacts from lands beyond the empire’s central territories, cartographic representation continued to constitute a field of dialogues with, responses to, and translations from Western European representational practices. The unfolding of that dialogue within nautical cartography practices in different production centers along Mediterranean coastlines awaits further scrutiny.29 The peculiarity and, in one sense, uniqueness of the Hiünernâme view, on the other hand, is predicated on its presence within a historical work: it is a cartographic image created at the court ateliers, beyond the relatively tighter constraints of court painting. Its manner of responding to and translating from European printed imagery, in turn, provides insights into the local subjectivities that ultimately shaped the image.30

Its multiple connections to the printed city image and to conventions of manuscript painting in representing architectural and urban space notwithstanding, the Hiünernâme view operates at a register of visual representation that evokes but nevertheless stands apart from both. Its blatant refusal to engage in either the suggested perspectival uniformity of the printed view or the more ordered and geometricized form of multiperspectival representation prevalent in Persianate painting underlines its novelty. It freely and selectively juxtaposes aspects of both, departing from all conventions in the depiction of the neighborhoods beyond the immediacy of the city walls. Here, multiple points of view collide to produce configurations beyond the established impossibilities of printed and painted urban imagery, through the interplay of two- and three-dimensional renderings of architectural masses: façades slide into roof systems which in turn become part of courtyards or the façades of other buildings. The unity of the architectural fragment, which is preserved even in the most fantastic of architectural compositions in the Ottoman and the Persianate corpus, is undermined here (Fig. 4).31

31 It has been suggested that the convergence of different points of view is the painter’s way of rendering the hilly topography of the peninsula visible, particularly in the representation of the city’s western sections (Orbay [note 3], pp. 87, 309). This explanation, however, does not fully account for the multiple juxtapositions of architectural volumes in the view.
A closer look at the view suggests the subjective experience of a dense urban environment; a personal, embodied observation of one of the largest and most populous cities of the early modern world. It manipulates available languages of spatial representation to convey the pattern of the city’s winding streets and dead-ends at a time when the inhabitation of that urban fabric attained a degree of density beyond the experiences of any urban dweller from the larger region. It is a picture at once from outside and from within the city, juxtaposing the totalizing bird’s eye view from a point above the Propontis with one that captures myriad views of the streets, squares, courtyards, and façades of the neighborhoods. If the bird’s eye view embodied and implicated the heavenly and the royal gaze, the image of the streets and the dense and complex stacking of buildings implicated the contingency of the street experience, inscribing the walking subject into the image. It demands, in turn, the intense visual involvement of the book’s reader, a reader with multiple lenses to allow for a gaze that will capture the city’s represented totality and for the scrutiny of its complex and multifocal detail. The volume’s portfolio size (49 × 32 cm, the double folio map measuring 49 × 64 cm) intensifies the embodied engagement demanded of the reader. In its representation of space, its multifocal and multiperspectival construction, and its location in a large-size manuscript the Hüterknüfer view captures what Christian Jacob defined as one of the major intellectual and metaphysical effects of the map. By materializing a spatial organization, Jacob observes, a map objectifies space: “[...] the territory, the world, the universe, by becoming visible through the mediation of an artifact, define the problematic position of the person who looks at them. The viewer is at the same time outside the representation and en-

13 Map of the Kırkçeşme water distribution system outside of Istanbul, in: Süleymannâme (detail of Fig. 3)

14 Roma, in: Georg Braun, Civitates orbis terrarum, detail with extramural area to the west, Cologne 1599, vol. 1, pp. 45f.

veloped by it. This is the place I occupy, whence I see, but also the space in which I see myself and where I am not."32

The collision of the aerial view with myriad different views into the streets in the two pages of a courtly book representing dynastic history resulted in a stark departure from what a recent study has termed the “overwhelming sense of order” of Ottoman court painting of this period and its predilection for visualizing courtly hierarchies that dominated its compositions, color schemes, renderings of spaces and the individuals that inhabit them.33 This distinct and rather disorienting way of imagining and representing Istanbul emerged at the conjuncture of change and crisis referred to in the introduction to this paper. Inserting the unruly view from the street into the static and hierarchized space of royal historiography, the painting complicated the orderly dynastic image projected in the other folios of the Hünernâme.

The opening couplet of Mustafa Âli’s qasida to the city of Istanbul, the epigraph to this paper, suggests that our draftsman was not alone in foregrounding the multiplicity of gazes in the representation of the city.34 Defining Istanbul as an entity composed of the

33 Fetvaci (note 4), p. 79 and passim.
34 The term eh-i nazar connotes people of perception and insight; other uses in this period suggest that it is also connected to notions of sagacity and perspicuity regarding the social body, and the ability to recognize character through physiognomy, as also evident in Nev'izade Atayi’s use of the term in the early seventeenth century; Nev'izade Atayi, Sohbetâ’l-Ebak, ed. by Muhammed Yelten, Ankara 1999, pp. 100–102. As nazar (literally, look, gaze, consideration, contemplation) primarily evokes the sense of sight as
the basis of observation, I have translated chi-i nazar here as “people of the gaze”. My thanks to Selim Kuru for discussing the translation of this couplet with me. On Mustafa Âli, see Cornell Fleischer, Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600), Princeton 1986.

as its radif (repeated at the end of each couplet), the qasida evokes the seas surrounding Istanbul and the abundance of all things subject to condemnation and praise. Images of physical discomfort, violence, insecurity, plague and death, suffering, evil, corruption and injustice are juxtaposed with the prosperity and beauty that shine through the light of divinely ordained rule onto a city of the learned and the artful. Istanbul was a hub of material wealth and splendor, a city of beauties and, finally, a locus of mobility and travel. With a comparably varied set of shifting lenses


17 Procession of the bedestan merchants at the Atmeydani (hippodrome) of Istanbul, in: Intizami, Surname. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum Library, ca. 1588. H. 1344, fol. 79v-80r
directed at the city’s parts and its inhabitants, Mustafa Âli and the anonymous draftsman of the *Hünername* view portrayed the restless complexity of the early modern metropolis.

In the period of the intense production of illustrated court histories that continued throughout the very early years of the 1600s, no other cartographic image of Istanbul was included in any manuscript (or at least none has survived) following the completion of the first volume of the *Hünername* in 1584/85. Perhaps this image, which incorporated myriad gazes in a frame founded upon a unitary, utopic gaze associated with divinity, rulership, and possession, was a visual dead-end, its decentering of the viewing subject not completely at home within a book produced primarily for the royal eye. The beginnings of a shift in the focus of urban representation may be found in the *Hünername* itself, just a few pages apart from the view examined in this paper: a painting narrating Mehmed II’s encounter with the Greek patriarch of Constantinople, who, wanting to stop him from shooting arrows at the serpent column at the Atmeydani (the hippodrome), informed the conquering monarch that it was a talisman that protected the city from the invasion of snakes (Fig. 15). After having viewed the map the sixteenth-century viewer through this painting was transported to an earlier moment in time, to an instance when the temporalities of text and image coincided. The narrative, it so happens, is a fragment of revisionist history writing, as here the reader is introduced to a new story of what the Ottoman ruler did upon entering the fallen city, namely go first to the Hippodrome. Earlier and later narratives of this fateful moment took Mehmed directly into the Hagia Sophia, where he admired the magnificent monument, observed its ruinous surroundings and contemplated the vicissitudes of kingship. By relocating the viewer, unmistakably, to street level, and by prioritizing the main public square of the city in the narration of this momentous event, the *Hünername* announces a new way of picturing Istanbul. In the following years, the public spaces of the capital city and royal and urban figures within its urban spaces were portrayed with increasing frequency in the texts and paintings of books produced for the Ottoman court, announcing shifts in the uses and meanings of public space, and shifts in notions of visual order that informed the imagination and representation of the ruler and the ruled. The later dynastic histories of the period and the *Surnâme* (Book of Festivities), famed for its portrayal of artisans’ processions, captured a remaking of the city’s main public square as the monarch, figures of authority, and denizens (performers, audiences, professionals, socialites) were portrayed in a set of new images and narratives (Figs. 16 and 17). By inscribing the changing image of rulership within the discursive sphere of court historiography, the vantage point from the street at the same time announced the entry into the realm of Ottoman visuality of the public spaces and the denizens of a metropolis undergoing multiple processes of change.

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35 I refer to Norman Bryson’s discussion of the decentering of the viewing subject, which he bases on the viewing experience of non-perspectival representation and may be useful in understanding the particular construction of the gaze in the *Hünername* map; see Norman Bryson, “The Gaze in the Expanded Field”, in: *Vision and Visuality*, ed. by Hal Foster, Seattle 1988, pp. 87–108.

36 Tursun Beg, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, ed. by Halil Inalcik/Rhodos Murphey, Minneapolis 1978, fol. 51r–53r.

37 In a forthcoming article I will focus on narrative images centered on public spaces in Istanbul in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Ottoman illustrated manuscripts.
Abstract

A new cartographic image of Istanbul was introduced to the illustrated Ottoman histories produced between 1579 and 1585; these were the very last maps of the capital city to be inserted into court-produced manuscripts of the early modern era. The maps partook fully of the composite and varied nature of Ottoman cartographic production, whose development was connected in multiple ways to various modes of spatial representation in earlier and contemporary Islamic, Mediterranean, and European cultural spheres. The mapmakers' responses to and uses of European printed city views circulating in Ottoman domains introduces a set of questions regarding this particular context of inter-cultural connection and receptivity. One of the maps in question, located in the first volume of the Hünernâme, a multi-volume dynastic history presented to Murad III (r. 1574–1595), powerfully captures an Ottoman draftsman's creative engagement with and manipulation of multiple visual idioms at his disposal. The complex and multi-focal visual structure of this image, which merges conventions of the aerial city view with myriad close perspectives into the urban fabric, suggests a subjective, embodied observation of the expanding metropolis, highlighting emerging modes of urban experience and emerging discourses on urbanity in early modern Istanbul.

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Topkapı Palace Museum Library, Istanbul: Figs. 1, 4, 6, 15–17. — Istanbul University Library: Fig. 2. — Chester Beatty Library, Dublin: Figs. 3, 13. — From Nasuh-i Silâhi (note 2): Figs. 5, 7. — The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore: Fig. 8. — From Metin And, Istanbul in the Sixteenth Century: The City, the Palace, Daily Life, Istanbul 1994: Fig. 9. — Harvard University Fine Arts Library, Cambridge, Mass.: Fig. 10. — Harvard University Houghton Library, Cambridge, Mass.: Figs. 11, 12, 14.