

BIBLIOPHILE AGHAS (EUNUCHS) AT TOPKAPI SARAY

From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, despite the commencement of wars with the Safavids to the east and internal political turmoil, the production of decorated books at the painting studio of the Ottoman palace increased, and books presented to the sultan as diplomatic gifts swelled the palace book collection.¹ Examination of the inscriptions on the bindings, first and last lines, lines on pages preceding or following illustrations, and details in miniature paintings in some of these illustrated books; scrutiny of archival documents relating to palace administration; and careful reading of the history written by Selaniki Mustafa Efendi (d. 1600?) and the works of the historian and bureaucrat Mustafa Âli (d. 1600) reveal that some of the palace eunuchs were involved in commissioning works of art, and that sometimes they were influential in political affairs and in the relations between the sultan and grand viziers, other statesmen, bureaucrats, and poets.

The first of these eunuchs to come to our attention in this respect is Darüssaade Agha Habeşi Mehmed Agha (d. 1590). The position of *Darüssaade ağası* was a key one in the palace administration: although the real duty of these officials appeared to be management of the harem, they were also in charge of those who administered the charitable endowments of high-ranking palace officials. At the same time their duties made them the persons closest to the sultan and his family, and hence they wielded a high degree of authority and influence over political issues. It was Mehmed Agha who officiated in the name of the sultan at the marriages of the sultan's sisters and daughters, who accompanied the sultan on campaign as his equerry, and who was in charge of making payments for construction work and repairs at the palace, making purchases from many kinds of tradesmen and craftsmen, including jewelers, tailors, and merchants, and checking the accounts.² Emboldened by the authority invested in him, Habeşi Mehmed Agha separated the positions of head eunuch of the palace—*Babüssaade ağası*—and head eunuch of the harem—*Darüssaade ağası*—himself

taking the latter title, which led to the black eunuchs acquiring administrative precedence in 1574.³ In the *Şehinşâhnâme-i Murâd-i Sâlis*, an account of the events between 1574 and 1581 that was presented to Sultan Murad III (r. 1574–95) in 1581, four of the miniatures in the first volume relate to Mehmed Agha (Istanbul University Library, F. 1404).⁴ These four pictures document an important event of Ottoman history—the death of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, who was assassinated in 1579. They show Mehmed Agha going to see Sokollu Mehmed Pasha after the attack (fol. 133b), the two men talking at Sokollu Mehmed Pasha's deathbed (fol. 135a), Mehmed Agha informing Sultan Murad III of the death of Mehmed Pasha (fol. 136b), and Mehmed Agha having the assassin captured (fol. 138a). This suggests that Mehmed Agha had the authority to influence the selection of illustrations in the course of producing this book.

Three illustrated copies of *Zubdat al-tawârikh*, a general Islamic history written by Seyyid Lokman, were produced between 1583 and 1586,⁵ one of them for presentation to Sultan Murad III. Dated to 1583, the last miniature in this manuscript depicts Habeşi Mehmed Agha in the presence of Sultan Murad (fig. 1).⁶ The second copy, in Topkapı Saray, was produced for Vizier Siyavuş Pasha, and the third copy, in Dublin, for Habeşi Mehmed Agha himself. This last copy is the first example of an illustrated manuscript produced at the Ottoman palace studio for a palace eunuch—all earlier manuscripts having been made for the sultans, their sons and daughters, or their grand viziers—and it demonstrates that Mehmed Agha had influence over the palace studio.

Sultan Murad III commissioned a writer whose pen-name was İntizami to write a book describing the circumcision festivities held in 1582 for his son Mehmed; an illustrated copy of this *Sûrnâme* was produced around 1588 (Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1344).⁷ On the last pages İntizami gives information that might be described as a history of the art of the period (fol.



Fig. 1. Sultan Murad III and Mehmet Agha. *Zubdat-al tawārikh*, 1583. Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, 1973, fol. 88b. (Photo: courtesy of the Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, Istanbul)

428b).⁸ After providing autobiographical details, he gives an account of Nakkaş Osman, the artist who designed the illustrations for the manuscript, consulting when necessary the chief palace eunuch Mehmed Agha and the dwarf Zeyrek Agha, and executing the illustrations only with their approval, some illustrations being changed or redrawn in accordance with their wishes. One of the last illustrations in this work shows an enthroned Murad III giving audience to leading palace officials (fol. 429a),⁹ and another shows Habeşi Mehmed Agha, with a bound book in his hand, conversing with the dwarf Zeyrek Agha (fol. 432a, fig. 2).¹⁰ The standing figure in the picture also holding a bound book must be the author İntizami. At the circumcision festivities Mehmed Agha hosted a banquet for high-ranking guests in the name of the sultan (fol. 1b).

An illustrated copy of *Kitâb-i gencine-i feth-i Gence*, written by Rahimizade İbrahim Çavuş about the 1588 campaign against Gence led by Beğlerbeği Ferhad Pasha, was produced in Istanbul in 1590 (Topkapı Saray Museum Library, R. 1296).¹¹ At the beginning of this work, Rahimizade explains that he wrote the book at the instigation of Darüssaade Agha Mehmed, who was

known for his close relationship with the sultan. One of the first miniatures (fol. 8b) depicts Mehmed Agha in the presence of Sultan Murad III presenting this illustrated book to him (fig. 3).¹² Another picture showing Mehmed Agha in the sultan's presence is found in the *Nusretnâme*, an account of the eastern campaign led by Lala Mustafa Pasha written by Mustafa Âli and produced in 1584.¹³ This miniature (fig. 4) depicts two different events (Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1365, fol. 178b).¹⁴ The scene at the top shows Murad III sitting in a pavilion with three eunuchs to his right. According to the label on the miniature, the eunuch closest to the sultan, holding an aigrette, is Mehmed Agha; the one in the center, holding a sword, is Osman Agha; and the third is the chief treasurer. To the sultan's left are his two sword bearers and the dwarf Zeyrek Agha. The scene probably depicts the ceremony held before sending a kaftan of honor to one of the people portrayed in the lower part of the picture, which depicts a scene showing Minuçehr, one of the Christian atabeks of the Çoruh clan who converted to Islam in 1578, entertaining the pashas who held posts in Kars and Çıldır.

Another famous palace eunuch whom we find asso-



Fig. 2. Mehmed Agha conversing with Zeyrek Agha. *Sûrnâme*, ca. 1588. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1344, fol. 432a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)

ciated with works of art produced at the palace is Gazanfer Agha. A janissary recruit of Venetian birth, Gazanfer Agha (d. 1602) was in the service of the future Selim II in Kütahya.¹⁵ When Selim went to Istanbul to claim the throne in 1566, he took Gazanfer, in whose friendship he trusted, and his younger brother Cafer. So that the brothers could enter the harem with Selim, they were castrated. Cafer died following the operation. Gazanfer Agha held the posts of *Babüssaade ağası*, *hasodabaşı*, and *çakırcıbaşı*, and, according to the historian Selaniki, was also *kapıcıbaşı* from 1590 to 1599.¹⁶ Gazanfer Agha was noted for his friendship with the writer Mustafa Âli and was a bibliophile who wielded considerable influence at court. He mediated in the presentation to Sultan Murad III of Mustafa Âli's *Nusretnâme*, written in 1583. Murad was impressed by the

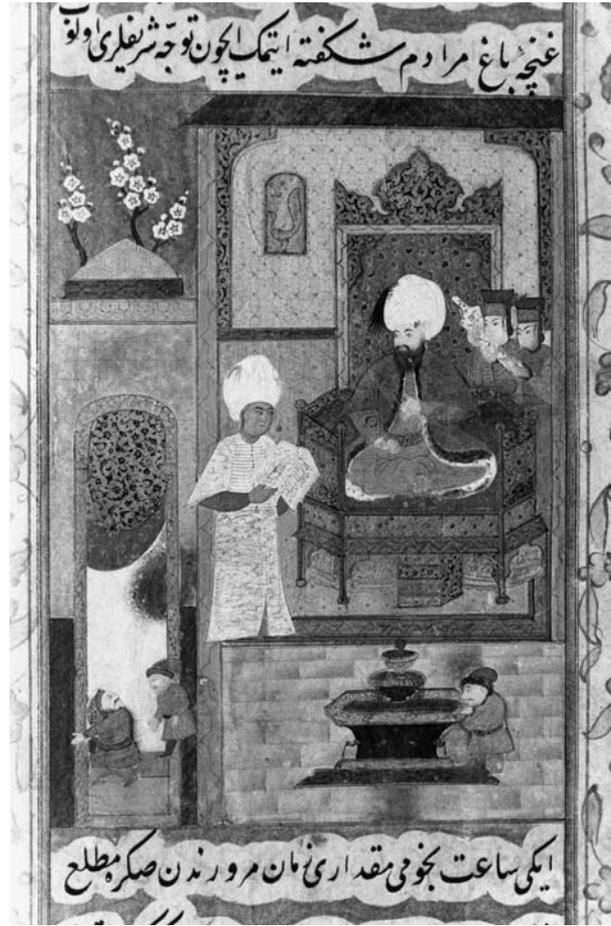


Fig. 3. Mehmed Agha presents the manuscript to Sultan Murad III. *Kitâb-i Gencine-i Feth-i Gence*, 1590. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, R. 1296, fol. 8b. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)

book and commanded that the palace studio produce a more decorative copy,¹⁷ on which twenty artists spent a year under the supervision of Mustafa Âli himself, completing it in July 1584. With its miniatures, illumination, gilded decoration, and above all its gold-embroidered red satin binding, it was a volume of dazzling beauty.¹⁸ Gazanfer Agha is portrayed in one of the miniatures standing to Sultan Murad III's right, next to his sword bearers (fig. 5). Another of Âli's patrons, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi (d. 1599), who was the sultan's teacher and served as *şeyhülislam* in 1598, is seated at the sultan's left hand (fol. 249b). Mustafa Âli is known to have petitioned Gazanfer Agha and Zeyrek Agha for high-ranking posts, such as that of *nişancı* and *beğlerbeği*.¹⁹ Gazanfer Agha asked him to write an account of con-

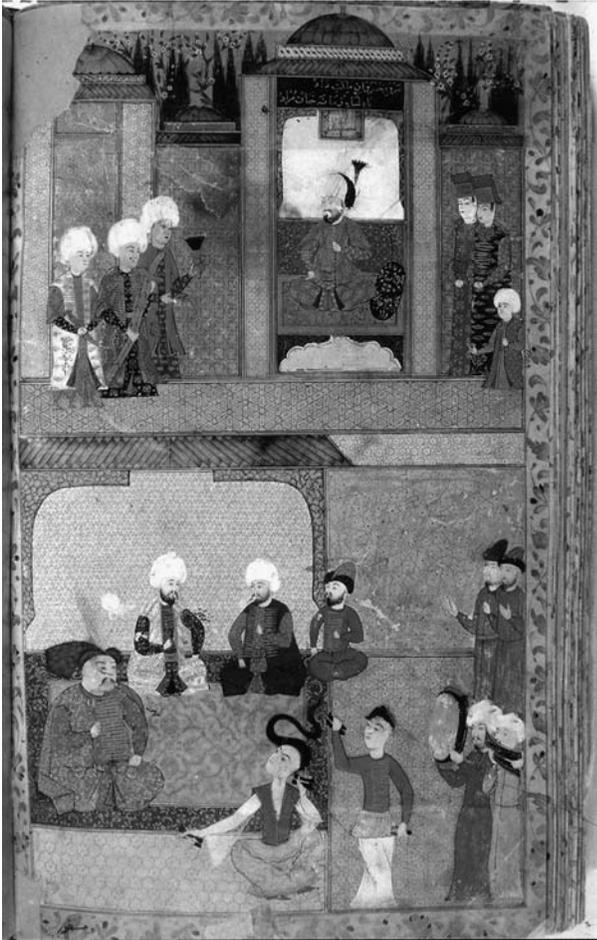


Fig. 4. Sultan Murad III conversing with Mehmed Agha and Zeyrek Agha. *Nusretname*, 1584. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1365, fol. 178b. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)

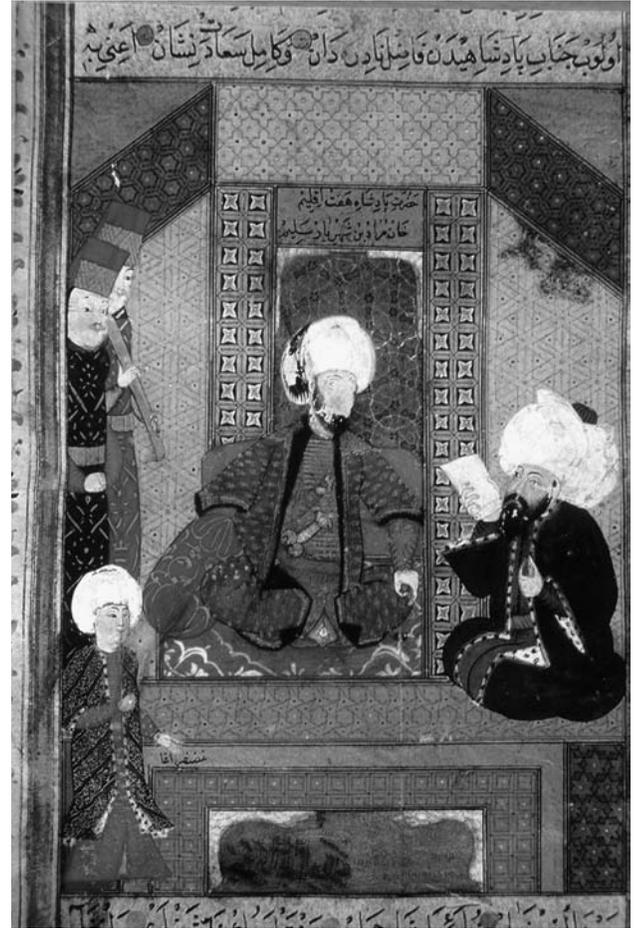


Fig. 5. Hoca Sadeddin and Gazanfer Agha in the presence of Sultan Murad III. *Nusretname*, 1584. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1365, fol. 249b. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)

quest for Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha.²⁰ Mustafa Âli was appointed *beğlerbeği* of Damascus at the instigation of the sultan's mother Safiye Sultan and with the backing of Hoca Sadeddin and Gazanfer Agha.²¹ In the preface to his book *Hâlât al-Qāhira*, about Cairo under the Ottomans, he explains that he presented a clean copy of this work to Gazanfer Agha, whom he describes as the Ardashir of his time, as resembling Solomon in being one of the trustworthy pillars of the state, and as a hero equal to Alexander.²² One section of the same writer's famous history, *Kūnhū 'l-ahbâr*, is devoted to the merits of Gazanfer Agha as a patron.²³ Gazanfer Agha continued to be a celebrated figure during the reign of Sultan Mehmed III (1595-1603), and together

with Hoca Sadeddin participated in the sultan's Eger campaign and the Battle of Mezökeresztes (Haçova).²⁴ The illustrated copy of the history of the conquest of Eger (*Eğri fethi tarihi*: Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1509) by palace chronicler Talikizade contains illustrations of Mehmed III receiving Hungarian envoys in his tent (fols. 26b–27a), and of him at the Battle of Haçova (fols. 50b–51a); in both of these images Gazanfer Agha is portrayed standing next to the sultan (fig. 6). In the scene of Mehmed's return to Istanbul following the capture of Eger, the grand vizier is shown at his right hand and Gazanfer Agha behind him on his left (fols. 68b–69a).²⁵

The poet and bureaucrat Mehmed b. Abdülğani

(Ganizade, d. 1626)), who wrote under the pen-name Nadiri and served as a madrasa teacher, kadi, and military judge, had close relations with the court throughout his life.²⁶ This is evident from the fact that he wrote poems for Murad III, Mehmed III, Ahmed I, and Osman II, for grand viziers, and for the eunuchs Gazanfer, Server, and Mirahur Âli.²⁷ Only one of the copies of Nadiri's *Divân* produced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is illustrated with miniatures (Topkapı Saray Museum, H. 889);²⁸ these are believed to have been painted around 1605 by Ahmed Nakşi. One of them depicts the Battle of Haçova (fols. 6b–7a). At the top left of folio 6b Sultan Mehmed III is imposingly portrayed on horseback; to his right appears the royal teacher, Hoca Sadeddin Efendi, and between and behind them Gazanfer Agha anxiously observes the course of the battle (fig. 7). Another miniature (fig. 8) shows Gazanfer Agha visiting the madrasa that he founded in his name in 1596 (fol. 22a);²⁹ it was located at the foot of the Bozdoğan Aqueduct in Sarayhane, Istanbul, and the poet Nadiri was appointed its *müderri*s (professor).³⁰ (Although Gazanfer Agha served at the palace for thirty years, he is always portrayed as a slender youth without beard or moustache, since he was a eunuch.) The facts that Mirahur Âli Agha and Gazanfer Agha are frequently mentioned in both the preface and the poems of Nadiri's *Divân* and that a palace eunuch should found a madrasa in his own name demonstrate the high status and degree of authority of both men at court towards the end of the sixteenth century.³¹

Further evidence of Gazanfer Agha's interest in books is revealed by the numerous manuscripts whose prefaces state that they were produced at his request. These include *Destân-i Ferruh u Hümâ*, a book of entertaining stories translated into Turkish at the end of the sixteenth century and illustrated (Istanbul University Library, T 1975),³² *Tercüme-i Miftâh-i Cifr el-câmi* (Istanbul University Library, T 6624 and Topkapı Saray Museum Library, B. 203),³³ and Jami's *Bahâristân* (Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1711).³⁴ Sultan Mehmed III's preference for simple, concisely worded stories must have influenced Gazanfer Agha's choices.³⁵ Notes written on the first pages of two manuscripts, an illustrated *Haft avrang* (H. 806) and an illuminated *Shâh u Gadâ* (R. 1034) in Topkapı Saray Library, explain that they were purchased from the estate of Gazanfer Agha.³⁶

Another of Mustafa Âli's friends at court was the dwarf Zeyrek Agha, whose name is mentioned in association with Mehmed Agha and Gazanfer Agha. While



Fig. 6. Sultan Mehmet III and Gazanfer Agha. *Eğri fetih tarihi* (History of the Conquest of Eger) ca. 1598. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1609, detail from fol. 27a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)

Âli was working on his *Nusretnâme*, he wrote a letter to Zeyrek Agha in which he addresses him as “my son.”³⁷ As already mentioned, Zeyrek is portrayed in the *Sûrnâme* and *Nusretnâme* (figs. 2 and 4), and together with Mehmed Agha was consulted about the illustrations for the *Sûrnâme*.

Mustafa Safi (d. 1617), author of *Zubdat al-tawârikh*, relates that the dwarf Zeyrek, a companion of Sultan Murad III, was intelligent, perceptive, and skilled at relating unusual stories and anecdotes.³⁸ Another writer, Şem’î (d. 1591), explains that he translated ‘Attar’s *Pandnâme* into Turkish (The British Library, Sloane 3588) at this agha’s request.³⁹ The most important evi-



Fig. 7. Sultan Mehmed III, Hoca Sadeddin, and Gazanfer Agha watching the War of Haçova. *Divân-i Nâdirî*, ca. 1605. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 889, detail from fol. 7a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)

dence of Zeyrek Agha's personality and influence at the palace studio is the *Divân* of Sultan Murad III (Topkapı Saray Museum, 2/2107).⁴⁰ Containing poems of a mystical nature by the sultan, this manuscript is magnificently illuminated and splendidly bound, its covers decorated with gold worked in various techniques and encrusted with precious stones. The doublures have stamped and gilded medallions and cornerpieces, with decoration on the field between these motifs. The inscription band on the covers contains information concerning the production of the manuscript, written by a poet called Derviş. It explains that Zeyrek Agha commissioned the compilation, copying, and binding, and that the binding itself was the work of court goldsmith Mehmed. The date 996 (1588) in this inscription is probably the date that the binding was completed.

After Derviş Mahmud of Konya became *mesnevi-hân* (reciter of Mevlana Jalal al-Din Rumi's *Maşnavî-i mâ'navî*) in 1575, he visited Istanbul and during his stay, as he explains in the preface to this work, heard about Sultan Murad III's interest in mystical writings,

upon which he translated parts of from *Sevâkub-i menâkub*, a work about Mevlana's wisdom and excellence. Wishing to show these to the sultan, he spoke about it to Zeyrek Agha, whom he describes as one of the close companions of Murad III and "a friend of the poor and protector of the weak"; and Zeyrek Agha presented his work to the sultan.⁴¹ The sultan asked Derviş Mahmud to return to Konya and complete his translations, presenting him with a reward of money; the poet went back to his dervish lodge in 1590 and set to work. His manuscript was later provided with miniatures (Topkapı Saray Museum Library, R. 1479).⁴²

Selaniki records that in 1595 Zeyrek Agha and Cafer Agha were commanded to go to Malatya and Bosnia respectively, that their magnificent houses were sold, and that the dwarf Zeyrek remained locked in the prison of the steward of the gatekeepers.⁴³ For some reason Zeyrek Agha had fallen from favor but managed to avoid being sent into exile.

The influence of the chief palace eunuchs on the sultan and his family increased from 1622 onwards,

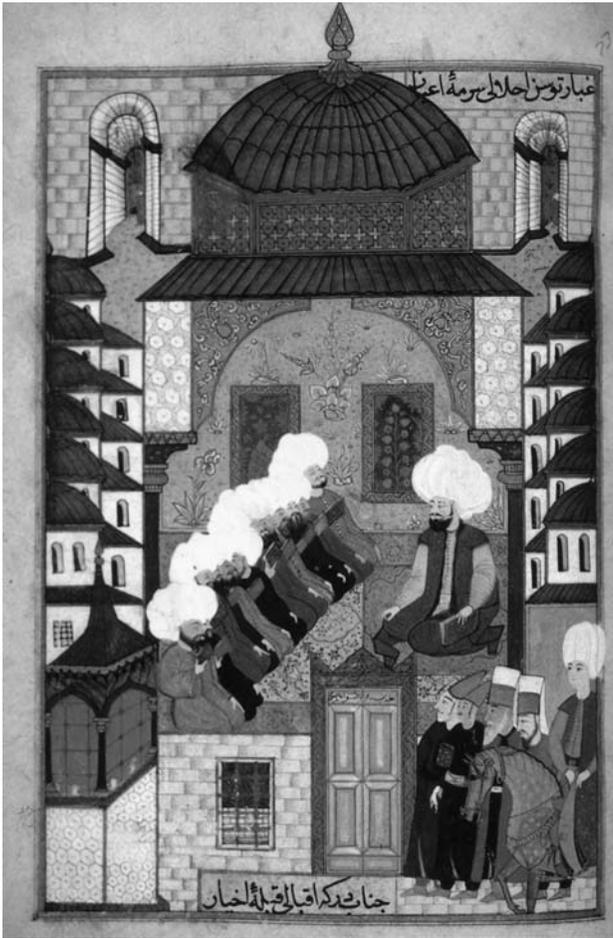


Fig. 8. Arrival of Gazanfer Agha at his madrasa. *Divân-i Nâdirî*, ca. 1605. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 889, fol. 22a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)

and the black eunuchs maintained their status until the beginning of the twentieth century. During the reign of Ahmed I (1603–17) and the early part of the reign of Osman II (1617–22), Mustafa Agha emerges as a distinguished figure who supervised construction of the mosque of Sultan Ahmed I.⁴⁴ Süleyman Agha, who was *Darüssaade ağası* during the reign of Osman II and accompanied this sultan on the Hotin campaign, evidently played a role in the procession of the sultan into the city on his return, which was as festive and resplendent as if he were celebrating a victory.⁴⁵ A miniature illustrating this scene by Ahmed Nakşi is in *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî* (Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1124, fols. 53b–54a).⁴⁶ On folio 53b the black eunuch wearing a fur-lined kaftan and a large white turban and

riding a horse slightly behind and to the left of Sultan Osman II must be Süleyman Agha (fig. 9). Another picture showing the chief palace eunuch and the black eunuchs in his service together with the sultan can be seen in a copy of *Tercüme-i Şâhnâme*, translated by the poet Medhi and illustrated during the reign of Osman II (Uppsala University, L. Celsius, fols. 1b–2a).⁴⁷ In this miniature the chief palace eunuch to the left of the young Sultan Osman II, who is enthroned at a ceremony in the second courtyard of Topkapı Saray, is probably Hacı Mustafa Agha. Another black eunuch, apparently of high rank, carries a thick book under his arm; he appears in front of a crowd of black eunuchs to the right of the picture. Among the illustrations of ceremonies held in the palace courtyard, this is the first to portray such a large group of black eunuchs, providing visual evidence of their powerful position at court. On folios 3b–4a in another copy of the same work are two miniatures showing Sultan Osman II with Darüssaade Agha Mustafa (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, T. 326).⁴⁸ In the miniature on folio 4a the dark-skinned Mustafa Agha is shown standing at the left of Osman II, who is seated on the throne. A black eunuch standing behind Mustafa Agha holds a book that is probably Medhi's translation. The poet Medhi wrote a long preface to his work, in which he describes how he began it and how he consulted Mustafa Agha in the course of writing it (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, T. 326, fols. 1b–7a). It was therefore natural that the first miniature in copies of his *Şâhnâme-i Türki* should portray Mustafa Agha as well as Osman II.

Of all the black eunuchs, the one who owned the most books and founded libraries in his own name was Beşir Agha (d. 1746), who was head eunuch of the palace during the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (1703–30).⁴⁹ In 1717 İbrahim Pasha was appointed grand vizier and Beşir Agha head eunuch. Just a year later, in 1718, preparations were being made for stocking a new library to be built at the palace.⁵⁰ Its foundations were laid in the third court in September 1719, and it was completed in December of the same year. The idea of constructing a palace library in the name of Sultan Ahmed III may well have originated with Beşir Agha, a bibliophile who had served as palace treasurer in earlier years. Beşir Agha continued to serve as head eunuch of the palace during the reign of Mahmud I (1730–54), and he may also have influenced this sultan's decision to found the tile-decorated library next to Haghia Sophia Mosque.⁵¹ Several of the illustrated books belonging to the Revan Kiosk, the collection of

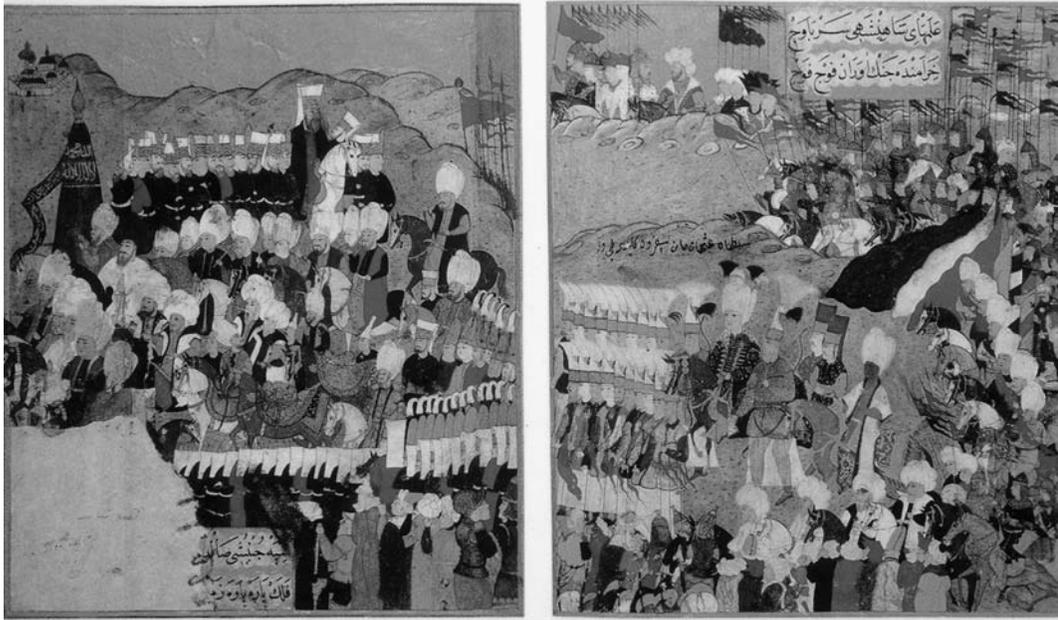
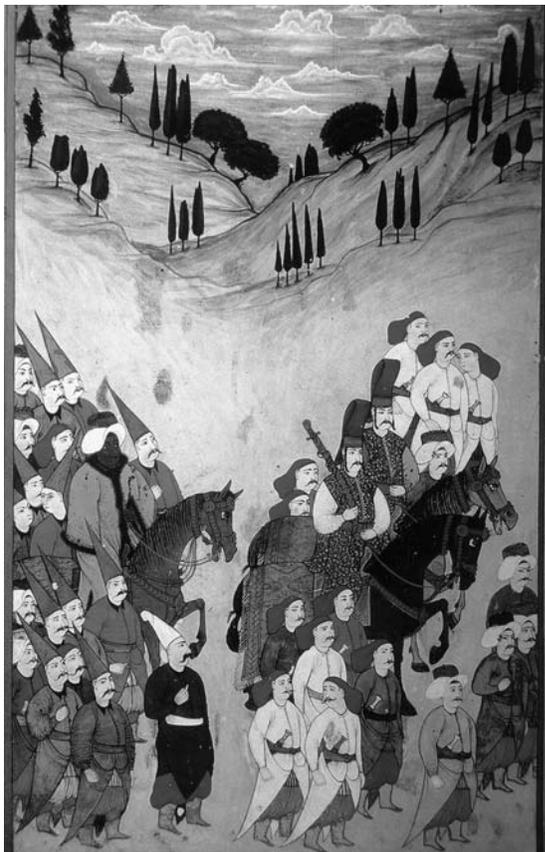


Fig. 9. Sultan Osman II on the way to the campaign of Hotin. *Şehnâme-i Nâdirî*, ca. 1622. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1124, fols. 53b–54a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)



which today is in Topkapı Saray Library, contain the seal of this eunuch and record his ownership (R. 803, 911, 1548, 870, 871, 858, 862).⁵² More pictures documenting the influential status of the Darüssaade agha and other black eunuchs at the palace can be seen in the *Sûrnâme* describing the circumcision ceremonies held for the sons of Ahmed III in 1720 and illustrated by the painter Levni in 1727–28.⁵³ Here eunuchs are shown standing behind Sultan Ahmed III on his left and right (Topkapı Saray Museum Library, A. 3593).⁵⁴ In the miniature at the end of this manuscript depicting the princes being taken to the Circumcision Chamber, the black eunuch at the front of the procession is thought to be head eunuch of the harem Uzun Süleyman (fols.173b–174a).

Two miniatures in the *Sûrnâme* indisputably portray Beşir Agha.⁵⁵ One of these (fol. 16a) shows him with the palace officials who are his subordinates in the royal procession as it arrives at Okmeydanı for the festivities (fig. 10). The other portrays him entering the presence of the sultan to present his gift on the occasion of the

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Fig. 10. Arrival of Beşir Agha at the Okmeydanı. *Sûrnâme*, ca. 1729. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 3593, fol. 16a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)

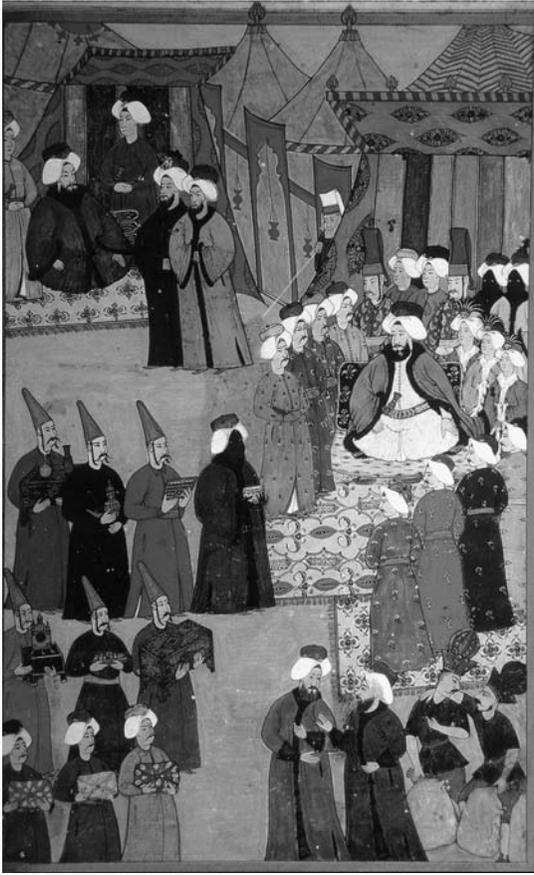


Fig. 11. Beşir Agha presenting his gifts to Ahmed III. *Sûrnâme*, ca. 1729. Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 3593, fol. 27a. (Photo: courtesy of the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul)

circumcision celebrations (fol. 27a). Beşir Agha holds a decorative china bowl, while the officials behind him carry other gifts that he will present (fig. 11).⁵⁶

Crumbs of information acquired from written sources such as records of court craftsmen, endowment deeds, seals and records of ownership in books, and inscriptions on book bindings, as well as evidence provided by prefaces and epilogues, reveal that the sultan had no direct involvement in artistic activities at the palace, but that the foremost power groups at court were instrumental in the production of art works.⁵⁷ Early in the second half of the sixteenth century Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579) played an influential role in the arts of the book at court. During the years following his death, an increase in the number of illustrated books produced at the palace art studio, seals and records of ownership in these books, and endow-

ment deeds show that the power groups that formed around the chief palace eunuchs were influential in the production of decorated books at the court studio and in the foundation of libraries both inside and outside the palace. Even well-educated statesmen like Mustafa Âli appealed for help from these power groups and enjoyed their patronage. Seyyid Lokman, who was an Ottoman Court *şehnâme*ci (chronicler) in the second half of the sixteenth century, also mentioned the interest of the aghas Gazanfer (*kapağası*), Mustafa (*ser hazinân-ı hâssa*), Osman (*kilercibaşı*), Ahmed (*saray-ı amire ağası*), and Mehmed (*Darüssaade ağası*) in his *Hünernâme* (Topkapı Palace Museum Library, H. 1523, fol. 230b). The high output of artworks at the palace during the second quarter of the sixteenth century was the result of the powerful association between Habeşi Mehmed Agha, Gazanfer Agha, the dwarf Zeyrek Agha, and Hoca Sadeddin. Subsequently, eunuchs—particularly those who were bibliophiles among the members of the palace power group—carried on the tradition of the sixteenth century.

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NOTES

1. Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, "Remarks on Some Manuscripts from the Topkapı Palace Treasury in the Context of Ottoman-Safavid Relations," *Muğarnas* 13 (1996): 132–48.
2. Ülkü Altındağ, "Dârüssaâde," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 9 (1994): 1–13.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
4. Those miniatures are unpublished, but for the manuscript, see: Ivan Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés I. De Suleyman Ier à Osman II, 1520–1566* (Paris, 1966), pp. 68–69, pls. XXXVIII–XXXIX; Hüsamettin Aksu, "Sultan III. Murad Şehinşahnamesi," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 9–10 (1981): 1–22.
5. Istanbul, Turkish and Islamic Art Museum, 1973; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T. 414; Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1321. See Günsel Renda, "Topkapı Sarayı Müzesindeki H. 1321 No.lu *Silsilename*'nin minyatürleri," *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 5 (1973): 443–95; *idem*, "Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesindeki *Zübdetü't-tevarih* minyatürleri," *Sanat* 6 (1977): 58–67; *idem*, "Chester Beatty Kitaplığındaki *Zübdetü't-tevarih* ve minyatürleri," *Prof. Dr. Bekir Kütükoğlu'na Armağan* (Istanbul, 1977), pp. 485–506.
6. Turkish and Islamic Art Museum 1973, fol. 88b. Şule Aksoy, "Sultan III. Murad için hazırlanmış bir şahname: *Zübdetü't-tevarih*," *P: Sanat, Kültür, Antika* 3 (1996): 15–37, fig. 15; Topkapı Saray Museum, *Padişahın portresi: Tesavir-i Âli Osman*, cat. of an exh. at Topkapı Saray Museum, June 6–Sept. 6, 2000 (Istanbul, 2000), p. 264, no. 44.

7. Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Sürnâme-i hümayun: Dügün kitabı* (Istanbul, 1997).
8. Ibid., p. 15.
9. Ibid., p. 85.
10. Ibid., p. 1. The group of black eunuchs are depicted in one of the double page miniatures of *Şehinşâhnâme-i Murad-i Sâlis*, vol. 2, related to the circumcision ceremonies. In this painting Şehzade Mehmed and the vizier are conversing in the presence of black eunuchs (*tavaşi ağas*) in the lavishly decorated room of the Ibrahim Pasha Palace (Topkapı Saray Museum Library, B. 200, fols. 82b–83a. See: Nurhan Atasoy, *İbrahim Paşa Sarayı* [Istanbul, 1972], p. 28).
11. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque*, p. 82, pl. LXXXV; Nurhan Atasoy and Filiz Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1974), p. 50; Filiz Çağman and Zeren Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum: Islamic Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1979), no. 160; Güner İnal, "The Influence of the Kazvin Style on Ottoman Miniature Painting," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest, 1978), p. 464, fig. 15; Çağman and Tanındı, "Ottoman-Safavid Relations," p. 144, fig. 17; Lale Uluç, "The Ottoman Contribution to Sixteenth Century Shirazi Manuscript Production," *Turkish Art: Proceedings: 10th International Congress of Turkish Art* (Geneva, 1999), pp. 683, 690–92.
12. Altındağ, "Dârüssaâde," p. 1.
13. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque*, pp. 75–76, pls. LIX–LXI; Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, pp. 49–50, pls. 27–28; Cornell H. Fleischer, *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541–1600)* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 110–11, figs. 4–5, 8–21, 24.
14. Zeren Tanındı, *Türk minyatür sanatı* (Istanbul, 1996), p. 41.
15. Mehmed Süreyya, *Sicilli Osmani* 3, ed. A. Aktan, A. Yuvalı and M. Hülagu (Istanbul, 1996), p. 731; M. M. Pia Pedani, "Safiye's Household and Venetian Diplomacy," *Turcica* 32 (2000): 9–32, 22. I would like to thank E. Fetvacı for bringing Pedani's article to my attention.
16. Selaniki Mustafa Efendi, *Tarih-i Selâmîkî*, ed. M. İpşirli (Istanbul, 1989), pp. 235, 322, 387, 466, 530, 582, 672, 774, 813, 856.
17. Fleischer, *Mustafa Âli*, pp. 114–15.
18. Kemal Çiğ, *Türk kitap kapları* (Istanbul, 1971), p. 40.
19. Fleischer, *Mustafa Âli*, p. 129.
20. Ibid., p. 118.
21. Ibid., p. 188.
22. Andrea Tietze, *Mustafa Âli's Description of Cairo of 1599: Text, Transliteration, Translation, Notes* (Vienna, 1975), p. 28.
23. Fleischer, *Mustafa Âli*, pp. 119, 177–78.
24. Selaniki, *Tarih*, pp. 640–42; Peçevi İbrahim Efendi, *Peçevi tarihi*, ed. B. S. Baykal (Ankara, 1982), pp. 180–89.
25. Zeren Akalay, "Nakkaş Hasan Paşa," *Sanat* 6 (1977): 114–19.
26. Numan Külekçi, *Ganî-zâde Nâdirî Divanından seçmeler* (Ankara, 1989), pp. 1–7.
27. Ibid., pp. 49–50, 69–70, 80–88, 164, 174, 266–67.
28. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque*, p. 95, pls. 100–101; Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, pp. 68–69, pl. 44; Esin Atlı, "Ahmed Nakşi: An Eclectic Painter of the Early 17th Century," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehér (Budapest, 1978), pp. 104–6, figs. 5–9; Çağman and Tanındı, *Topkapı Saray Museum*, no. 176, fig. 61. The miniatures of this *Divân* were studied by Zeren Tanındı: see "Transformation of Words to Images: Portraits of Ottoman Courtiers in the *Divans* of Baki and Nadirî," *Res* 43: *Anthropology and Aesthetics* (Spring 2003): pp. 131–45.
29. Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, pl. 44; Atlı, "Ahmed Nakşi," fig. 6.
30. Külekçi, *Ganî-zâde Nâdirî*, p. 3. For architecture of his madrasa, see Semavi Eyice, "Gazanfer Ağa Külliyesi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 13 (1996): 432–33.
31. For the palace eunuchs, see İsmail H. Uzunçarlı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilatı* (Ankara, 1988), pp. 172–83.
32. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque*, p. 94, pls. 102–3.
33. Ibid., pp. 98–99, pls. 104–5; Hüsamettin Aksu, "Tercüme-i Cifr (Cefr) el-câmi tasvirleri," *Arkeoloji ve sanat tarihi araştırmaları: Yıldız Demiriz'e armağan* (Istanbul, 2001), pp. 19–23, figs. 1–10.
34. Filiz Çağman, "Illustrated Stories From a Turkish Version of Jami's *Baharistan*," *Turkish Treasures* 2 (1978): 21–27.
35. Fleischer, *Mustafa Âli*, p. 188.
36. Fehmi E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Farsça yazmalar kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1961), nos. 705, 775.
37. Fleischer, *Mustafa Âli*, p. 117, n. 10.
38. Orhan Ş. Gökyay, "Zübdetü 't-tevârih (Tarihlerin özeti)," *Tarih ve Toplum* 9 (1984): 68.
39. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1888), pp. 154–55.
40. Filiz Çağman, "Serzergeran Mehmed Usta ve eserleri," *Kemal Çiğ'a armağan* (Istanbul, 1984), pp. 51–87; Emine Bilirgen and Süheyla Murat, *Topkapı Sarayı Hazine-i Hümayun* (Istanbul, 2001), pp. 104–7.
41. Süheyl Ünver, *Sevâkub-i menâkub: Mevlanâ'dan hatıralar* (Istanbul, 1973), p. 2.
42. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque*, p. 93, pls. 92–95; Ünver, *Sevâkub-i menâkub*, pp. 4–52; Filiz Çağman, "XVI. Yüzyıl Sonlarında Mevlevî Dergahlarında Gelişen Bir Minyatür Okulu," *I. Uluslararası Türkoloji Kongresi* (Istanbul, 1979), pp. 660–61; Rachel Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa, 1990), pp. 96–99, figs. 3–7.
43. Selaniki, *Tarih*, p. 487.
44. Altındağ, "Dârüssaâde," p. 3; an illustrated *Ajâ'ib al-makhlûqât* was copied for Kapıcıbaşı Ahmed Agha in early seventeenth century. See Norah M. Titley, *Persian Miniature Painting* (London, 1983), pp. 149–50.
45. The historian Peçevi describes Süleyman Agha in his work: *Tarih*, p. 353.
46. Atasoy and Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting*, pl. 46; Atlı, "Ahmed Nakşi," fig. 10. Unlike the previous publications, the last miniature of the bibliographical work, which was illustrated by Ahmed Nakşi (Topkapı Saray Museum Library, H. 1263, fol. 259b), does not depict Sultan Osman II, but most probably depicts one of the court aghas.
47. Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt, *Türkische Kunst und Kultur aus osmanischer Zeit*, 2 vols. (Recklinghausen, 1985), vol. 1, no. 30, pl. 11.
48. Ivan Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés, IIème partie: de Murad IV à Mustafa III, 1623–1773* (Paris, 1971), p. 58, pl. 32.
49. Altındağ, "Dârüssaâde," p. 2; Abdülkadir Özcan, "Beşir Ağa, Hacı," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 5 (1992): 555; Semavi Eyice, "Beşir Ağa Camii," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1992): 1; idem, "Beşir Ağa Külliyesi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1992): 1–3; İsmail Erünsal, "Beşir Ağa Kütüphanesi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1992): 3–4; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Beşir Ağa Sebilkütâbî," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* 6 (1992): 4.

50. İsmail Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri tarihi*, vol. 2 (Ankara, 1988), pp. 77–80.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 87–89.
52. Karatay, *Farsça yazmalar*, nos. 363, 403, 419, 443, 454, 717; *idem*, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu* (İstanbul, 1961), no. 2291. On the last folio of one of the Topkapı Palace albums is written “the prosperous Beşir Agha, treasurer to his imperial majesty” (B. 407). Like Beşir Agha, İbrahim Pasha, who was grand vizier during the same period, is also known to have been a bibliophile. See: Erünsal, *Türk kütüphaneleri*, pp. 80–81. İbrahim Pasha had new illuminated copies made of earlier history books. The scribe Muhammed b. ‘Abdullah, who copied *Tarih-i Selânikî* in 1721, recorded that he copied the work at the order of the vizier İbrahim Pasha, son-in-law of Sultan Ahmed III. The manuscript has a lacquered binding and is illuminated. See M. A. Simsar, *Oriental Manuscripts of the John Fredrick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1937), no. 93. İbrahim Pasha’s interest in such projects is also illustrated by the fact that he set up a commission of forty-five people to translate Aynî’s history into Turkish. See Ömer F. Akün, “Salim,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 10 (1966): 131. The poet Salim was a member of this commission, and one section that he translated and copied in his own hand in 1725 was illustrated (İstanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Lala İsmail 318): see Nezihe Seyhan, “Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi minyatürlü yazma eserlerin kataloğu” (diss., Bogaziçi University, 1991), pp. 121–74. Another indication of this interest in palace environment during this period is that the poet Raşid Efendi was commissioned to write a chronicle starting from the beginning of the reign of Sultan Ahmed III and a history commencing from the point where the historian Naima had left off in 1660: see Kemal Özergin, “Raşid,” *İslam Ansiklopedisi* 9 (1964): 632–34. One copy of this history, dating from the nineteenth century, is illustrated with portraits of the Ottoman sultans. See Ivan Stchoukine, “Manuscripts du Caire,” *Gazette de Beaux-Arts* (1935): 154, pl. 45.
53. The document on the preparation of the *Sûrnâme-i Vehbi* manuscripts has recently been discovered by M. Uğur Derman and will be published in his forthcoming article.
54. Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival* (İstanbul, 1999), pp. 111, 145, 147, 150, 155, 157, 161, 163, 165, 167–68, 170, 175, 177, 187, 189–90, 193, 195, 199, 205, 209, 211, 213, 219, 223, 225, 231, 234, 245; Gül İrepoğlu, *Levni: nakış şiir, renk* (İstanbul, 1999), pp. 115–67.
55. Atıl, *Levni and the Surname*, pp. 72, 225, 234; İrepoğlu, *Levni*, pp. 123, 128.
56. Information supplied by eighteenth-century historian d’Ohsson concerning his project of Ottoman sultans’ portraits indicates that the Darüssaade Agha of the Topkapı Saray was responsible for the palace manuscript treasury in the late eighteenth century: see Günsel Renda, “Illustrating the *Tableau général de l’Empire ottoman*,” in *The Torch of the Empire: Ignatius Mouradgea d’Ohsson and the Tableau général of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (İstanbul, 2002), pp. 59–76.
57. Gülru Necipoğlu-Kafadar, “Suleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry,” *Art Bulletin* 71, 3 (1989): 401–427, 423.