

OTTOMAN FIGURATIVE ARTS 2:

Bazaar Painters

Metin And Born 17 June 1927 in Istanbul, Metin And finished Galatasaray Lycée (1946) and Istanbul University Law School (1950). After living in England and later Germany for a while, he returned to Ankara, took up a managerial post at Kavaklıdere Wines and began writing on music, ballet, opera, theatre and literature for *Pazar Postası*, *Ulus* and *Forum*. He went to New York to study ballet, opera and theatre on a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship, wrote for the *Ulus* daily for 15 years and took on the publishing editor post at *Forum* magazine. A lecturer at Ankara University School of Letters Department of Theatre for over thirty years, Metin And retired in 1994, but continued to write and republish his earlier work throughout his retirement. He died in Ankara on 30 September 2008.

Metin And produced long-running radio programmes and wrote scripts for documentaries. He specialised on the roots, interactions and cultural dimensions of traditional Turkish theatre. Having studied the stages in the development of Turkish theatre under Western influence, he published sound findings based on documentary evidence and pioneered comparative theatre studies. He published 54 titles, some in foreign languages, around 1,500 scholarly articles, brochures, reviews and encyclopaedia entries.

The list of prestigious awards And won includes The Turkish Linguistic Institute Academic Prize (1970), Türkiye İş Bank Academic Research Prize (1980), the Sedat Simavi Social Studies Prize (1983), the French Officier de l'ordre des Arts et des Lettres (1985), the Italian Order of Cavaliere (1991), and the Turkish Academy of Sciences Service Award (1998).

M. Sabri Koz has edited three titles on Metin And: the 2007 *Present to Metin And* (in Turkish) on the occasion of his 80th birthday, *Metin And: A Nine-Limbed Thespian* (in Turkish) on being named as TÜYAP's Honorary Writer and *Metin And: Ever the Play, Ever the Player* (in Turkish), catalogue of the 2011 exhibition 'A Master, a World'. New editions of his backlist are with Yapı Kredi Publishing at present.

Some of Metin And's works published to date are (all in Turkish unless otherwise noted): *The Noble Turk: Turks in Ballet for Centuries* (1958), *Forty Days and Forty Nights. Performance Arts in Old Festivals* (1959), *Dionysus and the Anatolian Villager* (1962), *Byzantine Theatre* (1962), *Three Kavuklu Hamdi Theatre-in-the-Round Plays: Talisman Hodja, Photographer, Rag-and-Bone Man Abdi* (1962), *Ataç on Stage: A Study of Ataç's Theatre Reviews and Articles* (1963, 1982), *Turkish Village Plays* (1964), *Traditional Turkish Theatre: Puppets, Shadow Play, Theatre-in-the-Round* (1969), *Turkish Theatre in the Constitutional Monarchy Era (1908-1923)* (1971), *Turkish Theatre in the Reform and Autocracy Eras (1839-1908)* (1972), *Smoke and Mirrors: The Concept of Play in Turkish Culture* (1974, expanded new ed. 2003, 2007, 2012), *Ottoman Theatre: Birth, Development and Contribution* (1976, expanded new ed. 1999), *Shadow Play in the World and Here* (1977), *Turkish Arts in Ottoman Festivities* (1982), *Turkish Theatre in the Republican Era* (1983), *Traditional Turkish Theatre: Traditions in Village and Popular Theatre* (1985), *The Italian Stage in Turkey - Turkey on the Italian Stage* (1989, and an Italian edition entitled *La Scena Italiana in Turchia-La Turchia Sulla Scena Italiana*, 2004), *16. Yüzyılda İstanbul: Kent, Saray, Günlük Yaşam / İstanbul in the 16th Century: The City, the Palace and Daily Life* (bilingual, 1994, 2011, 2012, 2015), *Ottoman-Islamic Mythology in Miniatures* (1998, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2015), *The Image of Süleyman the Magnificent in Theatre, Ballet and Opera* (1999), *40 Days 40 Nights: Ottoman Weddings, Festivities, Parades* (2000), *From Ritual to Drama: Karbala, Muharram, Ta'ziye* (2002, 2007, 2012), and *Ottoman Figurative Arts I: Miniature* (2002, 2014), *Ottoman Figurative Arts 2: Bazaar Painters* (2018).

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M. Sabri Koz Born 1950 in Divriği. Teacher, anthropologist, editor, bibliophile of ancient and new who has collected Turkish folk books printed in a variety of scripts. Koz has been working at YKY since 1999 where he edited *Evliyâ Çelebi's Travels* (in TR) as well as Metin And's books. He has compiled three titles on Metin And. He loves reading, learning, writing, and speaking.

Feyza Howell Translator, graphic designer, teacher and incurable autodidact. After having translated two Metin And titles, she is now tempted to follow in his footsteps and conduct further research into Ottoman painting.

Metin And books published by YKY:

Ritüelden Drama. Kerbelâ-Muharrem-Ta'ziye (2002) * *Oyun ve Bûgü* (2003) *
Minyatürlerle Osmanlı-İslâm Mitologyası (2007) * *16. Yüzyılda İstanbul. Kent*
- Saray - Günlük Yaşam (2011) * *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları 1: Minyatür* (2014)
* *Ottoman Figurative Arts 1: Miniature* (2017) * *Osmanlı Tasvir Sanatları 2:*
Çarşı Ressamları (2018) * *Ottoman Figurative Arts 2: Bazaar Painters* (2018)

METİN AND

OTTOMAN FIGURATIVE ARTS 2:
Bazaar Painters

EDITORS

Tülün Değirmenci – M. Sabri Koz



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Preface: Ottoman Bazaar Painters

M. Sabri Koz

Metin And was a Renaissance man, one who would have been described as a *'hezârfen'* in a bygone era. I beg the reader's indulgence in a partiality for this old-fashioned, yet timeless adjective meaning 'possessor of a myriad sciences'. The combination *hezârfen* Metin And sounds anything but strange, quite the opposite: it is an invitation to an engrossing journey. This adjective hardly does justice to someone –a big child– who leapt from reading Law to the arts, and every branch of the arts, paving innovative, valuable and lasting 'new' paths in everything he put his mind to.

I had been a fan since college when I read his articles (all in Turkish) in *Turkish Folklore Studies* and his *Dionysus and the Anatolian Villager* (1962) and *Traditional Turkish Theatre: Puppets, Shadow Play, Theatre-in-the-Round* (1969); that I was fortunate enough to serve and assist my hero, to be part of the final seven years of his life through his connection with YKY was my consolation prize.

It has been exactly ten years since he passed away. Death of the industrious grieves doubly; we mourn the deceased, and lament the unfinished work. So it was with him. Those who are left behind cannot always finish it; even if they could, it would –could– never be quite as the originator had envisaged it.

I knew him well enough to state here that Metin And left behind very few unfinished files. What he wasn't able to write or publish was not due to want of

trying. He did want to publish an expanded Turkish version of André Antoine's *Chez les Turcs* with additional documents and pictures; And had in 1965 published the book by the founder of the City Theatres. Who knows, that material might yet be found, or a Turkish translation might be eventually published with an introduction by an expert on the history of City Theatres. *Pursuing Wizards* is an entertaining and informative file, missing only one final chapter. It has been typeset and proofread; all it needs is his daughter Esra And's input on the illustrations, and the grace of an editor proficient in the art. There is no need to mention Metin And's other books awaiting reprints; like the rest, they are all awaiting the end of these prolonged labour pains.

Many book proposals consisting of And's articles are on the editor's agenda; what time and circumstances will allow, however, is unknown.

In my preface to the YKY edition of *Ottoman Figurative Arts I: Miniature*, I had mentioned the content of a second volume that Metin And had been planning to write; I had also expressed my wish to prepare a compilation in the future, even though it would never be quite what he had in mind. I had also added that Metin And's framework could only cover the art of bazaar painters; the other topics would have to be left out.

Some of us who had come to pay our respects had gathered around two members of his family in the courtyard of Teşvikiye Mosque: his brother Tuncay Çavdar and his daughter Esra And. Tuncay Çavdar said, 'My brother had wanted to prepare *Bazaar Painters*; I'm not sure what happened. It would be great if you could publish it,' and I replied, 'We'll do our best.' This request was echoed by many others over the years, and the mention in *Miniature* is its acknowledgement. The book in your hand is the flesh and blood version of my promise to Tuncay Çavdar.

Preparing a detailed, gripping and comprehensive book on 'bazaar painters' was going to be a labour of love for Metin And, who is the originator of this term.

I believe he had compiled a private file in the 'sixties or 'seventies. He does refer to a file on such a book in his writing, but Esra And, who was an expert on her father's effects, said she never came across it. He might well have been dissatisfied with the quality of his own work and destroyed it one day, or mislaid it during one of the tumultuous periods of his life.

The task he set himself was to bring to light bazaar painting, which he regarded as a branch of Ottoman figurative arts, and its producers. It led to articles that received great acclaim between 1985 and 2007 and which include repetitions in terms of subject matter and painting, a few inconsistencies and new discoveries and developments. There might even be contradictions in his readings of some of the paintings. This book will demonstrate that the albums he studied had fascinating stories of their own, their contents intended to illustrate every layer of society in people, architecture and landscape; this study brings to life the act of 'reading pictures'.

Regardless of my comments in the editor's preface in *Miniature*, things did move, albeit in their own time. Metin And's articles on bazaar painters were arranged in chronological order. We are grateful to Esra And for the extraordinary feat of sorting her father's transparency collection, and making it available to us...

In her *Introduction: Metin And and the Evolution of Bazaar Painting*, Tülün Değirmenci, lecturer at Hacettepe University Department of History of Art studies Metin And's work on bazaar painting and the value of bazaar painting albums in offering insights into life in the Ottoman Empire, fine arts as well as performance arts, and the history of costumes. Her presence, essay and experience fortified this project and provided its main mast.

In addition to shouldering the entirety of the *Album* section, Tülün Değirmenci also selected the pictures for the *Sultans, Courtiers, the Military, Dervishes, City Folk* and *Heroes* sections and wrote brief introductions and explanatory notes.

My humble contribution to the *Album* is on the subject of hawkers and street vendors, although Metin And had covered this topic in one of his articles.

Metin And tirelessly sourced and purchased material to illustrate his articles and books for many years. Faded as they are today, those transparencies are reproduced and cited here. We are grateful to our Teacher and institutions that safeguard them now for allowing their use.

I completed the *Bibliography*, thanks to contributions by my colleague Değirmenci and filling in the blanks left by Metin And. I added a general *Index* as I have happily done with all his books. He always complimented me on these indexes; I sincerely hope to have done his work justice on this occasion too.

Our translator Feyza Howell, who shared the patience of Job as she nudged our caravan back on track with her enthusiastic contributions and helpful hints,

and so proved the idiom ‘Learn on the job’ also deserves a mention here. Many thanks are in order...

Editor of the English edition, Darmin Hadzibegoviç, contributed to the consistency of the Turkish and English editions with his occasional remarks. He deserves thanks for this.

And last, but not least, we must pay tribute to Metin And’s friend Franz Taeschner, who is responsible for this long journey, the owner of the first album he recognised as something quite unique, and who published the first facsimile edition.

Bazaar Painters turned out to be a late season joint effort – a demonstration of loyalty. Whether it has succeeded is up to the reader.

We remember Metin And with respect in the tenth year of his death. Rest in peace our dear teacher, Metin And...

Acıbadem, 30 September 2018



Introduction: Evolution of the Bazaar Painting and Metin And

Tülün Değirmenci

A Renaissance man according to his friends and colleagues, Metin And was the person who, in addition to his undeniable accomplishments, coined (in his own words) the phrase 'bazaar painter' to the benefit of the historiography of art. Not only one of the finest terms in this field, 'bazaar painter' is one of the most inspirational. In a series of articles published between 1985 and 2007, And elaborates on this description as he continually updates readers on his latest findings. The articles in this book represent the legacy of a scholar of 'olden times' blessed with an exceptionally vibrant scholarly enthusiasm. This introduction intends to summarise Metin And's research on bazaar painters, specifically his views and findings that developed and occasionally even altered, before attempting to demonstrate the elaboration and changes brought about by new research motivated by his seminal definition.¹ A modest postscript to his work collated in this book concludes this introduction with several proposed answers to one of the questions in his articles. This debate will show that the concept And bequeathed to us surpassed a simple definition added to the compendium of history of art terminology, as it additionally assumed the role of a provocative theme that paves the way for young generations in pursuit of fresh new thinking.

Before moving to these serious matters, however, and emboldened by Metin And's articles, I would like to touch on the tale of this introduction – it was his gracious acknowledgment of the contributions of his colleagues that has encouraged me to write this personal note. It started with a chance meeting, or more like a stroke of serendipity, at the Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Library on 21 October 2008 – ten years ago. I had requested Cinâni's *Kitâb-ı Letâif* (The Book of Wits); the manuscript by this renowned writer and narrator of the time of Murad III (r. 1574-1595) arrived in the hands of Sabri Koz – a vision of the Revered Hızır with his white beard and avuncular smile. He happened to be working on the same tome; intrigued that someone else also wanted it, he had brought this priceless book personally. When I explained that I was working on miniatures, he hurried away with an unforgettable glint in his eyes and returned with a present for me: the commemorative book Yapı Kredi had prepared for Metin And. I recall our excited exchange as we gushed about Metin And and his contribution to Ottoman figurative arts. The same passion defined our voices many years later, when Sabri Koz invited me to prepare this book on Metin And's articles about bazaar painters.

Back to our topic after this brief aside: Metin And introduced this definition that would inspire so much research in an article for the *Tarih ve Toplum* magazine in 1985.² What he means in that article and in the preamble to all his subsequent work by his own words is as follows:³

'Bazaar painters' were professional Istanbul artists who painted to order in their workshops in the bazaar, mostly creating costume albums for their European clients. Foreigners visiting Ottoman lands purchased these albums just as today's tourists buy souvenirs and post cards. That is the reason why almost all costume albums are found in European museums today. Brief captions in Western languages above or below the figures depicted indicate these albums must have been made for Europeans, although some albums were intended for Ottomans; however, most have failed to survive to our time.

This is partly attributable to a national failure to treasure cultural assets (unlike Europeans), and partly to misgivings about figurative representations. The majority of such pieces might have been of an erotic nature, in which case they would have been stashed away and ultimately destroyed. Although there are several albums dating from the sixteenth century, it was in the seventeenth when bazaar painters and their costume albums gained popularity. Their ascendance in the seventeenth century was no accident; the prototype of the genre is the album known as the *the Ahmed I Album* – although And would revise this view in one of his latest articles. Comprising depictions of daily life without any story line, the work in question pioneered the costume album genre.

In terms of the characteristics of the illustrations, bazaar painting was based on the basic scheme developed by court artists; in other words, both groups drew on the same tradition. Yet there were differences too: despite starting out from a common scheme, court artists favoured an additive method, whilst bazaar painters preferred the reductive. In other words, court artists enriched the basic scheme with colour, gold leaf, detail and adornment whilst bazaar painters dispensed with all that they regarded as non-essential, and painted much simpler pictures. This reduced economy of expression approached caricature. Portraits of the sultans are the best examples in this context: a comparison of the two genres highlights the simplicity of bazaar painting. The converse is occasionally true. Selim I (r. 1512-1520) holds a mace in a bazaar painting portrait; another iconographic addition is the sword carried by Osman I (r. 1299-1326).⁴

I have attempted to summarise Metin And's general thoughts on bazaar painters above. They frequently introduced his articles and were followed by an account of how he came to be intrigued by the subject. That memory not only signified a section of Metin And's academic journey, but also contained a charming testimony to recent history. It goes back to the 1950s. Metin And's interest was first piqued by this genre by Franz Taeschner; the eminent orientalist was a close friend

who stayed at the And home during his frequent trips to Ankara. Taeschner's white beard and kindly face invited a reverential welcome wherever he went with his camera and tape recorder. On one such visit, Taeschner presented Metin And with a copy of his 1925 facsimile edition of an Ottoman album of drawings he had acquired in 1914.⁵ The original having sadly perished in its safe in the Second World War, And treasured his gift. His fascination prompted a second, equally precious gift from Taeschner: the information that a very similar album was held in Venice. The album Taeschner mentioned was the *Cicogna Album* (Cod. Cicogna 1971) today held in Venice's Museo Civico Correr; in his publications Metin And would thereafter refer to it as the *V Album*.⁶ Occupied as he was with Turkish theatre and entertainment, Metin And studied it during a trip to Venice in the hope of finding useful illustrations for his research, and soon began using in his articles the black-and-whites he had commissioned a street photographer to shoot. These photos were also used by his friend and colleague Halil İnalçık, who was writing his *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age (1300-1600)*. This gesture must have been enormously appreciated by İnalçık at a time predating the digital environment and when access was limited to all manners of information, written or visual. Metin And would repeat this story in numerous articles on bazaar painting; straightaway correctly identifying the albums reproduced by Taeschner and the Cicogna as the work of the same artist, he would posit that the two were complementary, a view that is still held today.

In 1965, some fifteen years after that particular meeting, Metin And was invited to give a series of lectures in twelve German cities. He requested that Münster be added to the itinerary with the express purpose of visiting his friend Franz Taeschner. On this, which turned out to be their last meeting, they discussed the *Cicogna Album* once again, and Metin And complained about his continued failure to access colour photographs of the album. He forgot to ask for the Italian text, something he would later regret as he had no idea whom to consult.

Many years later, having finally obtained colour transparencies of the album, and urged on by a close friend, Metin And decided to write on this subject. It was planned to cover seventeenth-century bazaar painters with a specific focus on the *Taeschner-* and *Cicogna Albums*. Although he frequently referred to this book as being ready to go to print, Metin And sadly never had the opportunity to do so. The book in your hands that comprises these articles on bazaar painters, therefore, has been compiled as a small consolation or even our duty to Metin And.

He narrates this story at the start of every article in his customary warmth and candour, far warmer than today's distant styles, inviting the reader on his enthusiastic journey. This trait is reminiscent of Ottoman prefaces where the writers pay tribute to a courteous request by a close friend. Metin And never restricts his tales to his own expedition; instead, he relates interesting anecdotes about fellow travellers, and generously expresses gratitude for assistance from colleagues. These tales tucked into the articles not only offer a glimpse into the career of the scholar, but they also bear witness to Turkey's recent history. His references to Halil İnalçık, the eminent scholar we lost in 2016 is just one such instance. A similar tale concerns meeting İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı as Metin And was busy with the preparations of his *Kırk Gün Kırk Gece* (Forty days and forty nights). During a train journey from Ankara to Istanbul, Uzunçarşılı was fascinated by And's plans for this project and gave him a list of the documents in the Ottoman Archives on performance arts and artists. These documents would prove to be priceless for And's subsequent projects too. Another article opens with his delight at the adoption of his 'bazaar painters' term by his colleague Prof Dr Nurhan Atasoy, delight he shares with a great deal of sincerity.

In addition to the general essays mentioned above, Metin And wrote on specific themes he had identified in albums he attributed to bazaar painters. Collated in this book, these articles cover, amongst others, hawkers, musicians and Harem women as seen by bazaar painters,

thereby offering the opportunity to see collections of pictures on such specific topics. Furthermore, he compares the chroniclers of the time with the depictions whose ‘veracity’ he queries in some of his articles; his most frequently consulted source in this context is Evliyâ Çelebi’s *Seyahatnâme* (The book of travel). He sets off on the trail of the edifices in these pictures; at times, and especially about buildings in Istanbul, he even consults experts who happen to be friends and colleagues like Semavi Eyice. In other articles, he focuses on specially selected costume albums, such as the *Warsaw Album* or the *Diez Album* he believes to have been presented to the Prussian ambassador by Abdülhamid I (r. 1774-1789), for instance. He never forgets to add a regularly updated list of what he believes to be bazaar painter albums mostly held today in European museums and libraries.

This book will present the topics I have attempted to summarise here, and much more besides, in the cheerful articles that follow. That is why the rest of this introduction will focus on a variety of studies that, having taken the way Metin And had paved, furthered and occasionally queried his findings.

AFTER METİN AND

One of the most stimulating studies on the costume books attributed to bazaar artists (not, strictly speaking, focusing on bazaar artists *per se*) after Metin And was the work of Leslie Meral Schick.⁷ In two separate presentations, Schick makes a series of assessments on the meaning and origins of the costume book in the Ottoman visual tradition rather than the method of production of these albums. She defines costume albums as small handbooks containing portraits of various Ottoman subjects from the sultan through to the court, high-ranking officials and down to the hawkers, the lowest of the common folk. These albums were prepared as guidebooks to Ottoman subjects for curious Europeans just as Metin And had always insisted. In both papers, Schick, who focused on

the ‘ranking’ in these albums, deduced the context of the individuals therein to be provided by the costume, given the total absence of any background or spatial reference. In other words, the setting for these figures is their costume. Costume has a close relationship with not only setting, but also status and rank. At any rate, attire is strictly regulated in both Europe and the Ottoman Empire on the basis of social class. Schick associates costume albums that emerged initially within the European culture with regulating and domesticating the ‘other,’ that is, the Ottomans in this context. At the source of this curiosity lies the humanist and proto-anthropological approach of the European tendency to classify everything, which happened to coincide with a similar inclination amongst the Ottomans. In this context, she is intrigued by the similarity between ‘urban’ literature –that classifies Ottoman cities and their inhabitants– and costume books. It is this similarity that has facilitated the adoption and reproduction of costume books. Schick does not comment on the identity of the artists behind these albums in either of her papers, although she does state that Metin And attributes them to bazaar artists before confessing to a degree of scepticism about this theory. Her disinclination to debate the appositeness of such an all-encompassing term suggests that she remains unconvinced by the implication that a single body of artists stood behind these albums. On this point, she is vindicated by Metin And’s intimation in his final article that the group of artists he had originally defined as bazaar painters might indeed have comprised diverse milieux, as the reader will see later.

Ground-breaking for researchers as the term ‘bazaar painting’ was, it was not totally without risk – the greatest of which was attributing a large and vastly varied body of work spanning the seventeenth through to nearly the nineteenth centuries, and worse, regarding this group as homogenous. Had Metin And lived long enough to see the most recent pioneering research on the Ottomans, he would undoubtedly have revised his views further, just as he had done in one his final articles. The articles in this book will demonstrate, at any rate, his constant

quest to refresh and promptly correct his own work. His assessment of the *Ahmed I Album*, which will be studied presently, is a case in point. Having repeatedly positioned this volume as the start of the costume album custom in virtually all his essays, in one of his latest articles published in 2005 he pulled no punches as he added the following text which must have caused a few wry smiles:

I had, in the past, defined the *murakka* known as the *Ahmed I Album* as a prototype for bazaar painters. This is not strictly correct, as other bazaar painting albums predate this particular piece. The real prototype has to be European artists of the sixteenth century as stated above [...]

As a matter of fact, both views are probably correct to a degree, but are incomplete on their own. The rise of these volumes known as costume albums in Ottoman painting from the seventeenth century onwards must have been greatly promoted by Europeans –both as visiting artists and discerning connoisseurs– as well as the foreign legations that had facilitated the supply to this demand. Yet it is also clear that associating these works exclusively with Europeans fails to grasp the matter. The *Ahmed I Album* dates from the very start of the seventeenth century, an era when costume albums flourished; the link between costume books and several plates in this exemplar of a new tendency in Ottoman visual tradition is undeniable, as is the role of this album in the fostering of this new tradition. Commissioned personally by the sultan himself in the Ottoman palace, this album proves that interest in the city and its denizens, as well as the events that took place there was not exclusive to Europeans.

THE START OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: AHMED I ALBUM

Compiled by Kalender Paşa for Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617) at the very start of the seventeenth century and one of

the most colourful and fascinating examples of Ottoman painting, the *Ahmed I Album* [TSMK, B. 408] represents an indisputable milestone for Ottoman painting in both style and content. It is equally indisputable that Metin And was right on so many counts when he identified this album as the start of the bazaar painting tradition. As he remarks, the *Ahmed I Album* can be regarded as the vanguard of a type of content that subsequent costume books would follow. It not only contains the *sine qua non* of the genre, the series of portraits of Ottoman sultans, but also, rather like the depictions in costume books, portrays different ‘types’ in the Ottoman world. Another captivating aspect of this album’s focus on Ottoman history, in addition to the royal portraits, is the presence of illustrations of certain incidents in Bayatlı Mahmud’s fifteenth-century chronicle entitled *Câm-ı Cem*, possibly compiled into a late sixteenth-century manuscript.⁸ In short, Metin And’s assessment that in content, arrangement and choice of subject matter, the *Ahmed I Album* was the prototype of a genre that would proliferate in the seventeenth-century might well be considered as correct to a degree. On the other hand, a much more complex palimpsest is indicated by its range of themes; in addition, its manner of production and patronage completely oppose the definition of ‘bazaar painting’.

The *Ahmed I Album* was in effect one of three similar, yet different, volumes prepared by Kalender Paşa for Ahmed I. The first was a *murakka* of various calligraphic styles [TSMK, H. 2171] and the second was an interpretative book of fortune-telling [TSMK, H. 1703]. Detailed information on the production processes of each of these three manuscripts is offered in their prefaces. The *Ahmed I Album* preface clearly explains that the manuscript was prepared in response to a direct request from the sultan, who had asked for several precious folios and ‘*kit’a*’s to be collated in an album.⁹ Some of the content is verses in Persian. The pictures in the album fall into a number of categories. The first comprises paintings inspired by Safavid albums and even several direct copies. The

second category consists of original Ottoman drawings, single page folios clearly related to the costume books that became popular in the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Another group consists of narrative illustrations that are not necessarily accompanied by text. In other words, they relate a specific topic or story through several figures in the composition. Asylum, bath house or mixed parties dominate these paintings mainly on the topic of love; the pictures are placed in order and are believed to be related to love poems in Persian.¹¹

The most unusual group of pictures in the *Ahmed I Album* comprises individuals usually seen in costume books. Some are generic types representing Ottoman subjects, whilst others must be the heroes of oral and written popular tales, tales possibly narrated in *majlises*, poetic gatherings. This positioning, affixed as they are on facing pages, as well as the iconographic features of these young males and females appear to support this theory. Young, beardless –and in fact smooth-faced– men are in flamboyant outfits, just like the city boys in Istanbul tales. The daggers at their waists must mark them as ruffians, and the albums in their hands point to their parts in the *majlises*. In deep décolletés and carrying roses, the young women they face –and occasionally kneel before– are reminiscent of the fictional beloveds who spur their lovers to the most fantastic adventures. Subsequent albums would feature figures very similar to the women in the *Ahmed I Album*; the traits of their names noted down in titles or captions suggest they were famous in their time. These examples will be covered in some detail later.¹²

Given all these characteristics, and the evident Persian influence in both design and style, the *Ahmed I Album* is a direct continuation of the venerable arts tradition that flourished under direct Ottoman court patronage. All the same, the content and stylistic attributes of several of the pictures therein are related to the costume albums that would proliferate throughout the century. Metin And therefore is quite correct in identifying the *Ahmed I Album* as the vanguard of the bazaar

painting tradition. Yet, the study of even a single volume is sufficient to qualify generalisations such as ‘bazaar painters’ to be extremely functional as well as risky, since the research mentioned above reveals that with its style, iconography and patronage, the *Ahmed I Album* is far too complex and multi-layered to be classified into a broad category. On the other hand, there naturally exist many mass-produced albums, grouped readily by their common traits; Metin And was the first person to remark upon the majority of this group.

In an article on seventeenth-century costume albums, Günsel Renda studies a group of volumes produced between 1640 and 1660 and whose stylistic and iconographic characteristics point to the same studio.¹³ She accredits European travellers and diplomats who had produced books of engravings on their trips to the Ottoman Empire with fostering the costume book genre, and suggests that the seventeenth-century albums which she studied were the Ottoman versions of this tradition. Renda attributes them to artists who ran their own studios in the city; although she adopts Metin And’s definition of ‘bazaar painters’, she does add that there is extremely little information on this group. Her article is a pivotal piece that validates Metin And’s views as it also reveals the vast variety contained in costume albums and the term ‘bazaar painters’. A thorough understanding of the subject is predicated on a classification of these albums, which must be treated as products of an extensive industry. It is equally essential, however, to assess each individual volume in the context of its own production in order to appreciate its finer nuances and to create a more integrated history. As collections of pictures that might well originate from different eras and milieux, these albums present the scholar with more than enough challenges at any rate.

The Ottoman material in the *Diez Albums* in Berlin, named after their compiler, the Prussian Ambassador Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751-1817), offers the perfect opportunity to observe this variety as it demonstrates that it is possible to present paintings from different

environments in the same album, side by side, one after the other. One of these paintings, for instance, is a copy of a plate from an illustrated late sixteenth-century edition of *Hüsrev and Şirin*, and clearly bears the marks of court iconography. Four of the remaining fourteen pictures that date from the eighteenth century reflect the bazaar style and iconography. The neater, richer and more courtly iconography of the final ten depictions of mostly young, beardless city boys points to the royal studios. These pictures must have been collected by Diez in Istanbul at different times, and probably collated into an album in Berlin.¹⁴ Thus do pictures from different eras and environments confront us together, side by side and one after the other.

VENETIAN AUDIENCE, OTTOMAN PAINTERS: THE CICOGNA AND TAESCHNER ALBUMS

It is no less difficult to deem the paintings in the albums as a unified whole as it is to regard as a homogenous group the bazaar painters believed to have created the pieces produced outside court. The connection between the custom of costume albums attributed to bazaar painters and European painting or the demands of European clients has always been on the agenda for Metin And and other researchers who wrote on this subject later. The role of diplomatic circles in Istanbul in particular as well as the non-Muslim artists working there has frequently been highlighted in this context. A recent monography on the *Cicogna Album*, one of the principal pieces attributed to bazaar painters by Metin And, offers some intriguing views. Before moving on to this research, however, I would like to summarise what And had said about this album.

As stated at the start of this introduction, two pivotal albums had triggered Metin And's interest in and his definition of bazaar painting: the two-album series of the *Taeschner Album* and the *Venetian / Cicogna Album*

[Cod. Cicogna 1971]. Although he would later add to the number of works he attributed to bazaar painters, Metin And continued to focus in his articles on these two, augmenting, so to speak, with later finds the world he had created around them. This special interest, he explained, was due to the superior visual merit of the variety of crowded and rich compositions in these two albums compared with the rather predictable standard of single figures in other compilations.¹⁵

In other words, Metin And identified at once these two albums to be very different from the style known as costume albums. Another key point he has noticed early on is that these two albums complete each other, a hypothesis he proved by pointing out that the subject matters complemented one another. The missing royal portraits (Ahmed I and Osman II) in the *Cicogna Album*, for instance, are in the *Taeschner Album*. The compositions depicting Ottoman-Venetian relations in the two albums, again, complement each other. And both albums are the work of a single artist working in the bazaar, according to Metin And.

Despite attributing to bazaar artists the costume albums he wrote about, Metin And always lamented the dearth of written sources on this group, especially in contrast to court artists. In his final article mentioned on several instances earlier, he repeats this view before conceding the possible inclusion of embassy artists in this group. What he does highlight, however, is that whatever their origins, these artists were 'local' and 'Istanbullu'. Departing from his earlier articles, he then proceeds to suggest the embassy dragoman Marco Tarsia might have produced the *Cicogna Album* for the Venetian Bailo Giovanni Soranzo. Tarsia did live in Istanbul for many years, he adds, and even features in a couple of the drawings. All the same, he maintains his theory that these pictures were the products of the Ottoman painting tradition even as he concedes the Italian connection in the production of this album: 'It does bear noting at this point that even though the text and the pictures might have come from the same hand, the style is still local, that is, Ottoman.'

Another possibility is that this album was the work of a bazaar artists who was briefed by the Italians.’

The above-mentioned study on the *Cicogna Album* is significant precisely because it takes into account the Italian text that Metin And had no opportunity to see until his final years; a detailed study of this text has not only enriched the body of knowledge on this subject, but also validated Metin And on several points he had remarked upon long ago.¹⁶ This article proposes that the *Cicogna Album*, far from being a generic codex produced in the Istanbul art market, was in fact custom-made for the Venetian Embassy to fit a specific narrative. The article compares the contents of the *Cicogna* and *Taeschner Albums* to suggest a continuity link between the two –as repeated by Metin And on many occasions– before proposing that it was made in early 1660 as a sort of handbook, a practical guide to Ottoman society for the Venetian Secretary and Grand Chancellor Giovanni Battista Ballarino, and in effect names Ballarino as the likely author of the narrative rather than a mere patron. It states that this *murakka*-like codex presented to the ambassador differs from costume albums in both written and visual content determined by the Ottoman-Venetian relations. One of the principal bases of this theory is the text accompanying the series of sultan portraits at the beginning that diverge from general Ottoman history and focus much more closely instead on the military histories of those sultans, and diplomatic relations between the Ottomans and the Venetians. In other words, this text was not written for the eyes of an ordinary reader, but rather, for the benefit of someone who was well versed in this history, that is, as an aide-memoir to certain incidents for Venetian diplomats in Istanbul. Similarly, the representation of architectural space highlights civilian buildings such as military and commercial edifices that might prove to be of interest to diplomats, rather than religious structures. Another remarkable point in this respect is the total exclusion of buildings from the classical era, which indicates that buildings are viewed as major centres of urban life rather than landmarks or

tourist attractions. The authors of this written and drawn content are embassy dragomans, states the article. The interpreters believed to have assisted Ballarino in the writing of the text have presented themselves as the creators of this relationship in both the text and the portrayals. The dragoman in this project was in all likelihood someone from the Tarsia family who were mentioned in the Italian text and had been serving as dragomans for generations in Istanbul, a point observed by Metin And.

Having ignored the style of the pictures in the codex, the article in question alleges that the pictures could have been the work of local artists with close ties to court, or European artists connected with diplomatic circles. With no definitive statements on the identities of these artists or any reference to Metin And’s body of work, it touches on the matter of bazaar painters, arguing that the presence of seventeenth-century ‘bazaar painters’ whose work was intended specifically for a non-courtly and European clientele rested heavily on the Latin script captions, which, being in different languages and media, could well have been later additions by the owners of the albums, rather like notes in book margins. More likely, it adds, these captions were meant to help painters identify the images, rather than being authoritative information complementing them. The point undoubtedly overlooked here is that the definition of bazaar painting does not rest solely on the captions. Numerous traits identified as specific to bazaar art by Metin And have sadly been overlooked in this article, which pays too little attention to the fact that the *Cicogna* and *Taeschner Albums* consist unquestionably of pictures in the Ottoman style.

A recent study on another noteworthy album produced for Europeans, or more accurately, acquired by Europeans, has the potential to enrich our knowledge of the subject. The album in question is the *Mundy Album*,¹⁷ one of the earliest main examples of the costume album genre. Purchased in Istanbul by Peter Mundy who visited the city between 1616 and 1620, it is remarkable for the English text written personally by this English merchant. Although it bears the date 1618, the text is believed to

date from between 1647 and 1654, after his return from his travels in the East. Another observation made in this article is that these 59 folios were purchased singly in Istanbul and collated into an album with the addition of a text much later. In other words, Peter Mundy wrote accompanying texts for the drawings he had purchased in the market in Istanbul to create a travelogue of sorts.¹⁸ Based as it is on an analysis of the text, this is a remarkable assessment as it indicates that Europeans were engaged in a type of reproduction by arranging according to a narrative of their own individual folios acquired on the market in Istanbul. A similar process was probably employed in the production of the *Cicogna Album* discussed earlier: images gathered and/or commissioned from Ottoman painters were included in a new narrative with an accompanying text.

Another recent study focused on a special group classified as ‘new period albums’: costume albums produced between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (1770-1810), including several albums attributed to bazaar painters by Metin And.¹⁹ The main focus of this particular study was the stylistic and iconographic relationships between these albums (believed to be the work of artists in diplomatic circles) as well as the spread of their iconographic models. A comparative study led to the theory that the albums in question were variations, or in other words, reproductions of models created in the studio of Konstantin Kapıdağlı. All the same, the study recognises the contribution of the legacy of costume albums popularised by local Ottoman artists since the seventeenth century. It also deliberates upon the point that these albums represent the Enlightenment’s attempt to get to know and understand the East –meaning the Ottomans– that Europe regarded as the ‘other’; this was precisely the view articulated by virtually every study on this subject, including Metin And’s articles on bazaar arts.

The most significant part of the study in question is the meticulous detective work that tracks down the relationships amongst the albums produced in the

selected time period, and the marks of the repeated iconographic templates. Associating the entire body of albums produced over a period of four decades with the models created in a single artist’s studio is important in demonstrating the variety within the group of artists believed to be bazaar painters, notwithstanding the risk of singularising the cultural environment that produced these works, or being a reductive attitude in assessing a multi-layered structure like the Ottoman visual tradition. A solid connection between these ‘new period albums’ and seventeenth-century examples will eliminate this risk of singularisation. The importance of pursuing the diffusion of the iconographic models via artists, studios and patrons is equalled by the necessity of understanding the palimpsest that is the visual heritage that distilled said models.

A short, yet pivotal recent essay is highly informative as it builds an image archaeology of sorts on the basis of a particular image in the *Taeschner Album*. One of the fascinating images in this album that Metin And mentions in every article shows a Sufi lodge, judging by the furnishings; the figure in dervish attire seated on the fleece before a blazing fireplace congratulates a youth.²⁰ A bearded man stands behind the boy, evidently presenting him to the dervish. The Italian text describes this scene as a novice taking the entrance exam to a guild. This explanation might well lead the viewer to regard this picture as an important illustration documenting seventeenth-century social life. Until, that is, the same viewer comes across an identical picture that apparently describes a completely different subject: this second picture is in an album believed to have been produced for the Safavids in the mid- to late seventeenth century. Despite the absence of accompanying text, notes on the pictures identify the figures portrayed in the album. According to the tale in the *Menâkıbü’l-Arifin* (Ahmed Eflâkî), a Persian hagiography of Mevlana written in the fourteenth century, Mevlana’s son Sultan Veled is presented to Shams-e Tabrizi here. Kalender Shah, shown blowing a horn in the background, is a famous Bektashi dervish

of the sixteenth century. Moreover, all the evidence marks this interior where the ceremony takes place as a Bektashi lodge.²¹ This painting probably made by Ottoman painters for a Venetian viewer or reader has considerable weight in pointing to the complex and layered world behind the diffusion and reassignment of iconographic models. This iconographic transformation or reuse also suggests that the factors creating the ‘verity’ of image in the Islamic visual tradition are quite unique, which explains the unfeasibility of approaching all images as a ‘visual document’ at all times.

Seen in this light, understanding the tradition of costume albums –as they were called– produced largely for Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries requires a much deeper grasp of seventeenth-century models. It is essential, however, to avoid treating the iconographic models as mere templates; evaluation in the context of the mentality and cultural milieu that created them is a far more productive route. Certain illustrated albums created for and consumed by Ottomans will create a ground-breaking pathway for such a debate.

A MODEST ADDENDUM TO METİN AND’S WORKS: SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ILLUSTRATED OTTOMAN *MECMUAS* AND THE MATTER OF ‘COSTUME ALBUMS’

One particular point Metin And reiterates persistently in all his writings is that these albums he attributed to bazaar painters were commissioned by Ottomans as well as Europeans, the lack of any surviving examples notwithstanding. The reasons why they did not survive were explained, as remarked earlier, in terms of a general lack of appreciation for these works of art, reservations about figurative art prevalent in Ottoman society, or the possibility that the majority might have covered erotic subjects.²² This section, which covers several illustrated *mecmuas* (‘collections’) that I believe to have been produced for an

Ottoman clientèle, will validate Metin And’s foresight, as well as serve as a little addendum to his body of work.

The small illustrated album held today in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and thus known as the *Paris Album* [11.0 x 16.8 cm] is a rare example of the art of commercial painting aimed at a non-courtly metropolitan clientèle: the pictures are accompanied by texts that narrate the stories therein.²³ The style and iconography of the nineteen folios, the segmented medallions framing the majority of the pictures, and the content of the texts around or below them, or set again in segmented medallions on the facing pages all indicate artists working outside the court in the mid-seventeenth century; the compendium might have belonged to either a storyteller, or an Ottoman city-dweller who attended gatherings where such stories were narrated. It is highly likely to have been a codex such as were tucked into the waists of the figures in contemporaneous, that is, seventeenth-century albums.

The *Paris Album* both resembles and differs from costume albums in that it includes paintings on dissimilar topics. Although they appear to be collated in no specific order, a general grouping starts with sultan portraits. Murad II (r. 1421-1451) and Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) are set within segmented medallions in the pose typical of late sixteenth century. Bayezid I (‘Thunderbolt’) (r. 1360-1403) is also set into a similar medallion, although his is an equestrian portrait. Selim II (r. 1566-1574) and Osman II (r. 1618-1622) are depicted seated on their thrones, surrounded by their courtiers. There is no chronological order, and some images have brief titles, whereas others face pages containing brief texts about the sultans. These texts are framed in medallions, and the most intriguing one concerns Osman II, the sultan who will be covered again later. The album also contains pictures of several statesmen, young men and women in various costumes, birds and flowers, horse and groom, or everyday scenes like mother with child in the kitchen. The fight between Rüstem and White Giant (a popular section from Firdevsî’s *Şehnâme*) is an example of the

diversity of topics in the *Paris Album*. The portraits of young men and women might at first sight hark back to the generic types in costume albums; the texts in the margins or on the facing pages, however, disabuse the viewer of this notion. Every figure is now the portrait of a distinctive individual.

The Bektashi dervish portrayed in one of the folios [Figure 1] is virtually identical at first sight to the stereotypical images of monks that proliferated in European engravings of the mid-sixteenth century through to the myriad costume albums of the seventeenth century. Yet the text in the margin identifies this man as the son of an Anatolian merchant. The young man fell out with

his father, disguised himself as a Bektashi and went to Persia with his lover. This topic of dressing up as a dervish to escape social prejudice and renouncing one's homeland is in fact a frequent theme in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century stories.²⁴ The young man in another picture is Abdurrahman, son of Abdurrauf, a merchant from Bursa [Figure 2]. Upon the death of his father in 1610, he soon frittered away his inheritance in pursuit of a married woman, like many other young men in similar stories. Morality tales of young men having to leave the country or ending up destitute after squandering their father's estate with their 'wicked' friends were amongst the principal topics of the time.²⁵



Fig. 1: Bektashi dervish, *Album* [BNF Turc 140, f.13a]



Fig. 2: Bursalı Abdurrahman, *Album* [BNF Turc 140, f.15a]

