GÜLRU NECIPOĞLU

THE SUBURBAN LANDSCAPE OF SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ISTANBUL AS A MIRROR OF CLASSICAL OTTOMAN GARDEN CULTURE

> Le canal de la mer Noire est une promenade merveilleuse. on entre dans ce canal, dont les deux rivages veritablement charment la vue, comme étant la chose du monde la plus délicieuse Ce ne sont que maisons magnifiques, et jardins remplis de toute sorte de bons fruits.
>
> —Jean Thévenot, *Voyage du Levant*[1]

Since the Ottoman garden tradition does not fit comfortably into the usual definitions of the so-called Islamic garden, it rarely figures in popular books bearing such titles as *The Islamic Garden* or *Gardens of Paradise* These books generally concentrate on quadripartite formal gardens with straight water channels that came to be known in the Iranian world as *chahārbāgh*, virtually excluding the less formal garden types that abounded in the Ottoman territories where the climate made extensive irrigation unnecessary. They often construct an archetypal Islamic garden symbolizing paradise which, despite its adaptation to different climates, somehow remained essentially the same, a timeless expression of deep-seated religio-mystical sensibilities.[2]

This type of essentialist literature is such a rich subfield of the Orientalist discourse that I could have written a whole paper analyzing its typical ingredients.[3] Instead, I will focus on classical Ottoman garden culture as reflected in the suburban landscape of sixteenth-century Istanbul, an ideal site for deconstructing stereotypical definitions of the so-called Islamic garden. Like their urban counterparts, these suburban gardens hardly evoke images of oases in deserts or steppes, with inward-looking enclosed gardens providing refuge from heat and dust Created by a sedentarized ruling elite, these gardens combined elements from the last remnants of the Greco-Roman villa tradition inherited from Byzantium (and the Balkan territories) with Islamic practices already available in Anatolia or imported from the Turkmen-Timurid and Safavid territories in the east.[4] It can therefore be argued that the gardens of Istanbul often shared a close affinity with the antique prototypes that the contemporary gardens of Italy were trying to emulate. Far from manifesting the assumed otherness of Islamic garden traditions, Ottoman gardens constitute a unique synthesis that belonged to the same Mediterranean landscape as their Italian counterparts, a point to which I will return after discussing some specific examples.

Since no sixteenth-century Ottoman garden survives, their study is necessarily limited to textual and pictorial evidence.[5] The visual information provided in European drawings and Ottoman miniatures is complemented by such written sources as agricultural treatises, royal garden (*ḫāṣṣ bāġçe*) registers that list the wages of gardeners, and royal account books that document the periodic repairs of garden architecture. These documents, which have not yet been studied in detail, do not seem to contain theoretical prescriptions about formal garden design comparable to the *chahārbāgh* description in the *Irshād al-zirāᶜa*, a treatise on husbandry written by Qasim ibn Yusuf in early-sixteenth-century Herat.[6] This is not surprising, given the relatively marginal position of the *chahārbāgh* in classical Ottoman garden typology.

We know that there was at least one example of a Persianate *chahārbāgh* among the suburban gardens of sixteenth-century Istanbul; this was the Karabali garden in Kabataş, on the European shore of the Bosphorus According to the travelogue of Salomon Schweigger, who was attached to the Austrian embassy in Istanbul between 1577 and 1581, this garden had been particularly favored by Sultan Selim II (r 1566–74) because of its convenient location close to the Topkapi Palace (figs 1, 2[5]). It is described by Schweigger as a royal "pleasure garden" (*Lustgarten*) with a central cross-shaped alley wide enough for three horses to ride side by side. His print depicts an oval *chahārbāgh* surrounded by an enclosure wall bordered with two rows of trees to ensure privacy; it shows women walking on the broad central alley elegantly lined with tall cypresses alternating with shorter rosemary bushes. The four plots subdivided into square beds were planted with flowers, herbs, and fruit

trees. The wooden pavilions were concentrated in one of the plots One of them was a windowless open belvedere with a 20-foot square marble swimming pool and a spouting fountain in front; not far from it was a small latticed pavilion decorated with ceramic tiles where Selim II used to eat and drink wine with his boon companions. The print also depicts a long, functional building with a pitched roof to the left of the monumental seaside gate, which can be identified as the dormitory for gardeners. Anyone wishing to tour the garden had to bribe its gardeners. Schweigger observed that within half a mile of Istanbul the sultan had many such pleasure gardens planted with herbs, flowers, and fruits (pomegranate, fig, lemon, mulberry, apple, pear, and cherry) which he frequented by boat Their produce provided substantial revenue for the royal purse. Additional income from gardens of both the sultan and the pashas came from the sale of ice stored in underground cellars filled with snow.[7]

Sixteenth-century travelers confirm that the shores of the Bosphorus were lined with suburban gardens dominated by large royal estates, most of them concentrated on the Asian side. Some of these royal gardens are identified as *"hortulus Caesaris Turcorum"* on a European album painting dated 1588 (fig. 2). As early as 1524 the Venetian *vicebailo* Pietro Zen observed that Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520–66) visited the royal gardens around Istanbul for diversion (*a Paissar e Tamfavuzar*) nearly every day, leaving his palace by boat, accompanied by some buffoons and his favorite Ibrahim Pasha (grand vizier between 1523 and 1536). In 1547, Jean Chesneau, the secretary of the French ambassador Gabriel d'Aramon, wrote that this sultan was in the habit of visiting the royal gardens "outside the city and along the seashore" accompanied by only three to four persons in a 24-oared imperial caique (from Turkish, *kayık*).[8] In his *Relazione* of 1553 the Venetian *bailo* Bernardo Navagero reported that when Süleyman was in Istanbul he went hunting "very frequently, nearly every day, in his brigantines to different places and gardens on the Anatolian shore." Royal account books from Süleyman's reign provide the names of these suburban gardens and record their extensive renovation or expansion with new buildings.[9]

The Frenchman Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, who was in Istanbul during Selim II's reign, wrote in 1573: "The Asiatic shore [of the Bosphorus] is full of gardens of which there are also some examples along the European side, but the latter has so many houses close to one another that one may say it constitutes a single continuous city (*bourg*) from the vineyards of Pera up to the Black Sea, extending a little less than 20 miles "[10] Reinhold Lubenau, an apothecary attached to the Austrian embassy in Istanbul between 1587 and 1588, described a boat ride he took along the Bosphorus like many other foreign visitors. Among the suburban royal gardens he singled out the Karabali garden as one of the most beautiful:

> On my tour I saw on both shores of the Bosphorus many exquisite and beautiful gardens built in the Turkish manner with palaces (*palatia*) and pleasure houses (*Lustheuser*), which were planted with extremely beautiful tulips (*Tulipanis*) in a medley of colors and an abundance of Turkish flowers. These gardens and palaces, which lie beneath beautiful mountains and hills, belong to the pashas and grandees. Especially noteworthy was an exceedingly exquisite garden with a stately and artistic pleasure house of the Turkish sultans, in which an artistic panel (*Tafel*) depicted the battle Bayezid [actually Selim I] waged with the Persian monarch and the victory he won thereafter Beautiful orderly cypress trees were planted there and between each cypress was a big rosemary bush.[11]

Lubenau continues to describe the garden's cross-shaped layout and its two royal pavilions where Selim II used to drink wine with his companions. Since he mentions a panel painting representing Selim I's (r. 1512–20) battle with the Safavid shah Isma^{c}il at Chaldıran in 1514, in all likelihood this royal garden was created sometime in the early sixteenth century to commemorate that victorious Persian campaign. It is listed in a document from Süleyman's reign, dated 972 (1564–65), and described by the Austrian ambassador Augier Ghislain de Busbeck (1554–62): "Well, we had a delightful voyage [along the Bosphorus], and I was allowed to enter some of the royal kiosks On the folding doors of one of these palaces, I saw the famous battle between Selim and Ismael, King of the Persians, executed in masterly style, in tesselated work."[12] The garden's quadripartite layout, its wall surrounded by a double row of tall cypresses, and its pavilions far removed from the waterfront reproduced the inward-looking orientation of the *chahārbāghs* encountered during the Persian campaign. The off-center position of the pavilions confirms the flexibility of *chahārbāgh* design hinted at by the *Irshād al-zirā^{c}a*. Whatever the foundation date of the Karabali garden was, it does not seem to have left any significant impact on classical Ottoman garden design, which is characterized by asymmetrical open compositions with an outward-looking orientation.

Although some of Istanbul's fifteenth-century suburban royal gardens replaced the imperial estates of Byzantium, the maritime villas of the Byzantine emperors had

mainly been concentrated along the Marmara Sea. It was the sultans and the Ottoman ruling elite who developed the better defended Bosphorus to an unprecedented degree with waterfront villas known as *yalıs* that gave rise to the distinctive *villegiatura* tradition of rural excursions that matured in the sixteenth century.[13] Within easy reach of the capital by boat, these suburban waterfront villas provided enjoyment of countryside and sea without depriving their owners of speedy access to the empire's administrative center.

Both functionally and administratively Istanbul's royal gardens served as annexes to the Topkapi Palace, which itself was surrounded by an extensive *ḫāṣṣ bāġçe* cultivated by several hundred gardeners wearing colored belts and yellow conical hats. The Topkapi Palace's chief gardener (*bostancıbaşı*) also commanded the corps of gardeners who cared for the suburban royal gardens. The young gardeners who had been recruited from the empire's Christian population and converted to Islam were called novice boys (*ʿacemī oġlan*). They were destined for promotion to prestigious posts in the Ottoman army and bureaucracy after they were, so to speak, "naturalized" by their training as royal gardeners. In 1553 Bernardo Navagero reported that Sultan Süleyman employed about two thousand *"azam-oglani"* in his twenty gardens in the vicinity of Istanbul, in addition to the eight hundred attached to the Topkapi Palace. A former Spanish galley slave who remained captive in Istanbul between 1552 and 1555 inflates the number of royal gardeners — who totaled 2,030 in a wage register dated 996 (1588) — to four thousand in his memoirs, where, he says, the sultans steadily acquired new gardens by confiscating the estates of executed grandees: "If we only had the revenue the Grand Turk receives from gardens we would be extra rich. The first thing that any grandee creates is a garden, as large and beautiful as he can afford, with many cypress trees that are much in vogue there. As soon as a grandee or pasha's head is cut off, the Turk confiscates his property and thereby appropriates more and more gardens." That royal gardens increased over time through the confiscation of estates belonging to grandees who were either executed or died without heirs is confirmed by some garden names associated with pashas.[14]

The highest ranking gardeners at the Topkapi Palace belonged to the chief gardener's retinue; they had the privilege of rowing the sultan's imperial barge to the suburban gardens. An early-seventeenth-century miniature painting depicts one such villa outing, in which Sultan Osman II (r. 1618–22) sits in a 26-oared royal red caique under a kiosk-like canopy. The chief gardener is steering the imperial barge by the tiller post behind the canopy, while royal attendants facing the ruler stand respectfully and gardeners in their yellow conical hats obediently line up along the shore (fig. 3). The royal red caique (this time with 25 paired oars) is also seen in the European album painting of 1588 which shows Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95) leaving the Topkapi Palace for a garden excursion along the Bosphorus (see fig. 2). It is distinguished as royal not only by its color (red was a royal prerogative), but by its large number of oars; others had to use smaller boats since the number of oars permitted was governed by social status. The sultan's boat rides from the Topkapi to neighboring royal gardens were often brief outings called *biniş* (embarking). Bound by the ceremonial requirement of remaining secluded, the sultans were generally accompanied only by a few intimates, male or female, on these outings and returned to the palace the same day. Royal visits in the company of a large household retinue took place in the summer when part of the court moved with the sultan to a garden for a prolonged stay, known as *göç* (transmigration).[15]

The chief gardener, who boasted the privilege of steering the royal caique, was also responsible for selling the produce of the royal gardens, which included both fruits and vegetables and flowers. According to ancient Ottoman custom, this honestly acquired agricultural income was set aside to meet the expenses of the sultan's table, a tradition that set the tone for Istanbul's numerous *ḫāṣṣ bāġçes*, which balanced agricultural production with power and pleasure.[16] The sultan's gardens were, however, far from being fully exploited agricultural estates (*çiftlik*); their productivity can be interpreted as a symbolic gesture aimed at legitimizing the ruler's appropriation of so much land around the capital for his own use.

The fusion of pleasure, utility, and profit, which had its origins in the Roman villa tradition inherited through Byzantium, also characterized the Topkapi Palace's gardens, established by Sultan Mehmed II in the 1460's and 1470's. Having already written about the Topkapi gardens, I will only outline here some of the themes that were echoed on a smaller scale in other garden estates. The outer garden of the Topkapi, whose cypress-lined stepped terraces incorporated the remains of the Byzantine acropolis, was conceived as a microcosm in which rare plants, animals, and minerals, representing the three kingdoms of nature, were gathered from different parts of the empire (fig. 4). Its terraced hanging gardens may well have been inspired by such Byzantine prototypes as a hanging garden planted with cypress trees that remained attached to the city walls at Eğrikapı near

Ayvansaray well into the late sixteenth century. The Topkapi Palace's formal flower beds (with square or rectangular compartments) concentrated around kiosks were complemented by pools, fountains, vineyards, pastures, woods, vegetable gardens, herds of wild and domestic animals, and birds kept in aviaries. To project a microcosmic vision of universal empire, these natural elements were combined with victory memorials in the form of Byzantine antiquities (ancient sarcophagi used as water basins, triumphal columns, converted chapels) and of garden pavilions built at the edge of an artificial lake which embodied the architectural styles of conquered kingdoms. In this sense the Topkapi Palace's gardens were not so different in conception from those of the Byzantine Great Palace, or of Nero's Domus Aurea, which also boasted a large pool surrounded by buildings representing different cities.[17]

The new structures added to the gardens and waterfront of the Topkapi Palace in the sixteenth century consisted of kiosks in the classical Ottoman style, decorated with floral ceramic tiles and richly furnished with textiles and carpets bearing similar patterns. Featuring lead-covered masonry domes or internal wooden domes protected by pyramidal roofs, these centrally planned kiosks surrounded by stately marble colonnades were generally T-shaped or cross-shaped structures with three or four projecting alcoves. From these multifaceted belvedere kiosks, furnished with low sofas providing uninterrupted views of the garden and the landscape beyond, the sultans could infinitely extend their empowering gaze over their domains. The satellite royal villas that dominated the suburban landscape of Istanbul had similar kiosks designed to incorporate spectacular visual prospects, providing the sultan with additional vistas of his capital and its extended countryside.

In the suburban *ḫāṣṣ bāġçes*, too, the kiosk constituted the nucleus of royal pleasure around which rare flowers ordered from all over the empire were planted in square or rectangular beds surrounded by red wooden railings (also common in Timurid-Turkmen and Safavid gardens depicted in Persian miniatures). Written sources frequently mention vine-covered wooden latticework pergolas creating shaded walks, also a common feature of Italian Renaissance gardens thought to have survived from classical antiquity.[18] These pergolas must have resembled the one that once connected two gates of the Süleymaniye mosque's funerary garden, according to a late-sixteenth-century Austrian album painting where geometrical flower beds can also be seen (red railings surround a lawn with small trees in the mosque's outer enclosure) (fig. 5). Most sultanic mosques in Istanbul featured such formal flower gardens with kiosk-like domed mausoleums whose walls were decorated with floral patterned Iznik tiles. Inside these mausoleums freshly cut fragrant flowers were displayed in ceramic or glass vases. Despite their similarity to their palatial counterparts, however, the otherwordly theme of paradise dominated that of royal victory and pleasure in sultanic funerary gardens.[19]

While every *ḫāṣṣ bāġçe* had its royal kiosk and dormitories for gardeners, some were provided with several kiosks and palatial dwellings extensive enough to accommodate part of the sultan's household. One such example was the garden palace of Üsküdar (*bāġçe-i Üskudar, Üskudar sarāyı*), also called the Kavak palace, a reference to its landing dock on the seashore known by that name (fig. 6 a–e, see fig. 2[2]).[20] In this garden palace, conveniently located across from the Topkapi (on the present site of the Selimiye barracks built on orders from Selim III [r. 1789–1807]), the sultans spent part of the summer months, returning to the neighboring Topkapi by boat to attend to official duties.

The Üsküdar palace was composed of a loose collection of free-standing pavilions surmounted by domes or pyramidal roofs, and of other functional buildings. Its main pavilions were distributed along the edge of a raised terrace overlooking the sea, with walled courtyards and gardens stretching behind. First built by Süleyman in the early 1550's on the site of an earlier royal garden, the palace complex was gradually extended by his successors who added new structures to its original core.[21] An anonymous Venetian *Relazione* dated 1579 informs us that this garden palace was the creation of three sultans: Süleyman I, Selim II, and Murad III.[22] Among seventeenth-century rulers who added their own pavilions to it were Ahmed I (r. 1603–17) and Murad IV (r. 1623–40).

An account book which records minor repairs to the Üsküdar garden in 972 (1564–65) refers to a large main palace (*aṣl büyük sarāy*); a kitchen; jasmine balustrades (*yāsemin ṭrabzonları*); a courtyard for yoghurt makers (*yoġurtçular ḫavlisi*); a large outer courtyard (*ṭaşra büyük ḫavlı*); an ice cellar (*ḳarlık*); and dormitories for greyhound keepers (*tazıcılar*) and for gardeners.[23] The large main palace complex functioning as the sultan's residence probably included the monumental building with a tower incorporated into its structure that can be seen in several views (figs 6c, 6d). Surrounded by wide overhanging eaves and raised on a vaulted stone basement, this rectangular building had two parts: a core of rooms

containing a belvedere tower and an open, pillared hall connected to the garden's seaside walls by a projecting square kiosk. With its tower this building resembled the royal privy chamber in the Edirne palace (known as the Cihannüma Kasrı or World-Viewing Pavilion, dated 1451) at the center of which also rose a tower surmounted by a belvedere with a fountain.[24]

The buildings comprising the garden palace at Üsküdar are listed in royal account books that record its periodic repairs. These included a tower known as the Pointed Pavilion (*sivri kaṣr*); the pavilion of Sultan Süleyman (*kaṣr-i sulṭān Süleymān*), the pavilion of Mehmed Pasha (*kaṣr-i Meḥmed Paşa*), possibly built by the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha for Selim II; the pavilion of Murad III (*kaṣr-i sulṭān Murād ḫān*); the pavilion of Ahmed I (*kaṣr-i sulṭān Ahmed*), and the Revan (Erivan) pavilion (*kaṣr-i Revān*), a domed kiosk constructed on a raised terrace with a pool (*Revān ḥavżı şoffası*). Like its counterpart with the same name at the Topkapi Palace, this last kiosk commemorated Murad IV's conquest of Erivan in 1635. The documents also mention smaller kiosks; baths; residential quarters for the queen mother, the chief consort (*ḫāşeki sulṭān*), concubines, male pages, white and black eunuchs, gatekeepers, halberdiers, gardeners, falconers and dog keepers; kitchens; horse stables; a dairy farm; fountains; pools; water channels; a landing dock (*iskele*) at the seashore; and Ahmed I's mosque with a single minaret.[25]

The Bosphorus painting of 1588 identifies the site as a garden palace which the sultans visited with concubines for recreation each summer (see fig. 2[2]). In 1573 Du Fresne-Canaye wrote that Selim II used to go there nearly every day from the Topkapi, escorted by three or four small boats, to enjoy himself in its "superb" and "voluptuous" palaces (*sérails*) set in gardens populated with dogs, hunting birds, and horses. This is confirmed by the Frenchman Pierre Lescalopier who wrote in 1574 that the same sultan frequently came in a small boat (*petite frégate*), which was followed by a second one, to the magnificent palace of his women in Üsküdar (*ung magnifique palais sérrail des femmes du Grand Seigneur*).[26] A detailed description of the Üsküdar palace is provided in the diary of Stephan Gerlach who visited it in 1576 with some colleagues from the Austrian embassy. He refers to it as the sultan's favorite and principal pleasure garden (*Lustgarten*) on the Asian shore, which consisted of a series of three walled gardens where a new kiosk was being built at that time for Murad III:

> Here we saw nothing but stonecutters with their hammers who were constructing a royal edifice and fountains, using marbles and white stones. We were conducted to the royal palace [probably Süleyman's main palace with a belvedere tower] which was very wide and high, ornamented with gilded domes and extremely graceful white marble fountains shooting jets of water. This building was completely transparent — not so now due to the excessive amount of dust from the stonecutters — and covered with carpets. We examined all the rooms where the king sits and eats during the day and sleeps at night: all of marble and gold. The garden was like an earthly paradise with its perfumed herbs, flowers, and all kinds of trees planted in orderly fashion. We especially saw bulbs or onions which bore red, white, yellow, and red-and-yellow speckled violas (*Violen*).
>
> This garden was enclosed by a high wall with gates and other structures like a castle. Through these high walls one entered into another garden containing a domed building constructed round, like a half circle, and surrounded by white and colored marble columns.
>
> From this second walled garden one entered into a third garden containing another royal building. The floors of all three royal edifices were spread with costly Persian carpets, particularly where the king sat, and all the rooms had cushions of gold and velvet, with the seats or estrades raised a little from the floor. In front of the second edifice was a quadrangular white-marble pool in which stood a small red-painted boat for the pleasure rides of the royal offspring. In the middle of all three edifices were white-marble fountains with brass spouts. From the middle garden, which was separated by walls from the first and third gardens, one came to a four-sided cistern fed by an ancient spring of Dionysus, the water of which the Turks held to be holy. The guards and gardeners of these gardens were *Asamoglani*; we tipped them half a thaler.[27]

The seventeenth-century French traveler Sieur Du Loir, who was also given a tour of the palace, describes it as a collection of free-standing pavilions featuring richly painted domes, walls decorated with ceramic tiles, and internal fountains flowing into water channels that had a pleasant cooling effect. He also mentions the wooden harem quarters in which apartments were linked to one another by means of galleries provided with lattices from which the women could "see the men who were in the halls without being seen." The gardens which were not symmetrically ordered in compartments as in France were planted with vegetables, flowers, cypresses, and pines, their only notable feature being some covered walks shaded with greenery for the women.[28]

The Englishman George Courthop, who was admitted into the palace in 1638, did not see its best royal rooms, because they were sealed, but he mentions the "many pleasant walks and grass plots, in which were canals of water, and high cypress trees that beautified the places." According to the Armenian author Eremya Çelebi, who wrote around the same time, the rows of tall cypress trees

resembled a veil stretched around the palace complex.[29] These densely planted trees created pleasant shade and provided shelter from the gaze of outsiders without blocking the vistas enjoyed from belvedere pavilions sited on top of raised platforms at the most view-commanding spots. Like the Topkapi, also built on a hilltop, the Üsküdar palace had an outward-looking orientation that contrasted sharply with the inward-looking design of the Persianate Karabali garden, which occupied a flat plain enclosed by walls.

The placement of the gardens in Üsküdar behind asymmetrically grouped buildings overlooking the sea was a common feature of many smaller Bosphorus gardens whose ingeniously varied layouts were shaped by the topography of their sites rather than by a preconceived geometric design concept. The majority of these gardens occupied narrow stretches of land at the foot of hills where pavilions were built even closer to the waterfront. This was the case in at least two of the royal gardens attributed to Sultan Süleyman and located on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus which Du Fresne-Canaye and his companions were allowed to visit in 1573. The first garden, known as Sultaniye (imperial) was located close to the Black Sea, near Beykoz. It is depicted in the early-eighteenth-century paintings of the Swedish draftsman Cornelius Loos who gained access to it by bribing its gardeners (fig. 7 a–c). The garden's cross-shaped domed royal kiosk, faced inside and outside with ceramic tiles and fronted by a marble colonnade, was built in the middle of the sea and protected by a stone jetty forming a wharf. Pavilions constructed in the middle of watertanks had a long pedigree going back to medieval Islamic prototypes. The Sultaniye kiosk reinterpreted this well-established building type with an Ottoman vocabulary, adapting it to the unique topography of the Bosphorus The kiosk was part of a larger garden palace occupying the foot of a densely wooded hill with an ancient miraculous spring on top Du Fresne-Canaye describes this royal garden, associated with Süleyman's grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha, as follows:

> We disembarked at [the palace of] Ibrahim Pasha, a small delicious place rising up in the middle of the sea, seduced by its charm and by the resemblance it bears to the *fundamenti* of Venice. We rested there a long while to divert ourselves by strolling around the beautiful gardens and by picking up blue, yellow, and red flowers, so pretty that we would certainly have liked to give them to someone who would have been pleased to receive such a beautiful present from a discreet and loyal lover One can scarcely imagine how fond the Turks are of flowers, how they always hold them in their hands or [tuck them] into the folds of their turbans, treating them almost as a sacred thing. And the Grand Seigneur, if he finds any tree that pleases him more than others, plants in its shade many flowers of all kinds and of all scents. And in all his gardens there is such a quantity of all kinds of flowers that merely by extending one's hand one can pluck a mixed and varied bouquet of every imaginable hue. The alleys are lined with such high cypresses that the sight of them excites admiration, but they are narrow, because the Grand Seigneur always walks alone in them. Behind this garden there are mountains and forests filled with every species of game, particularly wild boar with which the emperor engages in continual combat Then, returning to his garden, he either goes to its bath, or he reposes inside its pavilion, constructed over the sea on top of tall columns, completely covered inside with very precious ceramic tiles and outside with inestimable marbles. The windows [shutters] and doors are painted with figures in the Persian manner (*à la persane*); they were brought from Tabriz by Sultan Süleyman. There is nothing else but a marble colonnade and small portico with very pretty columns. Finally (unable to celebrate this place any further than I had already done), we gave a few aspers to the garden's novices (*Imoglans*, i.e., *acemioğlan*) and to the person who opened up the pavilion for us[30]

In 1672–73 the French Orientalist Antoine Galland, who also dated the kiosk to Süleyman's reign, described the classical spolia with Bacchic figural imagery incorporated into its foundation walls and probably taken from the ruins of a monastery that once occupied the site. He also recorded some of the kiosk's Turkish and Persian poetic inscriptions referring to the pleasures of wine ("If you drink a little wine, you will forget all the other pleasures of the world") and to the kiosk's unequaled beauty ("This pavilion has no equal in the world; it owes its beauty to its position at the edge of the sea").[31] Similar poetic inscriptions in praise of the kiosks for which they were specially composed could also be found in other sixteenth-century Ottoman pavilions.[32]

The Sultaniye kiosk's figural lacquered wooden window shutters and doors were probably brought to Istanbul after Selim I conquered Tabriz and Sultaniye in 1514. The kiosk decorated with the spoils of victory was apparently named after Sultaniye, but its association with Süleyman and Ibrahim Pasha suggests that it was probably completed in the early 1520's, soon after Selim I's death. The garden palace was extensively remodeled for Süleyman in 1528–29. Account books from those years list the renovation expenses for the Sultaniye garden, referring to marble carried by carts from Kadiköy, a royal chamber and its audience hall (*oda-i ḫāṣṣ ve dīvānḫāne-i o*), rooms for concubines (*odahā-i duḫterān*), dormitories built of wood (*odahā-i çatma*), a new kiosk raised on top of wooden rafters (*köşk-i cedīd-i fevk-i çatmahā*), a new bath

(*ḥammām-i cedīd*), a new kitchen (*maṭbāḫ-i cedīd*), the repaired rooms for novices and gardeners (*meremmet-i odahā-i ġılmān-i ʿacemiyān ve ġılmān-i bostān*) with a separate room for the chief gardener (*oda-i ser bostānī*), a garden platform (*şoffa*), terraces (*sedd*), a fountain (*çeşme*), water channels (*rāh-i āb*), and a waterwheel (*dolāb-i āb*).[33] Another account book, which records minor repairs made by Süleyman in 972 (1564–65), also mentions a small mosque (*mescīd-i şerīf*).[34]

Süleyman had stayed earlier in the Sultaniye garden where he often hunted in the summers of 1523 and 1525, so the repairs mentioned probably modified a structure that already had residential facilities sufficient for official receptions. A reception given there in the summer of 1523 for the ambassador from the Safavid shah Ismaʿil suggests that the kiosk was displayed to Persian diplomats on this special ceremonial occasion as a potent symbol of victory.[35] In the summer of 1528 the Venetian diplomats Pietro Zen and Tommaso Contarini were also given several audiences in the same garden.[36] Although the Sultaniye garden was used for court ceremonies during the grand vizierate of Ibrahim Pasha, the practice was abandoned in the later part of Süleyman's reign as the sultan's life became increasingly secluded. His successors followed this pattern, using the garden as a private seasonal retreat. Little is known about the layout of the Sultaniye palace's residential quarters, except that they were mainly of wood and probably surrounded by a wall to ensure privacy. No trace was left of these buildings when the architectural historian Sedad Hakkı Eldem recorded the remains of the stone jetty, a rectangular garden platform provided with a mihrab for open-air prayer, and a raised grassy plot bisected by a straight water channel flowing from a fountain added in 1177 (1763–64).[37]

The second royal garden Du Fresne-Canaye visited was the Kule Bahçesi (Tower garden) in Çengelköy, depicted in two late-sixteenth-century European album paintings as a free-standing square tower built close to the water, behind which stretched a wooded hill stocked with game for hunting (see figs. 2[3], 6a[2]). The tower pavilion impressed Du Fresne-Canaye so much that he wrote: "He who considers the architecture of this tower easily judges that the Turks are no less able than the Christians when they wish to spend money in building palaces. This is the highest edifice I saw in Turkey, and it merits great admiration in this barbarous country where the Turks customarily lodge close to the ground."[38] The Frenchman provides a description of Süleyman's tower, which he probably admired because of its resemblance to French royal castles:

> We were conducted to another paradise called *Chulabachia*, that is the garden of the tower, which is no less beautiful than the other one [i.e., Sultaniye], with its very long alleys, its cypresses, flowers, and extremely fresh fountains, as well as very agreeable grottoes and shade. It is placed almost entirely on a hill, not too steep, but smoothe. Further on, near the shore, is a square tower, five chambers high, one above the other, built completely of stone with very thick walls, and made with such art that water mounts to the top, and each of the chambers has its own fountain. Every corner has well-painted and gilded balconies to enjoy the fresh air at all hours of the day. All the doors and windows are of bronze. At the foot of the tower there is a very pretty little garden, separated from the large garden, and a pool filled with exquisite fish.[39]

Royal account books dated 933–36 (1527–29), which refer to the building expenses of "the new tower inside the new garden near Çengelköy" (*ḳulle-i cedīd der enderūn-i bāġçe-i cedīd der ḳurb-i karye-i çengār*), confirm that both the garden and its tower were created by Süleyman in those years. A later account book which records Selim II's repairs at the Tower garden (*bāġçe-i ḳulle*) in 979–81 (1571–73) mentions a royal kiosk near the tower (*köşk-i ḫāṣṣa der nezd-i ḳulle*); rooms for pages, eunuchs, gardeners, and hunting-dog keepers; a waterwheel; water channels; fountains, and a pool.[40] The seventeenth-century Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi, who refers to Süleyman's tower pavilion as a belvedere (*cihānnimā*), describes it as having spouting fountains with *jets d'eau* on every floor (each of which had several rooms) and a garden where the sultan had allegedly planted a tall cypress with his own hands. The early-eighteenth-century Armenian author Inciciyan refers to a *boschetto bellissimo* where bears kept there for the sultans to hunt could still be seen. He also mentions a place for keeping mastiffs, but points out that the tower pavilion had been demolished in 1722 so that its building materials could be reused in the construction of the newly created Sadabad garden palace along the Golden Horn.[41] The garden also featured a masjid built by Süleyman for the keepers of the mastiffs (*şañsūncılar mescidi*).[42]

Another famous royal garden associated with Süleyman was the Fenerbahçe (Lighthouse garden), which occupied a promontory on the Asian shore of the Marmara Sea. The mid-seventeenth-century French traveler Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, whose bird's-eye-view map of Istanbul shows this garden palace contained in a walled enclosure, was told that Süleyman often went there with his favorite wife Roxelana (Hürrem Sultan) (fig. 8 a–d, also see fig. 6 b[3]). An account book dated 1097–99 (1686–88) confirms that the garden had residential quarters for the sultan's chief consort (*ḫāṣeki sulṭān*).[43]

The site was once occupied by Hierion (or Héréion), a Byzantine imperial estate with a summer palace, a park, bath, and a small chapel that Justinian had built for his empress Theodora.[44] The reuse of the same garden for a similar purpose in the Ottoman period is a striking example of continuity. The site of the Byzantine imperial villa, which seems to have been transformed into a royal garden soon after the city's conquest by Mehmed II, was remodeled during the sixteenth century. Evliya Çelebi mentions a small royal mosque added by Selim I, and Sinan's autobiography indicates that the architect had rebuilt this garden palace extensively. The lighthouse at the tip of the promontory, which already existed in the Byzantine period, had been renovated by Süleyman in 1562. Gerlach described the site of this lighthouse (*pharos*) in 1576 as a "royal garden surrounded by an outer enclosure wall and another inner wall at the back side of which is a royal palace with gilded ceilings and a marble fountain."[45] We know that its main royal pavilion already existed in 973 (1565–66) from a firman which orders the repair of the protective curtains of "the imperial kiosk at the Lighthouse garden" (*Fenar bāğçesinde olan ḫāṣṣa köşk*).[46] This royal pavilion had several dependencies, including a smaller pavilion, a bath, dormitories for the gardeners, and a small mosque. Grelot's map (fig. 6 b[3]) shows a monumental seaside gate on the outer wall, next to the gardener's dormitory along the same wall whose corner is marked by a belvedere tower. The concentration of royal structures inside a second walled enclosure reflected considerations of privacy, given the garden's function as an amorous retreat.

Cornelius Loos's two paintings of the Lighthouse garden, executed in 1710–11, show that its main pavilion was surrounded by a relatively small formal garden protected by wooden railings, beyond which extended a natural landscape and seascape (fig. 8 b–c) Loos depicts two rows of cypresses and rectangular flower beds parallel to the sides of this pavilion. The villa was protected from the intrusive gaze of outsiders by a veil of tall trees, but as Eremya Çelebi and Inciciyan noted, its royal pavilion was ideally sited for watching ships come and go. Archival repair documents and a plan of the main pavilion executed by Phillip Franz Baron Gudenus in 1740 were used by Eldem to draw a hypothetical reconstruction of this rectangular building crowned by a pyramidal roof with wide eaves (fig. 8 d). Its covered part consisted of several stone masonry rooms and a latrine; this part was fronted by an open wooden-pillared hall featuring a marble throne platform that overlooked a fishpond fed by a fountain with water spouts.[47] This arrangement recalls that of Süleyman's larger rectangular pavilion with a belvedere tower at the Üsküdar palace which had a similar open pillared hall directly communicating with the garden (see fig. 6 e).

The examples of sixteenth-century suburban royal gardens we have considered so far demonstrate that the Persianate *chahārbāgh* type was not widespread in Istanbul where relatively informal landscapes with understated symmetry and axiality were more common. These gardens with their irregular outer boundaries and loose inner arrangements that did not rigidly conform to straight axes dictated by irrigation channels were often adapted to the hilly terrain by terraced parterres. Their non-axial designs which lacked overpowering perspectival views emphasized instead the multiplicity of perception angles, preferring the unpredictable variety of nature to the uniformity of geometrical order. In them view-commanding kiosks with small formal gardens composed of quadrangular flower beds surrounded by red wooden railings, a few long alleys lined with tall cypresses (recalling the *viali* of Italian Renaissance gardens), narrow paths covered with pattern-forming colored pebbles, pergolas, raised terraces paved with stone or planted with grass (*çemen şoffa*), pools, and marble fountains constituted focal points in the midst of comparatively untamed nature. Only a small area was subdivided into regular compartments to ease the transition from architecture to nature; the varied topography of the rest included such functional elements as vegetable gardens, orchards, and vineyards, surrounded by woods for hunting.

With the exception of some stone-masonry domed pavilions surrounded by marble colonnades, most structures in these gardens were built of wood, generally painted red ochre like the railings of the parterres — a color that matched the floral textiles and carpets used as furnishings Architectonic values were subordinated to naturalistic ones in these gardens whose open designs exhibited a delicate equilibrium between lightly built ephemeral structures, slightly modified landscapes, and untouched nature opening onto panoramic vistas. The primacy of nature was clearly expressed by the use of the term "garden" (*bāğçe*) for each of these royal estates where architectural elements were kept to a minimum.[48]

The Ottoman ruling elite built suburban villas that imitated those of the sultan on a smaller scale. The main palaces of viziers and grand viziers (who were often married to royal princesses) were located inside the city walls; these were miniature versions of the Topkapi Palace with their triple courtyards culminating in walled private gardens featuring kiosks, pools, and fountains. They were complemented by one or more suburban villas dis-

tributed along the shores of the Golden Horn or the Bosphorus and in the countryside stretching outside the city walls. The most prestigious examples were built by the architect Sinan in Üsküdar for such grand viziers as Rüstem Pasha, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, and Siyavuş Pasha, but they no longer exist.[49] The garden palaces of some viziers, admirals, and of distinguished ulema were concentrated along the European shore of the Bosphorus, particularly in Fındıklı and Beşiktaş. In 1672–73 Galland described one of these gardens in Fındıklı which had been inherited from a mufti by his son: "Since this garden occupies the slope of a hill, it is entirely terraced. It has a fountain with many *jets d'eau* quite attractive for this country, a large number of orangeries, and a sufficiently interesting flower garden with a very large quantity of tulips, among which I remarked many unusual kinds." Another example in Beşiktaş was the villa of Hasan Pasha (grand admiral from 1588 to 1591), depicted in the 1588 painting of the Bosphorus (see fig. 2[6]).[50]

Du Fresne-Canaye, who saw the villa of Sokollu Mehmed Pasha and his royal wife Ismihan Sultan (Selim II's daughter) in Üsküdar, says that it was even more magnificent than their city palace in the Kadırga district: "We saw the chamber of the sultana with its walls covered by porcelain and mother-of-pearl inlaid window shutters whose value was inestimable. The palace is very well painted and gilded, and has a fountain, as is customary. In the garden is a fishpond and a small domed chamber made in the form of a lantern, entirely of glass. When the sultana stands there, she can see the whole garden without being seen by anyone. She has her bath in a corner of the garden where she diverts herself with her slaves whenever she wishes and has herself rubbed and massaged at her leisure." This domed crystal pavilion recalls the one made for Mehmed II a century earlier at the edge of a pool in the garden of the Topkapi Palace. A similar domed crystal pavilion with continually flowing fountains in front of a pool existed in Ismihan Sultan's private garden at the Kadırga palace, a garden that also included a bath.[51]

We can deduce the magnificence of Üsküdar's grand vizierial estates from a detailed description of the Ayazma, or Sacred Spring garden once owned by Rüstem Pasha and his royal wife Mihrimah Sultan (Süleyman's daughter), which was subsequently inherited by their daughter Ayşe Sultan, the wife of the grand vizier Ahmed Pasha (d. 1580). This description, included in Ayşe Sultan's waqfiyya drawn up in 1595, indicates that the garden was located near the Salacak district, along the waterfront (*leb-i deryā*) directly across from the Leander tower (*Kızkulesi*). Now marked by the Ayazma mosque built in 1760–61, the garden's site on a sloping hill recalled that of the neighboring royal complex in Üsküdar (see fig. 6 a [3]).[52] It is difficult fully to reconstruct the Ayazma garden on the basis of a verbal description that provides a detailed inventory of its individual components, but fails to specify their spatial relationship. The "life-increasing" and "paradise-like" site, which provided expansive vistas of the sea in whatever direction one turned, was subdivided into various courtyards (*meyādīn*) and gardens (*riyāż*) planted with trees, orchards, vineyards (*aşmalık*), tulips (*lālezār*), roses (*gülzār*), and fragrant herbs (*riyāhīn*) that rivaled the shop of a perfume dealer. At its center, on the hilltop, was an inner residential palace (*iç sarāy*) surrounded by a walled enclosure. This inner palace communicated with outer courtyards containing quarters for the eunuchs and gatekeepers, an audience hall (*dīvānḫāne*) complex fronted by a large and small marble pool, and services that included toilets, a kitchen, bakery, pantry, confectionary, stables, rooms for saddlers, and a depot for wood. The outer gardens descending from the hilltop to the waterfront included dormitories for gardeners, stables, wells, a waterwheel, and a centrally planned kiosk with a portico in front of it. Outside the garden walls, near the seashore was the sacred spring, a boathouse, and another freestanding kiosk surrounded on all sides by a portico.

The single- and double-storied (*ʿulvī ve süflī*) structures of the inner palace, built of stone masonry and precious marbles, were richly decorated with gilded paintings and ceramic tiles. The palace had a courtyard containing a privy chamber complex which was composed of two single-story rooms (*ḫāṣṣ odaları*) communicating with a central vaulted space (*şoffa*) with a fountain (*çeşme*) in the middle. This building had a portico on its façade, in front of which was a fountain with *jets d'eau* (*şādırvān*), and a marble pool (*ḥavż*). The same courtyard was surrounded by other porticoed rooms, a prayer space, a bath, toilets, pantry, kitchen, and a well. An arched bridge (*kemerlü köpri*) spanning the pool connected the privy-chamber complex to a "new kiosk" (*yeñi köşk*), composed of four two-story rooms, a projecting balcony (*şehnişīn*), and a portico featuring another spouting fountain. The courtyard was subdivided into marble-paved platforms and several garden plots. These included a small garden (*bāġçecik*) (measuring 35 by 23 cubits) and two large stepped garden terraces (each measuring 105 by 42 cubits); the upper terrace was planted with trees and the lower one with grapevines. A path —

bordered by another garden measuring 140 by 131 cubits — connected the new kiosk to a monumental iron gatehouse whose vestibule was surmounted by an upper kiosk and flanked by chambers, a toilet, and a bath. This path descended from the gatehouse, located along the seaside wall of the inner palace, to the sacred spring along the waterfront Although the exact layout of the Ayazma garden remains unknown, its description vividly captures the enormous scale on which its numerous components were conceived.

The now-lost waterfront villas and agricultural estates (*çiftlik*) Sinan built in Eyüp and outside the city walls for such grand viziers and viziers as Rüstem Pasha, Semiz Ali Pasha, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, Ahmed Pasha, Pertev Pasha, and Zal Mahmud Pasha are listed in his autobiography Besides functioning as pleasurable retreats, these estates occasionally served as escapes from the plague and as places of exile for their temporarily or permanently deposed owners. One of them, built by Sinan for the powerful couple Rüstem Pasha and Mihrimah Sultan, was located in Yeşilköy near the former estate of Chief Treasurer Iskender Çelebi, which had been transformed into a *ḫāṣṣ bāġçe* after its original owner was executed in 1535 Following a visit to these two neighboring estates one day, Sultan Süleyman is said to have complained that their elegantly planted formal gardens were superior to those of the Topkapi Palace, for which he immediately ordered Sinan to build new waterwheels. Another *extra muros* garden palace was located inside the agricultural estate of the grand vizier Ahmed Pasha (husband of the Ayşe Sultan mentioned above); its site is identified by an inscription on a late-sixteenth-century topographic miniature (fig. 9).[53]

Among the large non-royal estates outside the city walls, the only partially preserved example is that of the grand vizier Siyavuş Pasha (married to Selim II's youngest daughter Fatma Sultan) near Bakırköy, which was eventually converted into a *ḫāṣṣ bāġçe.* It is not mentioned in Sinan's autobiography, but can be dated by an extant fountain inscription to 979 (1571). Today only this fountain and a domed stone masonry pavilion with a stepped bridge built in the middle of a large pool survive. This rectangular pavilion, surrounded by a row of trees and reached by a tree-lined central alley, was once part of a large agricultural estate (*çiftlik*) extending over forty acres of land that had residential quarters, stables, kitchens, a bath, and waterworks (fig. 10 a–b).[54]

Building fragile single-story wooden kiosks covered with pyramidal roofs featuring internal domes became increasingly popular among the Ottoman ruling elite during the seventeenth century, and eventually overshadowed the stone-masonry domed pavilions of the previous century, even in royal gardens. The numerous wooden *yalıs* that dotted the Bosphorus waterfront were vividly described in 1614 by the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle:

> Along the canal [Bosphorus] there are fine villages in many places and a large quantity of edifices all over, but particularly gardens which give their owners the diversions simultaneously of the sea and the countryside But nothing of particular beauty is notable in them except for very spacious alleys (*viali grandi*) lined on both sides with long rows of extremely tall cypresses and square parterres placed side by side, all planted with a great variety of flowers in which they take more pleasure than anything else In these gardens they also build some buildings at the ground level which they call "Kiosck": These are free-standing drawing-rooms (*salotte*) or large rooms (*camere grandi*) separated from all other neighboring tall buildings and covered with very high pointed roofs in the fashion of pyramids. Inside they are decorated with ceilings of the same shape, capriciously carved, gilded and painted, just as their surrounding walls are covered with fine porcelain (*maioliche fine*) revetments featuring arabesques (*arabeschi*) in diverse colors and sometimes gilding On all sides these rooms have large sofas, raised a little off the floor, for sitting or reclining upon, but they project beyond the walls in the manner of balconies (*veroni*), giving the edifice an extravagant form with many angles and corners all around, distributed in proportioned distances The above-mentioned sofas or estrades have no cover other then the roof common to all the rest of the building, and are surrounded by nothing but shutters that one can open and close in order to enjoy the view outside from a seated or reclining position Near these kiosks they make small fishponds (*peschierette*) . They build kiosks not only in suburban gardens, but also in houses inside the city, especially on sites from which one can enjoy a beautiful view of the sea or the land. In short, among the modern habitations of the Turks, these constitute the most gallant buildings that exist today in Constantinople [55]

The oldest wooden *yalı* to have survived is the one built in 1699 for the grand vizier Amcazade Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus at Anadolu Hisarı Today only its T-shaped wooden shore kiosk with three projecting alcoves crowned by an internal wooden dome under a pitched pyramidal roof remains. It was once connected to other rooms, behind which were a bath, kitchen, and service buildings, separated by a garden from another building along the shore that housed the harem (fig. 11 a–c). The kiosk's interior had a continuous strip of shuttered windows surrounded by cushioned sofas, wall paintings depicting flowers in vases, and a central marble fountain whose water jetted up toward the wooden dome.[56] This red-ochre painted wooden kiosk and its dependencies belonged to a well-established villa type, also exemplified by the royal Arsenal

garden (*Tersane bahçesi*) along the waterfront of the Golden Horn (fig 12). The latter's T-shaped red wooden shore kiosk, separated from other edifices which were contained in a walled garden, was used by the sultans to watch naval festivities.[57]

The seventeenth-century French traveler Laurent d'Arvieux noted that the sultan used royal gardens not for extended promenades as the Europeans did, but rather to enjoy prospects while seated in a pavilion:

> The Grand Seigneur has many seraglios in the city and in its environs, surrounded by gardens where he sometimes goes for a walk But one has to note that the custom of the Turks is not to take strolls many times up and down an alley as we do They ask, why do the Franks find it necessary to stroll along the same place, can't they remark what there is in a single stroll without having to repeat it? The way they act betrays restlessness and folly. The [Turkish] custom is to take a single walk in the garden by traversing its length and width and then to retire into a cabinet in order to rest [58]

A similar static contemplation of gardens was also noted in Safavid Iran by the seventeenth-century French traveler Jean Chardin: ". . the Persians don't walk so much in Gardens as we do, but content themselves with a bare Prospect; and breathing the fresh Air: For this End, they set themselves down in some part of the Garden, at their first coming into it, and never move from their Seats till they are going out of it."[59] In both the Ottoman and Safavid realms (as well as in Mughal India) this habit informed garden design. Aside from a few exceptions along the Caspian Sea, however, the Safavid gardens were often surrounded by tree-lined walls that blocked the view of the surrounding landscape, unlike their Ottoman counterparts, which sought to incorporate vistas extending beyond the limits of the garden walls. Yet, given the requirements of privacy, particularly for women, the gardens along the shores of the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn exhibited a delicate balance between openness and enclosure. In them, latticed belvedere towers and shore pavilions either built outside of or projecting on top of garden walls provided a link with the waterfront Given their accessibility to foreign visitors, the *yalı*s of Istanbul may well have inspired the riverfront gardens of such Safavid and Mughal capitals as Isfahan and Agra, where they became popular from the late sixteenth and seventeenth century onwards.[60]

The royal garden pavilions of the Bosphorus were only rarely used for official receptions in the sixteenth century. It was not until the seventeenth century that ambassadorial receptions in garden palaces became an increasing part of Ottoman court ceremonial, a practice that flowered in the eighteenth century. Unlike monumental Safavid royal pavilions with their many halls and spacious wooden porticoes (*tālār*), which functioned as banqueting spaces during official ceremonies, the relatively small Ottoman royal kiosks of the sixteenth century were meant to be intimate private retreats where the sultan could escape from ceremonial constrictions. Istanbul's extensive belt of royal gardens which expanded the ruler's personal domain beyond the nucleus of the Topkapi Palace into the suburbs no doubt projected a potent image of power and royal magnificence, if only by its appropriation of so much valuable land. These gardens were, nevertheless, designed as private spaces for a quiet retreat where no cares should intrude, and where seclusion, serenity, relaxation, and amorous abandon encouraged the life of *otium* cultivated in the classical villa tradition.

Royal gardens are often referred to in sixteenth-century sources as *teferrücgāh*, that is, outdoor places for relaxation and diversion. More than any of his forebears Süleyman paid frequent visits to these royal gardens whenever he was in Istanbul, accompanied only by a few select companions. Among them was the court poet and royal companion (*muṣāḥib*) Baki, whose lyrical poetry vividly captures the life of leisure that centered in pleasure gardens, focusing on such themes as the beauties of nature, love, drinking, and gaiety. Following the example of his father, Selim II spent even more of his spare time in such garden settings since, unlike his forebears, he did not accompany armies on military campaigns. His boat rides to waterfront gardens with a few companions were relatively informal, but occasional hunting expeditions in distant countryside gardens turned out to be more formal affairs, involving a parade with his numerous retinue of household servants (fig. 13).[61]

The Venetian ambassador Marino Cavalli described Selim's life of leisure in 1567:

> Today he goes to drink in one and tomorrow in another garden, where he always finds pleasure in an elderly woman said to be a poetess and chess player. It is she who sings and plays music almost continually in his presence, especially when he drinks . He often goes by boat to the gardens where he entertains himself by drinking more than he can support He has four to six companions whom he calls Musaipi [*muṣāḥib*]; among them is one Celal Chelebi, a wonderful chatterer and heavy drinker.[62]

In 1573 the Venetian diplomat Costantino Garzoni observed that Selim enjoyed hunting and eating and drinking in gardens more than anything else: "Sometimes he

stays continually for three days and three nights at a table with his favorite, the vizier Ahmed Pasha. He freely jokes with women and youngsters and spends most of his time playing chess with the mother of Ahmed Pasha, an elderly woman [the same woman referred to above by Cavalli] who was his wet nurse (*balia*), taking delight in exchanging certain pleasantries with her. He also has a taste for dwarfs and buffoons, and is particularly fond of one of his mutes." Garzoni was no doubt referring to Şemsi Ahmed Pasha, the accomplished poet and royal companion whose honorable lineage was connected to the Isfendiyar dynasty of Kastamonu on his father's side and to the Ottoman family on his mother's.[63]

The royal garden pavilions functioned as private settings where courtly culture was cultivated. They could be relatively liberating environments for the otherwise secluded royal women who seem to have spent a large proportion of their time in gardens. Sixteenth-century Ottoman miniatures, which (unlike their Safavid and Mughal counterparts) rarely depict the sultan's private life in the company of women, provide only selected glimpses of the activities he pursued in garden kiosks. These male activities included eating and drinking, music and poetry, reading and writing, conversation and joking with companions, discussions with invited guests, practicing the royal sport of archery, hunting, fishing, or simply contemplating the delights of the natural landscape, enlivened by the spectacle of ships and boats.[64]

Among the sixteenth-century miniature paintings that depict garden pavilions is one from the *Hünernāme* which shows Sultan Süleyman reading a letter sent by the Safavid shah in front of a pavilion with a pyramidal roof at the Üsküdar palace. The boat on which the chief gatekeeper had come to deliver the letter is shown in the foreground; the ruler is seated outdoors in a gilded chair placed on top of a stone platform raised from the ground by a few steps. The miniature reflects the importance the sultan placed on urgent matters of state even when at play; the pencase on the platform emphasizes the literate image of Süleyman who was an accomplished poet (fig. 14).

The priority of politics over leisure is also illustrated in two miniatures from the *Shahanshāhnāma* showing Murad III receive extraordinary envoys with urgent news in the Kandil, or Oil Lamp garden. This royal villa on the Anatolian shore of the Bosphorus (situated next to Anadolu Hisarı and across from Rumeli Hisarı) was extensively remodeled by Sinan for the same sultan (see fig. 2[4]). Its name derived from nocturnal illumination festivities during which the neighboring two castles were lit with oil lamps, torches, and candles so that the ruler could watch this spectacle from his shore kiosk.[65] In one of the images Murad III, seated in front of a shore pavilion in the company of male pages, dwarfs, and gardeners, watches the envoy of the Crimean khan cross the Bosphorus on a horse (fig. 15). In the other miniature he learns the news of the conquest of Erivan. Behind the small free-standing wooden shore kiosk with a pointed roof is an enclosed garden whose outer wall features a monumental seaside gate and a tower-shaped belvedere with red-latticed windows that provided a view of the Bosphorus (fig 16).

The few sixteenth-century descriptions we have of gardens owned by the urban middle classes indicate that they, too, functioned as private, informal spaces for pleasurable relaxation (fig. 17). These functions were in keeping with the conception of the garden in Ottoman court poetry as a metaphor for an inner sanctuary where one was free to cultivate leisurely behavior and display emotions suppressed in public life [66] Those who did not own a garden could frequent the city's public parks (*mesīre*) or various non-royal gardens that functioned as clubs, much like the popular coffeehouses that spread like wildfire during the late sixteenth century. A contemporary miniature, which depicts the interior of a coffeehouse whose walls are painted with floral designs, shows elegant urban folk with freshly cut flowers tucked in the folds of their turbans, playing backgammon and manqala, reading and writing poetry, conversing, or watching a dance performance accompanied by music while sipping coffee from porcelain cups (fig. 18).[67]

Similar activities went on in the garden clubs of Istanbul where wine drinking seems to have been rampant. One such garden on the waterfront at Üsküdar belonged to the sixteenth-century Janissary poet Ashki; it consisted of a kiosk amidst a flower garden said to have resembled paradise In this garden that recalled a gathering of angels with its handsome youths the leading statesmen and elegant folk (*zarīf kişiler*) gathered for cultured conversation (*şohbet*). When the poets met there, they would recite poetry to one another. On other days learned scholars engaged in heated debates, while the loud cries of drunkards drowned out the songs of the nightingale and the musicians. With its chess and backgammon players this was a veritable clubhouse for "jollity and drinking" (*iyş u ʿişret*) as well as "delight and conversation" (*zevk u şohbet*).[68]

Another sixteenth-century garden, praised as "the uppermost paradise," belonged to a vinegar maker named Bahshi of Bursa; it was in Beşiktaş where he resided. On

one side grew apples, pears, peaches, quinces, apricots, figs, cherries, melons and plums; on the other was his vinegar manufactory The garden became a popular hangout for drunkards and a lucrative commercial enterprise for its owner, who was known as a conversationalist, an excellent cook, and a heavy drinker also addicted to coffee and to attractive young men. Those whose lips were dry from opium and hashish would gather there to refresh themselves with juicy fruits. Those who had drunk too much wine would cure their headache by eating pickles from his vinegar-filled barrels. On holidays the garden became a conversation place (*şoḥbetgāh*) for the ulema; on other days it was a pleasure spot (*işret maḥalli*) for elegant folk, the learned, and the poets.[69]

Yet another popular garden was that of Efşancı Mehmed, an early-sixteenth-century decoupage artist known for his elaborate gardens cut out of paper. In his old age when he was no longer able to practice his craft Mehmed created a real garden in Istanbul where nature imitated art. In addition to cypresses and boxwood trees, it had rare specimens of fruit trees and flowers (including tulips, hyacinths, water lilies, jasmine, and narcissi) for each of which its owner paid a fortune and invented poetic names. It became a popular hangout for the grandees, nobles, learned men, and talented artists of the day who sought "jollity and gaiety" (*iyş u neşāt*) It was even visited on occasion by Sultan Süleyman in the company of his grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha with whom the young ruler used to drink wine in the early part of his reign, before he gave it up and retreated into seclusion. When its creator died in 1534–35 he was buried according to his will in a corner of this earthly paradise where he had built and endowed a school for children (*mekteb*).[70]

All these accounts indicate how widespread the culture of gardens and flowers was in Istanbul at that time. They also provide a rather different picture of Ottoman life than the one projected in descriptions of official public behavior, which emphasized discipline, austerity, solemnity, gravity, and orthodoxy. The urbanites who frequented the non-royal gardens of Istanbul recall the "elegant folk" (*al-zurafā'*) of tenth-century Baghdad where a similarly refined literate urban culture with an elaborate code of etiquette, which included the exchange of flowers as gifts, had emerged.[71] The formation of a distinctive semi-naturalistic floral vocabulary in classical Ottoman visual culture around the middle of the sixteenth century in such diverse artistic media as manuscript illumination, wall painting, Iznik wares and ceramic tiles, textiles, and carpets was no doubt inspired by Istanbul's royal and nonroyal gardens where refined urban tastes were formed The Ottoman passion for gardens and flowers noted with considerable surprise by European travelers was embodied in the visual arts and also in classical music and poetry, which were often performed in garden settings.[72]

The obsession with gardens had turned the flower market of sixteenth-century Istanbul into an international fair famous for its rare cuttings and bulbs imported in large quantities from distant parts of the empire. The famous French botanist Pierre Belon du Mans, who visited the Ottoman Empire during this age of botanical exploration between 1546 and 1549, pointed out that in his search for exotic plants he frequently visited the gardens and the flower markets of Istanbul:

> There are no people who take more delight in carrying pretty little flowers or who prize them more than do the Turks . .they carry them individually in the folds of their turbans and the artisans commonly keep many flowers of diverse colors in front of them in vases filled with water to preserve their freshness and beauty The Turks hold gardening in the same high esteem as we do, and exert great diligence to retrieve foreign trees, especially those with beautiful blossoms for which they do not begrudge spending money. . . Therefore, many foreigners who come to Constantinople on ships from diverse countries bring the roots of plants with beautiful flowers to sell in the markets, and all the things they bring make money.[73]

Belon's visit was followed by Busbeck's two embassies in 1554–55 and 1555–62, after which a flood of exotic species including the tulip reached Europe from Istanbul. The parades of the guilds of gardeners and florists in the Hippodrome during the royal circumcision festivities of 1582 showed how numerous they were. Their ceremonial displays included vases of flowers and models of gardens, both informal and formal (the latter consisting of four trees with a fountain rising in their midst, a classical composition referred to in Pliny the Younger's description of his Tuscan villa, which was used in the fountain courtyards of some Ottoman sultanic mosques).[74] These displays were seen by the invited representatives of various foreign states, including Europeans to whom the gardens of Istanbul were accessible so long as they could afford to tip the gardeners (fig. 19 a–c).

Despite these close contacts, however, Europe and the Ottoman Empire had each formulated its own distinctive garden culture by the sixteenth century, a development that seems to have limited the exchange of ideas on garden design. The links sought in Renaissance formal gardens with the classical villa tradition had resulted

in a different iconography, articulated by collections of antique sculpture, classicizing statuary, topiary, nymphea, hydraulic marvels, and grottoes with mythological or allegorical themes. Such classical references, highlighted by promenades through controlled perspectival views, had to be intellectually decoded, unlike the unmediated pleasures of the senses offered by the Ottoman gardens. Ironically, however, it was the Ottomans who had directly inherited from Byzantium the last surviving memories of the classical villa tradition that was being reinterpreted in Europe at that time. It can be argued that with their asymmetrical open designs, bathing facilities, and sacred springs of ancient origin the Ottoman gardens probably came closer to capturing the lyrical spirit of antiquity — as reflected in Pompeian frescoes, which depict loosely composed single-story maritime villas with belvedere towers and airy colonnades overlooking the waterfront — than did the rigidly architected formal gardens of Renaissance Europe.

As James Ackerman has observed, Renaissance villa designers would have been disappointed and disoriented had they realized that most Roman villas (impossible to reconstruct before the discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii) lacked axial symmetry and had informal open designs reflecting an intimate communion with nature. "Too fixed on the polarity of nature and culture to devise schemes in which the barriers between the two were blurred," they imagined the sprawling irregular villas described by Pliny the Younger as rigidly symmetrical and rationally integrated structures. The monumental blocklike villas of Renaissance architects thus stood off from the natural environment "in polar opposition," unlike their smaller Ottoman counterparts whose predominantly single-story designs subtly blurred the distinction between interior and exterior through colonnades, pillared open halls, internal fountains, and windowed projections that created a sense of transparency, reinforced by the floral patterns of ceramic tile panels, wall paintings, and textiles.[75] The Ottoman mediation of architecture and nature through transparent rooms and open belvederes that refused to dominate the landscape resulted in a different type of garden addressing the realms of the senses, emotions, and of the creative imagination. The absence of distracting iconographic programs based on erudite classical references meant that the main focus of attention was the garden itself, encouraging a rustic revelry in nature.

Renaissance architects who sought to give their villa gardens a classical form by imposing order and axial symmetry came up with geometric designs not so different in conception from those of Islamic *chahārbāghs*. Ultimately, their gardens were invented constructs reflecting contemporary Renaissance values more than those of the lost antique villas they attempted to re-create. Given the paucity of extant Roman gardens, which were known largely from texts, much was left to the imagination. It is, therefore, not unlikely that European formal gardens may have drawn some of their initial inspiration from medieval Islamic prototypes available in Spain, Sicily, North Africa, and even Iran (where an Italian merchant community had existed in Tabriz since as early as the Mongol-Ilkhanid period) Such an inspiration (unacknowledged in the written villa discourse) would not only have been facilitated by the relative cultural "neutrality" of Islamic gardens, but also by their striking similarity to those described in classical texts.[76]

Unlike the Persianate *chahārbāghs* or the formal gardens of Renaissance Europe, the relatively informal Ottoman gardens that merged Turko-Islamic elements with Byzantine ones were not the creation of architects but of gardeners, largely Greek and Slavic in origin. Just as the Zoroastrians (still famed in nineteenth-century Iran as gardeners and diggers of qanats) played a role in transmitting ancient gardening practices conditioned by climate and geography, so too did Istanbul's gardeners whose creations belonged to a relatively unified Mediterranean landscape that stretched from Venice to Anatolia.[77] Compared to the axially planned, grandiose geometrical garden schemes developed in Baroque Europe and in the seventeenth-century Safavid and Mughal courts, the intimate semi-formal gardens of Istanbul began to appear unimpressive not only to foreign visitors but also to the Ottomans themselves This triggered a major transformation in the garden culture of eighteenth-century Istanbul, where new display-oriented garden-parks responding to fashions set in France and Safavid Iran were created.[78]

The Sadabad palace along the Golden Horn, built for Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703–30), was symptomatic of this shift to display in garden design and court ceremonial. Sadabad's novelties included a straight canal with elaborate cascades, dramatic waterworks, axial vistas, and relatively more monumental wooden palaces with continuous elongated façades that differed from the unconnected buildings typical of earlier royal gardens. Significantly, there was no screen of tall cypresses around the palace garden, but only a low enclosure wall and see-through wooden railings that opened onto a public park. This *mesīre* with an open royal palace visible to the public gaze was accompanied by the smaller wooden res-

idences of grandees, no longer painted red ochre but in softer European pastel colors.[79]

The emergence of the sultans from seclusion to a more public life in the eighteenth century marked an important shift in Ottoman court ceremonial. In this new context the royal gardens of Istanbul became favored sites for official receptions, a trend already foreshadowed in the seventeenth century when some sultans began to give audiences to foreign ambassadors in garden kiosks. The modestly scaled kiosks of old royal gardens, primarily designed as private seasonal retreats, rapidly fell out of favor as their functions changed. Most of Istanbul's *ḫāṣṣ bāġçes* were remodeled and replaced with multistoried wooden palaces whose elongated continuous façades formed a more appropriate stage for pomp and display. Next to these palaces new residential districts were formed by selling or renting our parcels of land which had once belonged to the royal *ḫāṣṣ bāġçes*. In these eighteenth-century neighborhoods the sultans built and endowed mosques, schools, shops, baths, fountains, and public parks, a development that gave the Bosphorus an increasingly public profile.[80]

This transformation of the private, princely realm of gardens into a public domain explains the sudden emergence of a new type of document: the Bostancıbaşı registers, the earliest known example of which, compiled by the chief royal gardener, dates from 1791. In them Istanbul's *yalıs* are listed one by one together with the names of their owners.[81] These lists reflected the broadened public sphere of the Bosphorus, whose landscape was no longer dominated by the extensive royal estates once recorded in *ḫāṣṣ bāġçe* registers. The large-scale deprivatization of royal gardens in the eighteenth century gave rise to a more dynamic *villegiatura* tradition in which diverse strata of Ottoman society began to intermingle in a way that signaled the disintegration of the classical Ottoman social order

These changes culminated in the nineteenth century with the construction of more blatantly Europeanizing monumental garden palaces of stone and marble whose fully exposed dominating façades, separated from the waterfront by stone-paved quays, no longer engaged in an intimate dialogue with nature (fig. 20). Their formal gardens were now designed by professional European landscape architects, as in the case of the Beylerbeyi palace of 1835, where the five garden terraces were each planned by a gardener from a different nation — France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Russia.[82] The reformist sultans of the nineteenth century also began to use some of Istanbul's royal gardens as sites for displaying such conspicuous signs of modernity as factories along the Golden Horn; a train station, medical school, and archaeological museums at the Topkapi Palace garden; and modern military barracks at the Üsküdar and Tower gardens (fig. 21). Both functionally and stylistically these monuments mirrored the changing image of the modernizing state, rapidly mimicked by the urban elites.

To conclude, then, there was no such thing in Istanbul as an archetypal Islamic garden with fixed formal, functional, and symbolic features that sprang from some sort of Muslim collective consciousness. The early-modern gardens of this capital city constituted cultural realms of signification and experience that were historically, geographically, and socially specific. Their dynamic transformation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reveals that Ottoman garden culture was by no means monolithic. Even within the limited context of Istanbul, gardens changed dramatically in design, function, and iconography, acting as potent sites of cultural representation in which the self-image of the sultanic state and of the ruling elite was rehearsed again and again over the centuries. Far from being static structures these successively re-created landscapes were cultural constructs composed and recomposed in the process of shaping memory and identity. That is why almost no trace remains of the forever-lost classical Ottoman garden tradition in Istanbul today

Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

NOTES

Author's note: An earlier version of this paper was presented at the *Colloque du Centre d'études superieures de la Renaissance L'environnement du château et de la ville*, organized by Jean Guillaume at the Université François-Rabelais in Tours, France, June 1992

1 Jean Thévenot, *Voyage du Levant [1655–56]*, 2 vols (Paris, 1980), 1: 68

2 Gardens in most cultures are often compared to paradise, but general surveys of Islamic gardens tend to exaggerate paradise symbolism; see Elisabeth MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen, eds., *The Islamic Garden* (Washington, D C., 1976); Elizabeth B Moynihan, *Paradise as a Garden in Persia and Mughal India* (New York, 1976); Jonas Lehman, *Earthly Paradise Garden and Courtyard in Islam* (Berkeley, 1980); John Brookes, *Gardens of Paradise: The History and Design of Great Islamic Gardens* (New Amsterdam, N Y, 1987). See also the catalogue of a recent exhibition, *Die Gärten des Islam*, ed Hermann Forkl [et al.] (Stuttgart, 1993).

3. In this literature, which highlights the otherness of Islamic visual culture, one often encounters such stereotypical

remarks as "The Arab love of gardens stems from the fear and antipathy which the Oriental has always felt for nature in its hostile aspect of the desert," or "The differences in psychology between Muslim and European are accurately reflected in their garden traditions"; see, e.g, James Dickie, "The Islamic Garden in Spain," in MacDougall and Ettinghausen, *The Islamic Garden*, pp 90, 105 For a similar totalizing "Orientalist" literature stressing the otherness of Chinese culture by linking "the Chinese garden" and "the Chinese character," see Craig Clunas, *Fruitful Sites: Garden Culture in Ming Dynasty China* (London, 1996)

4. For Anatolian Seljuq garden palaces and pavilions, see Scott Redford, "Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 217–36 Some of the gardens encountered during Süleyman I's campaign to Iraq and western Iran in 1534–36 are illustrated in Matrakçı Nasuh, *Beyān-i Menāzil-i Sefer-i ʿIrāķeyn-i Sulṭān Süleymān Ḫān*, ed Hüseyin G Yurdaydın (Ankara, 1976); see esp pls 26b, 27a, 28a, 30b, 31a, 40b, 73b, 90a, 106a These miniatures depict a wide variety of palaces and pavilions in gardens that are often surrounded by walls lined with rows of cypress trees Most of the information we have about Byzantine gardens is textual; see Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, "Zwischen Kepos und Paradeisos: Fragen zur byzantinischen Gartenkultur," *Das Gartenamt* 41, no 4 (1992): 221–28.

5 For Ottoman gardens, see Gönül Aslanoğlu Evyapan, "Anatolian Turkish Gardens" *Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, Middle East Technical University* 1 (1975); idem, "The Intrinsic Values of the Traditional Anatolian Turkish Garden," *Environmental Design* 1986, no. 2, pp 10–15; Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (Istanbul, 1976); Maurice Münir Cerasi, "Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIIIth–XIXth Centuries," *Environmental Design*, 1985, no 2, pp 36–49; idem, "Frenk, Hind ve Sind. Real or Imaginary in the Aesthetics of Ottoman Open Spaces," *Environmental Design*, 1986, no 2, pp 16–23; and idem, "Il giardino ottomano attraverso l'immagine del Bosforo," in Attilio Petruccioli, ed., *Il giardino islamico: Architettura, natura, paesaggio* (Milan, 1994), pp 217–36

6 A more systematic study of surviving *ḫāṣṣ bāġçe* registers and royal account books (*ḫarc-i ḫāṣṣa*) is necessary for tracing the history of Istanbul's royal gardens Here, I will focus on those royal gardens for which some visual documentation exists, then turn to the less documented non-royal gardens Examples of registers compiled between 991 and 1146 are discussed in Muzaffer Erdoğan, "Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri," *Vakıflar Dergisi* 4 (1958): 149–82 The *Irshād* is analyzed in Maria Subtelny's essay in this volume

7 Salomon Schweigger, *Eine newe Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* (Nuremberg, 1608; rpt , Graz, 1964), pp 125–27

8 For Pietro Zen, see Eugenio Albèri, ed , *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senato durante il XVI secolo*, serie 3, 3 vols (Florence, 1842–55), 3: 96; Jean Chesneau, *Le voyage de Monsieur D'Aramon, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Levant*, ed Charles Schefer (Paris, 1887), p 39

9 Bernardo Navagero's report is published in Albèri, *Relazioni*, 1: 73 Süleyman's account books of royal expenses compiled between 933 (1527) and 936 (1529) provide the following list of royal gardens in addition to that of the Topkapi Palace: Göksu, Bebek Çelebi, Vadi-i Büzürg (Büyükdere), Sultaniye, Emin, Iskender Pasha, Çengel ("the new garden in the village of Çengelköy" [*bāġçe-i cedīd der ḳarye-i çengār*], referred to in later sources as the Tower garden [*bāġçe-i ḳulle*]), Çubuklu, Bekkozı (Beykoz), Hoca/Havace, and the garden of Ibrahim Pasha near Bekkozı (probably the one later known as Paşabahçe); see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci 7097 and Maliyeden Müdevver 17884 An inventory of furnishings kept in Istanbul's royal gardens, compiled by the chief gardener (*ser bostānī*) Ali Agha in 937 (1531) has an incomplete list of the following *ḫāṣṣ bāġçes*: "the new garden near the village of Çengelköy" (*bāġçe-i cedīd der nezd-i ḳarye-i çengār*, i e , Tower garden), and the gardens of Sultaniye, Bekkozı, Büyükdere, Bebek, Emin, Havace, and Ibrahim Pasha (see Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi D 5120) An account book of construction and renovation expenses in *ḫāṣṣ bāġçes*, dated 972 (1564–65), again gives an incomplete list of royal gardens that existed in Süleyman's reign Starting with the Topkapi Palace gardens these included the royal garden of Üsküdar (*bāġçe-i ʿāmire-i Üskudar*), the garden of Bekkozı and its hunting preserve known as Tokat (*bāġçe-i Bekḳozı / bāġçe-i mezbūre ḳurbinde olan ḫāṣṣa ṭoḳāt*), and the gardens of Iskender Pasha, Harmankaya, Göksu, Rumili, Sultaniye, Haydar Pasha, Bebek Çelebi, Halkalu, Karabali, Kule, Çubuklu, Büyükdere and Haramidere si (see Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi D 9636) Süleyman's other royal gardens included Istavroz (cited in Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi H. 1425, dated 957 [1550], fol 13v), Kiremidlik (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver 55, dated 957 [1550], fol. 161v), Vidos (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci 7098, dated 1555–56), and Fener (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver 2775, dated 973 [1565], p. 380)

10. Philippe du Fresne-Canaye, *Le Voyage du Levant de Philippe du Fresne-Canaye*, ed M H Hauser (Paris, 1897), p 92 In 1567 the Vicentine Marcantonio Pigafetta similarly observed that the European shore of the Bosphorus was densely inhabited and full of excellent gardens up to Büyükdere; see P Matkovic, "Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafetta v Carigrad od god 1567," in *Starine*, vol 22 (Zagreb, 1890), p 155 A *ḫāṣṣ bāġçe* register dated 981 (1573) cites the following royal gardens in Istanbul in addition to that of the Topkapi Palace: Üsküdar, Iskender Pasha, Bebek Çelebi, Bekkozı, Göksu, Sultaniye, Büyükdere, Çubuklu, Tokat, Iskender Çelebi, Fener, Kule, Karabali, Rumili, Vadi-i Harami (Haramidere si), Haydar Pasha, Kandil, and Kiremid Kaya (also known as Kiremidlik) (see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci, 7100). Additional gardens cited in a register dated 984 (1576–77) include Davud Pasha, Beşiktaş, Maslak, Halkalu, Fener, Mehmed Pasha, Piyale Pasha, Mahmud Pasha, and Mandıra-i Mir i (see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci 7155, fols 6v–13v).

11 Reinhold Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen des Reinhold Lubenau*, ed W Sahm, 5 vols (Königsberg, 1912–30), part 2 (1): 2–3, 8–9 He also visited two other gardens nearby planted with trees, tulips, and lilies: "Wier funden aber wenigk neues drein, ohn schone Gebeude auf die turkische Manier, schone Badtstuben, und dan von allerlei Obsbeume, die man fast erdencken Möcht, auch zur Zier an den Ohrtten, da nicht Beume stunden, von allerlei Ahrt und Farben Tulipanen und turkischen Lilien," ibid p 9

12 For the document dated 972 (1564–65), see n 9 above; the same garden is sometimes referred to as "bāġçe-i Bali-i Siyah" (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci 7155, dated 984 [1576], fol 71) C T Forster and J B Daniel, eds , *The Life and Letters of*

Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq, 2 vols. (London, 1881), 1: 129. Erdoğan identifies the founder as Kara Bali Zihni Çelebi (who occupied various posts under Süleyman I, Selim II, and Murad III); see "İstanbul Bahçeleri," p. 170. The eighteenth-century Armenian author Inciciyan, who dates the Karabali garden to the reign of Süleyman, says that it was named after the dervish Kara Abalı Mehmed Baba; see P.G. Injijian, *Villegiatura de Bizantini sul Bosforo Tracio* (Venice, 1831), p. 118. This is a more likely explanation, given that the tomb and convent of the same dervish were once located near the Karabali garden at Dolmabahçe; see Baha Tanman, "Karaabalı Tekkesi," *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1994), 4: 438–39, and Tülay Artan, "Karabali Bahçesi," ibid, 4: 440. The Dolmabahçe garden was created for Ahmed I in the early seventeenth century by his grand vizier Nasuh Pasha who was ordered to fill the small harbor between the Karabali and Beşiktaş gardens; see Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 163–70.

13. For imperial Byzantine suburban palaces, see Steven Runciman, "The Country and Suburban Palaces of the Emperors," in *Charanis Studies: Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, ed. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis (New Brunswick, N.J., 1980), pp. 219–28; R. Janin, *Constantinople Byzantine: Développement urbain et répertoire topographique* (Paris, 1964), pp. 138–53; and Jules Pargoire, "L'Amour de la campagne à Byzance et les villas impériales," *Echos d'Orient* 11 (1908): 15–22. For a comparison of the Byzantine and Ottoman *villegiatura* traditions, see Injijian, *Villegiatura*. For the Bosphorus, also see Pierre Gilles, *De Bosporo Thracio libri tres* (Lyons, 1561); Evliya Çelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, vol. 1 (Istanbul, 1314), pp. 464–87; Eremya Çelebi Kömürcüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi*, trans. H.D. Andreasyan (Istanbul, 1988), pp. 20–53; and P.G. Inciciyan, *18 Asırda İstanbul*, trans. H.D. Andreasyan (Istanbul, 1976), pp. 112–138.

14. For the royal gardeners, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, "Bostancı" and "Bostancı Başı," *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (Istanbul, 1970), pp. 736–39; and Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1991), pp. 200–209. There were also gardeners in provincial royal palaces such as those of Edirne, Bursa, Manisa, and Amasya. For Navagero, see Albèri, *Relazioni*, 1: 52–53. Navagero notes that among the *azam-oglani* those who were gardeners rose to higher posts than those who were construction workers and shipbuilders (ibid., p. 53). I have used the Italian translation of the Spanish slave's memoir; see Andres Laguna, *Avventure di uno schiavo dei Turchi*, ed. Cesare Acutis (Milan, 1983), pp. 292–93. For the wage register dated 1588, which lists 921 gardeners at the Topkapi and 1109 in 32 other royal gardens, see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı* (Ankara, 1984), p. 496. According to archival documents cited by Uzunçarşılı, the total number of royal gardeners rose from 1612 in 971 (1563), to 1620 in 984 (1576), to 2030 in 996 (1588), and to 2396 in 1033 (1623), see ibid., pp. 467–73. The names of some confiscated royal gardens bearing the names of their original owners are listed in nn. 9 and 10 above.

15. For a comparison of the sultan's caique with the imperial barges of the Byzantine emperors, and the terms *biniş* and *göç*, see Injijian, *Villegiatura*, pp. 140–47. The sultans sometimes used small excursion caiques of 4 paired oars for short trips; next in size came royal caiques with 13 to 14 oars. Largest in size were the imperial galleys (*kadırga*) with 24 to 28 paired oars; see Douglas S. Brookes, "The Turkish Imperial State Barges," *Mariner's Mirror* 76 (1990): 41–49. Dr. Hans Theunissen of Utrecht University is preparing a study on the imperial symbolism of the royal galleys whose oar number, color, royal canopies crowned by three lanterns, and prows decorated with wooden eagles, phoenixes, or dragons were all marks of status.

16. For the sale of the produce from the royal gardens, see Giovantonio Menavino, *I cinque libri della legge, religione, et vita de' Turchi* (Florence, 1548), p. 98; and Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, pp. 470–71.

17. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pp. 184–241. The Byzantine hanging garden attached to the city's land walls incorporated vaulted substructures (popularly known as the Anemas dungeons) of the Blachernae Palace. It is identified as "ein auffgemauwert gartten mit Cypressen Baumen" in Melchior Lorichs's panorama of Istanbul (ca. 1559); see Eugen Oberhummer, *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleiman dem Grossen: aufgenommen im Jahre 1559 durch Melchior Lorichs* (Munich, 1902), pl. 17. It is also depicted on a print based on now lost drawings by Lorichs; see Wilhelm Dilich, *Eigentliche kurtze Beschreibung und Abriss dero weitt berümter Keyserlichen Stadt Konstantinopel* (Kassel, 1606), plate between pp. 27–28. The text reads: "Ist ein garte an Constantini M. palast/ so unden gewölbet nach der art des Babylonischen gartens. Man nennets *hortos pensiles*: und sind in diesem Constantinopolitanischen garten *Cypressen* bäume."

18. Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, p. 202.

19. In 1573, Du Fresne-Canaye saw inside the Iznik-tile-covered domed mausoleum of Süleyman's wife Hürrem Sultan in the Süleymaniye mosque's funerary garden "faience vases which are the most beautiful in the world, always filled with fragrant flowers"; see *Voyages*, p. 104. A row of glass vases filled with flowers is also depicted inside Selim II's burial tent at the funerary garden of the Hagia Sophia mosque in a drawing of the Freshfield Album executed in 1574 (Trinity College, Cambridge, 0.17.2); for a color reproduction, see Metin And, *16. Yüzyılda İstanbul* (Istanbul, 1993), p. 43.

20. For this palace and further bibliography, see Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, "Das Kavak Sarayı — Ein verlorenes Baudenkmals Istanbuls," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 38 (1988): 363–76. The landing dock and palace are depicted on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ottoman maps of Istanbul reproduced in Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, pls. 21a, 22a, 22b. For eighteenth-century views of the Üsküdar palace, see Müller-Wiener, "Kavak Sarayı," plates 51–56; and Pierre Pinon, "Constantinople et l'Asie-Mineure," in the exhibition catalogue, *Louis-François Cassas 1756–1827: Dessinateur-Voyageur im Banne der Sphinx* (Mainz am Rhein, 1994), p. 121, fig. 2; p. 122, fig. 3; p. 126, fig. 5; p. 143, fig. 72; p. 135, fig. 73. The Byzantine emperors also had a palace at Scoutarion, abandoned after the Crusaders occupied it in 1203; its exact location is not known, see Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, pp. 152–53; Runciman, "Suburban Palaces," p. 224.

21. As early as 1544 the Frenchman Jérome Maurand seems to have been referring to the Üsküdar garden when he reported that on 23 August Süleyman had departed from his "very beautiful tower with a garden" (*une très belle tour avec un jardin*) at Chalcedon, embarking alone on his royal boat; see Léon Dorez, ed., *Itinéraire de Jérome Maurand d'Antibes à Constantinople (1544)* (Paris, 1901), p. 205. This tower may have been the prominent tower pavilion projecting from the garden's seaside walls in several views (see figs. 2[2], 6 a–c). The towers of

the Üsküdar palace are also visible on Melchior Lorichs's Istanbul panorama (ca 1559) where the site is identified as the sultan's pleasure garden (*Lustgarten des Kayser's*), see Oberhummer, *Konstantinopel*, plate 1 That Sinan had renovated an earlier structure in Üsküdar is clear from his autobiographies, which indicate that he remodeled the palace for Sultan Süleyman in 958 (1551) His constructions there included three baths and two kiosks named after Selim II and Murad III; see Rıfkı Melul Meriç, *Mimar Sinan* (Ankara, 1965), pp 40, 44, 117, 125; and Mustafa Sa'i, *Tezkiretü'l-Bünyân*, pp 41, 44 Süleyman's building activities at the Üsküdar palace in 959 (1551–52) are confirmed in a group of firmans which refer to 600 construction workers employed there, and to the tiles that covered the palace's roof (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Koğuşlar 888, fols 107v, 169v, 183v)

22 See Albèri, *Relazioni*, 1: 467–68 An archival document, dated 978 (1570–71), refers to the construction of a "kiosk and royal bath" (*köşk ve ḥammām-i ḫāṣṣa*) in Üsküdar for Selim II (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci, 1768, fols 84r, 168v, 170v, 173v, 176v, 177v) A firman of Murad III, dated 984 (1576–77), orders the qadi of Iznik to prepare ceramic tiles for this sultan's new pavilion (*kaṣr*) in Üsküdar (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme 28, no. 151) For the building expenses of Murad III's "new royal kiosk" (*köşk-i cedīd-i ḫāṣṣa*) at Üsküdar in 984 (1576–77), also see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver 6002, pp 18, 23, 35, 48, 50, 63, 70, 74, 76, 83, 104, 148 A firman dated Muharrem 984 (1576) orders marbles and marble cutters to be sent from Edirne for its construction (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver 7534, p 109).

23 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D 9636

24 For the tower pavilion in Edirne, see Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, 2 vols (Istanbul, 1969–73), 1: 21–59 This building is typologically related to Timurid tower pavilions generically known as *jahānnumā*

25 The palace's buildings are cited in Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp 171–72, and in various royal account books; see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver 511, dated 988 (1580), p 61; Maliyeden Müdevver 3780, dated 1022 (1613), p 127; Maliyeden Müdevver 5653, dated 1053 (1643–44), pp 45–46; Maliyeden Müdevver 2126, dated 1097–99 (1686–88), pp 39–42, 86–87; Cevdet Saray 6823, dated 1093 (1682); Cevdet Saray 2184, dated 1148 (1735–36)

26 Du Fresne-Canaye, *Voyages*, p 90; and Edmond Cleray, "Le Voyage de Pierre Lescalopier 'Parisien' de Venise à Constantinople, l'an 1574," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* 35 (1921): 37–38

27 Stephan Gerlach, *Stephan Gerlachs dess Aeltern Tage-buch* (Frankfurt am Main, 1674), pp 170–71 The construction of a new kiosk at Üsküdar for Murad III during Gerlach's visit is confirmed by the archival documents from 984 (1576–77), cited in n 22 above

28 Sieur Du Loir, *Viaggio di Levante del Signor di Loir*, translated from the French original by F F. Secretario (Venice, 1671), pp 61–64.

29. George Courthop, "Memoires of Sir George Courthop (1616–1685)," in *The Camden Miscellany*, ed. S.C. Lomas (London, 1907), p 120; Eremya, *İstanbul*, p 54

30 Du Fresne-Canaye, *Voyages*, p 87–88

31 Galland describes the Sultaniye kiosk as follows: "Il y a un beau kiosque de pierre bâsti dans la mer sur un fondement meslé de colomnes couchées par trois, l'une sur l'autre, d'espace en espace, par un caprice assez bizzare de l'Empereur Solyman qui l'a fait faire Il est en dehors et en dedans encrousté de très belle fayence, qui commence à manquer en beaucoup d'endroits, à cause de son antiquité, avec des pieces rapportés de marbre et de porphyre Les volets des fenestres sont tous parsemés de petits figures d'un travail persien qui doit éste quelque de beau, lorsqu'il estoit récent Une galerie soustenue par des colomnes de marbre, de granilt et de porphyre, rendoit ce édifice plus agréable " Galland points out that the stone platform on which the kiosk stood was reinforced with antique spolia which he thought were removed from a temple of Bacchus: "deux masques grecs très bien faits qui estoient encore entiers, une cuve pleine de raisins que trois hommes presque effacés fouloient, et un homme qui tiroit du vin, des feuillages de vigne bien faits, etrelassés de figures différentes d'animaux comme escargots, de belettes et d'autres, le tout avec marques de la bonne antiquité": see Charles Scheffer, ed , *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672–73)*, 2 vols (Paris, 1881), 2: 127–28; 141–42 Also see Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp 178–79; Eremya, *İstanbul*, p 51; and Inciciyan, *İstanbul*, who says that the site was originally a marshland that was filled up to create a flat plain for Süleyman's garden palace (p 127). Inciciyan also mentions a cistern on top of the hill from which flowed a miraculous spring with curative properties (ibid., 127) This may have belonged to the monastery mentioned in 1523 by the Venetian ambassador Pietro Zen who seems to be referring to the Sultaniye garden when he says that Süleyman was planning to build a pleasure palace on the Anatolian shore of the Bosphorus near the Black Sea, at the site of an ancient monastery with fresh-water cisterns: "E di sito, questo, bellissimo; dove sono colone di bellissima pietra; et si dice in ditto loco, sopra la bocha di Mar Mazor, *antiquitus era* uno monasterio di monachi greci"; R Fulin, ed , "Itenerario di Pietro Zeno Oratore a Costantinopoli nel MDXXIII," p. 122

32 The late-sixteenth-century Pearl kiosk at the Topkapi Palace also featured inscriptions consisting of panegyrical poems about the kiosk; see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p 227.

33 Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci 7097, dated 935–36 (1528–29), pp 58, 100; and Maliyeden Müdevver 17884, dated 934–35 (1527–28), p. 56 Evliya Çelebi, who traces the original foundation of the Sultaniye garden to the reign of Bayezid II (r 1481–1512), is mistaken when he says its kiosk at the "edge of the sea" (*leb-i deryā*) was built to commemorate Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha's conquest of Tabriz, Shirvan, and Ganja in 1584 He imagines that the kiosk's wooden dome, window shutters, and door (skillfully painted with animal figures) were taken by this pasha from an Iranian pavilion and presented as a gift to Murad III, who built the Sultaniye kiosk in order to install these spoils of victory; see Evliya, *Seyāḥatnāme*, p 465.

34 Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, D 9636, fol 3r.

35. Süleyman's summer visits to the "Sultaniye garden at the Anatolian seashore" in those years are referred to as "*yaylaḳ*" (summer camping or pasturage) in Bostan Çelebi, *Süleymānnāme*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms H O 42b, fol 82v (referring to Süleyman's *yaylaḳ* with his favorite Ibrahim Pasha in 1523, when divan meetings were held at Sultaniye); fol 83r (referring to the Safavid ambassador's reception in 1523), fol 99v (referring to a Janissary revolt in 1525 caused by Süleyman's decision to stay in the Sultaniye garden rather than at the Topkapi Palace)

36 On 15 September 1528, these Venetians report that Süleyman and Ibrahim Pasha would continue to reside at Beykoz until the renovations of the Topkapi Palace and of Ibrahim's palace at the Hippodrome were completed; see Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, 58 vols (Venice, 1879–1903), 48: 450; 49: 5, 72

37 See Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri*, pp. 14–19

38 Du Fresne-Canaye, p 89

39 Ibid , pp 88–89

40 Süleyman's construction of the new tower is cited in Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci 7097, p 61; see also n. 8 above Selim II's repairs are recorded in Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kamil Kepeci 7100, fol 14v. Evliya Çelebi points out that Süleyman's tower pavilion was added to a garden that already existed in the reign of his father, Selim I; see Evliya, *Seyāḥatnāme*, 1: 468 According to an inscription on the Bosphorus painting of 1588, the garden's high tower (*sublimo Turre*) had been built by Sultan Selim [actually Süleyman] on the occasion of his wife giving birth, see fig 2[3]

41 Evliya, *Seyāḥatnāme*, 1: 468 Injijian, *Vileggiatura*, p 253–55; idem, *İstanbul*, pp 130–31; also see, Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp. 176–77

42 Hafiz Hüseyin Ayvansarayi, *Hadīḳatü'l-cevāmi*ᶜ, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1865), 2: 169

43 Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople* (Paris, 1680), pp 545–47; Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver 2126, p 21.

44. For Hierion, see Injijian, *Villegiatura*, pp 114–17; Runciman, "Suburban Palaces," p 221

45. For the history of the Lighthouse garden, see M Münir Aktepe, "İstanbul Fenerbahçesi Hakkında Bazı Bilgiler," *Tarih Dergisi* 32 (1979): 349–72; and Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp 174–75 Gerlach also visited a royal garden in Chalcedon (probably the Haydar Pasha garden) before coming to the Lighthouse garden, where he says Justinian had built a church, palace, and baths; see Gerlach, *Tage-buch*, p. 171.

46 Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver 2275, p 380

47. See Kömürciyan, *İstanbul*, p. 49; İnciciyan, *İstanbul*, p 137; and Eldem *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, 2: 67–87

48 The relative informality of Ottoman gardens is discussed in the articles cited in n 5. An eighteenth-century Ottoman garden can be seen in a miniature painting dated 1730 (Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis Oriental Miniatures, T 9) which depicts a lady and musicians sitting outdoors on a carpet with a small garden stretching in the background; for a color reproduction, see Günsel Renda, "Traditional Turkish Painting and the Beginning of Western Trends," in *A History of Turkish Painting*, ed S Pınar, A Mill, I Altıntaş (Istanbul, 1987), p 65, plate 65 Fronted by a spouting white-marble fountain, the small formal garden is protected by red wooden railings. Inside the railings are brick-framed rectangular tulip beds separated by paths paved with black and white pebbles forming vine scroll, cypress, and tulip patterns. In the background is a raised stone terrace bordered by a linear plot planted with various flowers; on the terrace is an orangerie protected by a red wooden shed.

49 See Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, pp. 119–20; and Saᶜi, *Tezkire*, p 42, Üsküdar was also the site of the late sixteenth-century garden palaces of the queen mother Nurbanu Sultan and of Şemsi Ahmed Pasha, both of whom built their mosque complexes adjacent to their residence; see Schweigger, *Ein newe Reissbeschreibung*, pp. 135–36

50 Scheffer, ed , *Journal d'Antoine Galland*, 2: 59. In Fındıklı, near the Karabali garden, the 1588 painting of the Bosphorus also shows the garden palace of the governor of Cyprus, Arap Ahmed Pasha (d 1586), where the English embassy resided for a while (see fig. 2) Other sixteenth-century gardens in Fındıklı included those of the grand vizier Ayas Pasha (d 1539), and of influential women connected to the imperial harem such as Canfeda Kadın and Ayşe Hubbi Hatun (married to Mehmed Vusuli Efendi, known as Molla Çelebi, who built his mosque complex nearby).

51. Du Fresne-Canaye, *Voyages*, p. 90 For Mehmed II's domed crystal pavilion, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, pp. 192–93 The domed crystal pavilion and bath in the Kadırga palace's private garden is referred to in Tülay Artan, "The Kadırga Palace: An Architectural Reconstruction," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 209.

52 The waqfiyya, dated Receb 1003 (1595), is in Ankara, Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, no 635/2, pp. 52–58 This document indicates that the garden roughly extended from the Ayazma mosque up to the Rum Mehmed Pasha mosque On part of its grounds Ayşe Sultan later built her fountain — still standing across from the Imrahor mosque and carrying an inscription dated 1007 (1598–99) — and her Darü'l-kurra, now destroyed; see Kazım Çeçen, *Üsküdar Suları* (Istanbul, 1991), pp 126–27 In a later waqfiyya written in 1021 (1612) Ayşe Sultan donated a source of water (*bir maşura su*) from her garden palace to the courtyard fountain of the neighboring convent-mosque of Shaykh Aziz Mahmud Hüdai, where she was eventually buried (Vakıflar no 635/2, p 169) Evliya refers to the garden palace as "Ayşe Sultan's palace in Salacak"; see *Seyāḥatnāme*, 1: 472 A brief description of the same garden palace is provided by Hans Dernschwam in 1553: "[Rüstem Pasha] hot auch underhalb Constantinapol zw Skutar am meer ein schone meczith [i e , Mihrimah mosque] Mer zw Skutar ein wonung fwr sich und gros haws und garthen, weit umbfangen"; see Franz Babinger, ed , *Hans Dernschwam's Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)* (Munich and Leipzig, 1923), p 57

53. Among deposed grand viziers ordered to retire to their estates were Piri Mehmed Pasha (to Silivri), Lutfi Pasha (to Dimetoka), Rüstem Pasha (to Üsküdar), Siyavuş Pasha (to Üsküdar and Bakırköy), and Koca Sinan Pasha (to Üsküdar and Malkara) For the "Palace of Rüstem Pasha near the agricultural estate of Iskender Çelebi" (*İskender Çelebi çiftlikinde Rüstem Paşa sarāyı*) and for Süleyman's visit, see Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, p 121; Saᵓi, *Tezkire*, pp 43, 65–68 The estate of Ahmed Pasha (who became grand vizier after Sokollu's death in 1579 and was buried at his mother-in-law Mihrimah Sultan's mosque complex in Edirnekapı when he died in 1580) is referred to in Sinan's autobiographies as "taşra çiftlikde Ahmed Paşa sarāyı" or "ḫārīc-i sūrda vezīr-i ᶜāẓām Aḥmed Paşanıñ sarāyı ve bāğçesi"; see Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, pp 41, 121; Saᵓi, *Tezkire*, pp 42–43

54 For the *extra muros* garden of Siyavuş Pasha, see Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri," pp 160–61 Its architectural remains are recorded in Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, 1: 108–23. Siyavuş Pasha had two other garden palaces in Üsküdar built by Sinan; see Meriç, *Mimar Sinan*, p 120; and Saᵓi, *Tezkire*. p. 42

55 Pietro Della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle il Pellegrino*, 4 vols (Rome, 1662), 1: 22–23, 30–31

56 See Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, 2: 151–79; M H Saladin, *Le yali des Keuprili, à Anadoli-Hissar cote asiatique du Bosphore*, preface

by Pierre Loti (Istanbul, 1915); and Süheyl Ünver, *Anadolu Hisarındaki Amcazade Hüseyin Paşa Yalısı* (Istanbul, 1956).

57 Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, 1: 251–83 The Arsenal garden was particularly favored by Murad III who, because he was afraid of the water, is said to have visited the Bosphorus gardens less often, preferring instead the gardens along the Golden Horn that were accessible by land; see the report of the Venetian *bailo* Paolo Contarini in 1583 in Albèri, *Relazioni*, 3: 242 The Arsenal garden (*bāğçe-i tersḫāne*), which is cited in a document from Murad III's reign (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Maliyeden Müdevver 511, dated 988 [1580]), was extensively rebuilt in the seventeenth century.

58 Chevalier Laurent d'Arvieux, *Mémoires du chevalier d'Arvieux, envoyé extraordinaire du Roi à la Porte*, ed P Labat (Paris, 1735), pp 471–72.

59. E. Lloyd, trans., *Sir John Chardin's Travels in Persia 1673–1677* (London, 1927; rpt , New York, 1988), p 161

60 The development of waterfront gardens in Agra is discussed in Ebba Koch's essay in this volume There were also riverfront gardens in Isfahan, but their pavilions do not seem to have been built close to the shore

61. For the poet Baki, see Kınalı-zade Hasan Çelebi, *Tezkiretü'ş-şuarā*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1989), 1: 199–209. A ceremonial parade of Selim II on his way to a hunting pavilion is depicted in two late-sixteenth-century albums, one in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod 8615, fol. 49, dated ca 1586) and the other in Dresden (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, J 2a, ca 1582) The Dresden painting is reproduced in And, *İstanbul*, pp 154–55 Murad III also staged a pompous parade to impress a Safavid ambassador when he returned from a hunting pavilion (*Lusthaus*) outside the city walls; see Schweigger, *Ein newe Reissbeschreibung*, pp 77–79.

62 W Andreas, ed., "Eine unbekkante venezianische Relazion über die Türkei (1567)," in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Stiftung Heinrich Lanz, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 5 Abhandlung* (Heidelberg, 1914), pp 9–10

63. See, Albèri, 1: 401–2. Garzoni explains that Ahmed Pasha, who resided in Üsküdar, was related to the sultan's family through his mother's line (her father being the son of a daughter of Bayezid II); ibid., pp 403–4. Şemsi Ahmed Pasha, who was the royal companion of three sultans (Süleyman I, Selim II, and Murad III), commissioned Sinan to build his funerary mosque complex on the shore of Üsküdar, adjacent to his palace; the mosque still exists, but the palace has disappeared He traced his paternal lineage back to the Arab hero Khalid b Walid; see İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, *Üsküdar Tarihi*, 2 vols (Istanbul, 1976–77), 1: 281–92, 2: 251–54

64 For some miniatures depicting garden activities, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, figs. 56, 88–92, 105–6, 115–16, 122–24, 127–28, 135–36. The close association of Timurid gardens with royal women is discussed in Lisa Golombek, "The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives," *Muqarnas* 12 (1995): 137–47

65 The Kandil garden (also known as Kandilli) is cited in a register dated 981 (1573); see n 9 above. Evliya attributes it to Süleyman and to Murad III who renovated it extensively; its terraced parterres were planted with tulips and hyacinths, see Erdoğan, "İstanbul Bahçeleri," p 177; Evliya, *Seyāḥatnāme*, 1: 467, 481 Two firmans dated 992 (1584) record Murad III's renovations; see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri 52, nos. 821, 843. The garden (*bāğçe-i ḳandil*) is described in a Persian history written for Murad III as paradise-like with its refreshing winds, waterworks (pool and fountain), fruit trees, and flower beds of roses, hyacinths, and jasmine; see Seyyid Loḳmān, *Shahanshāhnāma*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, ms B 200, fol 98r For Murad III's illumination festivities, see idem, *Mücmelü't-ṭomār*, dated 992 (1584), London, British Library, Or 1135, fol 209r Inciciyan's statement that the garden's name derived from the oil lamps Murad IV hung on its cypresses during nocturnal festivities is incorrect since the name and practice existed earlier He adds that the dilapidated palace garden was sold in parcels to the people in 1748 by Mahmud I; Injijian, *Villegiatura* pp 257–58; idem, *İstanbul*, pp 129–30

66 The role of the garden as a private space for informality and unbuttoned behavior is captured in an exaggerated description by a seventeenth-century European traveler cited in Walter G Andrews, *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song* (Seattle and London, 1985), p 156: "Never indeed doth a Turk, at any time, show himself to be so truly pleased and satisfied in his senses as he doth in the summer when he is in a pleasant garden: for he is no sooner come into it (if it be his own, or where he thinks he may be bold) but he pulls off his uppermost coat, and lays it aside, and upon that his Turbant, then turns up his sleeves, and unbuttoneth himself, turning his breast to the wind courting the weather and sweet air, calling it his soul, his life, and his delight, ever and anon showing some notable sign of contentment; nor shall the garden (during his pleasant distraction) be termed other than Paradise, with whose flowers he stuffs his bosom and deketh his Turbant, shaking his head at their sweet favours, and sometimes singing a song to some pretty flower, by whose name peradventure his mistress is called; and uttering words of as great joy, as if at that instant she herself were present " The association of Ottoman garden behavior with the pleasures of the senses is also captured in Casanova's memoirs in which he describes an outing by boat to a Bosporus summerhouse that overlooked a pool where he and his friend Ismail secretly watched three nymphs bathing naked in the moonlight. This voyeuristic feast was complemented by a picnic with grilled fish caught on the spot and "pampering ourselves with some excellent preserves and drinking several cups of coffee"; see Casanova, *History of My Life*, vols. 1 and 2 (New York, 1966), pp 94–96 I would like to thank Norman Bryson for this amusing reference

67 For coffeehouses, see Ralph S Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses: The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle and London, 1985)

68 Excerpted from Aşık Çelebi, *Meşairü'ş-şuarā* (London, 1971), fols 176v–177v, in Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Bağçeler," *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Yıllık* 4 (1990): 17–18

69 Excerpted from ibid , fols 293v–294v, in Gökyay, "Bağçeler," pp 13–15.

70 Excerpted from ibid , fols 160v, 297v, in Gökyay, "Bağçeler," pp 15–18 For a flower garden cut out of paper (with a poem about the arrival of spring inscribed around its frame), which is attributed to Efşancı Mehmed, see Filiz Çağman, "L'art du papier découpé et ses représentants à l'époque de Soliman le Magnifique," in Gilles Veinstein, ed , *Soliman le Magnifique et son temps* (Paris, 1992) pp. 249–63, fig 1

71 For a book of etiquette written in Baghdad at that time, see Ibn al-Washshā', *Das Buch des buntbestickten Kleides*, trans. D Bellmann, 3 vols. (Leipzig-Weimar, 1984); see also M F Ghazi,

"Un groupe social: Les raffinés (*zurafā'*)," *Studia Islamica* 11 (1959): 39–71

72 Floral imagery and gardens in Ottoman court poetry are analyzed in Orhan Şaik Gökyay, "Divan Edebiyatında Çiçekler," *Tarih ve Toplum* 76 (1990); and Andrews, *Poetry's Voice*, pp 151–58 Andrews notes the interaction between actual and textual gardens: "Without much doubt, the actual gardens are in large part constituted by or 'reflective' of textual gardens, which inscribe themselves on many, if not all, the choices made in creating a garden it might be useful in this context to see gardens and poems in a dance together, mutually constituting, mutually reflecting, mutually interpreting"; see Andrews, "Speaking of Power: The Ottoman Kaside," p 22 I would like to thank the author for sending me the draft of this article For a cross-cultural study of aesthetic horticulture, see Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge, Eng., 1993)

73 Pierre Belon du Mans, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez & choses memorables, trouvées en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges, redigées en trois livres* (Paris, 1554), book 3, pp 208r–208v Busbeck similarly wrote: "The Turks are very fond of flowers, and though they are otherwise anything but extravagant, they do not hesitate to pay several aspres for a fine blossom"; see Busbeck, *Life and Letters*, 1: 25 According to a Spanish slave who was in Istanbul in the early 1550's, the city had "varied shops that sell only flowers"; he adds, "The Turks are great lovers of flowers, like the dames of Genoa, and in order to attach them to their turbans they would give all they possess"; Laguna, *Avventure*, pp 319–20 For the enormous quantities of flowers, including roses, hyacinths, and tulips, that were regularly imported for Istanbul's royal gardens by firmans, see Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power*, p 202

74. The tulip bulb ("tulipan," derived from the Turkish *dulband*, that is, turban) is believed to have been introduced to Vienna by Busbeck The flower, also known in English as the "Turk's cap", seems to have reached Holland in the 1570's For flowers introduced from the Ottoman Empire to Europe, which included the hyacinth, *Lilium candidum*, muscari, anemones, and various narcissi, see J H Harvey, "Turkey as a Source of Garden Plants," *Garden History* 4 (1976): 21–42 The first sultanic mosque in Istanbul whose marble-paved forecourt featured a marble fountain surrounded by four cypresses was that of Mehmed II (1460–73), a design interpreted in the written sources as symbolizing paradise This composition was based on the model of Hagia Sophia's now lost atrium whose cypress trees can still be seen in a fifteenth-century drawing by Cyriacus of Ancona (copied in Giuliano da Sangallo's Barberini Codex); see Gülru Necipoğlu, "Anatolia and the Ottoman Legacy," in Martin Frishman and Hasan-Uddin Khan, eds , *The Mosque* (London, 1994), p 154, and n. 12.

75 James S Ackerman, *The Villa Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 22–26

76 The Venetian Andrea Navagero, for example, described the Alhambra garden in classical terms that facilitated the adaptation of some of its features in Italian villas; similarly some Spaniards detected classical Vituvian elements in Spain's Moorish past; see Cammy Brothers, "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 79–102

77. In the late eighteenth century, the majority of Istanbul's gardeners were Greeks from the islands; see Muradgea Ignace d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, 7 vols (Paris, 1787–1824) 4: 246. For Zoroastrian gardeners, see Donald N Wilber, *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions* (Washington, D C , 1979), pp 7–8

78 This transformation is analyzed in detail in Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theater of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus," Ph D. diss , Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, 1989.

79 For Sadabad and further bibliography, see ibid , pp 34–36; Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Sa'dabad* (Istanbul, 1977); and Münir Aktepe, "Kağıdhāne'ye Dāir bāzı Bilgiler," in *İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı'ya Armağan* (Ankara, 1976), pp 335–63

80 Some examples of seventeenth-century receptions in garden pavilions are cited in Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, p 240 The eighteenth-century transformation of various royal gardens is traced in Artan, "Architecture as a Theater of Life"; see also Gönül Tankut, "Urban Transformation in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman City," *Middle East Technical University: Journal of the Faculty of Architecture* 2 (1975): 247–62

81 The Bostancıbaşı Registers are discussed in Artan, "Architecture as a Theater of Life " See also Reşad Ekrem Koçu, "Bostancıbaşı Defterleri," *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi* 3–4 (1957): 39–90

82 The Beylerbeyi garden is discussed in Cerasi, "Il giardino," p 229 For the shore palaces of the Bosphorus in the early nineteenth century, see Antoine Ignace Melling, *Voyage pittoresque du Constantinople et des rives du Bosphore d'après les dessins de M Melling, architecte de l'Empereur Selim III, et dessinateur de la Sultane Hadidgé, sa soeur*, 2 vols (Paris, 1809–18)

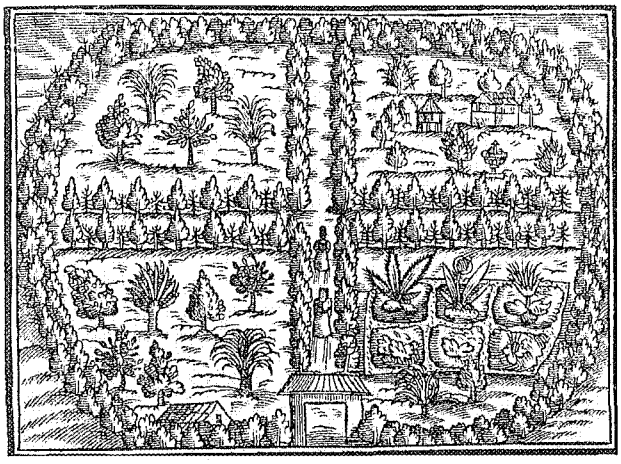


Fig. 1 The Karabali garden in Kabataş, ca. 1577–81. (Photo: from Salomon Schweigger, *Eine neue Reyssbeschreibung*, p. 127)

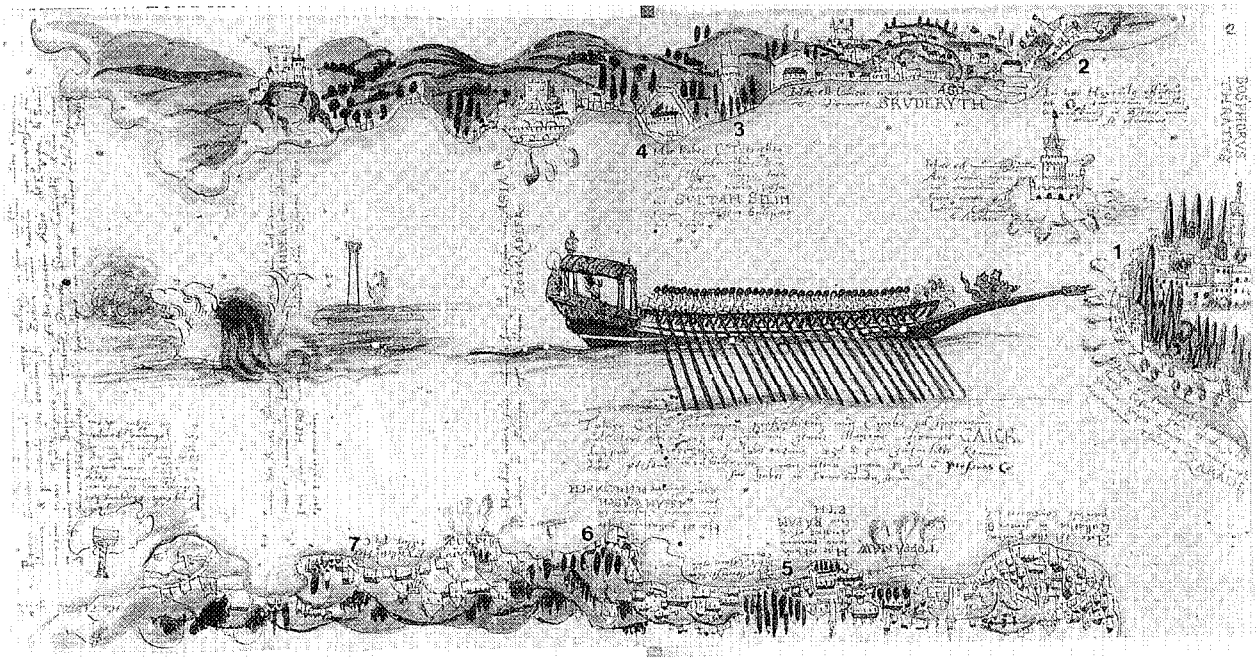


Fig. 2 Watercolor view of the Bosphorus from an untitled costume album with images depicting life in Istanbul in 1588. From ms. Bod. Or. 430, fol. 2r. The following gardens are identifiable, some of them accompanied by Latin inscriptions: 1. Topkapi Palace; 2. Üsküdar garden; 3. Tower garden, Çengelköy; 4. Kandilli garden, Kandilli; 5. Karabali garden, Kabataş; 6. garden palace of the Grand Admiral Hasan Pasha, Beşiktaş; 7. royal garden near Rumeli Hisarı (described by Gerlach in 1576, see *Tage-buch*, p. 220). (Photo: courtesy Oxford University, Bodleian Library)

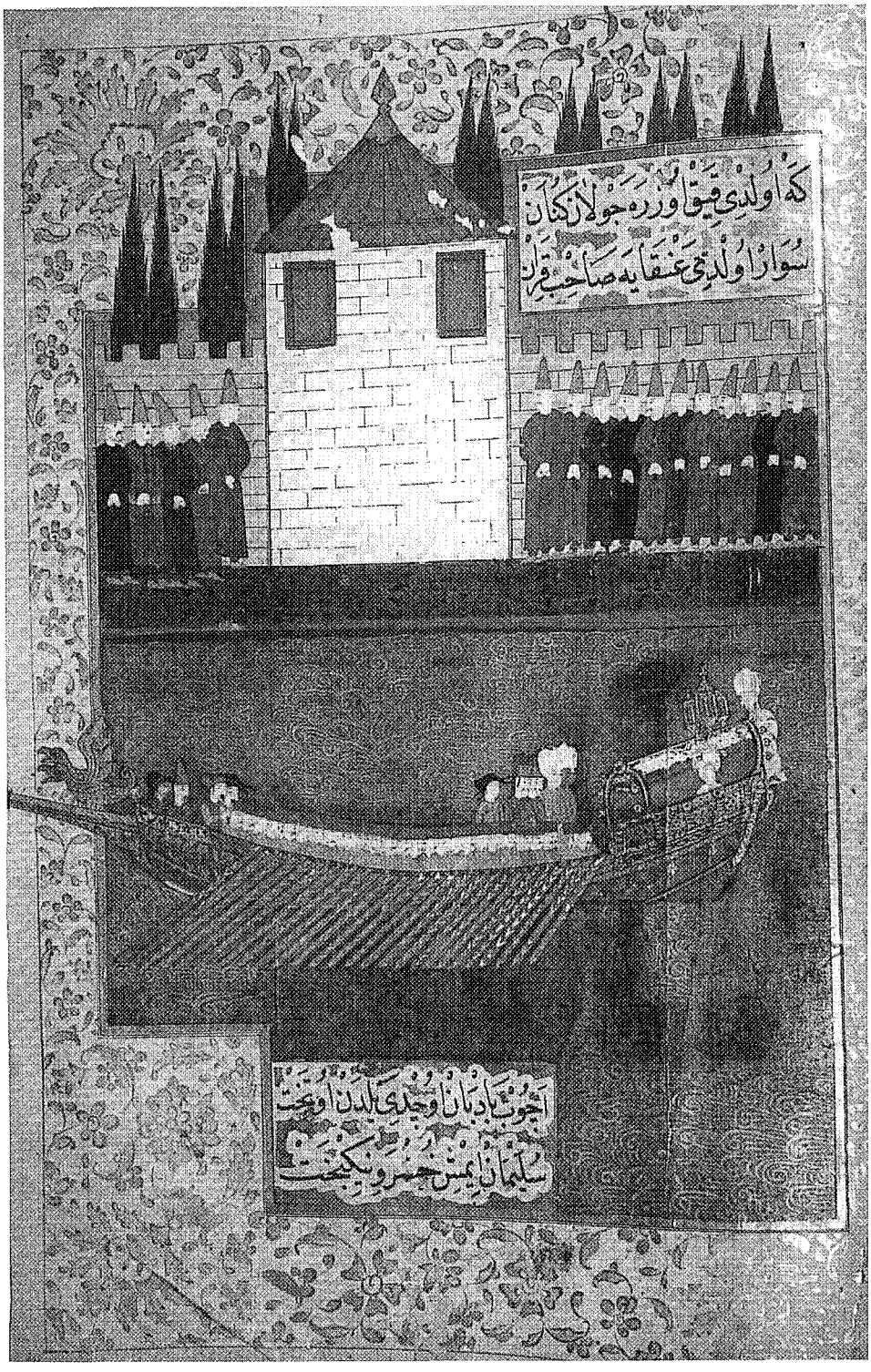


Fig 3 Sultan Osman II in his royal galley, ca 1622 From the *Şehnāme-i Nādiri* (*Fetḥnāme-i Hotin*), Topkapi Palace Library, H 1124, fol 74a (Photo: courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)

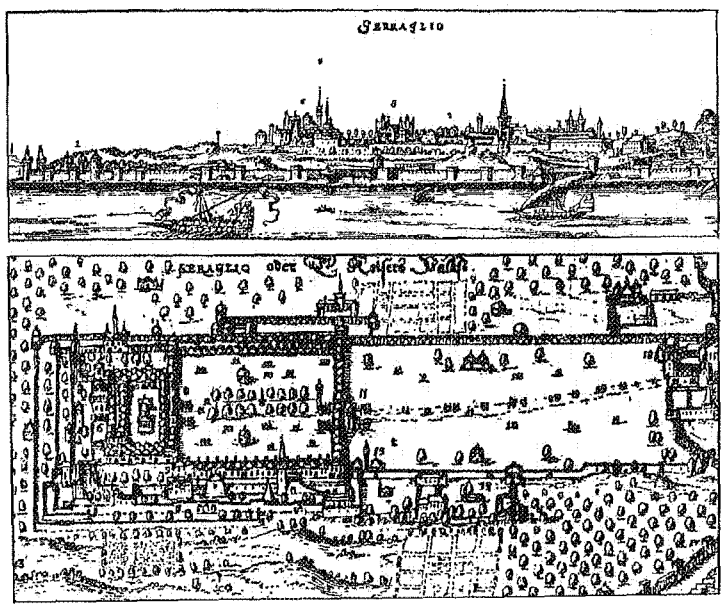


Fig. 4. Panoramic and bird's-eye views of the Topkapi Palace, based on now lost drawings by Melchior Lorichs, ca. 1559 (Photo: from Wilhelm Dilich, *Eigentliche kurtze beschreibung*, pl between pp. 17–18)

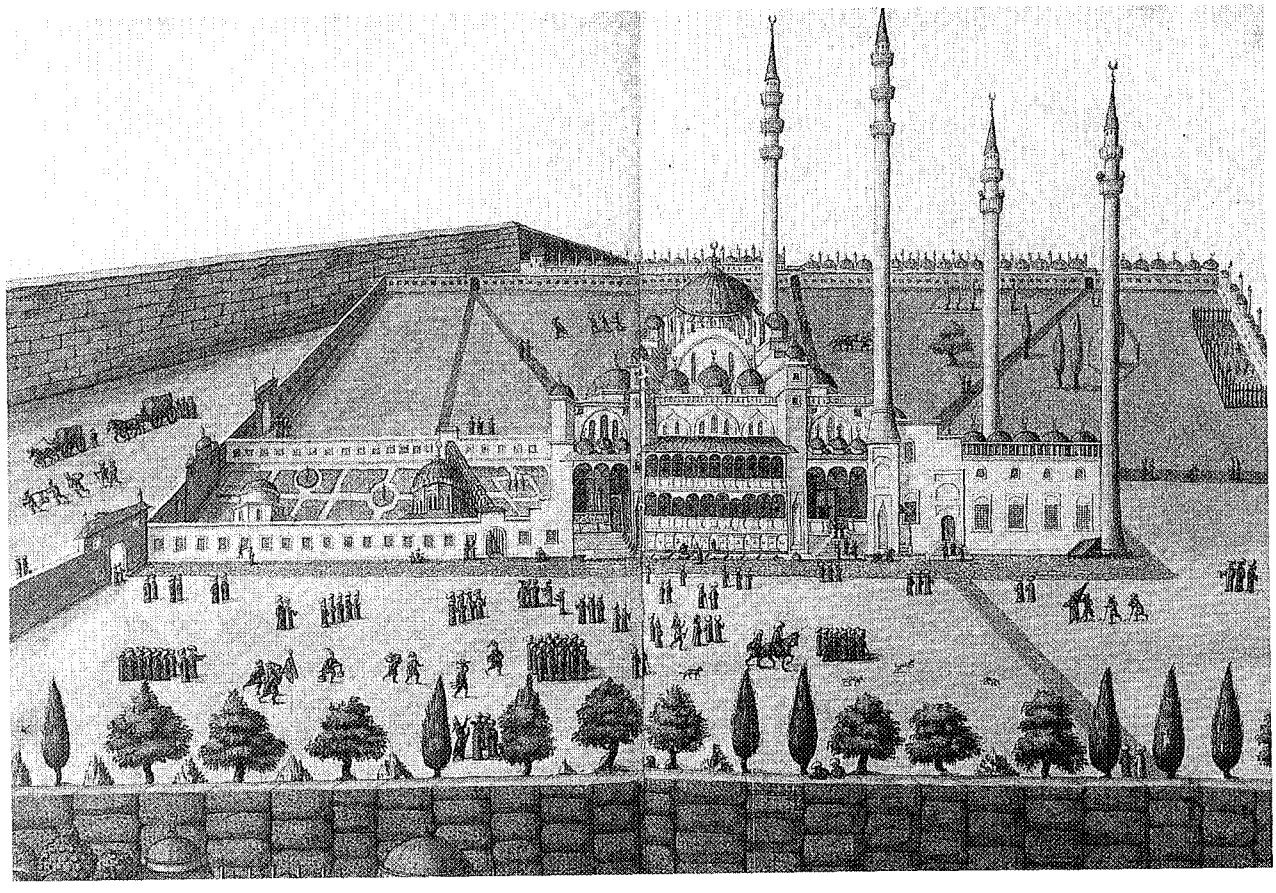


Fig 5 Süleymaniye mosque and its funerary garden, ca 1590 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, cod 8626. (Photo: courtesy Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)

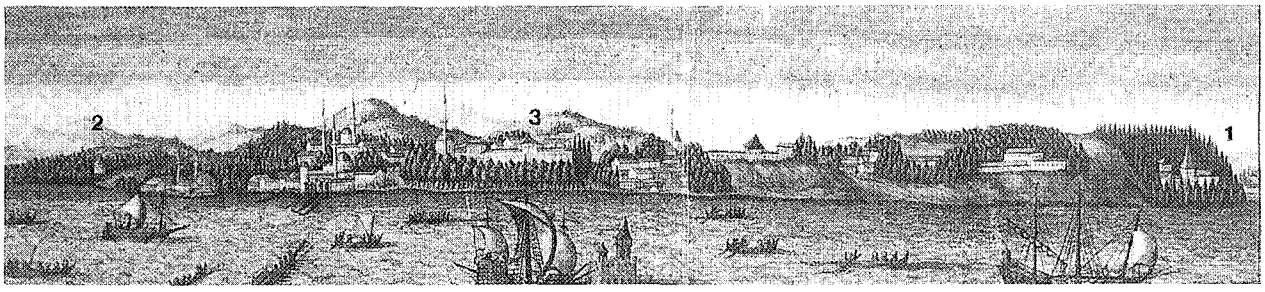


Fig 6a Panoramic watercolor view of Üsküdar from an album, ca 1590 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, ms cod 8626 Key: 1 Üsküdar palace, 2 Tower garden, 3 Probable site of the Ayazma garden (Photo: courtesy Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)

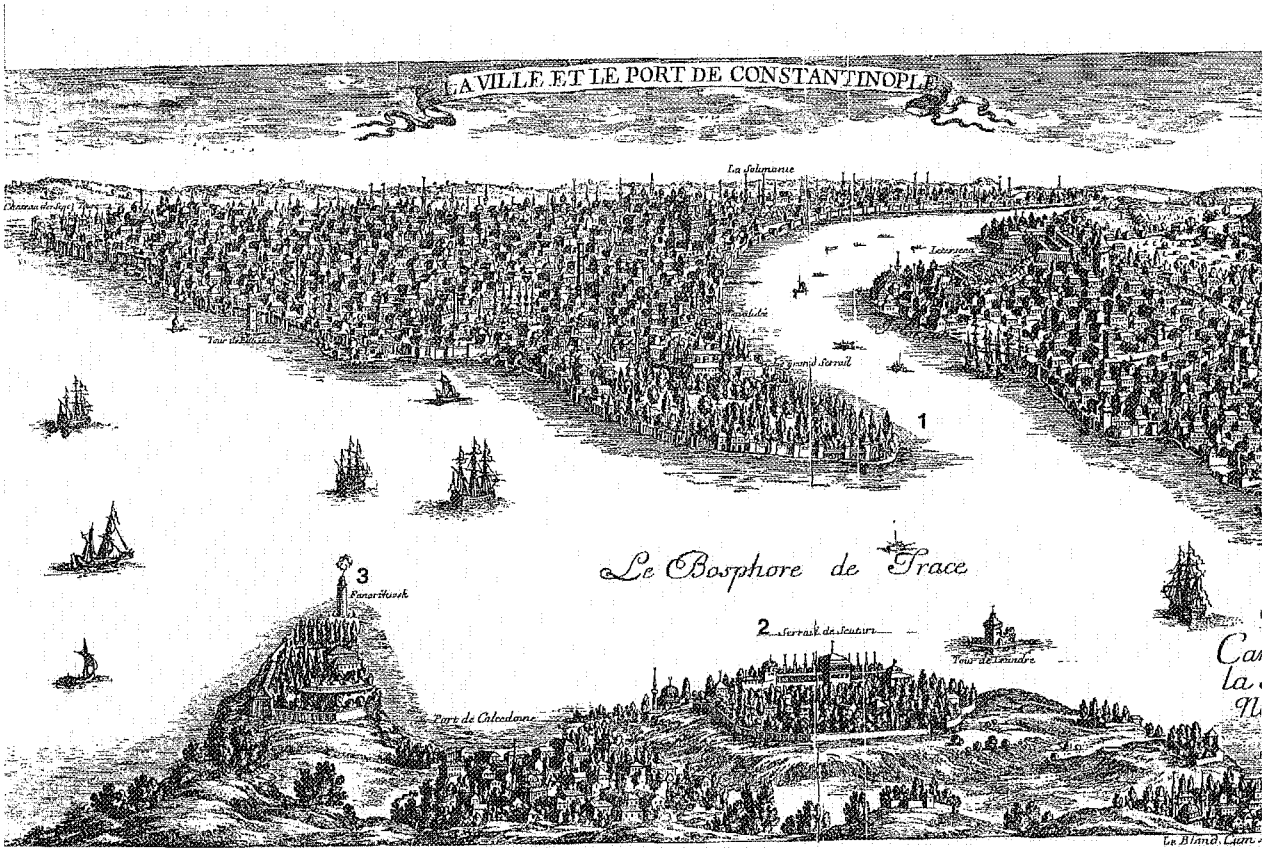


Fig 6b Bird's-eye view map of Istanbul, ca 1672 Key: 1 Topkapi Palace, 2 Üsküdar palace, 3 Lighthouse garden. (Photo: from Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople*)

Fig 6c View of the Üsküdar palace, ca 1776–86 (Photo from Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* [Paris, 1809])

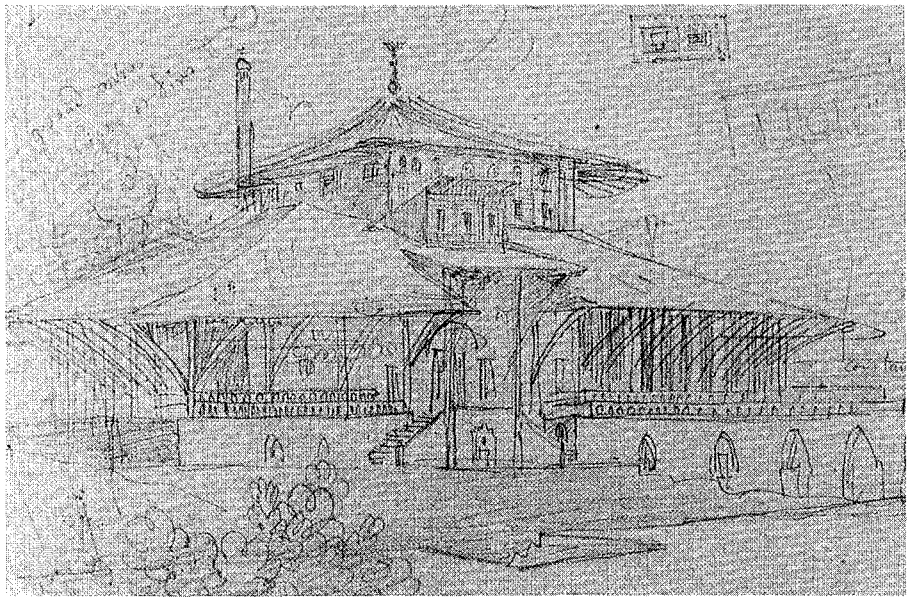


Fig 6d Louis-François Cassas, drawing of a pavilion with a belvedere tower in the Üsküdar (Kavak) palace, 1780's. Inv Nr. Hitorff-Nachlass, Je. 91, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Graphische Sammlung, Cologne (Photo: from Müller-Wiener, "Das Kavak Sarayı")

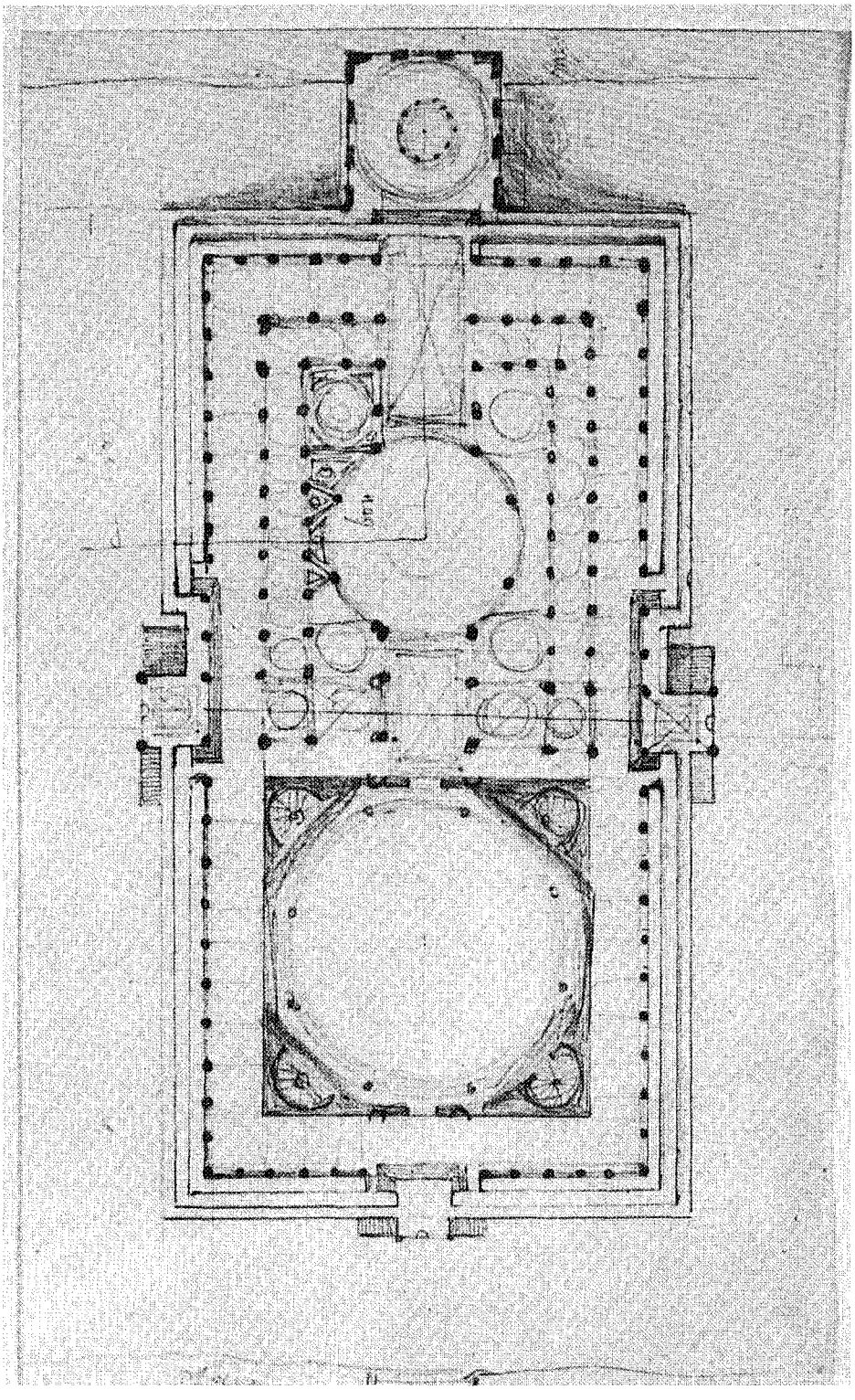


Fig 6e Plan of the pavilion depicted in Fig 6d Photo from Müller-Wiener, "Das Kavak Sarayı")

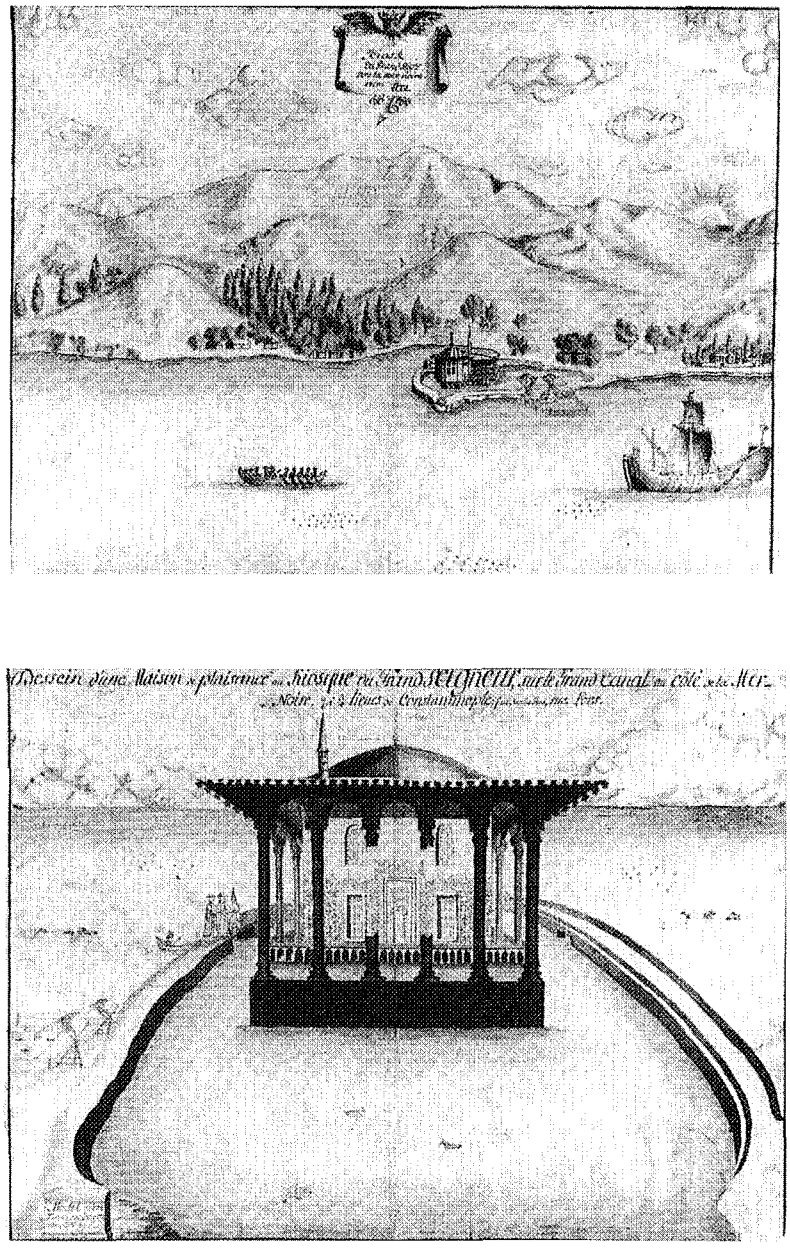


Fig 7 a–b Cornelius Loos, acquarel paintings of the Sultaniye kiosk identified as "Kiosck du Grand Seigneur vers la Mer Noire," and "Dessein d'une Maison de plaisance ou Kiosque du Grand Seigneu, sur le Grand Canal du côté de la Mer Noire, à 3/4 lieues de Constantinople," 1710 Stockholm Nationalmuseum (Photo: from Alfred Westholm, *Cornelius Loos* [Stockholm, 1985], pp 62–63)

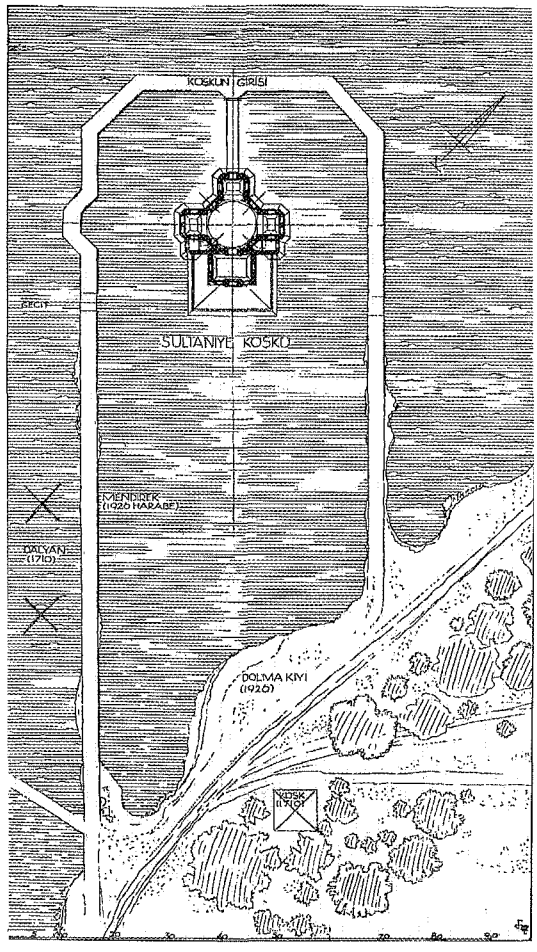


Fig 7c Hypothetical reconstruction plan of the Sultaniye kiosk (Photo: from Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri*)

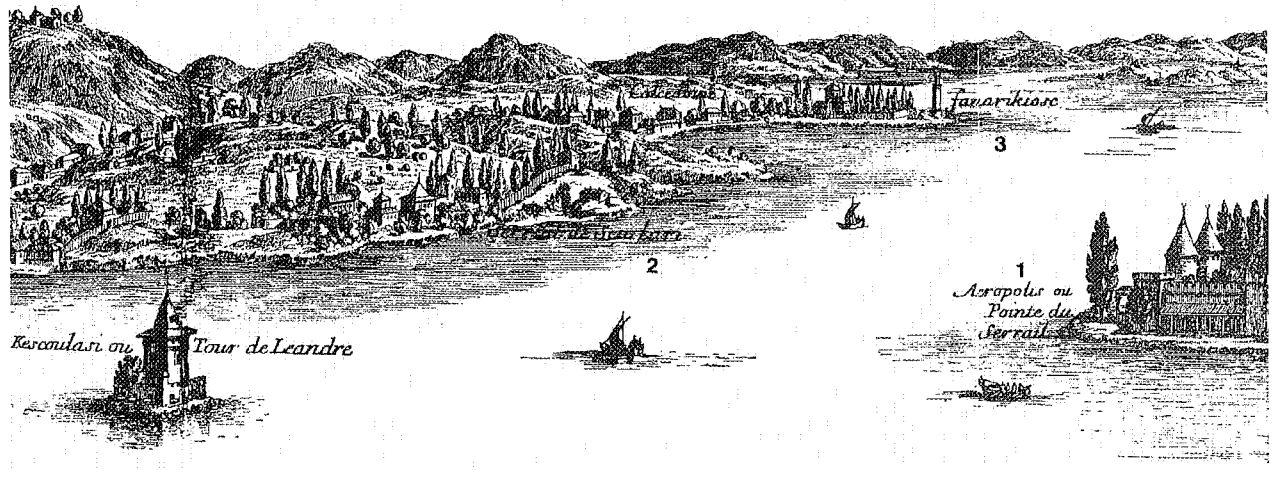


Fig 8a Bird's-eye view of the Asian shore, ca 1672 Key: 1 Topkapi Palace, 2 Üsküdar palace, 3 Lighthouse garden (Photo: from Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage de Constantinople*)

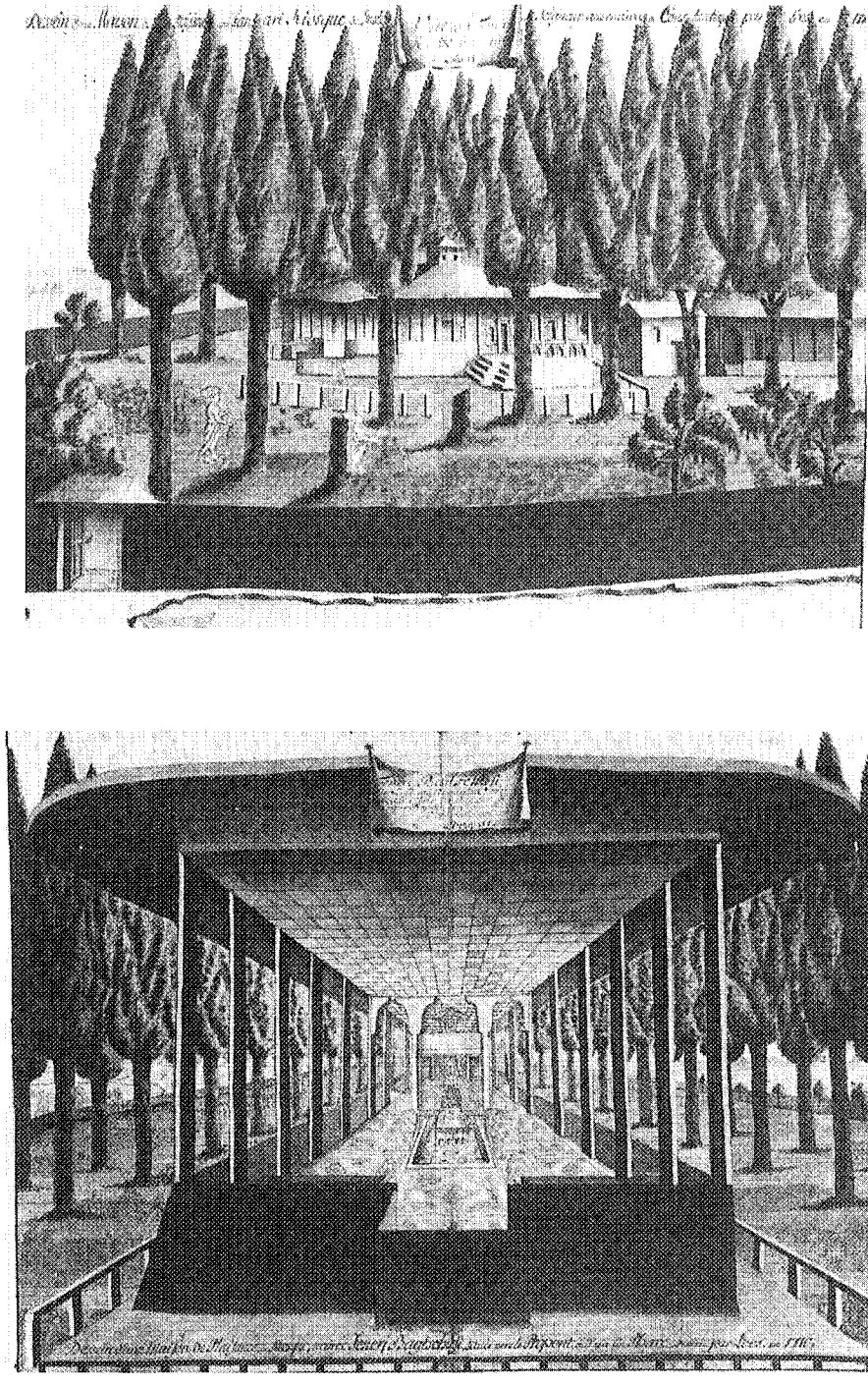


Fig 8 b–c. Cornelius Loos, acquarel paintings of the Lighthouse garden, identified as "Dessein d'une Maison de Plaisance ou Fanari Kiosque du Grand Seigneu, aus environs Constantinople," and "Dessein d'une Maison de Plaisance ou Kiosque nômée Feneri Bagtschiesi, située vers Propont, ou il y a un Phare " 1710–11. Stockholm Nationalmuseum (Photo: from Alfred Westholm, *Cornelius Loos* [Stockholm, 1985], pp 64–65)

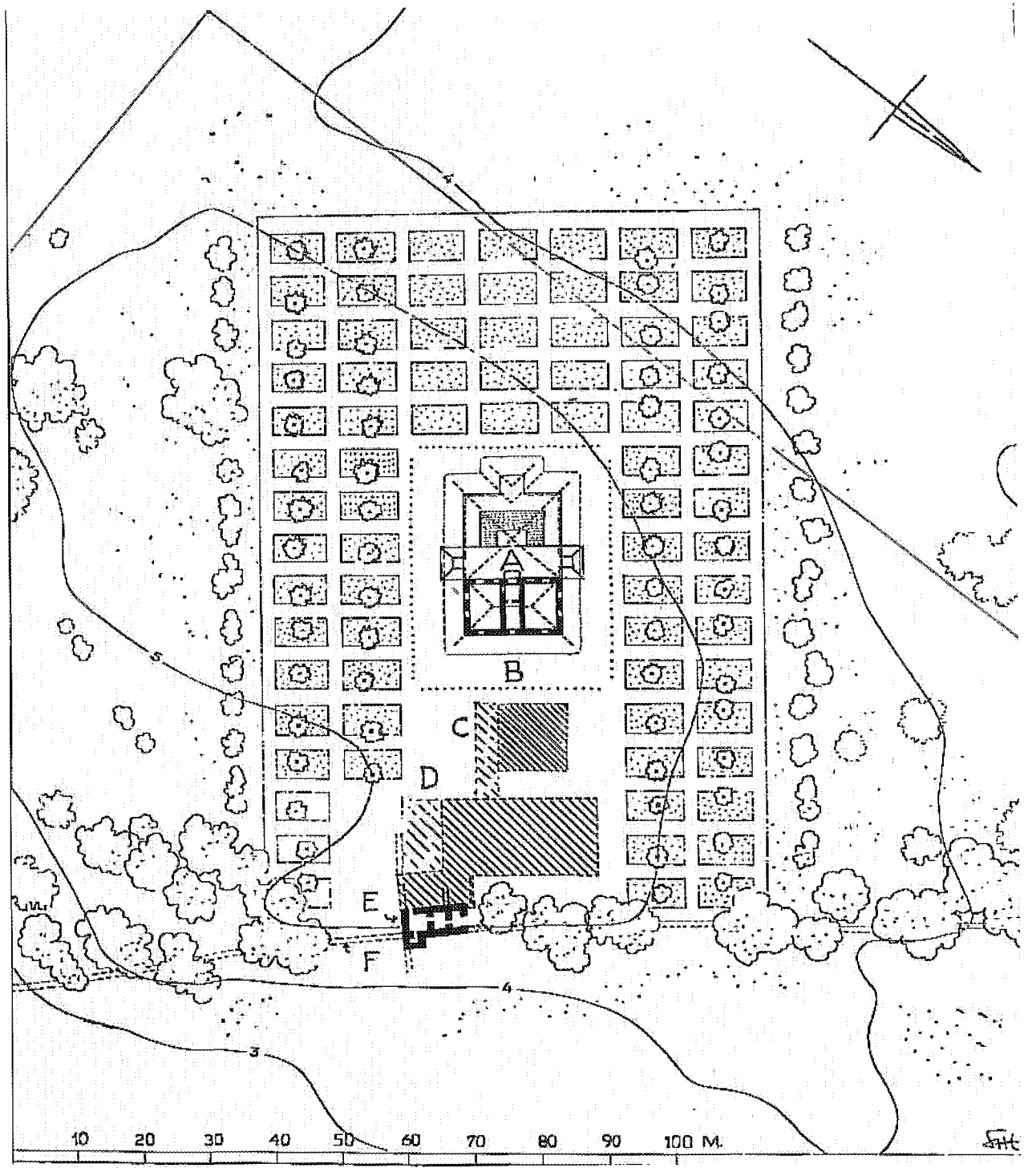


Fig 8d. Hypothetical reconstruction plan of the Lighthouse garden Key: A main kiosk; B. pebble-paved area surrounding the kiosk; C small secondary building; D service buildings; E. extant remains of a bath; F location of enclosure wall (Photo: from Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, 2: 85)

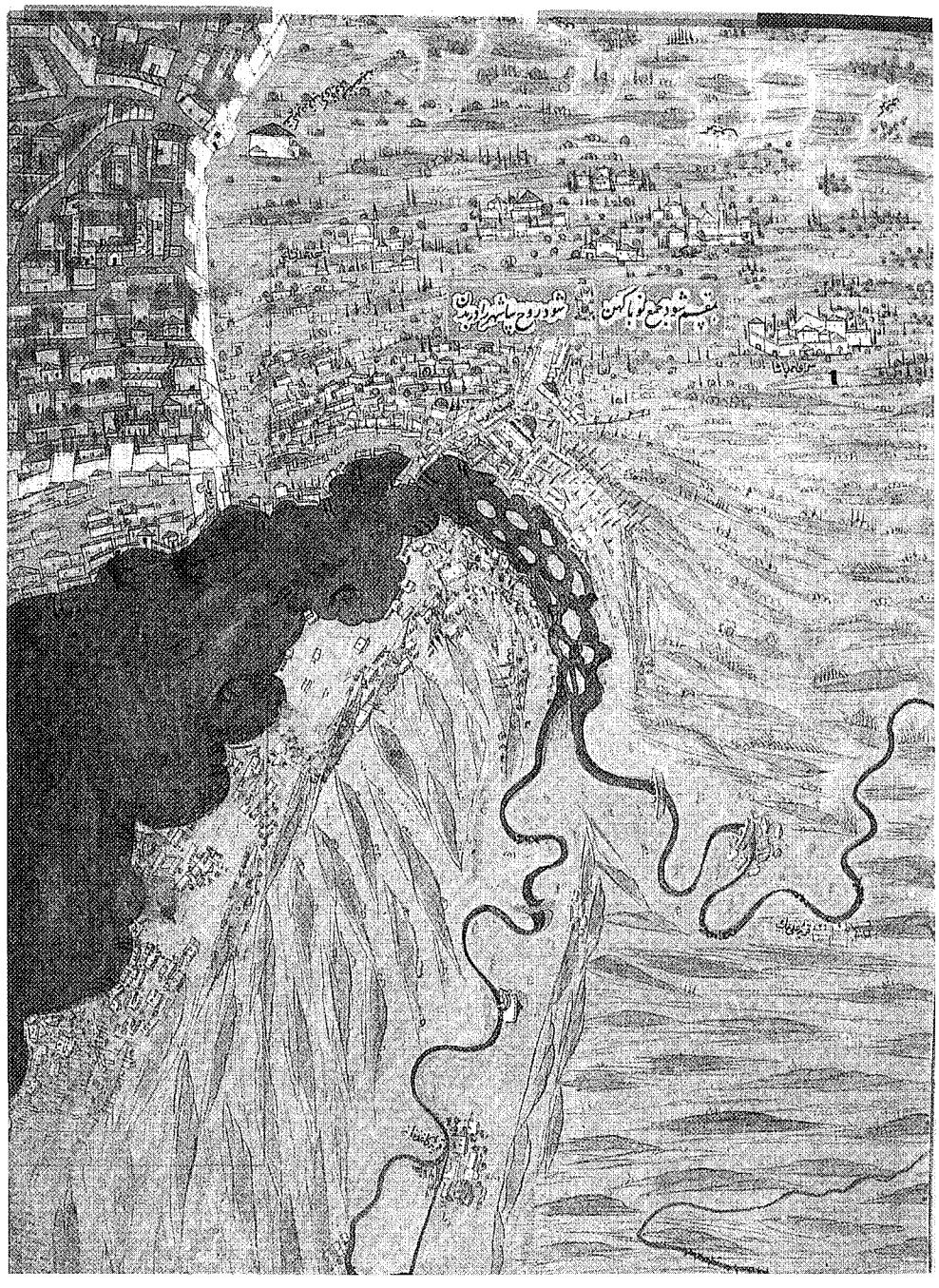


Fig 9 Detail of a double-page topographic miniature of the Golden Horn area with an inscription (1) identifying the "palace of Ahmed Pasha" (*sarāy-i Aḥmed Paşa*) Seyyid Lokman, "Süleymānnāme, ms. 413, fol 23a, Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Photo: reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)

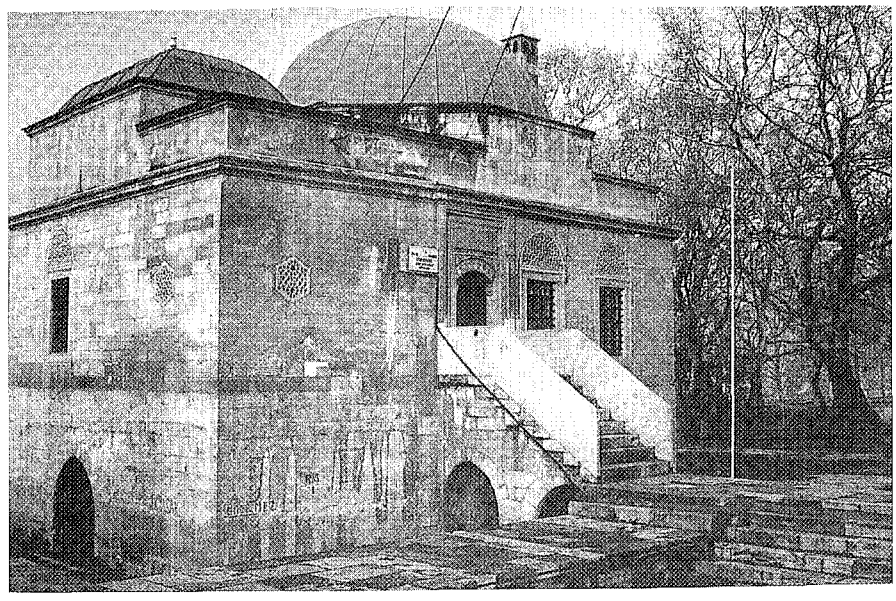


Fig 10a Pavilion of Siyavuş Pasha (Photo: from Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri*)

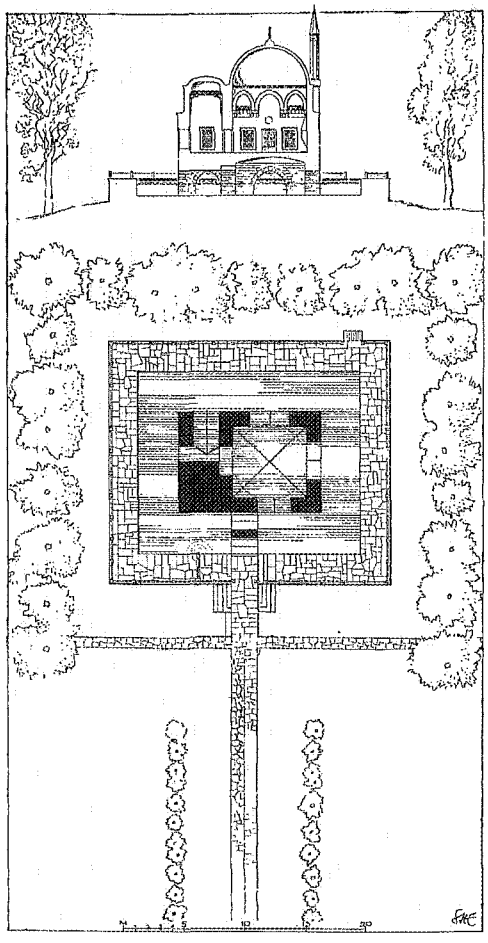


Fig 10b Pavilion of Siyavuş Pasha Plan (Plan: from Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri*)

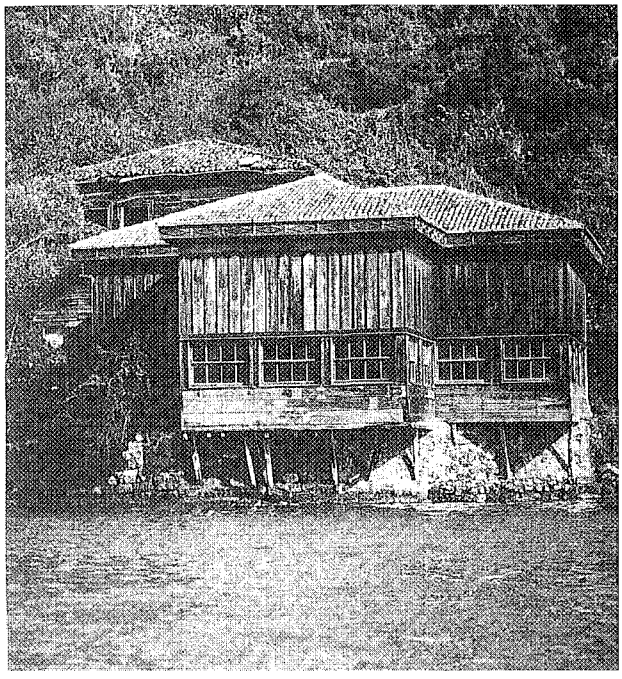
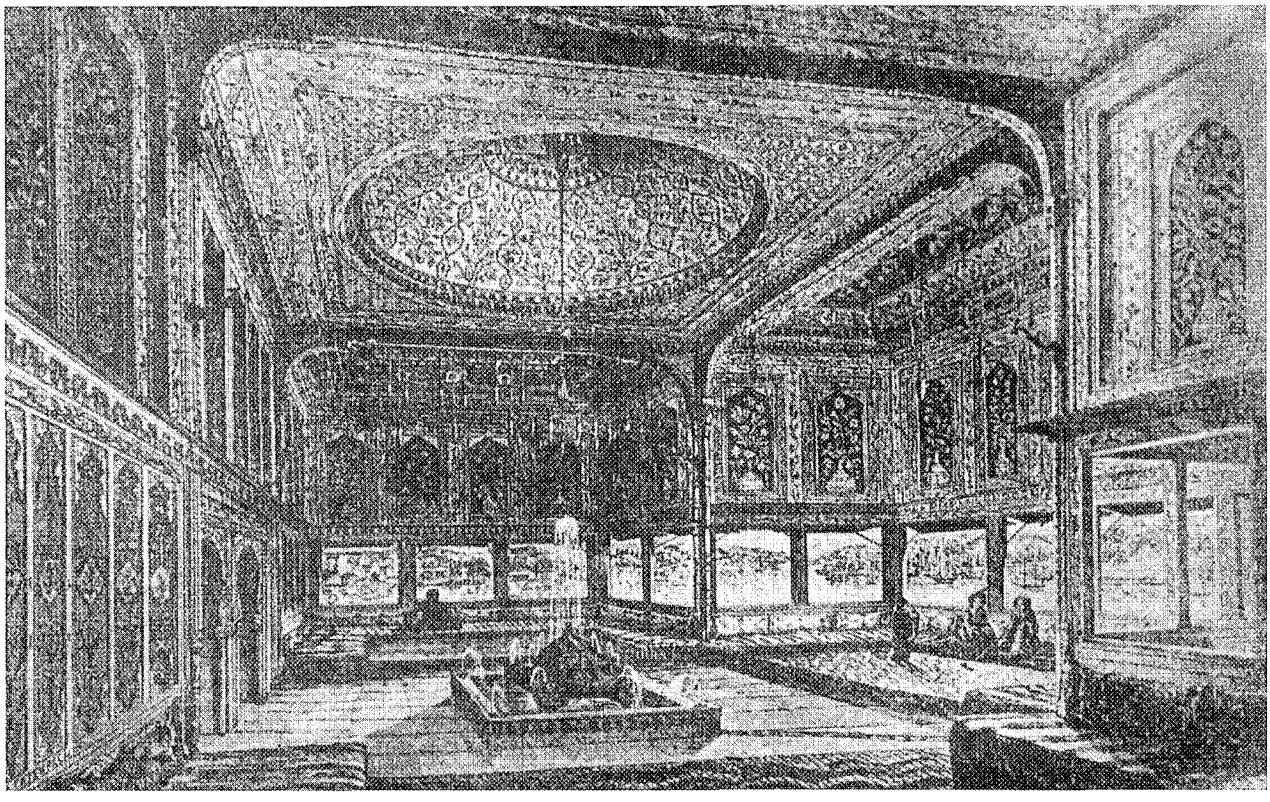


Fig 11a Yalı of Amcazade Köprülü Hüseyin Pasha at Anadolu Hisarı, 1699.

Fig 11b Nineteenth-century print by H. Catenacci, showing the interior of the Amcazade yalı



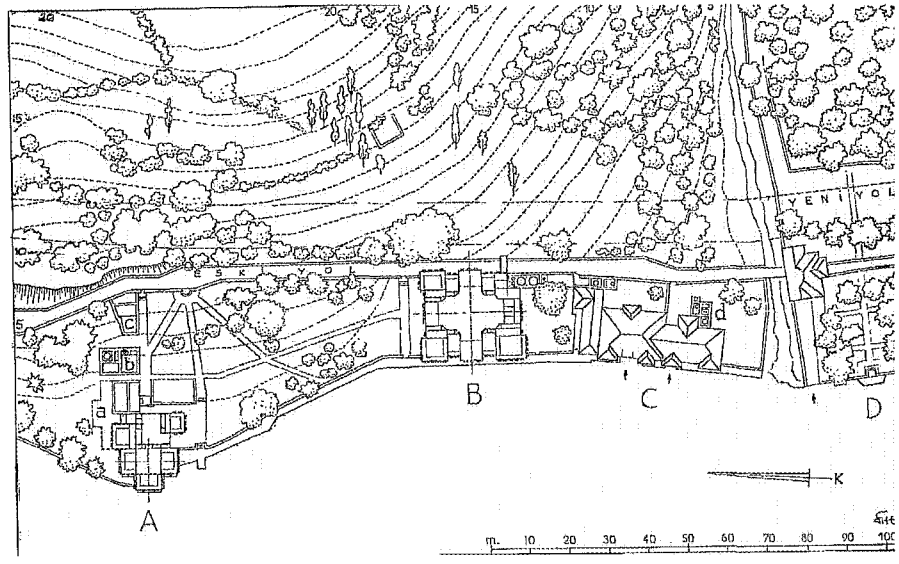


Fig. 11c. Site plan of the Amcazade yalı and its now lost dependencies Key: A shore kiosk; B. harem (demolished); C–D neighboring yalıs; a rooms adjoining the shore kiosk; b. bath and kitchen; c service buildings; d remains of a bath (Photo: from Eldem, *Köşkler ve Kasırlar*, 2: 160)

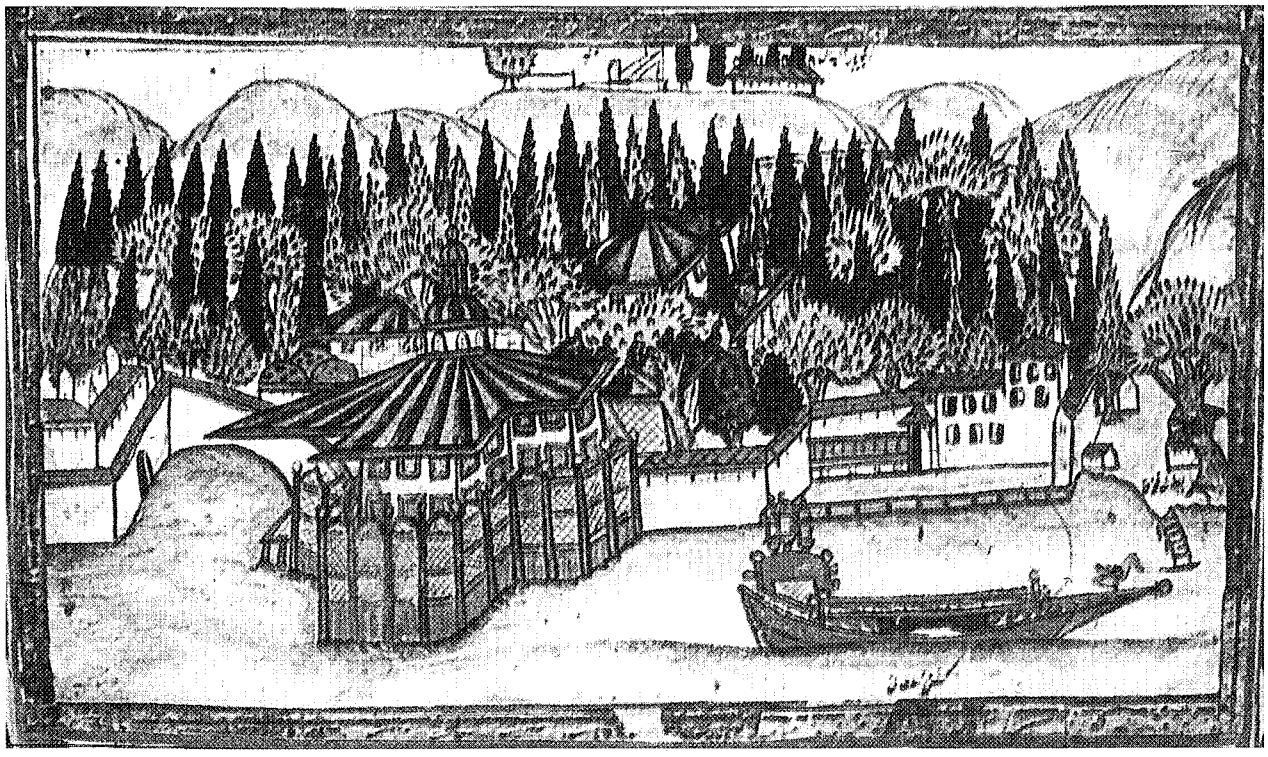


Fig. 12 Miniature painting of the Arsenal garden with the royal red galley anchored at sea. Ca. 1685 Album, T Y 5461, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul (Photo: courtesy İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)

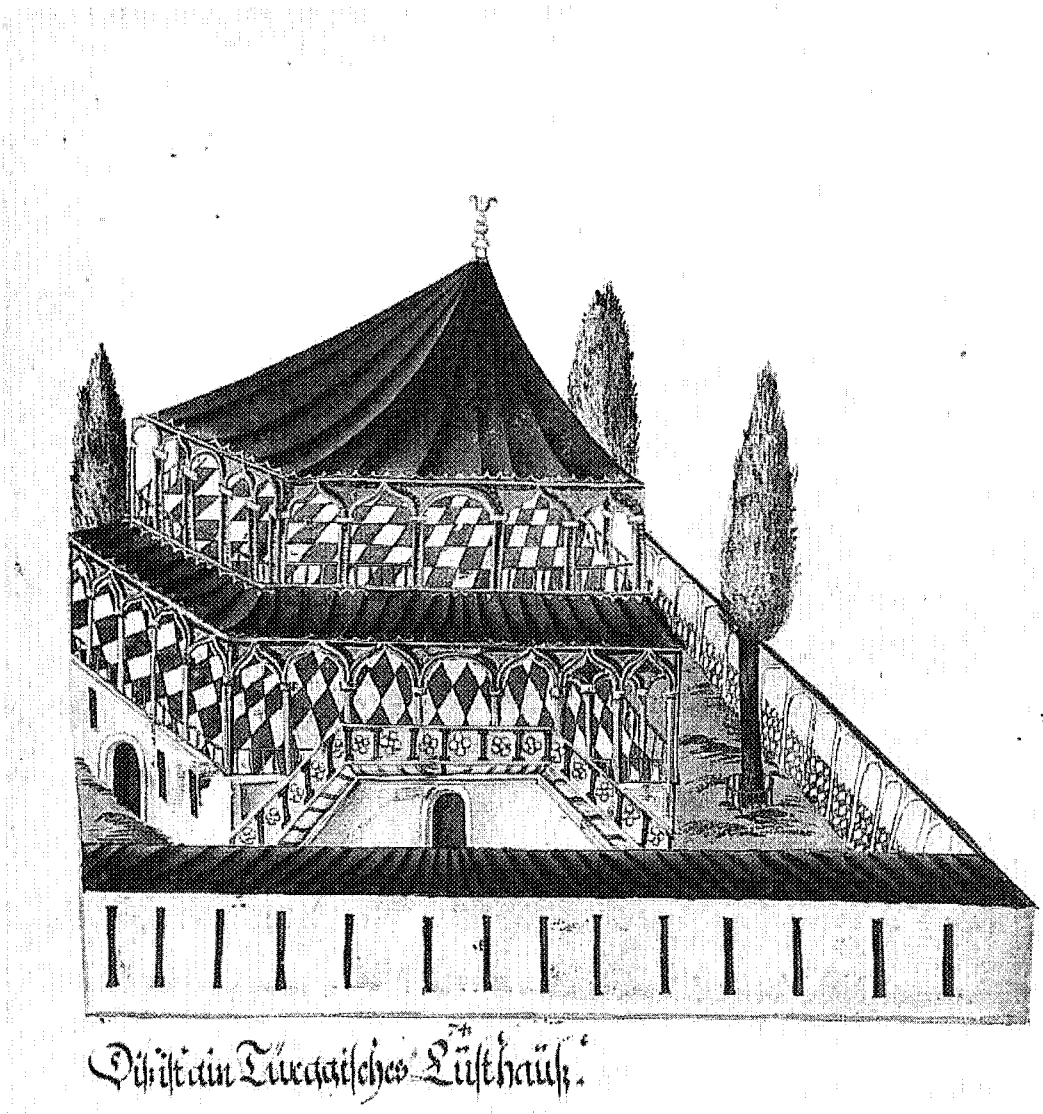


Fig. 13. Garden with a double-story open belvedere kiosk to which Selim II paraded with a large retinue for hunting "Ansicht ain Türggisches Lusthauss," ca 1586, ms. cod 8615, fol 49, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Photo: reproduced courtesy Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)

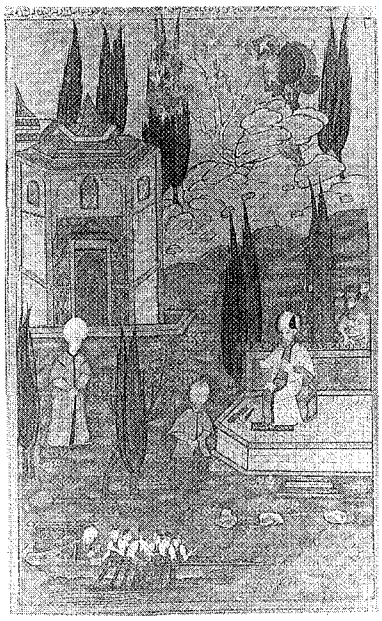


Fig 14 Miniature painting depicting Süleyman I at the Üsküdar palace, 1580's Seyyid Lokman, *Hüner nāme*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, ms H 1524, fol 227b. (Photo: courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)

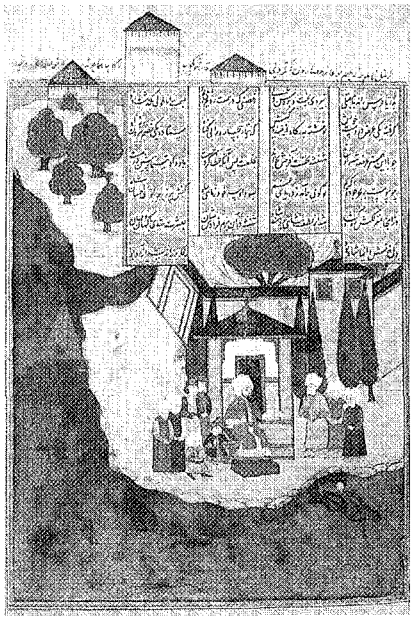
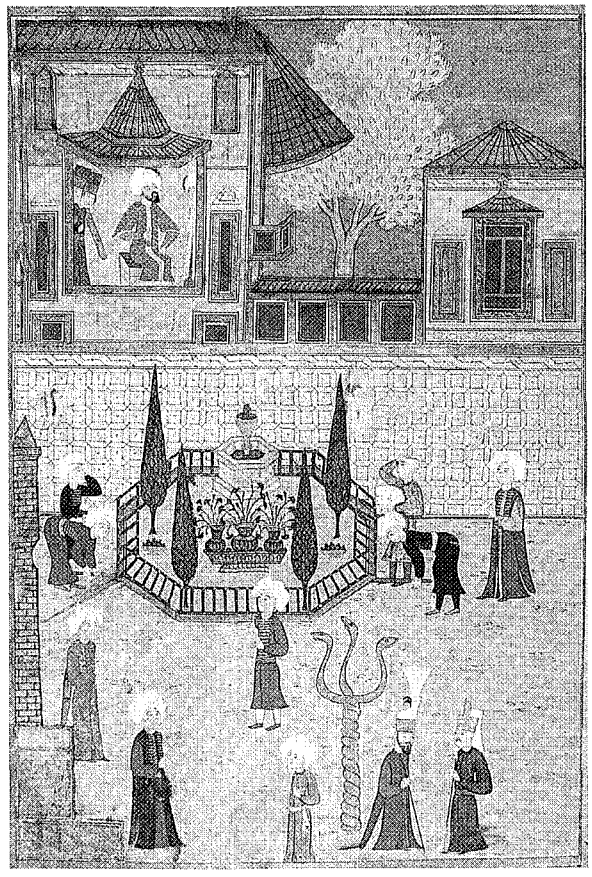


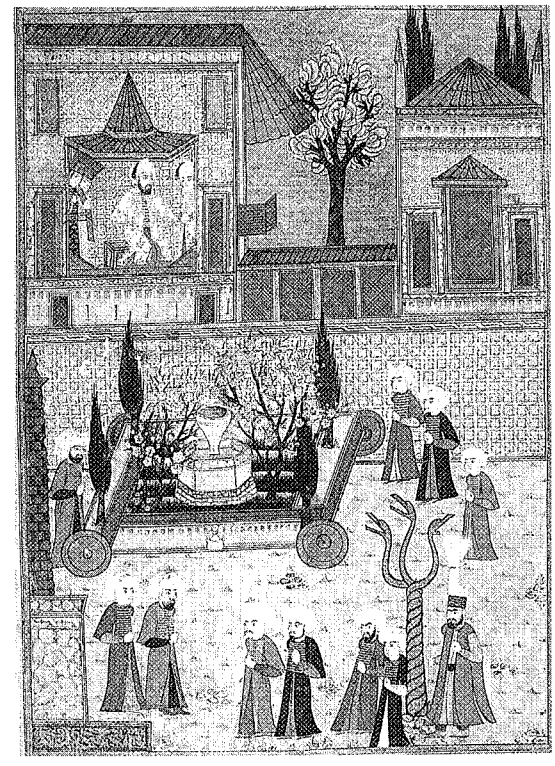
Fig 15 Detail of a double-page miniature painting showing Murad III at the Kandilli garden Ca 1592 Seyyid Lokman, *Shahanshāhnāma*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, ms B 200, fol 99a (Photo: courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)

Fig 16 Detail of double-page miniature painting showing Murad III at the Kandilli garden, with Anadolu Hisarı in the background and Rumeli Hisarı on the facing page Ca 1592 Seyyid Lokman, *Shahanshāhnāma*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, ms B 200, fols 112b–113a (Photo: courtesy of Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)

Fig 17 A man smoking his pipe in a garden kiosk with a domical pergola. 17th-century album painting (Photo: from Franz Taeschner, *Alt-Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben* [Hannover, 1925], fig 41)

Fig 18 Miniature painting of a coffeehouse Late 16th century. Chester Beatty Library, Album ms 439, fol 9 (Photo: reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)





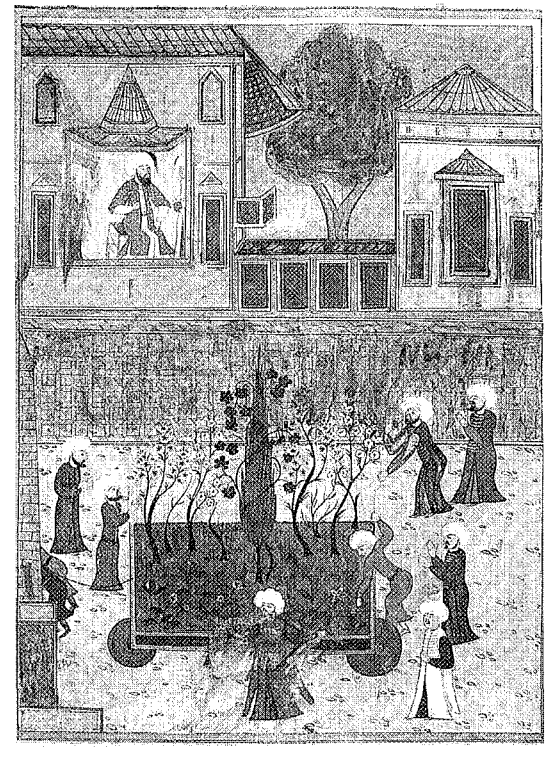


Fig 19 a–c Models of formal and informal gardens paraded in the circumcision festivities of 1582 Ca 1582 *Sūrnāme*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, ms H 1344, fols 196a, 349a, 416a (Photos: courtesy of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, Istanbul)

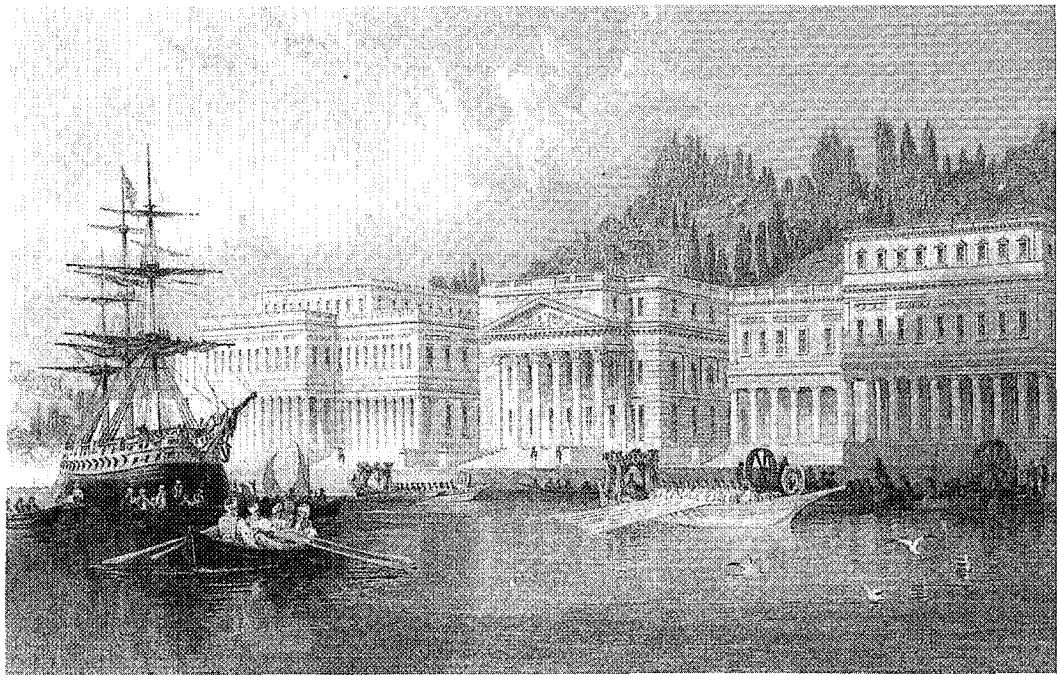


Fig 20 Dolmabahçe palace built by Sultan Abdülmecid between 1842 and 1853 Print by Thomas Allom

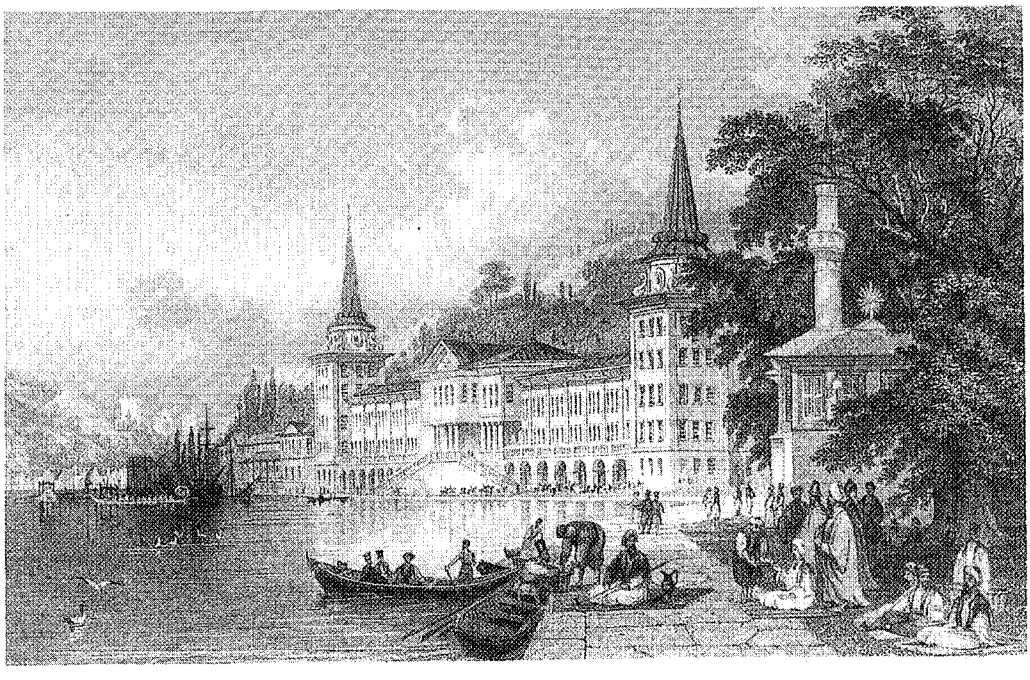


Fig 21 The Kuleli cavalry barracks (now used as a military college), built by Sultan Abdülaziz in 1871 on the site of the Tower garden Print by Thomas Allom