Making Modernity in Fabric Architecture: Imperial Tents in the Late Ottoman Period

by

Ashley Dimmig

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(History of Art)
In The University of Michigan
2019

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Christiane Gruber, Chair
Professor Gottfried Hagen
Dr. Nancy Micklewright, Freer|Sackler, Smithsonian Institution
Professor Susan Siegfried
Associate Professor Claire Zimmerman

Ashley Dimmig

adimmig@umich.edu

ORCID iD: 0000-0001-8563-4210

© Ashley Dimmig 2019

DEDICATION

To all my family and friends—I am forever grateful for your support.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people to thank who have supported my successful completion of this dissertation. First and foremost, my deepest gratitude to my advisor, Christiane Gruber, whose wisdom has guided me for nearly a decade. I am thankful for her brilliance and kindness in equal measure, and for her taking a chance on me from the start. Thanks to my committee: Gottfried Hagen, Nancy Micklewright, Susan Siegfried, and Claire Zimmerman. Thanks especially to Prof. Hagen for his critical eye and probing questions, and to Dr. Micklewright who has supported both my research and professionalization as I enter the world of museums. Thanks to everyone in the History of Art department at the University of Michigan, most especially Jeff Craft, as well as the supportive faculty and staff, and my wonderful cohort, friends, and Islamicist "siblings."

For support toward the completion of this project, I would like to thank the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA), including Dean Elizabeth Cropper, Associate Deans Peter Lukehart and Therese O'Malley, and above all thanks to the people who made CASVA a community: Danielle Horetsky, Jen Rokoski, and the supportive and brilliant cohort of fellows of all levels. Thanks to Alessandro Nova and Gerhard Wolf, who graciously hosted me at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, and to the fellows there whose solidarity greatly aided the writing process. Thanks to the Charles Lang Freer Fellowship and the Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution, particularly Nancy Micklewright and Zeynep Simavi. I am grateful for the cohort of fellows and the staff at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (ANAMED) for supporting my homecoming, as it were, to Istanbul in order to conduct my field research. I am also indebted to the Rackham Merit Fellowship at the University of Michigan for supporting my PhD throughout. Thanks also to the Foreign Language and Area Studies Program for summer fellowships to study Ottoman Turkish, which enabled my archival research and allowed me to connect with the broader community of Ottoman historians.

Numerous colleagues around the world have facilitated my research for this dissertation. First, my sincere thanks to Nurhan Atasoy, who endorsed the project and whose scholarship has been integral to my study of Ottoman tents. At the Askeri Müze ve Kültür Sitesi Komutanlığı, many thanks to Şinay Çimen, Ömer Yarbay, Servet Avşar for their openness and generosity. Many thanks also to the staff at Topkapı Palace Museum, especially Kıymet Işeri and Esra Müyesseroğlu. Thanks to the staff at the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, as well as the friends who helped navigate the archives, researching

alongside me. I also want to thank many people who aided in my pursuit of tents around Europe: at the Museum of Applied Arts in Vienna, Barbara Karl; in Kraków, folks at the Czartoryski Foundation, the National Museum, and Wawel Royal Castle, including Beata Biedrońska-Słota, Michał Dziewulski, Kinga Głazek, Monika Zin, Jan Ostrowski, Magdalena Ozga, and Magdalena Piwocka; at the Regional Museum Tarnów, Andrzej Szpunar and Łukasz Sęk; Warsaw's Wilanów Palace Museum, Magdalena Herman, Thomas Nakonieczny, and Tomasz Szajewski; in Kórnik, the Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN, Monika Małecka and Tomasz Jasiński; at the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, many thanks to Holger Schuckelt, who was very generous with his time and resources; at the Charlottenhof and Marble palaces in Potsdam, Antje Adler, Angelika Neumann, Briana Merz, Antje Lachowicz, Andreas Naruhn, Susanne Evers, Matthias Simmich, and Katharina Bergmann; also Schoole Mostafawy at Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe. In Stockholm, thanks to Cecilia Candreus, at the Armémuseum, Karin Tetteris and Irma Wallenborg; at the Livrustkammaren, Ann Grönhammer, Lizette Gradén; at the Nordiska Museet, Lena Palmqvist and Hannes Anderzén; and Inger Olovsson at Skokloster Slott. In Italy, thanks to Maria Camilla de Palma at Castello d'Albertis in Genoa and Riccardo Franci and Martina Becattini at Museo Stibbert. In the UK, many thanks to Nahla Nassar at the Khalili Research Center, Moya Carey at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Gareth Sandham at Powis Castle and Garden in Welshpool, and Francesca Leoni at the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology in Oxford as well as the staff at the Jameel Study Centre there. Thanks also to folks who shared images of and resources on tents I was unable to visit in person, namely Aleksandra Koltcova, Anastasia Mikliaeva, and Zhanna Etsina at the State Hermitage Museum; Ansgar Reiss and Daniel Hohrath at the Bayerisches Armeemuseum in Ingolstadt; as well as Hedda Reindl-Kiel, Iván Szántó and Pablo Hernández Sau for sharing their work. Many thanks also to those who helped navigate sources and collections in languages I am not familiar with, especially Joseph Muller and Fedor Maksimishin.

Finally, thank you from the bottom of my heart to friends and family who have provided support and advice, listened to me talk through ideas, or read drafts along the way. Thanks especially to my mom for her unconditional support and wise perspective, my sister for always sending snapchats of our furry siblings, and thanks to George, my dad, siblings, a few tremendously supportive aunts, and Grandma Terri, who was especially invested in my exposure to art at a young age. I am also very grateful to Grandma Ham and Grandpa Bill, who have always been there. In addition to my fellow Wolverines, I am very fortunate to have the support of friends around the world, including Emily Arauz, Michele Frederick, Annie Greene, Christine Zappella, and many more. Lastly, thank you to each and every friend and colleague who came across a tent in their own research, thought of me, and took the time to share it.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS iii
LIST OF FIGURES vii
ABSTRACT xxvi
INTRODUCTION 1
Corpus and Scope 1
State of the Field 5
The Ottoman Imperial Tent Corps 11
Terms and Concepts 14
Chapter Outlines 22
CHAPTER 1 Tents and Architecture 25
The Problem of “Europeanization” in Tents 29
A Novel Corpus: Experimentation and Eclecticism 32
Draped Interiors: Representations of Fabric 48
Undulating Eaves and Folded Façades 61
A Tented Baroque 75
CHAPTER 2 Tents and Nature 77
Excursions and the Expansion of the Ottoman Court 78
Pleasures in the Gardens 85
Flowers of Silk 93
Panoramas and Scenic Views 99
Mediating and Framing Nature 110
CHAPTER 3 Tents and Ceremony 112
Festivals and Feasts 113
Sports and Spectatorship 124
Diplomatic Receptions and International Politics 135
Investiture in the Second Constitutional Period 142

Malleable Meanings ... 150
CHAPTER 4 Tents and Modernity ... 152
Constructing the Past ... 155
Inaugurating Infrastructure ... 164
Tents and Trains ... 166
Modernity Anchored ... 182
CHAPTER 5 Tents and Their Afterlives ... 187
Diplomatic Gifts ... 189
Trophies and the Stories They Tell ... 200
Fabric Fantasies in Gardens ... 229
Tent Rooms and Orientalist Interiors ... 234
Conservation Challenges and Curatorial Narratives ... 242
CONCLUSION Tents in an Era of Transformation ... 246
BIBLIOGRAPHY ... 255
Archival Sources ... 255
Primary Sources ... 256
Secondary Sources ... 260
FIGURES ... 308
Chapter 1 ... 308
Chapter 2 ... 368
Chapter 3 ... 392
Chapter 4 ... 445
Chapter 5 ... 474
Conclusion ... 518

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Striped tent from Louis Philippe’s court, ca. 1830-40, cotton(?), Gobelins Mobilier National, Paris (photograph by Courtney Wilder), p. 308.

Figure 1.2: Double-columned tent in “classical” decorative mode, 17th century, cotton and silk, appliqué, Armémuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. 3508, p. 309

Figure 1.3: Double-columned tent in “classical” decorative mode (detail of tent in Figure 1.2), 17th century, cotton and silk, appliqué, Armémuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. 3508, p. 310

Figure 1.4: Marquee with floral motifs, (late) 19th century, silk with metallic threads and velvet chenille cord, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-1, p. 311.

Figure 1.5: Marquee with floral motifs (detail of tent in Figure 1.4), late 19th century, silk with metallic threads and velvet chenille cord, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-1, p. 312.

Figure 1.6: Calligraphy borders with floral imagery, included in albums bound under the auspices of Sultan Abdülhamid II, University of Michigan Islamic Manuscripts Collection, Isl. Ms. 441, fol. 2b, p. 313.

Figure 1.7: Calligraphy borders with floral imagery, included in albums bound under the auspices of Sultan Abdülhamid II, University of Michigan Islamic Manuscripts Collection, Isl. Ms. 438, fol. 1b, p. 314.

Figure 1.8: Four-poled marquee, 19th century, fulled wool, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-20, p. 315.

Figure 1.9: Square form single-columned tent, dated 1302 (1886 AD), cotton and silk, embroidery (mainly *sûzenî* stitch), Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. nos. 23569, 23630, 23643, p. 316.

Figure 1.10: Embroidered ewer and sprig of flowers (detail of tent in Figure 1.11), dated 1302 (1886 AD), cotton and silk, embroidery (mainly *sûzenî* stitch), Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. nos. 23569, 23630, 23643, p. 317.

Figure 1.11: Double-columned marquee with side panels, mid- to late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-29, p. 318.

Figure 1.12: Sunburst motif in gold embroidery (detail of tent in Figure 1.11), mid- to late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-29, p. 319.

Figure 1.13: Single-columned conical tent with walls, late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-9, p. 320.

Figure 1.14: Canopy interior of single-columned conical tent with walls (detail of tent in Figure 1.13), late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-9, p. 321.

Figure 1.15: Single-columned conical tent, late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-11, p. 322.

Figure 1.16: Valance of a single-columned conical tent (detail of Figure 1.15), late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-11, p. 323.

Figure 1.17: Tent wall with sunburst oval windows, 19th century, silk, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, 23651, p. 324.

Figure 1.18: Marquee with classicizing decorative program, 19th century, silk, appliqué and embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-12, p. 325.

Figure 1.19: Tent wall with oval windows and "baroque" motifs, second half of the 18th century, satin (silk?), appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, 23615, p. 326.

Figure 1.20: Oval windows and "baroque" motifs on the exterior of Nakşidil Valide Sultan *Türbe* (mother of Mahmud II, died 1817), Istanbul, p. 327.

Figure 1.21: Two-columned tent with "draped curtain" motifs and large frontal eave, 18th or 19th century, silk, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-8 (very similar to 29-7), p. 328

Figure 1.22: Wall (interior) of two-columned tent with "draped curtain" motifs and large frontal eave (detail of tent in Figure 1.21), 18th or 19th century, silk, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-7 (very similar to 29-8), p. 329.

Figure 1.23: Roof (interior) of two-columned tent with "draped curtain" motifs and large frontal eave, 18th or 19th century, silk, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-8 (very similar to 29-7), p. 330.

Figure 1.24: "Draped curtain" motifs with corded grilled window (detail of tent in Figure 1.21), 18th or 19th century, silk, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-7 (very similar to 29-8), p. 331.

Figure 1.25: Büyük Mecidiye Camii and its interior decoration with trompe l'oeil windows and curtains, commissioned by Abdülmecid, architects Garabet Balyan and Nikoğos Balyan, 1853-1856, Ortaköy, Istanbul, p. 332.

Figure 1.26: Büyük Mecidiye Camii interior with windows overlooking the Bosphorus, commissioned by Abdülmecid, architects Garabet Balyan and Nikoğos Balyan, 1853-1856, Ortaköy, Istanbul, p. 333.

Figure 1.27: Two-columned tent with large frontal eave, mid-19th century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26380, p. 334.

Figure 1.28: Roof of two-columned tent with large frontal eave (detail of tent in Figure 1.27), mid-19th century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26380, p. 335.

Figure 1.29: *Hazine* from two-columned tent with large frontal eave (detail of tent in Figure 1.27), mid-19th century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26380, p. 336.

Figure 1.30: Four-columned marquee, mid-19th century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. TSM 29-33, 29-34, 29-58. (matches similar tent in Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26380), p. 337.

Figure 1.31: Drawing of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Baldaccino* in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, (1623-34) by Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, 1653-91, Engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 45.82.2(39), p. 338.

Figure 1.32: Carved and painted wooden Solomonic tent pole, nineteenth century, Military Museum, Istanbul, p. 339.

Figure 1.33: Carved and painted wooden Solomonic tent pole, nineteenth century, Military Museum, Istanbul, p. 340.

Figure 1.34: Chevron-patterned dome interior of Sultan Ahmet I's tomb, 1609-1616, Istanbul (photograph by Nina Ergin/Macaraig), p. 341.

Figure 1.35: Painted tent-ceiling, Sultan Abdülhamid I apartments, 18th century, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul; After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem. *Köşkler ve kasırlar* (İstanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yüksek Mimarlık Bölümü Rölöve Kürsüsü, 1973, fig. 241), p. 342.

Figure 1.36: Tent-painted ceiling (Hamidian period), Çapanoğlu mosque, 1779, Yozgat (photograph by Emily Neumeier), p. 343.

Figure 1.37: Tent-painted ceiling (Hamidian period), Çapanoğlu mosque, 1779, Yozgat (photograph by Emily Neumeier), p. 344.

Figure 1.38: Andrea Mantegna, *di sotto in sù* frescoed vault, 1473, Camera degli Sposi, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, p. 345.

Figure 1.39: Niche fresco with painted canopy and image of tent in background, house in Dana street, 18th century, Istanbul; After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976), fig. 235, p. 346.

Figure 1.40: Tophane Fountain, commissioned by Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754), constructed by Kayserili Mehmed Ağa, 1732, marble, wood, lead-covered dome, Istanbul, p. 347.

Figure 1.41: Two-columned marquee with large eave, 19th century, cotton, appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 23742, p. 348.

Figure 1.42: Two-columned marquee with large eave, 19th century, cotton, appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 23770, p. 349.

Figure 1.43: Tophane Fountain, Richard Gilson Reeve and J. Bailey (after William Page), 1829, hand-colored aquatint, p. 350.

Figure 1.44: Bâbü's-saade (Gate of Felicity), originally constructed in the 15th century, baroque and rococo elements added in the last quarter of the 18th century, Topkapı Palace Museum, p. 351.

Figure 1.45: Selim III's enthronement ceremony at the Gate of Felicity in Topkapı Palace, Konstantin Kapıdağı, c. 1789, oil on canvas, Topkapı Palace Museum, p. 352.

Figure 1.46: Accession ceremony of Selim III (r. 1566-1574) in his imperial tent, *Nuzhet Asrar al-Ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar*, fols. 110b-111a, 1568-69, Topkapı Palace Museum H.1339, p. 353.

Figure 1.47: Two-columned tent with wide frontal eave, late 17th century, cotton, appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. nos. 23604, 23661, 23657, p. 354.

Figure 1.48: Tent Kiosk in Yıldız Park, "Vue de Tchadir-Kiosque ? Dans le Parc Imperial de Yildiz," 19th century, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, inv. no. 90815-0011, p. 355.

Figure 1.49: Curtained Kiosk with curtains in Kağthane, “Vie due Perdeli-Kiosque” (پرده لی کوشک), 19th century, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, inv. no. 90489-0004, p. 356.

Figure 1.50: Perdeli Kiosk in Kağthane, “Vue de la Maison Impériale des eaux Douces d'Europe,” published in Pertusier’s *Atlas des promenades pittoresque dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, 1817, p. 357.

Figure 1.51: Cross-section of Curtained Kiosk in Kağıthane; After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Sa’dabad*, p. 86, fig. 82, p. 358.

Figure 1.52: Schematic drawing of Curtained Kiosk in Kağıthane; After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Sa’dabad*, p. 86, fig. 83, p. 359.

Figure 1.53: Pair of fountains/gates(?) with undulating roofs outside Nusretiye Mosque, Krikor Balyan, 1823-1826, Istanbul (photograph by Sabiha Goloğlu), p. 360.

Figure 1.54: Alay Köşkü (Procession Kiosk), commissioned by Mahmud II (r. 1808-1838), at Gülhane Park, adjacent to Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, p. 361.

Figure 1.55: Dome interior of the Alay Köşkü (Procession Kiosk), commissioned by Mahmud II (r. 1808-1838), at Gülhane Park, adjacent to Topkapı Palace, Istanbul, p. 362.

Figure 1.56: Beylerbeyi Palace and its seaside kiosks, Hagop Balyan and Sarkis Balyan, commissioned by Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876), 1861, Istanbul, p. 363.

Figure 1.57: Beylerbeyi seaside kiosk with crimped sloping roof, Hagop Balyan and Sarkis Balyan, commissioned by Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876), 1861, Istanbul, p. 364.

Figure 1.58: “Vue de Beycos” (Beykoz Kasrı) with tents on the shore, B. Kargopoulo Photography, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, inv. no. 9/631/25, p. 365.

Figure 1.59: *Bab-ı Âli* “Sublime Porte” (Gate of the Grand Vizier’s Office) at Gülhane Park, adjacent to Topkapı Palace, 1844, Istanbul, p. 366.

Figure 1.60: Nizamiye Gate with undulating eave/roof, Bab-ı Serasker (Office of the War Minister), 1836-37(?); After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Istanbul Anıları*, fig. 88, pp. 140-141, 143; Original photograph by James Robertson or Felice A. Beato; possibly belonging to the Helmut Gernsheim collection, now in the UT Austin photography archive, p. 367.

Figure 2.1: Manuscript painting of Sultan Selim II (r.1566-1574) hunting in Üsküdar-Haramidere while seated beneath his colorful marquee at the entrance to the royal tent encampment (*otağ-ı hümayun*), *Shahname Shemailname-i Al-i Osman,* ca. 1596-1600, Topkapı Palace Museum, A.3592, fol. 39b, p. 368.

Figure 2.2: Entertainment given at Sa'dâbâd for the large entourage of Czar Alexander I's ambassador extraordinary Italinski upon his arrival in Istanbul (1803), collection unknown; After: Pars Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture* (Istanbul: Yeni Çığır Kitabevi, 1990), 32, p. 369.

Figure 2.3: "Beşiktaş Sarayı," engraving by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740-1807); After: Nurhan Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan: Gardens and Flowers in the Ottoman Culture* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2011), fig. 415, pp. 296-297, p. 370.

Figure 2.4: Tent walls lining the path from the pier to the palace (detail of Figure 2.3), p. 371.

Figure 2.5: Patchwork tent wall with Ottoman period repairs in its appliquéd decoration, nineteenth century, silk and cotton, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 29-2, p. 372.

Figure 2.6: Canopied boats and tents in Kağıthane gardens, 1920, colored postcard, from a series *Kağıthane Mesiresi Tatlı Sular Kartpostallar* (http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/koleksiyon/1920-kagithane-mesiresi-tatli-sular-kartpostal-6-250432170), p. 373.

Figure 2.7: Marquee with a scalloped trim (*sayeban*), nineteenth century, silk and cotton, embroidery and appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 29-25, p. 374.

Figure 2.8: "The Sweet Waters of Europe," including tents and people dancing, published in *Constantinople and the scenery of the seven churches of Asia Minor*, drawing by Thomas Allom with descriptions by Rev. Robert Walsh, London, Fisher, son, & co., 1838, pp. 56-57; Also published in Antonio Baratii, *Constantinopoli effigiata e descritta*... vol. I, Torino: Stabilimento Tipografico di Alessandro Fontana, 1840, pp. 487-486, p. 375.

Figure 2.9: Men and women socializing in the Kağıthane gardens with tents in the background, A. Breger Frères, Paris, late nineteenth or early twentieth century, black and white photograph, unknown collection, p. 376.

Figure 2.10: Ground covering with musical instruments and floral appliqué, nineteenth century, cotton and silk, appliqué and embroidery, Askeri Müzesi, inv. no. 23721, p. 377.

Figure 2.11: Appliquéd musical instruments among foliage (detail of ground covering in Figure 2.10), nineteenth century, cotton and silk, appliqué and embroidery, Askeri Müzesi, inv. no. 23721, p. 378.

Figure 2.12: Tent wall fragment with willow tree design, nineteenth century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Askeri Müzesi, inv. no. unknown, p. 379.

Figure 2.13: Images of tents embroidered on a tent (detail of tent in Figure 2.12), silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Askeri Müzesi, inv. no. unknown, p. 380.

Figure 2.14: Marquee made for Sultan Mahmud II, 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379, p. 381.

Figure 2.15: Vignette in a *şemse* medallion (detail of Figure 2.14), 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379, p. 382.

Figure 2.16: Tents embroidered on a valance (detail of Figure 2.14), 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379, p. 383.

Figure 2.17: Awning with embroidered panorama (detail of Figure 2.14), 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379, p. 384.

Figure 2.18: Section of embroidered panorama (detail of Figure 2.14), 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379, p. 385.

Figure 2.19: Single-columned tent with an embroidered panorama on the interior valence, late nineteenth or early twentieth century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26537, p. 386.

Figure 2.20: Section of embroidered panorama (detail of Figure 2.19), late nineteenth or early twentieth century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26537, p. 387.

Figure 2.21: View of Istanbul published in Julia Pardoe's *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, drawing by William H. Bartlett, Published for the proprietors by George Virtue, London, 1838, 16-17, p. 388.

Figure 2.22: Part of a mural in the Sitting Room of the Valide Sultan apartments in Topkapı Palace depicting a garden scene with pavilions, fountains, trees, and tents, second half of the eighteenth century; After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976), 236-237, fig. 346. Also published in Günsel Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, edited by G. Fehêr, 711-735 (Budapest: Akadêmiai Kiadó, 1978), 722, fig. 4, p. 389.

Figure 2.23: "Interior of a Public Coffeehouse in Tophane Square," *A Picturesque Voyage to Constantinople and the Shores of the Bosphorus*, Antoine Ignace Melling, London, The Presses of P. Didot the Elder Printer to the King, 1819, p. 390.

Figure 2.24: Architectural interior overlooking the Bosphorus, Amedeo Preziosi (1816-1882), watercolor, unknown collection, p. 391.

Figure 3.1: Festival encampment including *otağ-ı hümayun*, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 10b-11a, p. 392.

Figure 3.2: *Zokak* (tent complex enclosure wall), 17th century, red *bogasi* (cotton), obverse verdigris, appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. unknown (Atasoy calls it a "study piece"), p. 393.

Figure 3.3: Arrival of the Grand Vizier outside the *otağ-ı hümayun*, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 12b-13a, p. 394.

Figure 3.4: Sultan Ahmed III receiving *seyyid*s, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 20b-21a, p. 395.

Figure 3.5: Qur'anic recitations inside the sultan's tent, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 40b-41a, p. 396.

Figure 3.6: Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) receiving Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen (1696-1764) in the Audience Chamber, Jean Baptiste Vanmour, c. 1727-1730, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-4078, p. 397.

Figure 3.7: Ground covering, 19th century, cotton with silk embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, 4521(?), p. 398.

Figure 3.8: Feast for military leaders inside Grand Vizier's tent(s), *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 85b-86a, p. 399.

Figure 3.9: Banquet given by Lala Mustafa Pasha to the Janissaries in Izmit, situated in front of a tent encampment, *Nusretname*, 1584, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 1365, fol. 34b, p. 400.

Figure 3.10: Tent Corps (*Mehterhâne-i Hayme*) in the guild parade, *Surname-i Hümayun*, 1582, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 1344, fols. 188b-189a, p. 401.

Figure 3.11: Tent Corps (*Mehterhâne-i Hayme*) in the guild parade, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 107b-108a, p. 402.

Figure 3.12: Sultan Ahmed III and others watching nocturnal entertainments, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 51b-52a, p. 403.

Figure 3.13: Sultan Ahmed III and others watching acrobatic performances, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 38b-39a, p. 404.

Figure 3.14: Wrestlers in front of tent, *Les Lutteurs*, Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827), watercolor; After: *At the Sublime Porte: Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire (1550-1800). 11 May – 3 June 1988* (London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1988), 55-56, 100-101, p. 405.

Figure 3.15: Soldiers partaking in various exercises including *tomak*, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, vol. III, Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohosson, Paris, De l'imprimerie de Firmin Didot, 1820, p. 406.

Figure 3.16: Vue De La Vallée De Dolma Baktché, *Atlas Des Promenades Pittoresque*, Charles Pertusier (author), etching and aquatint by Benedict Piringer after a drawing by Michel Francois Préaulx, Paris, 1817, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, SP.471 (P&D Study Room, level D, case SC, shelf 54). (https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1106658/atlas-des-promenades-pittoresques-dans-print-preaulx-michel-francois/), p. 407.

Figure 3.17: The Ottoman Army performing Grand Maneuvers emulating the organization of the German Army for Sultan Reşad, postcard; After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 320, p. 408.

Figure 3.18: Imperial tents at the Grand Maneuver at Seidler, postcard; After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 322, p. 409.

Figure 3.19: Sultan Reşad in front of a large striped tent on the occasion of the army's Grand Maneuver, postcard; After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 321, p. 410.

Figure 3.20: Acrobatic performance at the Sidi Beşir camp during Bayram festivities, World War I, black and white postcard, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Krt_012570, p. 411.

Figure 3.21: Athletes at the Sidi Beşir camp during Bayram festivities, World War I*, black and white postcard, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Krt_012573, p. 412.

Figure 3.22: Sporting field at the Sidi Beşir camp during Bayram festivities, 1919 (World War I), black and white postcard, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Krt 012567, p. 413.

Figure 3.23: Football match at the Sidi Beşir camp during Bayram festivities, World War I, black and white postcard, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Krt_012568, p. 414.

Figure 3.24: Boat races at Büyükada, 19th century, Abdullah Frères, black and white photograph, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, Istanbul, 9/836/35, p. 415.

Figure 3.25: Tents reserved for the Sultan Reşad, *Islah-ı Nesl-i Feres* (Horse sporting society) publication, 15 June 1328 (1910)*, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Shb 003929, p. 416.

Figure 3.26: Tents reserved for foreign ambassadors (b), *Islah-ı Nesl-i Feres* (Horse sporting society) publication, 15 June 1328 (1910), Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Shb_003929, p. 417.

Figure 3.27: Foreign ambassadors in their tent outside the *otağ-ı hümayun*, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 139b-140a, p. 418.

Figure 3.28: Mehmed III receiving a Hungarian delegation in his tent, *Şehnâme-i Sultan Mehmed III,* 1596, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 1609, fols. 26b-27a, p. 419.

Figure 3.29: Prince Alfred departs from Büyükada (one of the Princes' Islands in the Marmara Sea), Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, Istanbul, 779-32/15, p. 420.

Figure 3.30: Welcome ceremony for Kaiser Wilhelm II in Istanbul, Abdullah Frères, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, 90614/38, p. 421.

Figure 3.31: The tent (exterior) of Kaiser Wilhelm II in Jerusalem, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90621/29, p. 422.

Figure 3.32: The furnished interior of the tent of Kaiser Wilhelm II in Jerusalem, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90621/30, p. 423.

Figure 3.33: Tent wall made of Tunisian drapery material, 17th-18th century, Military Museum, Istanbul, 23705, p. 424.

Figure 3.34: Bulgarian King Ferdinand visits Istanbul, photograph, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Alb 000145-012, p. 425.

Figure 3.35: Review of 22 March 1910, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria visits the Imperial Tent on his trip to Istanbul, postcard; After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 317, p. 426.

Figure 3.36: Bulgarian King Ferdinand visits Istanbul, photograph, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Alb 000145-011, p. 427.

Figure 3.37: Single-columned tent with chevron appliquéd canopy exterior, late nineteenth or early twentieth century, cotton (exterior), appliqué and embroidery (interior), Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26537. (See also Figures 2.19 and 2.20), p. 428.

Figure 3.38: King Ferdinand and Eleonore of Bulgaria visiting Istanbul, March 1910, p. 429.

Figure 3.39: King Ferdinand and Eleonore of Bulgaria, visiting Istanbul, March 1910, p. 430.

Figure 3.40: King Ferdinand and Eleonore of Bulgaria, visiting Istanbul, March 1910, p. 431.

Figure 3.41: Sultan Reşad receiving King Ferdinand and Queen Eleanore of Bulgaria in a single-columned tent erected in front of the Sirkeci train station, 1909; After: Nurhan Atasoy, "Ottoman Garden Pavilions and Tents," *Muqarnas* 21, Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers (2004): 15-19, fig. 2; *Resimli Kitap* 2, no. 9 (1909), 947, p. 432.

Figure 3.42: King Peter of Serbia at the review of 6 April 1910, postcard; After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 318, p. 433.

Figure 3.43: Single-columned conical tent, late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 29-32, p. 434.

Figure 3.44: Ambassadorial tent erected on the occasion of Sultan Reşad's Girding ceremony, tinted postcard printed by Max Fructermann, 1909, Hakan Akçaoğlu Collection; After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1009, p. 435.

Figure 3.45: The coronation of Mehmed Resat at Eyüp, The Ambassadors' Tent, 10 May 1909; After: Costas M. Stamatopoulos, *Constantinople through the Lens of Achilles Samandji and Eugene Dalleggio* (Turin: Allemandi, 2009), 440-441, p. 436.

Figure 3.46: Triumphal arch erected for the investiture ceremony of Sultan Mehmed Reşad V, Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909; After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1009, p. 437.

Figure 3.47: Members of the Assembly of Notables on their way to the investiture ceremony, Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909; After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1010, p. 438.

Figure 3.48: The Imperial Band playing the Freedom March in front of Dolmabahçe Palace, Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909; After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1004, p. 439.

Figure 3.49: The Sultan going to Topkapı Palace in the Imperial Caique, Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909; After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1006, p. 440.

Figure 3.50: Accession ceremony of Sultan Selim II beneath a canopy of an ornate tent while on campagin at Sigetvar, *Nuzhet Asrar al-Ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 1568-69, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 1339, 110b-111a, p. 441.

Figure 3.51: Detail of *otağ-ı hümayun* (royal tent complex) (detail of double-page manuscript painting in Figure 3.1), *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 10b-11a, p. 442.

Figure 3.52: Cenotaph Cover with Qur'anic verses, silk satin, Ottoman, 17th-18th century, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 83.7, p. 443.

Figure 3.53: The investiture of Sultan Mehmet Reşad V on April 27, 1325 (May 10, 1909), Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909; After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1007, p. 444.

Figure 4.1: Imagined portrait of Osman I (d. 1326), founder and namesake of the Ottoman (*Osmanlı*) dynasty, part of a series by Konstantin Kapıdağlı, late 18th century, gouache on paper Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 17-70-71, p. 445.

Figure 4.2: *Carte de visite* reproductions of the Young Album after the Kapadağlı series, Abdullah Frères, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 96.5.14; After: Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), p. 446.

Figure 4.3: Interior of the Weapons Museum, Abdülhamid II albums, published between 1880 and 1893, Library of Congress, 11910/2, p. 447.

Figure 4.4: Exhibit of sultan's costumes and throne during the reign of Sultan Reşad (r. 1909-1918), Ottoman Imperial Museum, Istanbul; After: Wendy Shaw, "Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 265 (After Halil Edhem, Topkapı Sarayı [Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931], 33, p. 448.

Figure 4.5: Special section for the handiwork of female school students, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90550/7, p. 449.

Figure 4.6: Blueprint for an army tent to fit ten men, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman State Archives), Istanbul, PLK.6103/1, p. 450.

Figure 4.7: Turkish Pavilion, *Recollections of the Great Exhibition 1851* (London: Lloyd Brothers & Co. & Simpkin Marshall & Co, 1851), 41, p. 451.

Figure 4.8: Tunisian display at the Vienna World's Fair, 1873; From: curatorial file from Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst (Museum for Applied Arts) (MAK), OR 142, p. 452.

Figure 4.9: Tunisian tent panels featured at the Vienna World's Fair, 1873, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst (Museum for Applied Arts) (MAK), Vienna, OR 142, p. 453.

Figure 4.10: Tunisian display at the Vienna World's Fair, 1873, National Gallery of Art Image Collections, Digital Rare Albums A209, pl. 8, Washington DC, p. 454.

Figure 4.11: Tunisian display at the Vienna World's Fair, 1873, National Gallery of Art Image Collections, Digital Rare Albums A209, pl. 15, Washington DC, p. 455.

Figure 4.12: Algerian pavilion at the Exposition Universelle of 1878, Paris, National Gallery of Art Image Collections, Washington DC, dli_14093000014_cor, p. 456.

Figure 4.13: Pavilion at the Great Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, 1893, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 91387/7, p. 457.

Figure 4.14: Interior of the pavilion at the Great Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, 1893, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 91387/6, p. 458.

Figure 4.15: Opening ceremony for a water conveyance system in Jerusalem, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90575/13, p. 459.

Figure 4.16: Opening ceremony for a water conveyance system in Jerusalem, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90575/14, p. 460.

Figure 4.17: Marquee with garland and vase motifs, silk with gold embroidery, 19th century, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 29-23, p. 461.

Figure 4.18: Ceremonial encampment for the inauguration of the Ma'an train station (Hijaz Railway), 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/17, p. 462.

Figure 4.19: Ceremonial encampment for the inauguration of the Ma'an train station (Hijaz Railway), 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/10, p. 463.

Figure 4.20: Ceremonial canopy with the Ottoman coat of arms, late 19th or early 20th century, Military Museum, Istanbul, 23882; After: Nurhan Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Compex* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000), 231, fig. 88, p. 464.

Figure 4.21: Detail of appliquéd coat of arms (Figure 4.20), p. 465.

Figure 4.22: Decorative lighting for the inauguration of the Ma'an train station (Hijaz Railway), 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/18, p. 466.

Figure 4.23: Officers pose in front of a train engine at the inaugural ceremony for the Ma'an train station (Hijaz Railway), 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/16, p. 467.

Figure 4.24: Set up for a celebratory banquet with a train-themed centerpiece, Beirut, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90520/7, p. 468.

Figure 4.25: Tented ceremony inaugurating the Ma'an train station on the Hijaz Railway, 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/9, p. 469.

Figure 4.26: Camp of the pilgrims on the plains of Arafat, Bernhard B. Moritz, 1916, Library of Congress, LOT3704, no. 78, p. 470.

Figure 4.27: Mahmal, 1867-76, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Khalili Collection, London, TXT442, p. 471.

Figure 4.28: *Mahmal* Procession, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 91313/7, p. 472.

Figure 4.29: *Mahmal*s and tents in a painted lithograph by A.H. Zaki, *The Cairo Punch*, The British Museum, p. 473.

Figure 5.1: Two-columned tent, 17th century, cotton with silk and leather accents, appliqué, La Real Armería, Madrid; After: Fernández-Puertas, *La tienda turca otomana de la Real Armería (c. 1650-1697) / The Ottoman Tent at the Real Armería (c. 1650-1697)* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2003), p. 474.

Figure 5.2: Two-columned rectilinear red-ground tent with architectural and floral motifs, 18th century, Cotton and silk, appliqué and embroidery (esp. *sûzanî*), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No. VT-1605, p. 475.

Figure 5.3: Tent canopy with scenic and architectural motifs, 18th century, cotton and silk(?), embroidered (esp. *sûzanî* technique), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. VT-1607, p. 476.

Figure 5.4: Tent with scenic and architectural motifs (detail of tent in Figure 5.3), 18th century, cotton and silk(?), embroidered (esp. *sûzanî* technique), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. VT-1607, p. 477.

Figure 5.5: Conical tent (roof and walls), 19th century, cotton appliqué, Kornik Library, PAN, Kornik, Tent Inv. No. MK 2538; After: Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000), 248, p. 478.

Figure 5.6: Exhibition in Wawel Royal Castle, gallery entitled "Symbolic Entry of Polish Troops into the Captured Turkish Camp," featuring a marquee from the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, 1983, Kraków; After: Jerzy T. Petrus and Magdalena Piwocka, *Odsiecz wiedeńska 1683: wystawa jubileuszowa w Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu w trzechsetlecie bitwy* (Kraków: Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki na Wawelu, 1990), fig. 43, p. 479.

Figure 5.7: Ceremonial marquee, likely a composite tent made of materials ranging from the late 17th to the 19th century, woolen appliqué, Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Kraków. Inv. No. XIV-892, p. 480.

Figure 5.8: Ceremonial marquee interior (detail of tent in Figure 5.7), likely a composite tent made of materials ranging from the late 17th to the 19th century, woolen appliqué, Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Kraków. Inv. No. XIV-892, p. 481.

Figure 5.9: Appliqué floral motifs on ceremonial marquee wall (detail of tent in Figure 5.7), likely a composite tent made of materials ranging from the late 17th to the 19th century, woolen appliqué, Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Kraków. Inv. No. XIV-892, p. 482.

Figure 5.10: *Seccade* (multiple-niche prayer rug), likely 19th century, woolen appliqué, Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul; After: Hülya Bilgi, *Reunited After Centuries: Works of art restored to Turkey by the Sadberk Hanım Museum* (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2005), cat. no. 78, pp. 178-181, p. 483.

Figure 5.11: Polylobed ogival tent medallion, ca. 1540, Iran (possibly Tabriz), silk and metallic threads, cut and voided velvet with continuous floats of flat metal thread, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No. 27.51.1 (Sanguszko gift), p. 484.

Figure 5.12: Two-columned rectilinear tent captured at the Battle of Zurawno by Stanislaw Zygmunt Druszkiewicz (one of Jan Sobieski III's commanders) from Şeytan İbrahim Pasha of Damascus in 1676, 17th century, National Museum, Kraków, Inv. No. 9509/1-5; After: Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex* (Istanbul Aygaz, 2000), 250-251, p. 485.

Figure 5.13: Painting of 17th-century two-columned rectilinear tent erected for Emperor Frances Josef in Krakow during a wedding celebration in 1881, Tadeusz Rybkowski, watercolor, (Tent in Figure 5.12, National Museum, Krakow, Inv. No. 9509/1-5), p. 486.

Figure 5.14: Three-columned tent acquired for use in the Zeithain Encampment, 17th century, cotton with satin and gilt leather accents, appliqué, Türckische Cammer, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Inv. No. Y 364, p. 487.

Figure 5.15: Painting depicting the Ziethain Encampment in 1730, Johann Alexander Thiele, p. 488.

Figure 5.16: Tent walls among other Oriental-style Sarmatian objects, 18th century, linen, wool, and leather appliqué, likely produced in Lviv or Brody, Tarnów Regional Museum, Tarnów, p. 489.

Figure 5.17: Portion of a tent wall included in display of Sarmatian objects (detail of tent in Figure 5.16), 18th century, linen, wool, and leather appliqué, likely produced in Lviv or Brody, Tarnów Regional Museum, Tarnów, p. 490.

Figure 5.18: Decorative motif on tent wall included in display of Sarmatian objects (detail of tent in Figure 5.16), 18th century, linen, wool, and leather appliqué, likely produced in Lviv or Brody, Tarnów Regional Museum, Tarnów, p. 491.

Figure 5.19: Early twentieth-century photograph of a three-poled tent, likely 18th century, woolen appliqué, Wilanów Palace Museum, Warsaw, p. 492.

Figure 5.20: One of two surviving partial panels of a three-poled tent in Figure 5.19, likely 18th century, woolen appliqué, Wilanów Palace Museum, Warsaw, p. 493.

Figure 5.21: Detail of one of two surviving partial panels of a three-poled tent in Figure 5.19, likely 18th century, woolen appliqué, Wilanów Palace Museum, Warsaw, p. 494.

Figure 5.22: Tent walls draped over the walls of a banquet hall outfitted as a cinema in Wawel Royal Castle in 1944, Kraków, Inv. No. AF-1206-II_58, p. 495.

Figure 5.23: Two-columned oblong tent (sections of which visible in photograph in Figure 5.22), 17th century, linen with silk and leather accents, appliqué, Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków, Inv. No. 896, p. 496.

Figure 5.24: Design for a Turkish Tent, attributed to Henry Keene (1726-1776), c. 1760, pen and ink and watercolor, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv. No. E.916-1921; After: Charles T. Newton, *Images of the Ottoman Empire* (London: V&A Publications, 2007), 70, p. 497.

Figure 5.25: Pavilion known as "The Sultan's Copper Tents," originally built 1787-1790, restored 1962-1964, Designed by Louis Jean Desprez, Hagapark, Stockholm, p. 498.

Figure 5.26: Large two-columned tent owned by Charles II, 17th century, cotton appliqué, Armemuseum, Stockholm, Inv. No. 3508 a-c, p. 499.

Figure 5.27: Illustrated proposal for restoring large 17th-century tent owned by Charles XII (Figure 5.26), Rudolg Österberg, 1861, Armemuseum Library, Stockholm, p. 500.

Figure 5.28: Tent-like servants' pavilion (exterior) at Château de Malmaison, added in 1808, outside Paris, p. 501.

Figure 5.29: Tent-like servants' pavilion (interior) at Château de Malmaison, added in 1808, outside Paris, p. 502.

Figure 5.30: Tent-like council chamber in Château de Malmaison, 1800, outside Paris, p. 503.

Figure 5.31: Tent-like council chamber in Château de Malmaison (detail), 1800, outside Paris, p. 504.

Figure 5.32: Empress Josephine Bonaparte's Bedroom in Château de Malmaison with draped walls and trompe l'oeil ceiling resembling a tent, Designed by Berthault, 1812, p. 505.

Figure 5.33: Tent room in Charlottenhof Palace, Potsdam, 1828-29, p. 506.

Figure 5.34: Orientalist tent room in Marmorpalais (Marble Palace), largely reconstructed, Palace architect Carl von Gontard, Interior designer Carl Cotthard Langhans, 1787–93, Potsdam, p. 507.

Figure 5.35: Historical photograph of the Orientalist tent room in Marmorpalais (Marble Palace), largely reconstructed, Palace architect Carl von Gontard, Interior designer Carl Cotthard Langhans, 1787–93, Potsdam; After: Marmopalais Museum didactics, p. 508.

Figure 5.36: Orientalist tent room (fabric detail) in Marmorpalais (Marble Palace), largely reconstructed, Palace architect Carl von Gontard, Interior designer Carl Cotthard Langhans, 1787–93, Potsdam, p. 509.

Figure 5.37: Orientalist tent room (ceiling) in Marmorpalais (Marble Palace), largely reconstructed, Palace architect Carl von Gontard, Interior designer Carl Cotthard Langhans, 1787–93, Potsdam, p. 510.

Figure 5.38: "Turkish" tent design for the garden of Den Eult, the Netherlands, unknown artists, 1767, watercolor and pencil; After: Haydn Williams, *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014). fig. 154, p. 118, p. 511.

Figure 5.39: Salotto Turco (Turkish Room) with a tented ceiling and displaying several appliquéd tent panels and various other artifacts in D'Albertis' collection, 1890-1930, Castello d'Albertis, Genoa, p. 512.

Figure 5.40: Four appliquéd tent panels and/or door frames, likely purchased at the *Chariah-el-Khayamia* (Tent Market) in Cairo, Egypt, on display in the Salotto Turco (Turkish Room) at Castello D'Albertis, Genoa, p. 513.

Figure 5.41: Dining room at Doris Duke's Shangri La estate (now museum) designed to resemble a tent and display 19th/20th century Egyptian appliqué tent panels, completed mid 1960s; After: Shangri La Museum of Islamic Art, Culture & Design, https://www.shangrilahawaii.org/visit/Virtual-Tour/Dining-Room/
See also: Thomas Mellins, Donald Albrecht, Deborah Pope, Linda Komaroff, and Tim Street-Porter, eds. *Doris Duke's Shangri La: A House in Paradise: Architecture, Landscape and Islamic Art* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2012), p. 514.

Figure 5.42: Tent display in the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin. Photograph from museum visit in 2018, p. 515.

Figure 5.43: Tent fragments and other military artifacts on display recreated canvas tents in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe. Photograph from museum visit in 2014, p. 516.

Figure 5.44: Children's birthday party held in a fragmented Ottoman tent, 17th century, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna. Photograph from museum visit in 2013, p. 517.

Figure 6.1: Tents erected on the occasion of an annual horse race, Antoin Sevruguin (1830-1933), Qajar period (1789-1925), Iran, Smithsonian Institution, FSA_A.4_2.12.GN.14.12, p. 518.

Figure 6.2: Royal tents at annual horse race, Antoin Sevruguin (1830-1933), Qajar period (1789-1925), Dushanbe Teppe, Iran, Smithsonian Institution, FSA_A.4_2.12.GN.19.02, p. 519.

Figure 6.3: Fabric walls draped across the façade of Gulistan Palace, Imarat Badgir, Antoin Sevruguin (1830-1933), Qajar period (1789-1925), Tehran, Iran, Smithsonian Institution, p. 520.

Figure 6.4: Fabric walls draped across the façade of Gulistan Palace pulled aside to reveal Takht-i Marmar (Marble Throne) at a Greeting Ceremony, Antoin Sevruguin (1830-1933), Qajar period (1789-1925), 1880s, Tehran, Iran, Smithsonian Institution, FSA_A.4_2.12.GN.51.10, p. 521.

Figure 6.5: Royal tent made for Muhammad Shah (r. 1834-1848), Qajar dynasty, interior: wool and silk with leather, exterior: cotton and wool, iron rings, and rope, appliqué and embroidery, Rasht, Iran, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2014.388, p. 522.

Figure 6.6: Celebratory grounds including at least 50 buildings resembling royal tents constructed adjacent to the historical site of Persepolis on the occasion of the 2,500th anniversary of the first Persian Empire, 1979, Iran, p. 523.

Figure 6.7: Banquet held inside one of the grand tent-buildings constructed adjacent to the historical site of Persepolis on the occasion of the 2,500th anniversary of the first Persian Empire, 1979, Iran, p. 524.

Figure 6.8: Queen Victoria (1819-1901) seated beneath a fringed canopy and accompanied by Karim Abdul (1862/3-1909), July 1893, Hills & Saunders, National Portrait Gallery, London, p. 525.

ABSTRACT

Monumental and magnificently decorated tents played a key role in Ottoman courtly life and ceremonies over the course of the dynasty's six-century reign (circa 1299-1922), building on similar practices in other Islamic cultures before and contemporary with the Ottoman Empire. While their primacy remained steadfast, Ottoman imperial tents' aesthetic properties, functions, and meanings shifted over time to suit new socio-political contexts as well as changing courtly tastes. Far from an unconscious vestige of their origins as a nomadic principality in late thirteenth-century Anatolia, Ottoman sultans strategically deployed the longstanding Islamic tradition of princely tentage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an era marked by transformation. This dissertation explores several themes related to the study of fabric architecture in the late Ottoman period through an analysis of written and visual sources, chief among them a corpus of rarely seen extant tents as well as illustrated manuscripts, photography, and printed commodities such as newspapers and postcards. These themes include the built environment and its mobility and temporality; the mediated experience of nature; royal ceremonies, rites, and rituals; as well as the construction of modernity through infrastructural building and the formation of national history and identity. In short, imperial tents functioned as vehicles for choreographing courtly spaces, facilitating mobilities, enhancing leisure activities, framing ceremonies, and crafting a modern imperial identity predicated on the Ottomans' storied past.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, Tents, Fabric Architecture, Ottoman Architecture, Imperial Ceremonies, Islamic Textiles

INTRODUCTION

Over the course of the Ottoman Empire (circa 1299-1922), extravagantly decorated tents functioned as a form of monumental yet portable imperial architecture. Pitching appliquéd and embroidered fabric edifices marked special occasions, at which time tents acted to promote the power and might of the empire for both local and international audiences. In the last centuries of Ottoman rule, as sultans faced shrinking territories, exciting new technologies, challenging political movements, and an otherwise changing world, they continued to employ monumental and highly ornamental tents. Therefore, the questions the present study seeks to answer include: How did the Islamic tradition of performing power in princely tents serve a modernizing empire? What changed to suit new socio-political contexts of this period of transformation, what did not, and why? How did this tradition respond to and help shape an Ottoman modernity?

Corpus and Scope

The object corpus central to the dissertation comprises approximately 180 known extant tents, although this number is certainly not exhaustive.[1] These include Ottoman royal

[1] Of this number, many I have seen in person, others I have examined through photographs, curatorial files, and published scholarship, and for some I have only an accession number or note but have not been able to track down the physical object. With further research, some of these may be excluded from the group and many more may be added—particularly those in the Military Museum in Istanbul, which are still in the process of being inventoried.

tents that remain whole or nearly so, orphaned tent panels, walls, or canopies, fragments in varying states of preservation, as well as imitations and pastiches thereof. While the temporal scope of the project ranges from the early eighteenth century to the first decades of the twentieth, the objects under study here are rarely explicitly dated. Therefore, stylistic observations and comparative analyses are key to situating each object in its historical moment. That being said, the life of the object can last much longer than a human's—as much as one hundred years, being passed from one sultan to the next, or even between princes, grand viziers, and sultans.[2] For this reason, tents can be difficult to date to a range narrower than a half century. The continued use of tents over long periods of time, however, adds to and illuminates their cultural value. In fact, some of the extant tents in the group date to centuries prior to the period of time that is the focus of the dissertation—although the earliest surviving tents date to the seventeenth century. They are, therefore, discussed in terms of their reuse in various contexts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or else serve as points of comparison for later constructions.

The scope of the dissertation also is determined by quality of objects. Usually termed "imperial tents" (by the author and other scholars), the defining feature for inclusion in the corpus is that they were made by the *Mehterhane-i Hayme* (Imperial Tent Corps) and/or used by the upper echelons of the Ottoman court, especially but not limited to the sultan himself. As such, throughout the dissertation the objects will be qualified as

[2] BOA D.BŞM 3937, pp. 2-7 (1182 AH /1768-9 CE); Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman Courtly Tents and Turkic Tradition," in *Ciépo Interim Symposium: The Central Asiatic Roots of Ottoman Culture*, eds. İlhan Şahin, Baktıbek İsakov, and Cengiz Buyar (İstanbul: İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odaları Birliği, 2014), 641-655; Cenap Çürük and Ersin Çiçekçiler, *Örnekleriyle Türk Çadırları* (İstanbul: Askeri Müze Yayınları, 1983), 6.

"courtly," "royal," "princely," and "imperial." While the latter might be a rather loaded term, it is commonly used in tent scholarship to describe elite tentage. Where a particular imperializing significance is brought to the fore, that meaning of the tent will be elucidated in greater detail.

Additionally, the primary geographical focus is largely limited to the imperial center—that is, Istanbul. While other cities and regions come into play, the sultan and the Imperial Tent Corps continued to be based in this city. Unfortunately, limiting the geographical scope excludes the city of Aleppo—a major city in the Ottoman province of Syria—where some tents were produced in this period. Investigation into the Aleppo workshops will have to wait for an improved situation in the region.[3]

This focus on Istanbul may at first seem paradoxical to the study of tents as mobile architecture. However, this is precisely one of the reasons for exploring this understudied age of Ottoman princely tentage. Rather than facilitating a transhumant lifestyle or providing shelter on long military campaigns across vast territories, the courtly tent practices in this period reflect different priorities—indeed, they were erected within the court, alongside palatial architecture, around the capital city and its suburbs, and on a number of special occasions. That being said, the connotations of nomadism, itinerant courts, and militarism are embedded in the practice of princely tentage and therefore are highlighted in certain contexts. However, as will be shown, these instances represent self-conscious and at times self-historicizing performances. While royal tents had been used for many centuries—indeed, from the beginning of the dynasty and even

---

[3] Nurhan Atasoy notes that orders for tents from Syrian workshops were brokered through the governor in Aleppo. Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000) 34, 45.

prior in other medieval Islamic cultures—their histories are therefore built on longstanding customs of tented festivals and royal ceremonial. The mutable socio-political contexts of this period, though, add new layers of meaning to tents in the modern period, even when used for very similar purposes as in centuries past.

The time span covered here—that is, circa 1703 to 1918—likewise can be difficult to describe concisely. The start date coincides with the court's return to Istanbul after a stint of residence in Edirne. The decades that followed came to be known as the *Lale Devri* ("Tulip Period"). The nineteenth century can be divided at the year 1839—that is, before and after the proclamation of the Tanzimat reforms. The last quarter of the nineteenth century is often called the "Hamidian" period after the authoritarian sultan, Abdülhamid II. The early twentieth century includes the reign of Sultan Mehmed V (r. 1909-1918—more commonly known as Reşad), as well as the *İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi* (Second Constitutional Period), and World War I (1914-1918). Taken as a whole, this period in Ottoman history can be variously defined. The most apropos periodization for the present study is proposed by Linda Darling. Darling terms this era as one of transformation, which "allows for the concurrent occurrence of several types of change"[4]—politically, socially, and artistically. Her brief note on the art and architecture of this period illuminates the character of the age further:

> [A]t least one of the changes of the Tulip Period proved to be permanent: the transformation in artistic styles. The baroque Ottoman art of the eighteenth century was a real departure from the past; it was not merely an imitation of a foreign style but a merging of new techniques and motifs

[4] Linda Darling, "Another Look at Periodization in Ottoman History," *Turkish Studies Association Journal* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 24.

> with an existing tradition to create something genuinely novel with a lasting development of its own.[5]

As such, the dissertation adopts Darling's chronology. Moreover, but also for the sake of brevity and variety of language, I will call this time the "late" Ottoman period—meaning, the latest in Darling's periodization of Ottoman history.

Darling's periodization serves as a corrective to the perennial notion that this period of Ottoman history was one of decline. The so-called decline paradigm may be traced back to the nineteenth century, when the Ottoman Empire came to be known as the "Sick Man of Europe." In recent decades, though, scholars in different disciplines have been working to remedy this negative and reductive view in various ways. The present study of late Ottoman imperial tents contributes to this developing discourse by offering an alternative corpus of evidence that demonstrates the creativity, adaptability, and dynamic synthesis in the material culture and built environment of the Ottoman court in this period.

State of the Field

The field of tent studies intersects with a number of other areas of study and their various subfields. In addition to art and architectural histories, textile studies are of chief import, including the scientific disciplines necessary for dye and fiber analysis. The theoretical underpinnings of the dissertation likewise emerge from a number of disciplines including studies on modernity/modernities, mobilities, poetry and literature, vision and sensory histories, photography, and museology.

[5] Darling, "Another Look at Periodization," 25.

While Ottoman imperial tents and images of tents are often mentioned in Ottoman art and architectural history, very few scholars have made tents their chief focus of study. Of these works, most function as detailed catalogues of known extant tents—Nurhan Atasoy's *Otağ-ı Hümayun* (2000) being the prime example. Before the publication of her large and beautifully illustrated tome, the Military Museum in Istanbul released a short catalogue of their tents in 1983, *Örnekleriyle Türk Çadırları*, which provides images of some of the tents in the museum's collection, gives an overview of the Imperial Tent Corps, and contextualizes the tents in the broad scope of Ottoman history.[6] A few years later, in 1988, Philip Mansel discussed Ottoman imperial tents as "Travelling Palaces," particularly in the early modern period when the sultans were on the move conquering territories in vast military encampments.[7] The first full book dedicated to Ottoman tents appeared in print in 1998 and again in 2005, and was written by Taciser Onuk, a Turkish scholar who specializes in needlework among other arts.[8] This book provides much detailed analysis of the technical and material aspects of the tents. Unlike Atasoy, Onuk does not dismiss the innovations characteristic of tents in the late Ottoman period, but rather discusses them in terms of the development and inclusion of new materials, techniques, colors, and motifs over time. She also enumerates the various structures of tents, such as trellises and guy ropes, as well as their different functions, including bathroom and kitchen tents.

---

[6] Çürük and Çiçekçiler, Ö*rnekleriyle Türk Çadırları*.

[7] Philip Mansel, "Travelling Palaces," *HALI* 39 (1988): 30-35.

[8] Taciser Onuk, *Osmanlı Çadır Sanatı: XVII-XIX. yüzyıl* (Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1998).

Looking at the field chronologically, Nurhan Atasoy's well-known study appeared just two years after Onuk's. It was published in conjunction with a monumental exhibition of Ottoman imperial tents at the turn of the millennium.[9] It must be said that the present work is deeply indebted to Atasoy's scholarship. Indeed, she has done more work than any single scholar to promote the study of Ottoman tents, and her book encompasses decades of research. In fact, from this author's experience, it would seem as though one cannot discuss or ask about Ottoman tents anywhere in the world without a curator or scholar warmly recalling a visit from "Nuhran Hoca" (Prof. Nurhan) in years past. Like Onuk, Atasoy calls upon a number of archival sources, and presents various aspects of the history of Ottoman tentage in the essays preceding the catalogue of objects. She, too, discusses various tent types, their structural characteristics, and their decorative programs, including their architectural motifs. She also addresses the Imperial Tent Corps workshop, noting the changes in the guild and its facilities over time. However, her study seems to collapse time with little distinction between historical moments. When she directly addresses tents produced in the later period, particularly in their respective catalogue entries, she notes, seemingly with some displeasure, that their styles have been "Europeanized"—in other words, become less Turkish. Nevertheless, her book remains the primary study of Ottoman tents to this day and is published in both Turkish and English. A few years after her book was published, she penned a short essay on the

[9] Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*; Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: Osmanlı Çadırları: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Has Ahırlar, 22 Kasım 2000-22 Mayıs 2001* (T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü).

interrelatedness of Ottoman tents and pavilions for a special volume of *Muqarnas* in honor of J. M. Rogers.[10]

In recent years, Hedda Reindl-Kiel also has turned toward the study of tents, although they do appear in her earlier scholarship as well. For example, in 2014 she published an article specifically on the domed trellis tents used in the Ottoman court in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but which fell out of use thereafter.[11] For this reason, no examples of this type of tent survives today.

Lastly, scholars based in museums around Turkey and Europe whose collections include an Ottoman tent or fragments thereof have published variously on their holdings. While these scholars' expertise, research, exhibitions, and published works have been invaluable to the analysis of the tents in their care, their work naturally takes the form of a deep study into a single object or limited group of objects, rather than a broad history of Ottoman or Islamic tents. In other instances, tents are included among other objects a thematic exhibition—for example, on war booty or cultural exchange with the Ottoman Empire. This is not to suggest that collaboration among scholars at various institutions is not happening. In Berlin in October 2014, a number of curators, conservators, museum professionals, and other tent scholars came together for a symposium dedicated to the care and study of Islamic tents.

Looking beyond the Ottoman court, a number of important works address the tentage traditions of other Islamic and Asian dynasties, including the Seljuks (1037-

[10] Nurhan Atasoy, "Ottoman Garden Pavilions and Tents," *Muqarnas* 21, Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers (2004): 15-19.

[11] Hedda Reindl Kiel, "Ottoman Courtly Tents," 641-655.

1194), Mongols (1206-1368), Timurids (1370-1507), Safavids (1501-1736), and Mughals (1526-1857). Peter A. Andrews takes on nearly all of these and more in his massive 1400-page, two-volume work, *Felt Tents and Pavilions: The Nomadic Tradition and its Interaction with Princely Tentage* (1999).[12] His encyclopedic coverage begins in the fourth millennium BCE, moving forward in time, through the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Huns, and into the Islamic period, though the bulk of the two volumes focuses on the tent traditions of the Mongols, Timurids, and Mughals. He has published on the latter both before and after his magnum opus, including an article on the court tents of Mughal ruler Shah Jahan (r.1628-1658), as well as a later catalogue of the tents at the Calico Museum of Textiles in the city of Ahmedabad in Gujarat, India.[13] Zirwat Chowdhury also has studied and published on Mughal tents, particularly in the eighteenth century.[14]

David Durand-Guédy has published on the tent traditions and the nature of the semi-itinerant court of the Great Seljuks, a Turkic dynasty based in greater Iran in the long eleventh-century. In recent years, he also has undertaken research on the Seljuks of Rum, based in Anatolia. Durand-Guédy brings together an extraordinary number of textual sources—with the aid of some manuscript illustrations—in order to reconstruct

[12] Peter A. Andrews, *Felt Tents and Pavilions: The Nomadic Tradition and its Interaction with Princely Tentage*, vols. I & II (London: Melisende, 1999).

[13] Peter A. Andrews, "The Generous Heart or the Mass of Clouds: The Court Tents of Shah Jahan," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 149-165; Peter A. Andrews, *Tentage at the Calico Museum and its Patterns* (Ahmedabad: Sarabhai Foundation, 2015).

[14] Zirwat Chowhury, "An Imperial Mughal Tent and Mobile Sovereignty in Eighteenth-Century Jodhpur," *Art History* 38, no. 4 (2015): 668-681.

the tent types used by the Seljuks, of which none survive.[15] He also proposes a "spatial analysis of Seljuk kingship," through examination of tent traditions in relation to permanent architecture and the urban and suburban zones of Seljuk cities.[16]

Timurid and Safavid princely encampments have been an interest of a number of scholars over the years as well. For example, Monika Gronke analyzes the nomadic heritage of the Timurids and later the Safavids.[17] Bernard O'Kane likewise examines Timurid and Safavid tent traditions in relation to contemporary hard architecture, namely pavilions. Both Gronke and O'Kane address the inbetweenness inherent in semi-itinerant courts—from seasonal migrations to the use of princely encampments near cities, concurrent to large-scale construction projects and urban development.[18] Additionally, David Roxburgh provides a close reading of a textual sources cited by both Gronke and O'Kane—that is, the narrative of Ruy González De Clavijo's visit to Timurid Samarqand in 1404.[19] In multiple places in the text, Clavijo describes the fluid movement between

---

[15] David Durand-Guédy, "The Tents of the Saljuqs," in *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, edited by David Durand-Guédy in *Brill's Inner Asian Library,* vol. 31, edited by Michael R. Drompp and Devin DeWeese (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 149-189.

[16] David Durand-Guédy, "Ruling from the Outside: A New Perspective on Early Turkish Kingship in Iran," in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, edited by Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), 325-342.

[17] Monika Gronke, "The Persian Court Between Palace and Tent: From Timur to 'Abbas I," in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny (Leiden/NY/Köln: Brill, 1992), 18-22.

[18] Bernard O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design." *Ars Orientalis* 23, Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces (1993): 249-268.

[19] David J. Roxburgh, "Ruy González De Clavijo's Narrative of Courtly Life and Ceremony in Timur's Samarqand, 1404," in *The "Book" of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 113-158.

built environs and tented spaces, again underscoring the mutability and varied materiality of the built environment in the Timurid period.

While the use of princely tents and royal encampments is seemingly well known in the field of Islamic art history, few scholars make it the focus of their studies. Indeed, tents are mentioned frequently, often used as comparisons or illustrative examples to buttress various arguments. Only rarely are tents analyzed in a critical and synthetic way, as in the notable works outlined above. The dissertation hence aims to contribute new insight to the study of Ottoman and Islamic tentage traditions writ large.

The Ottoman Imperial Tent Corps

The Ottoman Imperial Tent Corps is variously called: *Mehterhane-i Hayme*, *Hayme-i Hassa Ocağı*, *Çadır Mehter*, *Mehterhane-i Hayme-i Hasse*.[20] Among the artisans employed therein, different subsections of the guild are defined by specialty: imperial tentmakers (*otağgeran-ı hassa*), needleworkers (*nakşduzan*), tent tailors (*haymeduzan*), and drapery tailors (*perdeciyan*).[21] Even though other kinds of textiles were designed in the workshops in which they were made, the Imperial Tent Corps at times had members of the court design workshop (*nakkaşhane*) on payroll.[22] While the design of tents was

[20] Çürük and Çiçekçiler, *Örnekleriyle Türk Çadırları*, 5-6.

[21] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 23.

[22] Atasoy et al discusses the design of pattern silks not involving the *nakkaşhane*. Atasoy, Nurhan, Serife Athhan, Julian Raby, and Alison Effeny, *Ipek: The Crescent and the Rose: Imperial Ottomon Silks and Velvets* (London: Azimuth Editions on behalf of TEB Iletisim ve Yayincilik, 2001). However, Hülya Tezan says the opposite: “The fabrics for palace clothing and upholstery were woven according to designs produced by the *hassa nakkaşları*, the designers employed in special studios within the body of the palace. In order to meet its own needs the Palace had included weavers in the elite organization of designers and artisans known as the *Ehli Hiref*, ‘people of accomplishment’ who worked exclusively for the court, and even established ateliers within the palace in which to

periodically outsourced, the rest of the duties involved in making and maintaining the tents fell to the Tent Corps. The Corps' responsibilities included the creation of the tents (though not the dyeing or weaving of the fabric), their storage, cleaning, and repair. They also were in charge of transporting and erecting the tents where and when the sultan and court needed. Furthermore, the Corps was tasked with outfitting permanent palatial architecture with various soft furnishings such as curtains.[23]

The Tent Corps was established by Sultan Mehmed II (r.1444-1446, 1451-1481) after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 CE. During the second half of the fifteenth century, it comprised fewer than 40 artisans and laborers.[24] From the time of Sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566) to the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Corps' membership increased dramatically and remained relatively steady at around 800 men. There was a spike in the mid-seventeenth century when that number more than doubled, perhaps as a result of the military campaigns that aimed to conquer territories to the west.[25] When the Corps was overloaded, they also hired help from outside artisans, such

---

work." Hülya Tezcan, "Topkapı Palace Museum Textile Collection: Selected Examples of Upholstery Fabrics, Prayer Rugs, and Other Domestic Textiles," in *Textile Furnishings from the Topkapı Palace Museum*, ed. Hülya Tezcan and Sumiyo Okumura (Vehbi Koç Vakfı, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007), 23-31. Evidence of designers being contracted to work with the Imperial Tent Corps include: BOA D.BŞM 15, p. 2 (934 AH / 1527-8 CE ?) that enumerates a payment to one Hasan Beğ, "chief of court designers for designing royal tents"; Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman Courtly Tents," 644; See also Onuk, *Osmanlı Çadır Sanatı*, 47-48.

[23] Çürük and Çiçekçiler, Ö*rnekleriyle Türk Çadırları*, 5-6; Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 23.

[24] Çürük and Çiçekçiler, Ö*rnekleriyle Türk Çadırları*, 5-6; Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 23.

[25] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 23.

as needleworkers, on an ad hoc basis.[26] Additionally, if the Tent Corps could not keep up with demand, tents could also be purchased on the market.[27]

In the early modern period, i.e., 1600-1800, the Corps' workshop and storage facilities were housed in a section of the former İbrahim Pasha Palace (today the Turkish and Islamic Arts Museum).[28] By the last decades of the eighteenth century, further storage units were appropriated for the Corps' use, one of which was located near the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, across the Hippodrome from the İbrahim Pasha Palace.[29]

While the Imperial Tent Corps continued to function throughout this period of transformation, it was nevertheless affected by the significant political changes that occurred in this period. Specifically, in order to survive the upheaval caused by the abolishment of the Janissaries in 1826, the Tent Corps needed to reform and rebrand. These changes proved to be all for the best when their reestablishment as the *Çadır Mehteri*—which Nurhan Atasoy translates as Superintendence of Tents—resulted in their expansion and ensured their operation until the end of the empire.[30] Therefore, rather than dismissing the tents of this period as products of "Europeanization" and thus "decline," it is more productive to ask how and why the tradition of princely tentage survived this mutable period. The corpus of material demonstrates the creativity of the artists working

[26] Çürük and Çiçekçiler, Ö*rnekleriyle Türk Çadırları*, 5-6.

[27] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 39.

[28] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 24.

[29] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 25.

[30] Çürük and Çiçekçiler, Ö*rnekleriyle Türk Çadırları*, 6.

in and for the Imperial Tent Corps, as evidenced in the breadth of new materials, techniques, and visual modes in tents of this period.

Terms and Concepts

In order to proceed, it is helpful to define a number of key terms and concepts, including the language used to describe tents' structures, parts, materials, and decorative techniques—each of which will be discussed in greater detail throughout the dissertation. Among the general terms applicable to Ottoman imperial tents, *çadır* is perhaps the most common. Where applicable, specific Turkish names of tents will be used, such as the term for a marquee: *sayeban*. Another common and rather useful term features as the title of Nurhan Atasoy's book, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, which describes the royal tent enclosure.[31] The *otağ-ı hümayun* constitutes a cluster of tents, used exclusively by the sultan and his immediate entourage, and which is bounded by a curtain wall, called a *zokak*.

Tents vary greatly in their size, scale, shape, and structure, though no exact system of measurement seems to have been used by the Imperial Tent Corps. However, simple observation of extant objects helps to discern approximate typologies. Establishing precise terms and types is necessary to discuss tents and analyze their function, design, and social value in the chapters to follow. These term and types are partly based on the archival record, which provides names for certain parts or units of measurement as they were historically known. Where these terms are lacking or ambiguous, my own descriptors are proposed. As such, the rough typology introduced

---

[31] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 55.

here variously employs terms in their original Ottoman Turkish and/or descriptors in modern Turkish and English, the latter of which are partly taken from tent scholarship and partly based on my own observations.

Perhaps the most common unit of measure for decorated Ottoman tents is the *hazine*. A *hazine*, or tent panel, is distinguishable in the tent's decoration and structure. The number of *hazine*s a tent has corresponds to the number of panels (likely defined by the width of a bolt of fabric and thus the loom on which it was woven). In tents that employ struts, the number of *hazine* corresponds to the quantity of struts required. Indeed, the structural integrity of many tents is maintained by struts—wooden strips or dowels—inserted into vertical sleeves sewn along the length of the walls, evenly spaced throughout. These sleeves are nearly always concealed on the interior of imperial tents with appliqué or embroidered ornamentation (for example, see Figure 1.24). Most common of these decorative elements is a schematic colonnade or series of arches rendered in appliqué and/or embroidery.[32] This method obscures the structural struts but it also highlights them, as an individual *hazine* thereby becomes an appliquéd archway or niche. Even those that do not require struts are similarly measured by the number of panels or *hazine*, although the join between is merely a seam rather than a sleeve in which a strut is inserted. However, *hazine*s are by no means standardized in their size or proportions. They range widely from tall and narrow to wide and squat, or nearly square; they can be taller than average human height or much shorter. Thus, like the number of

[32] Scholarship such as Nurhan Atasoy's as well as archival documents involving the Imperial Tent Corps sometimes refer to these decorative niches as *mihrab*s. However, I would hesitate to always associate the term with the prayer niche in a mosque, or even *mihrab* arches adorning prayer rugs. Unless otherwise stated, the *mihrab*s adorning tent interiors should simply be seen as arches. Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 115.

columns and other systems to describe a tent, the quantity of *hazine*s gives only a vague sense of scale and proportion.

Trellis tents—often (wrongly) called *yurt*s—fell out of fashion before seventeenth century, as mentioned above.[33] No examples of this type survive and it does not feature in the dissertation, though examples of the type may be glimpsed in select manuscript paintings from the early modern period (for example, see Figure 3.50). The tents that remain extant are by and large of the types that employ large central columns for support. These are secured with guy ropes that provide the necessary tension to keep the tent erect. As a consequence, one element used to describe the scale of a tent is the number of structural columns required for its construction. For example, the monumental seventeenth-century tent in Dresden's Türkische Kammer is the largest on display in a museum today (Figure 5.14). It is held up by three massive columns equally spaced along the spine of the tent's roof or canopy. The footprint of the tent is wider than that of the canopy since its walls slope outward. The extraordinary length of the ovoid tent necessitates the use of three columns. Thus, if a textual source describes a tent with three columns, we may assume a large scale, but such a distinction is not sufficient to determine exact measurements. Very few original columns survive to this day: only a handful remain in the Military Museum in Istanbul and the Topkapı Palace Museum. One example in the former collection demonstrates that columns were as intricately decorated as the rest of the tent and its furnishings (Figure 1.32). This particular example is carved in a delicate spiral, around which sinuous vines and painted flowers wrap. An ionic capital crowns the column, which rests on a slightly more modest base.

---

[33] Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman Courtly Tents."

Large guyed tents composed of a canopy and set of walls also appear in a two-column variety (for example, see Figure 1.21). Functionally, these two-column types are the same as their three-column counterparts but are generally smaller in scale and necessitate only two points of support rather than three. Smaller still is the single-columned tent; it comprises a roof and at least two walls installed around the base of the canopy, reaching to the ground (for example, see Figure 1.13). This type of tent held up by a single, central column with a circular footprint appears to be the most common type produced in the nineteenth century, based on the number of exemplars that survive, all of comparable scale and composition with variation in color and decorative motifs.

While this study demonstrates that imperial fabric architecture is fluid in its function, there are a few tent types defined by their rather limited, utilitarian uses. For example, a few rather unadorned, small-scale tents survive that were used as toilettes. Pictorial evidence shows latrine tents to be composed of four panels in a square floor plan—approximately the same size and shape of a modern bathroom stall and would be erected adjacent to the royal tent enclosure for privacy. One example of this type survives in the Military Museum in Istanbul.[34]

Another tent type with a specific function is the kitchen tent, of which no examples survive. A kitchen tent is visible in the painted illustration of the encampments erected for the festival celebrating the circumcision of Sultan Ahmed III's sons (Figure 3.1). It is distinguished by its brown or terracotta color, out of which is excised a roof panel for ventilation. Also visible in this detail of the painting is a large conical tent erected slightly in front of the kitchen tent. Atasoy and others have noted that this conical

[34] Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 23659.

shape was typical of tents used for public executions. However, as mentioned above, this type of single-columned tent with a circular footprint proliferated in the nineteenth century. Its simple form and modest scale suggest a versatility in its function. In other words, while all execution tents may indeed be conical, not all conical tents were used for executions.

The types discussed thus far have been based on scale and structure or else function. In describing these, I have already introduced a number of terms for the different parts of a tent. The main components include the roof or canopy—regardless of the number of columns necessary to sustain it—the walls or *etek* (literally, "skirts") as they are called in modern Turkish, and sometimes also an entrance canopy or eave. These parts are usually secured to one another by a series of toggles and loops. The vast majority of Ottoman imperial tents—whether they have single or multiple columns—are composed of these elements: the roof or canopy with walls or skirts, and sometimes an entrance eave. While dozens of tents survive whole, many come down to us only as a single wall or roof, which requires some extrapolation to determine original scale and overall design.

While these criteria used to describe different tents and their parts are useful, it cannot be strictly determined due to the variability of the corpus as well as the inconsistency in terminology in both primary and secondary sources. Indeed, to force these monumental fabric structures into a rigid system of classification would be to ignore their differences, nuances, and remarkable variety.

The Ottoman tent makers working in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries experimented with many materials and techniques, greatly expanding their traditional

repertoire. This repertoire will be addressed in the first chapter, though it is worth noting generally that there are certain materials and techniques that prevail, and others for which there is little or no evidence. As to the latter, South Asian tents make prodigious use of printed fabrics,[35] whereas in the Ottoman realm we find none. In addition, fragments of tents made in Safavid Iran include cut and voided figural velvets as well as ornate brocades. Figured fabrics made in complex woven structures are rare in Ottoman tents, although they do appear in the form of *spolia* from Persian tents, as will be discussed in the final chapter of this dissertation. Of course, there is always an exception to the rule. A tent in the Military Museum in Istanbul is constructed with fabric covered in repeating woven patterns (Figure 3.33). This is not typical, however, and can be attributed to the fact that it is made of imported Tunisian fabric.[36]

The main types of fabric used in Ottoman imperial tents are cotton and silk.[37] While both continued to be used from the early modern period through the end of the

---

[35] For example, see the eighteenth-century South Asian tent in the collections of Powis Castle in Welshpool, Wales, inv. no. 1180731.1.

[36] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 132.

[37] Many specific fabrics are mentioned in relation to tent construction; however, the terms are not consistently used. For example, Atasoy enumerates the expanded repertoire of fabrics: "A century later, a greater variety of fabrics were being utilized: striped cloth with cotton weft and silk warp (*kutni*), satin (*atlas*), sade atlas [plain satin], moiré, (*hare*), floral patterned silk brocade (*diba*), fabric woven of silk and metallic filament wrapped thread with hard finish (*hatayi*), Chian fabric (*Sakizi*), cloth ornamented with hooked chain stitch (*suzeni*), canvas-type cloth (*kirpas*), colored satin (*elvan atlas*), vermillion broadcloth known as "saye" (*al saye*), Persian silk without metallic filament (*telsiz Acem zerbafti*), colored cotton fabric (*yemeni*), floral patterned cotton fabric (*çiçekli yemeni*), printed broadcloth (*basma çuka*), very fine yellow silk (*sari merre*), velvet made at Bursa (*Bursa kadifesi*), patterned silk velvet (*nakisli kadife*), plain, red silk velvet (*sade kirmizi kadife*), think felt (*kepenek*), cotton bogasi, or bocassino, Persian-style bogasi (*acemkari bogasi*), lampas silk (*kemha*), Chian fabric with gilt thread decoration (*mütella Sakizi*), unspecified type of colored silk fabric (*evlan kumas*), and striped satin (*taraki atlas*)."

empire, cotton was favored in the earlier period and silk in the latter. But few tents are exclusively made of a single material. Earlier tents, made almost exclusively in cotton, sometimes feature small elements of silk or gilt leather in their decorative schemes. Even later tents with all-silk interiors will have an outer shell made of a thick canvas made of cotton. This double-shelled construction protected not only the individuals inside the tent, but also the painstaking and luxurious decoration relegated to the interior. Combining these materials create dynamic visual effects in the decorative program of Ottoman imperial tents.

A handful of tents made of fulled wool also survive. Wool is a unique fiber that has the ability to felt—under conditions of heat, pressure, and agitation, usually combined with soap and water, the process opens the microscopic scales along the length of each fiber staple, which then entangle and link together to create an extraordinarily strong bond. While a felted fabric may be cut, its strength is such that it cannot be torn. True felt is made with loose wool fibers. However, wool that is spun into yarn and subsequently knitted or woven may also be put under such conditions and "felted." This felting of woolen fabric (as opposed to loose woolen fibers) is called "fulling."

The favored decorative technique employed in early modern imperial tents undoubtedly is appliqué. As an additive process, appliqué is a technique that layers fabric to construct designs. Beginning with a plain ground cloth, cut-out shapes of cloth in different colors are then sewn to create patterns or pictures. Usually, the edges of the pieces of fabric may be slightly tucked under and stitched in such a way as to conceal the

---

Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 108-109; Atasoy quotes from two registers dating to 1714 and 1782-82.

cut edge and the stitches as much as possible. Another method employed to conceal and secure the edges of appliquéd motifs is achieved by outlining the pieces in a cording or stitched outline, termed "couched appliqué." There are some limitations to the appliqué technique, though. For example, because appliqué requires pieces of fabric as opposed to embroidery's thread, it can be more difficult to create small, intricate patterns. However, the tent makers working for the Ottoman sultan pushed this technique to its highest degree, as they painstakingly composed dense and intricate compositions using small bits of variously colored fabrics.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, embroidery as a decorative technique reigned supreme. Like appliqué, embroidery in Ottoman imperial tents varies in its quality and density, as well as visual effects and creativity. Also like appliqué, embroidery on any scale begins with a plain ground cloth, onto which decoration is added. Rather than pieces of woven fabric cut into shapes, embroidered designs are composed with stitches—of varying sizes, shapes, weights, colors, directions, etc.—to create patterns and images. Furthermore, through the process of embroidery, metallic threads, imported chenille yarn, and even sequins were added to the tentmakers' repertoire in this period. Unlike most domestic embroidery, the embroidery adorning imperial tents was executed by men, not women. Some men were highly specialized artisans, who, for example, worked exclusively with metallic thread.

Lastly, it is worth mentioning a largely invisible material and technique but no less important addition to fabric architecture. The Tent Corps had various methods for weather-proofing or making the exterior of tents water-resistant. For example, their outer shells could be coated in wax or oil to protect both the tent's inhabitants as well as the

tent itself and the craftsmen's painstaking work. Such treatments protected the objects and extended their lives so that they could be used time and again on various occasions.

Chapter Outlines

This study's chapters are organized thematically rather than chronologically or by sultans' reigns. The themes emerged from the corpus and they highlight important functions of tents in the Ottoman court in this era of transformation. By recasting tents as fabric architecture, Chapter 1 explores the intersections of fabric and permanent architecture—functionally as well as aesthetically. In so doing, Gilles Deleuze's notion of the baroque "fold" elucidates the key shared characteristics between tents and permanent constructions in this period. The evidence presented suggests a subgenre of Ottoman imperial architecture which may be treated as a kind of "tented baroque."

In addition to examining tents' intersections with the built environment, Chapter 2 situates fabric architecture in the landscape of Istanbul and its suburbs, including the royal gardens, the valley of Kağıthane, and the shores of the Bosphorus. With their largely architectural and floral motifs, tents' decoration reflects their natural surroundings, while also mediating the zones between urban and suburban spaces, built and natural environments, as well as seen and unseen bodies. Their mutable structures allow tents to frame the landscape in a kind of moving panorama, while at the same time their interior decoration replicates such picturesque viewscapes.

Both Chapters 3 and 4 describe the myriad occasions on which imperial tents were deployed, to various ends. Building on centuries of tentage conventions, in the late Ottoman period, tents continued to serve as theatrical state settings for royal ceremonial, including for festivals, feasts, sporting events, diplomatic receptions, international royal

visits, and accession ceremonies. The deep history embedded in princely fabric architecture was relayed into the performance of sovereignty through the different lenses afforded by these ceremonies. Tents' malleability—literally and figuratively—facilitated their varied uses and thereby enabled tents to be used as adept tools for forwarding the sultan's agenda at any given moment. During the last decades of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, tents and other fabric artifacts aided in the construction of a national history, built on that of the Ottoman dynasty. The tent appears in various contexts as a symbol of the history of the House of Osman, which in turn was grafted onto the nascent Ottoman nation. This performance of a shared past was but one facet of the modernization process in this period. While the production of tents as such was never mechanized, imperial fabric architecture played a key role in the celebration and propagation of modernization efforts including infrastructural development. Particularly in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the perennial tradition of royal tentage intersected with new technologies such as photography and modernized systems of transportation, including those with both geopolitical and religious significance—namely, the Hijaz Railway.

The final chapter represents a departure as it takes the reader beyond the borders of the Ottoman realm. It traces the afterlives of Ottoman tents as they left the empire and traveled abroad—whether they were given as gifts, lost in battle, or sold to collectors in Europe. The image of the tent was reflected and refracted in European culture for centuries. For example, the legendary tents lost in the Siege of Vienna 1683 rose to such prominence in Polish spheres that workshops were established to produce imitation Ottoman tents. In western Europe, garden pavilions mimicked "Turkish" tents, fulfilling

their patrons' Orientalist fantasies. This chapter briefly concludes with a discussion of tents as collected artifacts and accessioned objects in museums, wherein their histories were written and rewritten as they passed from hand to hand, across borders, and through time.

CHAPTER 1

Tents and Architecture

As a form of architecture, Ottoman royal tents must be considered within the broader developments of imperial architecture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—from the beginnings of the so-called “Ottoman baroque” in the mid-eighteenth century, through the Tanzimat period and the architectural achievements of the Balyan family in the nineteenth century. This chapter analyzes the changes that occurred in imperial tent aesthetics in this period vis-à-vis concurrent tastes in contemporary permanent architecture, and vice versa. Extant tents from this period demonstrate a broadening of the *Mehterhane-i Hayme*’s (Imperial Tent Corps) repertoire of materials, techniques, and visual modes that parallel similar trends in permanent architecture. Through close examination and comparison of examples of architecture in various media, I argue that a key component of the architectural aesthetics of this time is fabric as a motif, and more specifically, the ways in which the materiality and movement of fabric create and manipulate space. This predilection manifests in both the interiors and exteriors of imperial structures, and in permanent and tent architecture. For instance, representations of draped or pulled aside curtains become a popular motif in architectural interiors—whether painted on stucco, carved out of marble, or stitched onto silk. In some cases, the interiors of domes and recessed niches were painted with *trompe l’oeil* canopies. The exterior appearance of certain structures likewise mimicked the characteristics of draped

fabric, as the silhouettes of small scale-buildings began to take on the form of pitched tents in the nineteenth century. Taken together, these features suggest a subgenre of late Ottoman imperial architecture that may be considered a kind of *tented* baroque.[38] More broadly, by recasting tents as *fabric* architecture, this chapter and the dissertation as a whole provide new insights into Ottoman imperial architecture writ large.

In both permanent and fabric architecture in this period an affinity for representations of textile objects and draped fabric is prevalent. Many scholars have discussed the primacy of textiles as an art form in the Islamic world.[39] Lisa Golombek, for one, has argued that the art and architecture of Islamic cultures reflect a "textile mentality." She argues not only that textiles themselves were integral to society and culture, but that the properties of textiles seeped into the visual culture more broadly. She demonstrates this notion by outlining the ways in which textile motifs and woven structures are transported to other media, such as the prevalence of bands of inscription across media that simulate *tiraz* textiles, or, the cladding of structures in ornamental brickwork known as *hazarbaf* (literally, "thousand weaves") that mimics the intersections of warp and weft.[40] However, while Golombek refers to this textile-centricity as the

---

[38] Rather than a geographic or temporal marker, I am using the term "baroque" as it has been applied to the study of Ottoman architecture, that is, as a descriptor of a style that defined the built environment of the court from the mid-eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In the case of tents, this temporal boundary is loosened due to the fact that tents often cannot be precisely dated. Moreover, while other such terms derived in relation to European architecture persist (also "Rococo," "Neoclassical," and "Empire," for examples), I strive to excise any negative associations with the word baroque in these contexts, which in earlier scholarship has been used to suggest Ottoman architecture simply apes European models.

[39] For example, Patricia Baker, *Islamic Textiles* (London: British Museum, 1995).

[40] Lisa Golombek, "Draped Universe of Islam," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World, Papers from A Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen,*

"draped universe of Islam," she does not address the movement and materiality of the fabric media—that is, its *drape*—as represented in other media. Conversely—and especially germane to the analysis of Ottoman baroque architecture—Gilles Deleuze offers the concept of the "*fold*" to explain the visual and spatial characteristics of the baroque.[41] According to Deleuze:

> The Baroque refers not to an essence but rather to an operative function, to a trait. It endlessly produces folds. … the Baroque trait twists and turns its folds, pushing them into infinity, fold over fold, one upon the other. The Baroque unfurls all the way to infinity.[42]

The fold, in Deleuzian terms, combines materiality and movement in space. The textile medium, through its drape, has the ability to create and manipulate space and as such, epitomizes Deleuze's notion of the fold. Tristan Weddigen notes that "the textile medium, which is flat, material, and ornamental… creates a physical, aesthetic, and social space by means of folding and unfurling."[43] In other words, the materiality and

---

Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2-4 April 1980, Planned and Organized by Carol Manson Bier, edited by Priscilla P. Soucek. (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press for the College Art Association of America, 1988), 25-38.

[41] While Deleuze's interpretation of the baroque and discussion of the "fold" centers around Leibniz and his concept of monads, I am employing and expanding the discourse to elucidate the "Ottoman baroque" and its intersections with fabric and fabric architecture.

[42] Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 3.

[43] Tristan Weddigen, "Unfolding Textile Spaces: Antiquity/Modern Period," in *Art & Textiles: Fabric as Material and Concept in Modern Art from Klimt to the Present*, ed. Harmut Böhme et al (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2014), 90.

movement of textiles allows them to activate and alter space, thus embodying Deleuze's notion of the baroque fold.

In the Ottoman court, textiles and soft furnishings had always been a significant part of the built environment—from the abundant use of cushions and curtains in permanent architecture to the *otağ-ı hümayun* (royal tent encampment) serving as an entire palace made of fabric. As scholars have demonstrated, textiles in the classical Ottoman period reflected a standardized courtly aesthetic, wherein decorative modes and motifs moved fluidly between media.[44] For instance, tile revetments and hanging curtains exhibited strong likenesses in their compositions and representations of floral motifs. Such examples align with Golombek's idea that through textiles decorative elements were transported from one medium to another. However, in the case of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ottoman imperial architecture, it was the materiality and movement of fabric rather than its motifs or weave structure that was simulated in other media, and also self-referentially represented in fabric architecture.

In both permanent architecture and tented structures, illusionistic representations of textiles altered interior spaces. In addition, the "folding and unfurling" movement characteristic of the textile medium informed a subgenre of the Ottoman baroque wherein small-scale—or tent-scale—buildings like pavilions, kiosks, and gateways mimicked fabric architecture. As such, this chapter complicates the relationship between fabric,

---

[44] Gülru Necipoğlu, "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 136-170. For these kinds of patterns in textiles, see: Walter B. Denny and Sumru B. Krody, *The Sultan's Garden: The Blossoming of Ottoman Art* (Washington, DC: The Textile Museum, 2012), 16-28; Nurhan Atasoy, et al, *İpek*; J. M. Rogers and Filiz Çağman, *The Topkapi Saray Museum* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1986), volumes 2 ("Costumes, Embroideries, and Other Textiles") and 4 ("Carpets").

architecture, and fabric architecture in this new kind of "draped universe." It outlines the impact of textiles and tents on the development of Ottoman imperial architectural aesthetics in this period, which has heretofore been neglected in scholarship.

The Problem of "Europeanization" in Tents

In early Ottoman art historical scholarship, the architectural endeavors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been characterized as derivative of their European counterparts.[45] In the case of Ottoman imperial tents, Nurhan Atasoy frequently remarks how much a particular tent deviates from traditional tent aesthetics or to what degree it has been "Europeanized." By characterizing tents in this way, Atasoy's work suggests a linear chronology from traditional ("Turkish") Ottoman imperial tents made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the late nineteenth century when tents have

[45] For various approaches to the problematic of Westernization, see: Shirine Hamadeh, "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the 'Inevitable' Question of Westernization" *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 1 (March 2004): 32-51; Günsel Renda, *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700-1850* (Ankara: Haceteppe Üniversitesi, 1977); Günsel Renda, "Westernisms in Ottoman Art: Wall Paintings in 19th Century Houses," in *The Ottoman House, Papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, eds. Stanley Ireland and William Bechhoefer (London and Coventry: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and The University of Warwick, 1998), 103-109; Richard Yeomans, *The Art and Architecture of Ottoman Istanbul* (Reading: Garnet Publishing, 2012); Filiz Yenişehirlioğlu, "Western Influences on Ottoman Architecture in the 18th Century," in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heiss (München: Oldenbourg, 1983), 153-178; Ü. Ü. Bates, "The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture," in *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, eds. Abraham Ascher, Tibor Halasi-Kun, and Béla K. Király (Lanham: University Press of America, 1986), 167-181; Engin Deniz Akarlı "The Tangled Ends of Empire: Ottoman Encounters with the West and Problems of Westernization—An Overview," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 26, no. 3 (2006): 353-366.

become “fully Europeanized.”[46] The problem with this assertion is made apparent through comparison between Ottoman tents and contemporary European ones, which exhibit stark differences. French, Swedish, and German elite tents, for examples, feature little or no appliquéd or embroidered ornament in the way Ottoman tents do. Rather, they are adorned with a simple pattern, usually of thin vertical stripes in blue and white, occasionally trimmed with decorative fringe along the canopy’s edge (Figure 1.1).[47] In what ways, then, are Ottoman tents “Europeanized”? In these contexts, we are to understand the label of “Europeanizing” or “Westernizing” as a reference to the influence of European tastes on the art and architecture of the Ottoman court at large, here translated to imperial tents.

In recent years, scholars have addressed the issue of what Shirine Hamadeh has called the “‘inevitable’ question of Westernization” with regards to permanent architecture. Rather than a wholesale importation of foreign aesthetics from Europe, Hamadeh claims that this period marks a newfound openness, or *décloisonnement*, as

---

[46] In her extensive catalog of extant tents, Nurhan Atasoy seems to qualify the later tents based on their level of derivation from the traditional mode described above, intimating a chronology where the earlier tents appear more “Turkish” and the later tents more “Europeanized.” Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*. While by and large I do not challenge her dating of the objects, especially because the most precise dating we can attribute to these objects is within the frame of about a half century, I do not organize the tents in a progression of stylistic evolution given the fact that even into the late nineteenth century tents that feature innovative elements were being produced alongside and at the same time as tents in a more traditional or even historicizing mode. I address the latter more thoroughly in Chapter 4.

[47] As will be discussed further in Chapter 5, perhaps somewhat ironically, the striped fabric of these European tents may represent a desire to fashion tents in an Orientalizing mode, as striped fabrics were associated with the East in nineteenth-century Europe. Kimberly Chrisman-Campbell, *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 238-255.

artists and architects alike looked to external sources of inspiration, to both west and east of the empire.[48] Ünver Rüstem, on the other hand, argues for the reclaiming of the notion of an "Ottoman baroque" by demonstrating the means by which the sultans negotiated a place on the global stage through adopting and adapting international (and often overtly European) architectural styles into their new imperial constructions.[49] While Hamadeh and Rüstem differ in their approaches, both seek to subvert the negative connotations long associated with Ottoman imperial architecture in this period. In so doing, Hamadeh turns to contemporary Ottoman written sources that laud new constructions for their novelty or "new style" (*nev-icad* and linguistic variants thereof).[50] Similarly, archival sources dating from the first half of the nineteenth century record requests for imperial tents to be made for the sultan in a "new style" (using the same terminology used to describe contemporary permanent architecture, *nev-icad*). For example, a document dated 1215 AH (1800 CE), thus situating it during Sultan Selim III's reign (r. 1789-1807) records a request (*ruk'a*) for the construction (*ınşa*) of two hundred new-style tents (*nev-icad çerge*) among other types (e.g., *sekban çerge*).[51] The language is quite formulaic, as similar requests employing the same terminology and syntax also survive that date to the first half of the nineteenth century. The term *nev-icad* is employed so loosely that at first

---

[48] Shirine Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008).

[49] Ünver Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul" (PhD diss., Harvard University 2013); Ünver Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque: The Architectural Refashioning of Eighteenth-Century Istanbul* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019).

[50] Hamadeh, "The 'Inevitable' Question," 33-36.

[51] BOA C.SM.9.A.460

one might be inclined to think that the term denotes a new structure of tent. However, in the material and visual records, there is no indication of a new form of tent invented in this period. Conversely, new decorative modes, materials, and techniques abound. What constitutes this "new style" is not even vaguely articulated in these documents and therefore the extant objects constitute the primary body of evidence for understanding the phenomenon and its impact.

A Novel Corpus: Experimentation and Eclecticism

Without a doubt, the material evidence provided by extant imperial tents reveals an extraordinarily broad range of materials, techniques, styles, and visual effects employed by the artists working in the Imperial Tent Corps in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some of which indeed resemble elements of European art objects, textiles, and architectural decoration. As has been noted, though, these innovations in Ottoman tents are not unconscious borrowings from Europe, least of all from European tents. In fact, the surviving corpus of tents contradicts the notion of a single, unified new decorative mode. Rather, imperial tents from this period feature a vast array of novel styles, materials, techniques, and motifs that suggest a privileging of experimentation, and/or predilection for eclecticism.[52] While traditional craft practices and methods of working were never lost, Imperial Tent Corps' repertoire of materials, techniques, and visual modes expanded significantly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. *Nev-icad* perhaps did not refer to a single new imperial style but rather denoted *any* break from tradition, resulting in a

[52] While eclecticism may carry negative connotations in certain contexts, here I employ the term simply to mean a predilection for stylistic and aesthetic diversity.

spectrum of conventional and innovative styles and motifs. Regardless of their origin(s), these new styles and visual modes were expertly incorporated into a renowned Ottoman art form: princely tentage. From this perspective, we may consider European, imported, or simply novel features to be *Ottomanized* in the sultan's tent. In other words, Ottoman tents were not Europeanized by their incorporation of materials, colors, and artistic styles that appeared or were European in origin. Rather, international imperial architectural tastes were made to submit to the form and traditions of Ottoman fabric architecture.

In order to demonstrate the changes that took place in the Imperial Tent Corps in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a description of the standardized, "classical" type of tent from the "high" Ottoman period (circa mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century) is necessary. In this period, imperial art and architecture were quite uniform in their styles, motifs, and color palette. Thus, as to be expected, the earliest imperial Ottoman tents that survive today (dating from the seventeenth century) exhibit a standardization of aesthetics that reflects contemporary arts and architecture. For example, a two-columned and two-storied seventeenth-century Ottoman tent today in the Armémuseum in Stockholm serves as a quintessential example of "classical" Ottoman tents (Figures 1.2 and 1.3). The interior is dominated by red cotton broadcloth, which is visually broken up by a series of appliquéd columns, creating a two-dimensional fabric arcade. Each column sits on a wide base and finishes in a bulbous capital; the arches are trimmed in a delicate scalloped edge. While clearly referencing permanent architectural features, all the elements of the composition are rendered quite flat, without weight or volume. Above and below the arcade, registers of ornate friezes are filled with stylized vegetal and geometric ornament. The negative space between columns frames a lobed

medallion, or *şemse* (sunburst), which sits on a base and is surmounted by a finial that nearly touches the apex of the pointed arch. The walls and roof of the tent match in their overall composition, however, the appliquéd arcade adorning the roof is slightly smaller in scale than the lower wall, thus creating an effect reminiscent of an upper story or gallery, further linking the fabric structure to its more permanent architectural counterparts. The color palette also is typical for tents of this period. The conventional range of colors include rich red, deep blue, sage green, and yellow ochre. Red is the most common color used for the main ground cloth of early modern Ottoman imperial tents, due to its royal connotations (though there are exceptions to this rule, see Figure 5.23). Regardless, all are composed largely of cotton or linen broadcloth for both the ground fabric and most of the appliqué, with some incorporation of minor decorations in silk or gilt leather accents.

This description of the typical early modern Ottoman imperial tent serves as a base comparison for the significant changes and experimentation that occurred in the fabric architecture of the late Ottoman period, especially from the mid-eighteenth to the late nineteenth century. Over nearly six centuries of Ottoman rule, change surely is to be expected. However, in the case of fabric architecture, these changes were not simply a slow evolution of imperial decorative and architectural styles. Rather, the material evidence exhibited in surviving tents suggests that this period was one of remarkable creativity and radical experimentation after a long period of uniformity. Novel materials, colors, and techniques were adopted and used to create new and experimental visual effects. The following thus outlines some of the innovations in tent aesthetics in this period as observed in the extant material, in order to demonstrate the breadth of "new

style*s*" that comprised the Tent Corps' repertoire in this period. These include new motifs, colors, materials, techniques, and representational modes. Above all, depictions and evocations of fabric are strategically employed in architectural interiors to activate and alter real and virtual space.

A toffee-colored silk marquee in the Topkapı Palace Museum exhibits a number of the innovations in style and technique that proliferated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Figure 1.4). The overall composition centers around an oval medallion framed by vegetation. The medallion is filled with a dense bouquet of colorful flowers rendered as if seen from above. However, the medallion is seemingly "hung" by a ribbon tied in an ornate bow—thus contradicting the overhead perspective of the central bouquet. The large medallion is framed by symmetrical swags of garland, whose ends fall to either side. Below, another cluster of blooms is arranged in an abstracted vase. Energetic sprigs of flowering vegetation bound out on either side of the vase, reaching upward, almost touching the ends of the hanging garland. The vase and especially the flowers are quite sculptural in their embroidered form, as the silk is stitched on top of a base of cut pasteboard or bundled fibers in order to make the motifs project out from the ground fabric (Figure 1.5).

While floral and vegetal ornament still dominate imperial tent decoration as in previous centuries, this marquee represents a significant departure from the classical mode of flat schematic patterning. Here the flowers are rendered in naturalistic colors, and given volume by the density of embroidery as well as by the juxtaposition of stitches in variegating shades to create highlights and shadows. Moreover, while unnaturally symmetrical, the delicately shaded flowers overlap, adding to the sense of pictorial depth.

As was the case in previous centuries, these new modes of representation can be seen across media in the late Ottoman period. For example, small bouquets of symmetrical yet naturalistic flowers set against a golden backdrop feature in imperial book arts as well (Figures 1.6 and 1.7).[53] In royal tents, though, the floral ornament is executed on a monumental, architectural scale.

The overall composition of the aforementioned marquee suggests that the canopy is a picture plane with virtual depth. While the sculptural embroidery lends credence to such an illusion, the undulating ribbon and weighty swags of garlands seem to hover in a liminal space between the shallow pictorial recess and the viewer's own space. Moreover, the fabric wall would have been erected at an incline, with the lower edge farther away from the viewer and with the upper edge tilting toward them (when said viewer is situated inside or under the marquee). Thus, the inclusion of a hanging garland on such an angled and fluid surface would have created a *trompe l'oeil* effect—that is, the swags would have appeared as though hanging in space, dangling above the viewer, coming away from the flexible, silken picture plane. The ribbon at the top of the composition—holding it all together in a neat bow—seems to contradict itself. On the one hand, it demarcates the directionality of the composition, like the medallion and garlands are hung below, but on the other, the bow's loose ends hover above the rest, seemingly defying gravity.

The marquee also exemplifies new preferences in materials and techniques. Silk dominates rather than cotton or linen, and embroidery is the decorative technique of

[53] The subsequent chapter further discusses of the prevalence of floral imagery in tents and textiles more broadly, including their references to gardens both terrestrial and eschatological, as well as their role as dynastic emblems.

choice, supplanting the previously favored appliqué method.[54] To be precise, these materials and techniques were not wholly new to the tent makers' repertoire, nor were old methods abandoned. Rather, where silk and embroidery were previously used sparingly, now these materials and techniques dominated imperial tent arts, and, inversely, cotton and appliqué appear much less frequently or were employed in different ways.[55] Indeed, imperial eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tents and textile arts used various kinds of appliqué in both conventional and innovative ways. An example of the continued use of traditional appliqué is seen on a four-poled marquee dating to the nineteenth century is quite classical in its overall composition, decoration, and color scheme (Figure 1.8). The marquee is constructed of fulled wool, or woollen cloth that is slightly felted after weaving.[56] A rather unusual partly-enclosed marquee features similar materials and techniques, though to very different effect (Figure 5.7). This tent survives in the Princes

---

[54] For more on Ottoman embroidery, see: Roderick Taylor and Antony Maitland, *Ottoman Embroidery* (London: Studio vista, 1993); Marianne Ellis and Jennifer Mary Wearden, *Ottoman Embroidery* (London: V&A Publications, New York: Distributed by Harry N. Abrams, 2001); Christian Erber and Gisela Helmeck, *A Wealth of Silk and Velvet: Ottoman Fabrics and Embroideries* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1993).

[55] Moreover, these "new" materials and techniques had been employed in other textile arts for centuries, such as silk brocaded kaftans and gold embroidered saddles, quivers, and cushions. Selin İpek notes, however, that in the classical period heavy silk textiles dominated (such as velvet), while in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries lighter fabrics replaced the heavier varieties: Selin İpek, "Ottoman Fabrics During the 18th and 19th Centuries," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 697 (2012): http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/697. The former heavier silks such as velvet were not generally employed in tents, so perhaps silk begins to appear more often in the tents produced in later centuries because lighter, more manageable silks became more readily available.

[56] Wool has the unique ability to felt. The shaft of the fiber is covered in layered unidirectional scales, which when agitated and put under pressure, lock together permanently. Felt is used in many ways, including for the iconic headgear of the Mevlevi order. For its use in tents, see Peter Andrews, *Felt Tents and Pavilions*.

Czartoryski Foundation, now incorporated into the National Museum in Kraków. Once believed to have been won by the Polish king, Jan III Sobieski, in the second Siege of Vienna in 1683, it is now recognized as a pastiche of Ottoman tent fragments and textile arts, recrafted to represent the Europeans' victory over the Ottomans.[57] While the condition of this tent is discussed at length in the final chapter of the dissertation, suffice it to say that the three rectilinear walls (which likely date approximately to the long nineteenth century) demonstrate an innovative use of the traditional appliqué technique in polychrome fulled wool (Figures 5.8 and 5.9). The flowers and architectural elements are given volume by juxtaposing a range of hues in fuchsia, green, and bright blue. While the gradients do not create a unified pictorial space with a single light source, the inclusion of a range of hues is a clear departure from the flat, stylized floral and architectural appliqué produced in seventeenth-century classical tents.

Even though appliqué can be used to create gradients of vivid colors as demonstrated in the above example, the technique of embroidery lent itself much better to the manipulation of color and form, as can be seen in the many examples of intricately articulated landscapes and modeled naturalistic flowers adorning various textile objects in this period. The creative adaptability of embroidery is demonstrated in a rectilinear fabric structure is dated 1303 AH (1886 CE), thus corresponding to the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) (Figures 1.9 and 1.10). This nearly square tent features on

---

[57] For further discussion of this particular marquee and the broader phenomenon of the "afterlives" of Ottoman and imitation-Ottoman tents in Europe, see Chapter 5. In addition, I discuss the particularities of Ottoman tents in Poland in Ashley Dimmig, "Substitutes and Souvenirs: Reliving Polish Victory in 'Turkish' Tents," *The Art of Travel: The Mobility of People and Things in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, ed. Elisabeth Fraser (New York, NY: Routledge, 2019).

its interior a variation of the conventional arcaded decorative program. This tent stands out for its exclusive and extensive use of hooked *sûzanî* chain stitch in the execution of the tent's decoration.[58] The color palette is peculiar, including orange, pale pink, powder blue, magenta-purple, and white cascading in various shades across the sage green ground cloth. Moreover, like the Czartoryski marquee's unnatural hues ranging in tone, here too the embroidery gradates from highly saturated colors to pale ivory, creating an almost psychedelic array of pulsating shades (Figure 1.10).

Beyond embroidery's capacity for producing varied visual effects, and therefore proving to be a versatile tool in tent decoration, the materials for embroidering were increasingly available from the eighteenth century. As a result, embroidery as an art form increased across strata of Ottoman society in the eighteenth century; in particular, in the middle class as well as at the palace, domestic needlework was a means of socialization for women.[59] While women did not embroider imperial tents, the sweeping fashion for embroidered textiles may have led to the increase in needleworking in the imperial tent workshop.

The aforementioned rectilinear tent dating to Abdülhamid II's reign also exhibits a rare—possibly unique—example of synthetic dyes being used in Ottoman tents, an innovation developed only three decades prior by the chemist Sir William Henry Perkin in Great Britain.[60] The nature of the dye is revealed in its lack of color-fastness, or the

---

[58] While this stitch appears on other contemporary extant tents (e.g., Figure 1.17), here it is used with abandon.

[59] Denny and Krody, "The Emergence and Development of the Floral Style in Textiles," *The Sultan's Garden,* 21-28.

[60] In the process of attempting to develop a treatment for malaria, Perkin accidentally invented aniline or synthetic dyes, and in particular, the color mauve. Simon Garfield,

way it bled into the cloth around the places where the synthetically dyed thread was stitched.[61] The global textile industry was revolutionized in the nineteenth century—both through the discovery of synthetic dyes as well as the invention of the Jacquard loom.[62] In the Ottoman Empire, various crafts including weaving and carpet making were being industrialized in this period.[63] While the production of imperial tents was not industrialized in the same way, it is likely that the royal tentmakers were familiar with the cutting edge of textile technologies and wanted to experiment with synthetically dyed threads. Perhaps they even strategically employed synthetic dyes in this imperial tent in order to showcase their aptitude with these new materials and technologies. However, the use of synthetically dyed threads does not seem to have been widely adopted, whether for

---

Mauve: How One Man Invented a Color That Changed the World (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000). Donald Quataert discusses the selective adoption of synthetic dyes in Ottoman textile production in the nineteenth century, noting that "It was not always a trend of abandoning local dyes for synthetics. Sometimes manufacturers quit and then resumed local dyeing in their efforts to find the most marketable combination of product and price." Donald Quaraert, "Ottoman Manufacturing in the Nineteenth Century," in *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*, ed. Donald Quaraert (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 89; For more on the history of dyes in Ottoman textiles, see: Harald Böhmer, Nevin Enez, Recep Karadağ, Charllotte Kown, eds., *Koekboya: Natural Dyes and Textiles: A Colour Journey from Turkey to India and Beyond* (Ganderkesee: Remhob, cop. 2002); Nidal Al-Sharairi, Ziad Al-Saad, and Ion Sandu, "Identification of Dyes Applied to Ottoman Textiles," *International Journal of Conservation Science* 8, no. 2 (April-June 2017): 251-258; Nevin Enez, "Dye Research on the Prayer Rugs of the Topkapı Collection," *Oriental Carpet & Textile Studies* 4 (1993): 191-204; Atasoy, et al, *İpek,* 194-197.

[61] As per conversation with the textile conservator at the Military Museum in Istanbul.

[62] James Essinger, *Jacquard's Web: How a Hand-Loom Led to the Birth of the Information Age* (Cary: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[63] For the case of industrial production of imperial carpets, see: Önder Küçükerman, *The Rugs and Textiles of Hereke: A Documentary Account of the History of Hereke Court Workshop to Model Factory* (Ankara: Sümerbank Genel Müdürlüğü, 1987).

its lack of availability or lesser quality when compared to the long perfected technique of natural dyeing. These few examples not only represent the breadth of the Tent Corps' new decorative repertoire, but they also demonstrate that tent-makers recognized and played with traditional modes while at the same time experimenting with new colors, motifs, forms, materials, techniques, and visual modes of representation in fabric architecture.

Another novel trend in late-Ottoman imperial tents is the profusion of metallic embroidery. In previous centuries, small pieces of gilt leather lent a bit of sparkle to tents' appliquéd compositions. In this period, though, gold and silver threads were used with abandon.[64] While sumptuary and sartorial regulations appeared with greater frequency in the eighteenth century, these restrictions did not extend to the court.[65] For example, a dazzling blue silk marquee is filled with dense, sculptural embroidery in gold (Figure 1.11). This effect is achieved by building up the motif with plain fibers or pasteboard, then covering the base with metal-wrapped silk threads or thin strips of precious metal couched in silk stitches. The composition of the main section of this gold-

[64] For more on sumptuary laws and textile arts, see: Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 3 (August 1997), 403-425.

[65] Madeline C. Zilfi, "Whose Laws?: Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime," in *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, 125-141 (Istanbul: EREN, 2004): 133. Zilfi notes further that "The connection between sartorial restrictions and worsening problems of production, demand, and debt is firmly based," as Sultans Selim III and Mustafa III who were proponents of many such restrictions, advocated for Ottoman-made materials, positioning himself against viziers and courtiers who wore foreign imports. Zilfi, "Whose Laws?," 138. Moreover, as others have noted, the uptick in frequency of these edicts shows that in this period, people were not abiding by them in the first place. See also: Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society," 403.

encrusted tent resembles the sculptural embroidery decorating the silk marquee in Figure 1.4, with its central bouquet, framed by growing vegetation, and surmounted by symmetrical swags garland. Here, however, every part of the decoration is executed in gold. One particular element featured on the eave of this tent sheds light on one of the symbolic associations for the use of gold (Figure 1.12). During the reign of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) the sunburst motif became especially popular across Ottoman imperial arts and continued to be used in various iterations until the end of the empire, including in different manifestations of imperial heraldry and coats of arms. The three-dimensional character of this metallic embroidery technique would have reflected light across its textured surfaces, illuminating the motif and no doubt dazzling its viewers by casting speckled light across the interior of the marquee.[66]

The sunburst motif long served as a means of representing royal power and sovereignty throughout the Islamic world and beyond.[67] For example, Abolala Soudavar

---

[66] It must be noted, though, that style of metallic embroidery proliferated in the late Ottoman period and was certainly not exclusive to fabric architecture. For instance, sculptural metallic embroidery adorned velvet kaftans, wedding gowns, ceremonial and military garb, as well as accessories such as handbags and saddles. For examples, see: Hatice Örcün Barışta, "Turkish Embroideries: Later Period of the Ottoman Empire," *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Tadeusz Majda (Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990), 37-42; Hülya Bilgi, Idil Zanback, eds., *Skill of the Hand, Delight of the Eye: Ottoman Embroideries in the Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection* (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Museum, 2012); Nancy Micklewright, "Women's Dress in 19th Century Istanbul: Mirror of a Changing Society" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1986). Also, a small collection of metallic-embroidered velvet kaftans remains uncatalogued in the recently reopened Museo della Tappezzeria in Bologna, Italy. In the case of sartorial metallic embroidery, velvet was often the cloth of choice on top of which gold and metallic threads were stitched. However, velvet does not appear in any surviving Ottoman imperial tents.

[67] These motifs also appeared on book arts, especially tooled in leather covers or painted on doublures. For examples, see François Deroche, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction*

discusses the central role of solar motifs in Mughal royal portraiture as visual representations of the emperors' Divine Glory (*farr-e izadi*). He cites Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami, a historian in the court of Mughal Emperor Akbar I (r. 1556-1605), who wrote: "'The shamseh [that adorns] the canopied throne of rulership (*chahar taq-e farmanravai*) is the Divine Glory itself.'"[68] This assertion also underscores the correlation between royal canopies, solar imagery and, by extension, divinely ordained power. Indeed, as in Ottoman lands, tents played a key role in the performance of sovereignty in the Mughal court.[69] Earlier Ottoman imperial tents featured sun-like medallions that appear to radiate in a rather different way than the burst of gold seen on the marquee in Figure 1.12. These suggest a radiating movement through their composition of concentric circles of intricate patterning that seem to vibrate with energy. With either method of representing a celestial

---

to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script (Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005).

[68] Abolala Soudavar, *Aura of Kings: Legitimacy and Divine Sanction in Iranian Kingship* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 7; Abu al-Fazl ibn Mubarak and H. Blochmann, *The Áín i Akbarí* (Osnabruck: Biblio Verlag, 1985), I: 2-3. Soudavar further discusses Abu'l-Fazl 'Allami and the concept of "Divine Glory" in broader Persianate contexts in: Abolala Soudavar, with contributions by Milo Cleveland Beach, *Arts of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 8-9, 410-416. For a comparative approach, see also: A. Azfar Moin, *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015). For earlier correlations between the sun, the ruler, and his tent, see: Bernard O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 251, and Peter A. Andrews, "The Felt Tent in Middle Asia: The Nomadic Tradition and Its Interaction with Princely Tentage," (PhD diss., SOAS, 1980), 472.

[69] For more on the use and meaning of tents in the Mughal court, see: Zirwat Chowdhury, "An Imperial Mughal Tent and Mobile Sovereignty in Eighteenth-Century Jodhpur," in *Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World*, ed. Daniela Bleichmar and Meredith Martin, 73-85 (John Wiley & Sons, 2016); Andrews, "The Generous Heart"; Andrews, *Tentage at the Calico Museum*.

body in fabric architecture, *şemse* medallions served to frame and metaphorically illuminate the sultan seated beneath the canopy, creating a kind of otherworldly mise-en-scène. In the case of the nineteenth-century blue silk marquee adorned with sculptural gold embroidery, the sunburst more closely recalls the motif's use in the Ottoman coat of arms, an invention of the nineteenth century, but which was built upon established methods of representing royal power, including through the symbolism of celestial bodies.[70]

A canary yellow single-columned tent evokes solar imagery in a rather different way—through a combination of metallic embroidery as well as the overall color and composition of the tent interior (Figure 1.13). Gilt ornament decorates the central medallion and radiates outward from the center pole (Figure 1.14). The spokes of the canopy visually extend down the walls in the form of the thin appliquéd columns hiding the strut sleeves. These metallic elements arranged in this manner, in conjunction with the bright yellow silk interior, creates an effect of an all-encompassing sunburst on a monumental scale.

Its celestial connotations aside, this form of tent represents a common type in this period, which was particularly popular in the Ottoman court during the latter half of the nineteenth century. It is characterized by a conical canopy, held up by a single central pole, and its form is maintained by struts inside sleeves around the roof and walls. As is

---

[70] Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 1 (January 1993), 3-29. In a similar vein, solar imagery has a long history in Islamic coinage and also ceremonial medallions. For contemporary examples in Qajar Iran, see: Priscilla Soucek, "Coinage of the Qajars: A System in Continual Transition," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1 (2001), 51-87, esp. 66; Angelo M, Piemontese, "The Statutes of the Qajar Orders of Knighthood," *East and West* 19, no. 3/4 (September-December 1969): 431-473.

typical, the ornament is heaviest on the interior of the canopy, concentrated especially around the central pole and canopy's valances, which were often scalloped. Each tent of this type also was fitted with a matching, albeit less ornate set of walls. The walls themselves are optional, though, and allow the tent to function either as an intimate enclosed space or an open parasol-like structure, or somewhere between (Figure 1.13). Unlike the uniformity of tent decoration in the high Ottoman period, however, in this case, it is the form and structure of the tent that is standardized, while the decoration exhibits great variety across the many extant examples. For instance, a badly damaged conical silken tent of comparable scale likewise exhibits a high-contrast color scheme (Figures 1.15 and 1.16). The main panels are black, complementing the rosy pink silk with gold embroidery on the central medallion, strut sleeves, and scalloped valance.[71] Another example in remarkable condition—exhibiting minor discoloration, as the previously purple silk has browned slightly—features similar floral motifs, cornucopias, and minute glittering garlands on a sage green ground in its decorative zones (Figure 3.43). The scale and convertibility of these tents' walls demonstrates their fluidity in function, suggesting that this type of tent was commonly used by the sultan and his entourage on myriad occasions.[72] Unlike large-scale tents used mostly for extended travel or once-in-a-lifetime royal festivals, these small single-poled structures are easily

[71] The extreme damage to the black ground cloth is likely due in part to the particularly corrosive nature of black dyes. For the nature and properties of black dyes, see: Böhmer et al, *Koekboya*, 25-48, 249; Atasoy, et al, *İpek*, 197.

[72] One such occasion where this tent was used was at the Girding of the Sword ceremony for Sultan Mehmed V (Reşad) in 1909, and which is discussed further in Chapter 3.

transported and erected as needed. They served as a kind of overlarge parasol and could be erected any place at any time, thus adapting to any number of occasions.

On the opposite end of the decorative spectrum, a few late-period tents exhibit relative minimalism. A tent wall surviving in the Military Museum in Istanbul eschews dense ornament in favor of plain, albeit fine, silk (Figure 1.17). The embroidered motifs are of an extraordinary quality, but appear sparingly, as they are confined to the thin columns sewn over the strut sleeves along the wall. The only other ornament present is formed by the windows, which, rather than being secured with typical corded grillwork, feature a kind of appliquéd sunburst motif—another manifestation of this particular device in tent decoration. The quality of the needlework and the choice of silk demonstrate that the minimalist schema is quite deliberate and therefore not the result of constricted finances.

The select examples discussed thus far demonstrate the breadth of experimentation and innovation in the Ottoman Tent Corps, especially from the mid-eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century. However, this vastly expanded repertoire did not entirely supplant traditional tent aesthetics. The later Ottoman period also produced new tents in a classical—or classicizing—mode. For example, the main panel comprising a nineteenth-century marquee features an ornate central medallion surrounded by four quarter medallions—a composition quite typical of Ottoman tents, as shown in surviving examples as well as in many manuscript paintings (Figure 1.18). The eave frames three arches comprised of petite columns and elaborate capitals and bases. In the negative space between each archway sits a lobed medallion on a vase, topped with a cartouche and finial, highly reminiscent of seventeenth-century examples. Thus, these

modes were not lost or wholly abandoned, but continued to be produced, albeit in new colorways and materials including silk and metallic embroidery. The aforementioned requests for tents in a "new style" suggests that there was an awareness of novelty vis-à-vis traditional tent aesthetics. Thus, these kinds of tents that employ what may descibed as exhibiting a classical or even self-historicizing style were likely recognized as such—meaning that while some occasions called for tents in a "new style," there also were situations where a traditional aesthetic was more suitable. A conscious performance of history and tradition through imperial tents is discussed in greater depth in Chapter 4.

Thus, the concept of novelty or *nev-icad* as it is mentioned in archival sources is complicated in the material record. Some of the "new" materials, techniques, and styles were indeed imported from Europe (e.g., chenille yarn) while others had been a part of the Ottoman courtly arts for quite some time, including silk and metallic threads used in royal costume. With a greater variety of materials, techniques, and colors at their disposal, the tent-makers employed in the imperial workshops experimented with various styles, motifs, and visual effects, such as naturalism and illusionism. While the rendering of volume through light and shade may have been appropriated from external sources, these effects were adapted to Ottoman tents, and rendered on an architectural scale. Thus, in the case of tents, *nev-icad* may denote myriad manifestations of novelty, innovation, experimentation, and perhaps even eclecticism as such. Yet, this novelty was not mutually exclusive of tradition, but rather the material record speaks to a significant expansion of the imperial tentmakers' repertoire, inclusive of classicizing compositions in new materials and colorways that were à la mode. With this introduction to the corpus in mind, the rest of this chapter situates these trends in the broader scope of architectural

tastes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Specifically, the following comparisons demonstrate the centrality of fabric and fabric architecture in the articulation of the imperial architecture of the Ottoman court in the late period.

Draped Interiors: Representations of Fabric

With their expanded repertoire of materials and techniques, the Tent Corps experimented with new motifs and compositions—building on, adding to, and altering conventional modes of adorning imperial fabric architecture. By and large, architectonic compositions still reigned supreme in defining the decorative program of imperial tents in the late Ottoman period. Building on this basic composition, the addition of representations of fabric and textile objects served to enliven and animate architectonic motifs, at the same time altering their real and virtual space. For example, draped curtains adorn formerly bare appliquéd archways, dancing ribbons and buoyant tassels create dynamic movement, and heavy swags of garland droop overhead, as though floating on the surface of the fabric picture plane. While still bound by an architectonic program, representations of fabric and soft furnishings took pride of place in imperial tents produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These motifs also emerge in permanent architecture, appearing in stucco, marble, or on painted surfaces.

An orphaned tent wall today in the Military Museum in Istanbul exhibits some of these new fabric-centric motifs (Figure 1.19). As is typical, the wall is defined by its *hazine*s (sections)—that is, the panels that together create the tent and which served as an albeit unstandardized unit of measure. Struts are placed in these vertical sleeves along the length of the wall in equal intervals. The decorative program conforms to these

guidelines, on the one hand masking the *hazine* seams with appliquéd columns, and on the other, strategically employing the functional struts to give form and volume to the otherwise ornamental columns. In this way, then, the decorative program of Ottoman imperial tents does not merely mimic or represent permanent architecture in appliquéd form: it melds structure and decoration, surface and form.

Two of the wall's eight *hazine*s feature oval windows—the placement and shape of which recall the traditional *şemse* motif, or lobed medallions, situated beneath the appliquéd arches of classical Ottoman tents. In this instance, though, each window is framed with undulating ribbons and topped with a bow, making it seem as though the window is a hanging medallion of the kind seen in Figure 1.4. The oval shape reflects contemporary tastes in permanent architecture as well. For example, the tomb of Nakşidil Valide Sultan (d. 1817), mother of Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839), exhibits similar oblong windows arranged around the upper arcade of the dome's drum (Figure 1.20). Moreover, delicately carved marble curtains frame each window, positioned as though they were pulled aside to reveal the window behind.[73]

The draped curtain motif features prominently on a number of extant tents dating from the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The tent wall in Figure 1.19 has faded extensively, however, making the curtain motifs rather indistinguishable from the ground cloth, thus diminishing the effect. Two silken double-columned tents in the Topkapı Palace Museum survive in remarkable condition and demonstrate the bold effect of the appliquéd curtains (Figures 1.21-1.24). Both tents are made of brightly colored silk with a

---

[73] While tents themselves are rarely or securely dated to a period of time narrower than a half century, comparisons with permanent architecture such as this also aids in the establishment of a better chronology of tent aesthetics.

crimson ground and golden yellow columns dressed with draped curtains. Each arch features a traditional *şemse*, except for the few *hazine*s that are pierced with windows or doors (Figure 1.22). Both the walls and roof sections feature the same overall design (Figure 1.23). The two tents are nearly identical but are distinguished by the presence of a large frontal eave on the tent in Figure 1.21. In a detail image, the effect of volume provided by the strut sleeves is apparent (Figure 1.24). The curtains, executed in the same color yellow as the appliquéd columns, are likewise adorned in similar vegetal and floral motifs, which makes them stand out in contrast against the bold red, but otherwise unadorned ground cloth.

Considering the fact that the Imperial Tent Corps was also responsible for outfitting royal structures and vehicles (e.g., pavilions, caïques, and carriages) with curtains and other soft furnishings, the inclusion of depictions of these kinds of objects evinces an awareness of the meta-representation of textiles in a textile medium. In this way, textiles represented in fabric architecture defy or rather meld textiles' seemingly paradoxical modes of being, as proposed by Tristan Weddigen—that is, textiles are at once both "flat, material, and ornamental" and yet also possess the ability to fold and unfurl thus creating a "physical aesthetic, and social space."[74] The tent literally creates space each time it is erected, but the interior decoration also has the ability to alter the perception of that space. The inclusion of appliquéd draped curtains creates a virtual space that was not a part of the visual repertoire of imperial tents of previous centuries. This fusion of real and virtual space stands in contrast to the assertion often repeated in scholarship on Ottoman architecture of this period that the spatial qualities of European

[74] Weddigen, "Unfolding Textile Spaces," 90.

Baroque architecture were not understood in Ottoman contexts.[75] To the contrary, this example and those that follow demonstrate an acute awareness of space, both real and virtual, and how they intersect in both permanent and fabric architecture.

The inclusion of draped curtain motifs alters the virtual space of the tent walls that themselves construct a real, enclosed space. In so doing, the representations of curtains in appliqué create a tension at the surface of the picture plane in the round. The curtain motif hints at a pictorial depth, albeit a rather shallow one. Because the curtain is "pulled aside" and affixed to the column on either edge of each *hazine*, even without volumetric illusion in the form of highlights and shadows, the drawn curtain seemingly reveals something, suggesting a virtual space beyond the tent wall. However, the space between the arches is as flat as ever, dominated by plain crimson silk. In this way, the tent wall simultaneously functions as what Sven Sandström calls the "open wall" and the "closed wall"—the former epitomized by illusionistic murals that break the bounds of their structures, such as Magneta's *di sotto in sù* ceiling at the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua (Figure. 1.38), versus murals that whose painted artifice reinforces the solidity of the wall, like plastered walls painted to mimic marble revetments, for example.[76] On the one hand, the framing of negative space with columns and drawn curtains suggests an openness, but on the other, the absence of any perspectival illusion behind the appliquéd

---

[75] For example, Godfrey Goodwin mentions that the noted exception to this is the horseshoe courtyard of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque: "This horseshoe court is a bold but isolated attempt to introduce baroque form, and not just decoration, into Ottoman architecture. But intellectual acceptance of the baroque could not be complete in a society where superstition remained paramount." Godfrey Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 84.

[76] Sandström, *Levels of Unreality*, 91-127.

arcade closes the picture plane; the motifs exist only in a very shallow pictorial space, which crosses the threshold into the viewer's own space.

By contrast, "open wall" murals appear in permanent architecture in the form of painted arches with drawn curtains that frame illusionistic scenes. For instance, the murals in the reception hall of Dolmabahçe Palace and in the dome of the Büyük Mecidiye Camii (Ortaköy Mosque) feature illusionistic arches draped in painted curtains. Commissioned by Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839-1861) and constructed by Nikoğos Balyan in 1854-55, the Ortaköy Mosque's painted decoration demonstrates its dissimilarity to the appliquéd curtained arches seen in contemporary tents (Figure 1.25).[77] Unlike the tent's representations of curtained arches, here they are rendered as though opened to the bright blue sky beyond, complete with white airy clouds seen floating by. Beyond their perspectival depiction, the murals' illusion is dependent upon their placement within the structure—that is, they are oriented skyward—lending a degree of believability to their artifice. The effect is further enhanced by the building's locale on the waterfront.[78] Large

---

[77] Ahmet Uçar, *Nakş-ı İstanbul: Ortaköy Büyük Mecidiye Camii* (Istanbul: Gürsoy Grup, 2015); While enigmatic figures in the historiography of Ottoman architecture, due in part to their Armenian identity, three generations of Balyan men played key roles in developing new imperial architectural tastes in the nineteenth century. Alyson Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan Family and the History of Ottoman Architecture* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015); Pars Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture* (Istanbul: Yeni Çığır Bookstore, 1990).

[78] Tülay Artan notes that this architectural engagement with the Bosphorus Strait had its roots in the eighteenth century, but became a common characteristic of mosques that followed: "The imperial mosques built after this period were all located along the Bosphorus and by their very location on the waterfront, broke with tradition. A case in point is the Nusretiye Mosque. Mosque had been built on the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn before but until the eighteenth century they all ignored the presence of the water: their fore courts were never part of the landscape. Rather these courts were located away from the sea, and served as the neighbourhood piazza. After the nineteenth century, the open infinite quality of the sea was exploited. Nusretiye and the imperial mosques on the shores that followed, had their courtyards on the immediate waterfront to welcome the

windows look out on to the lapping waves of the Bosphorus, while the dome's murals allow the viewer to imagine seeing through the ceiling as well (Figure 1.26). The interior ornamentation applied in tents achieves this vacillation between real and virtual space differently. In the tents, the representations of curtains suggest they exist on the surface of the picture plane, in the liminal space between the viewer and a shallow pictorial recess. However, the windows that are excised from the tent wall, but which are framed by appliquéd images of draped curtains present the viewer with a similar kind of spatial juxtaposition as encountered in the Ortaköy mosque. The viewer oscillates between understanding the tent as an object unto itself, as a picture plane or surface wherein self-aware representations of other fabric objects exist in virtual space, and as a frame for viewing scenes beyond and through the tent walls.

The prevalence of illusionistic curtains in architecture of various media expands and problematizes Lisa Golombek's notion of the "draped universe of Islam." Golombek asserts that throughout the century, Islamic art and architecture reflect a "textile mentality" not only in the cultural significance and predominance of fabrics as an art form, but also in the translation of fabric motifs into other media. For example, the brick and tile-work adorning Samanid mausolea (tenth century) and Timurid palaces (fifteenth century), known as *hazarbaf* ("thousand weaves"), resembles the woven structure of fabric. However, one key feature of cloth is missing in Golombek's description of the

---

peoples of faith. The route of the sultans' ceremonial prayers had also shifted to the shores of the Bosphorus. The many palaces and numerous imperial *köşks* and *kasırs*, parks and gardens along the shores that the sultans visited daily, initiated a new religious processional path." Tülay Artan, Architecture As a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus," (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1989), 69-70.

“draped universe of Islam”—that is, its materiality, or *drape*, as opposed to its motifs or woven structure. Of course, the profusion of fabrics—from curtains and tents to cushions, table covers, carpets, and as well as clothing—reflects the primacy of textiles as an art form as well as a luxury item in the Ottoman court. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, to this “draped universe” is added illusionistic representations of draped fabric and other textiles, which lend a theatrical element to the architectural decoration of the Ottoman baroque.

These various manifestations of artifice or “unreality” created by the inclusion of textile motifs demonstrates just one of the ways in which fabric alters the spatial interiors of both tents and permanent architecture in this period. A suite of extraordinarily large yellow silk tents dating to the mid-nineteenth century exhibit a variant on this theme of appliquéd arches with drawn curtains where the architectural and fabric motifs merge into a single form (Figures 1.27-1.30). The largest among them is oblong in format with a large trapezoidal frontal eave (Figure 1.27). Around the interior circumference, the traditional series of arches have morphed into an amalgam of baroque ornament (Figure 1.28). The length of the wall is divided by appliquéd and embroidered columns that sit upon ornate bases but terminate abruptly at the upper frieze. The columns’ serpentine or helical form resembles those of baroque structures such as St. Peter’s Baldachin, designed by Bernini in the seventeenth century (Figure 1.31). In fact, the tent poles used to erect this fabric structure may also have been of this type, like one surviving in the Military Museum in Istanbul that is carved wood that is then painted and gilt in parts (Figures 1.32 and 1.33). This twisting motion of the appliquéd columns is carried over to the decorative elements populating the space between. The architectonic forms that

previously dominated tent interiors have dissolved into undulating ribbon-like curtains that are affixed to a central point and to either side of the would-be arch. At each point of fixity, the curtain is tied in a knot that resembles a rose. These points are further adorned with large tassels executed in gold embroidery. Their directionality corresponds to the orientation of the composition and yet, like the serpentine columns and buoyant curtains, the tassels seem to move freely in space. While still rather schematic in their unnatural symmetry, the form and movement of these motifs create a sense of volume and depth. The undulating columns and fabric curtains alike exist in the liminal space between the shallow pictorial recess and pushing out into the viewer's own space. Like the hanging swags of garland on the tent in Figure 1.4, the position of these motifs on the sloping wall of the tent interior would have added heft to these seemingly weightless yet volumetric motifs.

The floral and vegetal motifs both contradict this sense of pictorial depth and expand it. Above the blue curtain-ribbons, where in more traditional tents an arch would have been appliquéd, here the void is filled with embroidered flowers, unattached to any grounding form. But nor are they the flat and stylized flora characteristic of classical tents. They fill the space without breaking the bound set by the curtains. Conversely, in the space below the tasseled curtains stands a delicately rendered cypress tree, recognizable by its distinct tapered shape (Figure 1.30). Growing out of a mound of earth composed of a patchwork of embroidered earth tones, the central tree is flanked by two smaller shrubs. The cypress takes the place of the traditional *şemse*, existing in almost the exact footprint of a classical stylized lobed medallion. Unlike a *şemse*, though, the tree is quite grounded in the picture plane. Its scale suggests it is in the distance, seen as though

it is in deep space. In this way, the tree motif—while not necessarily revolutionary unto itself—enhances the sense of depth subtly suggested by the undulating curtains and dancing tassels that frame it. In other words, the tree's scale places it in the background of the composition, and in so doing, pushes the columns, curtains, and tassels to the foreground, and into the viewer's space. Tristan Weddigen describes a similar effect in European tapestries:

> Through enclosing the perspectival power of sight in a flat wall of plants, the other senses are yet that more excited. In this greened space, which can be viewed from an ever-changing line of sight, a society cherishes the illusion of an afternoon in a secret garden. The walls of plants do not extend to a pictorial depth behind the picture plane as in the case of a perspectival tableau, but rather in front of it, i.e., into the social space in which the viewers stand, move, and interact.[79]

In the case of eighteenth- and especially nineteenth-century Ottoman imperial tents, the curtain motif sometimes frames a space beyond the surface of the interior, as though the fanciful fabric arcade were looking out onto a garden populated with tall cypress trees. Nature can be spied in the distance, but the foreground is filled with animated illusionistic textile motifs that seem to occupy the viewer's space.

While it has long been acknowledged that the appliqué and embroidery adorning the interiors of Ottoman imperial tents is largely architectonic, little has been written about the depiction of fabric motifs in fabric or permanent architecture, such as *trompe l'oeil* draped curtains, dancing ribbons, and golden tassels. Indeed, these elements are merely one manifestation of the aesthetic dialogue between fabric furnishings, tents, and

---

[79] Weddigen," Unfolding Textile Spaces," 89.

imperial architecture in this period. While tents exhibit large-scale architectural motifs such as arcades, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, permanent architecture also at times were painted to resemble tents. A potential precedent for this trend can be found on the interior of the domed *türbe* of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-1617), built 1609-1616. The dome's interior resembles the characteristic chevron pattern that demarcated the sultan's imperial tent (Figure 1.34).[80] A strikingly similar chevron pattern is also seen in many paintings Levni's *Surname* (Figures 3.1, 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5), as well as on a surviving tent in the Military Museum in Istanbul (Figure 3.37). Indeed, tents were used at times as interim *türbe*s in the event the sultan died prior to his tomb's construction. For example, a manuscript painting in the *Tarih-i Sultan Süleyman* (dated 1579-80) depicts the sultan's coffin being carried to its final resting place. In the background of the scene, an ornate black and gold tent stands over the grave as it is dug, thus serving as an interim tent-*türbe*. Similarly, a painting in an album of highlights of Constantinople, today in the Trinity College Library in Cambridge shows the burial tent of Sultan Selim II and his sons in the courtyard of Hagia Sophia.[81]

Beginning in the eighteenth century, however, pictorial techniques such as *trompe l'oeil* were employed to create the illusion of a tent or canopy within permanent architecture, rather than simply reflecting a shared visual repertoire, epitomized by the chevron pattern that distinguished the sultan's tent deployed in tomb architecture. For

---

[80] Ünver Rüstem has written on the Sultan Ahmed complex and the dome closing ceremony, which involved a display of royal tents—thus setting the stage for a direct comparison between architectural media. Ünver Rüstem, "The Spectacle of Legitimacy: The Dome-Closing Ceremony of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque," *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 253-344.

[81] Trinity College Library, Cambridge, MS Freshfield O. 17.2.

example, inside Topkapı Palace, the Valide Sultan apartments (dating to the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid I, r. 1773-1789) were painted to resemble a billowing canopy (Figure 1.35).[82] The wedges that comprise the circular canopy are adorned with small floral patterns and narrow bands: around the dome's circumference and one situated between the base of the dome and its apex. This central band breaks up the pattern and implies that the painted canopy is composed of two stories of fabric tent walls, much in the same way many imperial tents are constructed. The visual effect that transforms the domed interior into a fabric canopy relies on the use of light and shade, especially around the base of the dome. Here the otherwise relatively stylized ornament transforms into a tent as the radial lines become struts between which fabric is stretched. The *hazine*s seem to billow as though caught by a gust of wind, revealing a sliver of sky behind. The artists took advantage of the curved picture plane of the dome to create an illusion of being inside an ornate tent. Not dissimilar to the spatial oscillation caused by the illusionistic representations of draped curtains, this *trompe l'oeil* canopy hovers between bring a "closed" and "open" mural. A further layer of fabric and thus spatial complexity would of course be added in the form of real cushions, curtains, and clothing, juxtaposed with the painted illusion of draped fabric and pitched canopies.

Other examples of painted tent ceilings appear elsewhere, including the Köprülü Mehmet Paşa Camii in Safranbolu, the Ulu Camii in Corum, and the imperial mosque in

---

[82] It is unclear whether or not the Valide Sultan was involved in the choice of this mural. While similar pictorial devices appear in nineteenth-century paintings situated within female-dominated spaces, such as the Yeni Valide Sultan mosque complex's *türbe*, there is no apparent correlation with gender and these types of representations of draped fabric in architectural interiors. Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 241.

Yozgat.[83] In Yozgat, the Çapanoğlu mosque, originally constructed in 1779 was restored and repainted under the auspices of Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909). A troupe of artisans were sent around the Empire in order to help restore and revive such imperial structures. In the Çapanoğlu mosque, they painted a *trompe l'oeil* canopy in one of the building's domes (Figure 1.36), as well as on the ceiling of a rectilinear space (Figure 1.37). Here again the artists strategically employed light and shade in order to suggest a billowing canopy held in place by radial struts. Around the base of both spaces, the fabric seemingly pulls away from the points where it is tied down. A delicate pattern consisting of small bouquets encircles the center of each painted tent. The circular canopy is further adorned with calligraphic medallions. Both these examples—the Çapanoğlu mosque in Yozgat and the Valide Sultan apartments in Topkapı Palace transform ceilings and domes into fabric architecture through illusionistic pictorial techniques. Yet, the dome is not opened pictorially in the way baroque ceilings in European architecture were, such as Andrea Mantegna's *Di sotto in sù* ceiling fresco in the Palazzo Ducale of Mantua (Figure 1.38). Conversely, the transformation of interior spaces into illusionistic canopies in the Ottoman case is a "closed" wall—or ceiling, as the case may be. Sven Sandström discusses various iterations of "closed" walls, or murals meant to mimic another architectural medium, such as marble. [84] In the Çapanoğlu mosque, however, the architectural medium that is referenced is fabric, and tents more specifically. The illusionism does not create deep space, but instead transforms the stone and plaster into fabric architecture, thus blurring architectural media through mimicry and representation.

[83] Goodwin, *A History of Ottoman Architecture*, 402, 425; Emily Neumeier, CAA Talk.

[84] Sandstöm, "Closed Walls," *Levels of Unreality*, 109-127.

There are instances wherein layers of depth are achieved in mural painting through representations of draped fabric functioning as a framing device.[85] For example, a niche fresco in an elite house in Istanbul depicts several registers of depth on its concave surface (Figure 1.39). Situated closest to the viewer in the immediate foreground is a semi-circular canopy in the apex of the niche. Like the Çapanoğlu mosque and Valide Sultan apartments, the painted tent is defined by its radial ribs or struts that come to points around the circumference of the painted canopy, as though affixed to the base of the architectural form and between which fabric seemingly billows and stretches against these restraints. The middle ground further extends the architectural artifice with the addition of a columned veranda complete with an ornate hanging chandelier—possibly playing on the trope of depicting a hanging lamp within a niche or *mihrab*. In the deep pictorial space of this painted niche is an unpopulated garden scene devoid of humans, typical of domestic architecture in this period.[86] Situated within the idyllic landscape is an ornate tent, thus connecting the far distant landscape with the canopy in the foreground, which the viewer seemingly inhabits.

In the architectural decoration of both imperial tents and permanent structures built or renovated in late Ottoman period, fabric played a key role. Illusionistic techniques such as *trompe l'oeil* were employed not only to create a sense of pictorial depth, but to transform space into a new kind of "draped universe." In this way, Tristan Weddigen's assertion that textiles create an "immersive concept and experience of space"

---

[85] Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 30-64.

[86] Günsel Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art* (Budapest, Akademiai Kiado, 1978): 711-735.

may be applied to fabric and permanent architecture that mimic tents or illusionistically represent other textile furnishings in this period of Ottoman architectural history.[87] More than simply transporting motifs from fabric to architecture, or cladding structures with decorative brickwork that resembles woven cloth, images of draped fabric—whether painted on plaster or appliquéd in silk—play with real and virtual space and create an embodied, all-encompassing pictorial space. Thus, also, the intersections between fabric, tents, and architecture far exceed their parallel functions and similar spatial configurations. Their interior surfaces alluded to one another: tents are adorned with architectonic decorative programs and permanent structures are painted to resemble fabric canopies. And in both, the image of draped fabric served to break and extend the boundary of the wall, whether it be stone or silk, creating a dynamic experience of real and virtual space.

Undulating Eaves and Folded Façades

It is not only in the interior decoration of permanent and fabric architecture that intersections of media occur. The exterior forms of permanent structures such as fountains, pavilions, kiosks, and imperial thresholds mimic fabric architecture.[88] For example, public fountains that proliferated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

---

[87] Weddigen, "Unfolding Textile Spaces," 88.

[88] One of the first scholars to correlate hard architecture and its fabric antecedent—the tent—was Gottfried Semper (d. 1879). Gottfried Semper, *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Gottfried Semper and Harry Francis Mallgrave, *Style: Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts; or, Practical Aesthetics* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2007).

often feature extraordinarily large eaves, such as those of Tophane Fountain, commissioned by Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754) (Figure 1.40).[89] The various functions—social and artistic—of the fountain have been analyzed by scholars, namely Shirine Hamadeh. The eaves functioned not only to distinguish the structure within its urban setting, but also to provide shaded respite for social gathering.[90] Tents—particularly smaller or simpler structures such as marquees—would function similarly. These, too, are characterized by overlarge eaves that provided much needed shade in the summer months (Figures 1.41 and 1.42). A print of the Tophane Fountain brings these two types of structures—fountains and fabric architecture—into dialogue (Figure 1.43). While the monumental eave of the fountain is exaggerated in this image, dominating the entire scene and slicing the composition lengthwise, the foreground and background alike are populated with a number of small fabric structures of various sizes, shapes, and quality. The urban space bustles with people gathering water and purchasing goods. While the tents and fabric awnings shown here are not of the caliber employed by the sultan and his court that are the focus of this dissertation, on the right-hand side of the image a collage of roofs, eaves, awnings, and tents overlap and resemble one another in form and function. While the subsequent chapter addresses this parallel function of tents and fountains within the social urban and suburban landscape of imperial Istanbul, suffice it to say that fountains stand as one of many examples where overlarge eaves parallel the

---

[89] For more on Istanbul fountains, see: Ömer Faruk Şerifoğlu, *Su Guzeli: Istanbul Sebilleri* (Istanbul: Istanbul Buyuksehir Belediyesi Kultur Isleri Daire Baskanligi Yayinlari, 1995); Nuran Kara Pilehvarian, Nur Urfalıoğlu, and Lütfi Yazıcıoğlu, *Fountains in Ottoman Istanbul* (İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi, 2004).

[90] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*; Hamadeh, "Splash and Spectacle."

form and function of fabric architecture, bringing together two essential resources for life: shade and water.

Projecting eaves also feature prominently in the palatial architecture of Ottoman Istanbul, marking significant thresholds and seats of power. Chief among these imperial eaves is the one above the Gate of Felicity (*Bâbü's-saadet*) situated between the second and third courtyards of Topkapı Palace (Figure 1.44). A painting by Konstantin Kapıdağlı demonstrates its use during the sultan's accessions ceremonies wherein Sultan Selim III sits enthroned in the shade of the structure (Figure 1.45). For centuries, tents with large frontal eaves were used as an interim Gates of Felicity on occasions when the sultan was on the move.[91] For example, Selim II was enthroned under the shade of his ornate tent in one Ottoman manuscript painting (Figure 1.46). Many tents that survive today spanning in date from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century feature these projecting fabric eaves (Figure 1.47). In these instances, the eaves likewise provide shade, but they also recall the imperial threshold in Topkapı Palace and are thus transformed into a fabric imperial threshold-*cum*-stage for royal ceremonial.[92] In other words, whether in

[91] Gülru Necipoğlu notes that the Gate of Felicity is actually indebted to tents that functioned as imperial thresholds: "In Mehmed II's New Palace, the architectural equivalent of the umbrellalike open tent used in a military encampment for royal appearances was the royal colonnade extending along the second court's north wing in front of the third gate. This led to the private, residential court of the palace. The domed canopy in front of the double gate's domed vestibule reproduced the form of the royal umbrella tent, an obvious emblem of sovereignty." Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, Inc., and Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1991), 88.

[92] Akin to the symbolism ascribed to solar imagery in tents in the form of the *şemse*, the shade provided by the tent represented the sultan's role as the "Shadow of God." This concept and its connotations will be discussed further in Chapters 2 and 4.

permanent architecture or ephemeral fabric structures, within the palace walls or urban landscape, Ottoman architecture was known for its projecting eaves. In fact, this penchant for eaves in Ottoman imperial architecture and their parallels in tentage have been remarked upon by foreign travelers. For example, writing in 1840, Antonio Baratti, described the imperial kiosk in Beşiktaş:

> The style is very remarkable, and truly Oriental. In the centre is an edifice with projecting roofs, and surrounded by a cluster of similar ones, intended, it is said, to represent the original warlike habitations of the Turcomans—the tent or pavilion of the khan, in the centre, and those of his officers pitched round it as in encampment.[93]

While it is unclear where Baratti may have heard this comparison between projecting roofs and imperial tents or encampments, his observation is not unfounded, as scholars such as Gülru Necipoğlu have determined that there is a recognizable relationship between fabric and permanent architecture in the Ottoman built environment.[94] In the case of Topkapı Palace, though, the correlation to an encampment seems to be limited to

---

[93] "New Palace of Sultan Mahmoud the 2nd on the Bosphorus," in Antonio Baratti's *Constantinopoli effigiata e descritta*, vol. 2 (Torino: Stabilmento Topografico di Allessandro Fontana, 1840), 797-798.

[94] Gülru Necipoğlu paraphrases Tursun Beg, noting of Topkapı Palace: "The relationship of one building to another was based on the traditional order of the Ottoman imperial encampment, in which individual tents fulfilling specific functions were lined up according to a predetermined scheme, paralleled in the two-part layout of the palace. This special ordering of the imperial tents (*otag-i humayun*) is referred to by Tursun Beg as the 'Ottoman order' (*tertib-i 'osmani*), or the 'order of the Ottoman tradition' (*tertib-i 'osmani*)." Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial and Power*, 31; Tursun Beg fols. 40a, 64b; Other instances of such parallels appear in the case of the Timurid itinerant court, for example. David Roxburgh's close examination of the travelogue of Ray Gonzalez de Clavijo dated 1404 highlights a number of instances where fabric and permanent architecture seem to be referencing each other: Roxburgh, "Ruy González De Clavijo's Narrative," 136, 150, 153-154, 155.

the scale of the structures and their relationship to each other within the palace walls, rather than the buildings actually bearing a resemblance to the form or materiality of tents.

In some instances, the relationship between tents and small-scale structures such as kiosks was functional rather than aesthetic. For example, a two-storied structure situated in the gardens surrounding Yıldız Palace and built by Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) was dubbed Çadır Köşk, or "Tent Kiosk" (Figure 1.48).[95] The so-called Tent Kiosk bears no formal resemblance to fabric architecture. Rather, the structure was meant to function as a permanent replacement for the previously ephemeral architecture erected in the landscape for royal excursions.[96] Thus, the permanent structure supplanted the tent, and served the same purpose in the landscape, thereby earning its moniker. Other structures, though, such as the Perdeli ("Curtained") Kiosk in Kağıthane were partly fabric in their structure, and thus literally combined different media in order to create an adaptable, semi-ephemeral, semi-permanent architectural form. The convertible, malleable nature of the Perdeli Kiosk—sometimes also called "Çadır Köşk" as well—is illustrated in a nineteenth-century photograph surviving in the Abdülhamid II albums in Istanbul University (Figure 1.49). The large curtains were rolled up and down to create varying levels of light and shade, as well as visibility and privacy. Moreover, they are

---

[95] Deniz Türker, "Ottoman Victoriana: Nineteenth-Century Sultans and the Making of a Palace, 1759-1909" (PhD diss., Harvard, 2016).

[96] As per conversations with the employees who work there today.

placed between thin columns in much the same way as *hazine*s are formed by the space between the upright struts in imperial tents.[97]

The resemblance to tents goes still further. An early-nineteenth-century etching of the Perdeli Kiosk shows the pavilion's position adjacent to the main palace structure, surrounded by lush gardens and manmade pools (Figure 1.50).[98] The foregrounding of the kiosk in this image skews it scale but also emphasizes the rather peculiar shape of its roof.[99] More or less conical in form, three sides of the roof bulge outward, as though caught in the breeze. The form of the now-lost structure can be observed in drawings published in S. H. Eldem's volume, *Sa'dabad*.[100] The schematic and cross-section plans

---

[97] Nurhan Atasoy, referring to the Perdeli Kiosk as the Çadır Köşkü notes that it must have been intended to resemble a tent because of the fabric curtains and the structure's convertability: "An engraving done by M. C. Pertusier in 1817 shows not only the palace but also the Çadır Köşkü and the cascades in better detail. The Çadır Köşkü, stands opposite the palace built in western architectural style, part of it projecting on stilts over the water. At first glance, Çadır Köşkü seems to resemble in style that of European baroque, but, as its name suggests, it has the aim of representing a traditional Turkish tent. The best way to explain this is to describe the way in which the curtains were able to be rolled up between the posts. It could serve as a tent when needed." Nurhan Atasoy, Gül İrepoğlu, Mary Işın, Robert Bragner, and Angela Roome, *A Garden for the Sultan: Gardens and Flowers in the Ottoman Culture* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2011), 282.

[98] Perdeli Kiosk in Kağthane, "Vue de la Maison Impériale des eaux Douces d'Europe," published in Pertusier's *Atlas des promenades pittoresque dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, 1817.

[99] In her discussion of the changes in small scale imperial architecture (especially kiosks) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Nebahat Avcıoğlu mentions the rebuilding of the previous kiosk at Sadabad, later dubbed "Çadır Köşkü": "Perhaps this time it was meant to recall not Topkapı but the even earlier Ottoman encampment tradition, which had in effect given birth to the architectural style of Topkapı itself!" While nostalgia may have had a role to play, I think it equally plausible, if not more so, that new kiosks and pavilions that resembled tents recalled contemporary fabric architecture. Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *'Turquerie' and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 80.

[100] Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Sa'dabad* (Istanbul: Kültür Bakanliği, 1978) 86, figs. 82-83.

of the building show the peculiar form of the roof, revealing its trilobed plan with three curved projecting eaves (Figures 1.51 and 1.52). While stiffly rendered in Eldem's drawings, the kiosk's eaves bulge as though caught in the wind, thus resembling the materiality of a fabric tent. The billowing roof combined with the convertible curtains framed by thin columns creates an overall effect that mimics fabric architecture.

These various examples of the parallels between the form and function of fabric and permanent architecture demonstrate the ongoing dialogue between architectural media in the late Ottoman period. The following examples, then, build on this notion and assert that some of the characteristics that define the so-called "Ottoman baroque" may, in fact, be indebted to fabric architecture. Ünver Rüstem has taken up the monumental task of confronting the complex phenomenon of the Ottoman baroque in his dissertation and recently published book.[101] While Rüstem, and Hamadeh before him, concentrate largely on the eighteenth century, the structures that will be discussed here date to the long nineteenth century, and thus incorporate elements that may be considered "Rococo" or "Empire" in style. However, as terms imported from the study of Western European architecture and architectural aesthetics, these are not easily separated movements in the Ottoman Empire.[102] Yet much of the historiographic criticism of the imperial architecture in this period, whether categorized as Baroque, Rococo, or Empire in style, has perpetuated the nationalist sentiment that late Ottoman architecture was derivative of

---

[101] Rüstem, "Architecture for a New Age": Rüstem, *Ottoman Baroque.*

[102] For example, in his discussion of the Nusretiye Mosque built for Sultan Mahmud II by Kirkor Balyan in 1822-1826, notes that it appears "highly un-Turkish," but rather exhibiting a "blend of baroque and *Empire* motifs." John Freely, *History of Ottoman Architecture* (Southampton: WIT Press, 2011), 398-399.

Western or European models, and more incriminatory yet, reproduced motifs and forms without understanding their underlying spatial logic. However, Rüstem has convincingly argued that the Ottoman baroque was a localized iteration of an international style. It was lauded in its time as revolutionary while still being acceptable as an imperial style. In her edited volume, *Rethinking the Baroque,* Helen Hills calls for a reexamination of the international phenomenon known as the Baroque, noting:[103]

> The Baroque state reveals identical traits existing as constant within the most diverse environment and periods of time. Baroque was not reserved exclusively for the Europe of the last three centuries any more than classicism was the unique privilege of Mediterranean culture.[104]

In the case of Ottoman imperial architecture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Deleuze's discussion of the fold as essential to the nature of the baroque is quite apt. While vast, fenestrated façades dominated palatial architecture writ large, small-scale structures such as kiosks, pavilions, gatehouses, and imperial thresholds feature undulating façades, crimped roofs, and billowing eaves that appear folded and furled, as though continuously in motion.

Commissioned by Sultan Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) to celebrate the abolition of the Janissaries, the Nusretiye Mosque complex was built on the former site of the Artillery Barracks (Figure 1.53). Constructed by Krikor Balyan between 1822 and 1826, the complex features a pair of structures that were originally positioned on the other side of the processional avenue but were moved closer to the mosque during the reign of

---

[103] Helen Hills, "Introduction," *Rethinking the Baroque*, ed. Helen Hills (London: Ashgate, 2011), 4.

[104] Tom Conley, "Forward," Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), *x*.

Sultan Abdülaziz I (r. 1861-1876).[105] The nearly identical structures served different purposes: one as the timekeeper's room and the other as a fountain. Both structures' façades are defined by thin engaged columns; and between them, the stone façade swells, creating a rippled effect across their surfaces. The roofs follow suit, undulating with the same frequency and rhythm as the façades. The combination of vertical points of fixture and flowing or bulging material between recalls the struts, appliquéd columns, and fabric *hazine*s of imperial tents, as well as the half-fabric columned composition of structures such as the Perdeli Kiosk. Like the movement achieved in the stone façades, the lead roofs resembles undulating fabric canopies as they seem to sag and slope as though made of cloth rather than lead, defying the material limits of hard architecture. Unlike the monumental mosque with which they are associated, their scale is quite similar to that of a tent, making them almost believable as fabric architecture.

Furthermore, the position of these structures (now altered) would have been adjacent to a parade route. Royal ceremonies and processions often were accompanied by imperial tents, thus the juxtaposition of these structures with fabric ones would have made their visual parallels quite apparent. Another stone edifice situated adjacent to a processional route is the Alay Pavilion (Procession Kiosk). The structure is of modest scale but superlative quality, and positioned aloft, at the corner of the exterior wall of Gülhane Park (Figure 1.54). Commissioned by Mahmud II, this pavilion replaced a sixteenth-century structure. The pavilion's roof, while not undulating in the same manner as the buildings outside the Nusretiye Mosque, swells and slopes as though made of

---

[105] Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople*; Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family*.

fabric. The elevated vantage point and bulbous roof have parallels in fabric architecture as well, as depicted in Levni's *Surname* of 1720, discussed at length in the following chapter (Figure 3.12). Like the lofty fabric structure depicted in Levni's paintings, the Alay Pavilion allowed the sultan to see and be seen through staged architecture. The interior decoration of the Alay Pavilion also resembles a tent or canopy with its radial ribs and stylized ornament (Figure 1.55). Moreover, from this interior view, the thin columns surmounted by lobed arches and framing windows the resemblance to the interior compositions of many imperial tents with their appliquéd arcades and grilled windows is made apparent.

Away from the historic peninsula in the district of Üsküdar are two more kiosks that resemble tents made in stone. Situated directly on the water's edge, two comparatively small pavilions mirror each other on either side of Beylerbeyi Palace (Figure 1.56). The palace itself is imposing yet reserved in scale when compared with palaces on the opposite shore such as Dolmabahçe and Çırağan. It was commissioned by Sultan Abdülaziz and completed in 1861 by Hagop and Sarkis Balyan. The two kiosks strongly contrast the main building in their silhouettes. Their steep sloping roofs appear like gathered fabric, where each stiff fold becomes an arch framing a grilled window. (Figure 1.57).[106]

---

[106] The visual correlation between tents and architecture outside Ottoman lands was noted by English traveler, Anna Brassey in her travelogue, *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam,"* which chronicles her journey around the world in 1876-77. While in Japan, she compares the temples to tents among trees: "The primary idea in the architecture of Japan is evidently that of a tent among trees. The lines of the high, overhanging, richly decorated roofs, with pointed gable ends, are not straight, but delicately curved, like the suspended cloth of a tent." Anna Brassey, *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam"* (published 1881, voyage took place in 1879), 322-323.

An American traveler, Anna Bowman Dodd, on her visit to Ottoman Istanbul at the turn of the twentieth century, was particularly struck by Beylerbeyi Palace and its kiosks, lauding the Balyan family for their aptitude in elegantly combining many architectural styles and modes.[107] She goes on to describe the palace complex and its environs of a verdant landscape and rippling waves on the shore:

> Beneath the hills the lines of his [the architect's] structure rise simple, pure, and strong. He must have looked, also, at the rippling water, and said 'Their brightness shall not be shadowed!' for walls, kiosks, gateways, and palace surface glistened as white as a bride's robe. In the golden lattices of the kiosk windows, in the carved parapet of his roof edge, he seemed to have netted the sunbeams he saw webbed across the moving blue.
>
> Arches upon arches—simple pillars, foliaged, rippled with webbed carvings—arcaded windows, recessed porticos, and, along the water's edge, kiosks, the roofs of which lay crinkled beneath the sun like leaves unfolding—touches of gold in these, touches of gold along the long interminable water walls, and, for all the rest, pure glistening marbles that were set against the living frame of green hills and blossoming terraces—wherever the eye strayed or rested, it was to see a perfect palace splendidly set. Symmetry, simplicity, colour, proportion—all the standards

[107] "Space, form, and proportion—these had been the chief essentials held in view, as in the building of Beylerbey. And again we looked forth on a palace that, though neither strictly Saracenic or Gothic, nor of the Renaissance, nor even flamboyant nor rococo, was yet a pure, lovely, and wondrous work of art. Have these Armenian architects—for most of these later royal palaces have been built by Armenians—have these architects, in their skilfil mingling of certain beautiful Saracenic and European building modes, produced the looked-for, the longed-for new architectural masterpiece?" Dodd, *In the Palaces of the Sultan* (1903), 205-206.

> of architectural laws and requirements have been triumphantly met by this builder of Beylerbey.[108]

Not only does Dodd bring the structures to life by comparing them to their natural surroundings, she also compares the structures' surface to the fabric of a bride's robe. She uses many active verbs, especially those related to movement, to describe the scene, and the kiosks' roofs in particular: rippling, netted, webbed, crinkled, unfolding, glistening, and so on. Such descriptors knit together the folds of fabric and the crests of waves along the Bosphorus. Gilles Deleuze likewise employs similar terminology of movement (folding, unfurling) in his discussion of the traits that epitomize the baroque.[109] In the case of late Ottoman imperial architecture, the movement and especially the folds characteristic of baroque edifices are derived not just from fabric, but from fabric architecture. The many similarities in scale, form, decoration, and function evince this correlation. In addition to their resemblance to tents in scale and silhouette, the Beylerbeyi kiosks' position in relation to the palace and on the shore further underscore their role as stone tents. A photograph by B. Kargopoulo shows tents erected on the shore and in the garden environs of Beykoz, a favorite hunting spot for the sultans (Figure 1.58). While it is unclear the purpose of these particular tents, this photograph merely demonstrates the use of pitched tents as subsidiary structures erected in the environs of or adjacent to larger imperial buildings, in the capital suburbs and along the shores of the Bosphorus.

---

[108] Dodd, *In the Palaces of the Sultan* (1903), 182.

[109] Deleuze, *The Fold.*

In addition to kiosks and pavilions, the baroque fold manifests in late Ottoman architecture in the form of imperial thresholds. The threshold held great significance in both Ottoman imperial architecture as well as royal ceremonial. Indeed, a common metonym for the Ottoman court was the "Sublime Porte." While a metonym, the term "Sublime Porte" (*Bab-ı Ali*) also referred to an actual gate or threshold.[110] While in previous centuries the gate now known as the Imperial Gate (*Bab-ı Hümayun*) had served as the Sublime Porte, in the eighteenth century, the gate leading to the Grand Vizier's administrative complex took on the name. This early nineteenth-century baroque iteration of the Sublime Porte takes on the form of a magnificent tent (Figure 1.59).[111] The slope of the roof is not as steep as those of the Beylerbeyi kiosks and is much subtler in its undulating form. The roof as a whole looks like swirling, folding, unfurling fabric, in Deleuzian terms. Moreover, as noted previously, ornate tents served as interim imperial thresholds like the Gate of Felicity, as both were used as theatrical stage settings for royal ceremonial. The parallel functions of tents and permanent structures such as monumental gates, as well as their similar scales, allows for a certain amount of interchangeability between permanent and fabric architectural structures. Thus, with the adoption and adaption of imperial baroque architecture style(s), the inclusion of elements such as curving façades and folding roofs were likely indebted to fabric architecture and the longstanding tradition of Islamic princely tentage.

---

[110] For more on the history and use of the complex attached to this imperial threshold: Tülay Artan, "The Making of the Sublime Porte near the Alay Köşkü and a Tour of a Grand Vizierial Palace at Süleymaniye," *Turcica* 43 (2011): 145-206.

[111] For more on the development of the Sublime Porte as an administrative center: Tülay Artan, "The Making of the Sublime Porte Near the Alay Köşkü and a Tour of a Granad Vizierial Palace at Süleymaniye," *Turcica* 43 (2011): 145-206.

A final example draws yet another parallel between imperial tents and their permanent counterparts in the manifestation of the Ottoman baroque. The Nizamiye Gate (*Bab-ı Serasker*), or gate of the Office of War Minister, bears a rather striking resemblance to the nineteenth-century Sublime Porte in is form, function, and import. Now destroyed, the gate was constructed in 1836-37, about a decade after Sultan Mahmud II founded the ministry (Figure 1.60).[112] It was subsequently destroyed a few decades later and replaced in 1864-1866 under the auspices of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876), with a structure that still survives today, located between Beyazid Mosque and Istanbul University. The short-lived baroque Nizamiye Gate does not feature a pointed, steeped roof as in previous examples of tented baroque structures. Rather, it is topped with a small ribbed dome. Beneath the dome, however, is a large undulating eave, curved as though swirling and unfurling in space, akin to the form and movement of the Sublime Porte above. In the case of the Nizamiye Gate, though, the relationship with tents may be further emphasized. As the seat of the War Ministry, this gate served as the façade of the Ottoman state's military power. Tents were an integral part of any army on the move and were used as interim shelter for soldiers and sultans alike throughout the Ottoman Empire. Military encampments, naturally, comprised mostly small, unadorned, utilitarian tents. However, the sultan and his closest advisors traveled with large, decorated tents that stood out among the sea of plain canvas. With its tent-like silhouette and ornamented

[112] There is some discrepancy for the dates of this short-lived structure. It was built no earlier than 1826 when the ministry was founded by Mahmud II. But some sources note that Krikor Balyan was the architect, who died in 1831, which would predate the 1836-37 date of construction.

façade, the Gate of the War Minister may be seen as a permanent baroque version of the imperial tents that dominated an Ottoman military encampment in centuries past.

A Tented Baroque

The plethora of "new styles" of imperial tents in the late Ottoman period was the result of a vastly expanded repertoire of materials (such as silk and metallic threads), techniques (like embroidery), and color palettes ranging from pastels to electric tones, and even synthetic dyes. The Imperial Tent Corps experimented with these new tools, resulting in a rather eclectic material corpus. While some tent forms were standardized, the interior decoration of these silken edifices varied greatly—from naturalistic flora rendered in light and shade to dazzling gilt embroidered sunbursts and illusionistic pictorial techniques. Moreover, the styles and decorative modes employed in imperial tents at this time reflected changes in architectural tastes in the court at large. Imperial architecture of this period incorporated a broader range of styles and visual modes and as such demonstrate a loosening of the formerly uniform canon of classical Ottoman architecture, in all media. Of particular import and interest to this dissertation, the interior decorative programs of both fabric and permanent architecture abound with representations of textile objects and draped fabrics, including ribbons, tassels, curtains, and canopies.

While overlarge projecting eaves were a shared form between fabric and permanent Ottoman imperial architecture for centuries, in the eighteenth and especially nineteenth centuries, the influence of fabric and its materiality and movement can be seen in various small-scale structures. Swelling, undulating façades stippled with thin columns resemble the fabric *hazine*s with their framing struts. Eaves and roofs seem to swirl and

unfurl in a rippling motion, as though they were made of fabric caught in a breeze. Baroque iterations of small-scale structures such as fountains, pavilions, kiosks, and thresholds took on the form and silhouette of monumental fabric architecture. This subgenre of late Ottoman imperial architecture may, therefore, when analyzed in light of Gilles Deleuze's concept of the fold, be considered a kind of tented baroque. While the scale and functionality as well as decorative motifs and silhouettes of these structures parallel fabric architecture, their reference to imperial tents suggests the tent itself became a kind of architectural icon or metonym for the sultan and his empire. The transformation of imperial thresholds and externally-facing palatial pavilions into tented structures suggests that the Ottomans viewed their tentage traditions as integral to their architectural identity.

Indeed, the marriage of media, in its many forms, as represented by the above examples was integral to the built environment of the Ottoman court. While fabric architecture is both temporary in its installation and fluid in its material, buildings such as the Beylerbeyi kiosks and Sublime Porte as tents may be regarded as fabric turned to stone. This recognition entices modern viewers to re-imagine the full spectrum of architectural media, and by extension revive the ephemeral built environment of imperial tentage.

CHAPTER 2

Tents and Nature

By their nature as temporary structures made of fabric, tents functioned in close relation to their natural surroundings. In conjunction with their transportability, this nearness to nature led to the use of fabric architecture as sites of courtly leisure in palatial gardens, along the shore, and in the suburbs of Istanbul in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thus, this chapter explores the various ways in which tents interact with, replicate, frame, or transform the natural world in service of the Ottoman court in this period. In turn, tents' interior decoration reflected this affinity for nature, as their compositions increasingly incorporated naturalistic representations of flowers and foliage in addition to embroidered depictions of idyllic landscapes resembling Istanbul and the shores of the Bosphorus. Furthermore, like their more permanent counterparts in wood and stone, imperial tents erected in the suburbs of Istanbul framed scenic views of the city and its environs as much as they inhabited them. In other words, tents are seen in landscapes and panoramic images of greater Istanbul while at the same time, embroidered representations of the such viewscapes appear inside tents.

Tents had been an integral part of the performance of outdoor princely leisure activities for many centuries. When the sultan would hunt in the countryside or retreat from the city in the hot summer months, fabric architecture served a very practical purpose as lightweight but luxurious residences on the move, as shown in early modern

manuscript paintings (Figure 2.1). Tents likewise facilitated the sultan's mobility in and around the city of Istanbul after the court's return from Edirne to Istanbul in 1703, building on previous centuries' uses of tents as "mobile palaces." Tents contributed to the expansion of the Ottoman palace within Istanbul by occupying new spaces around the city, reaching out beyond the walls of Topkapı Palace and the historic city, as though the greater suburban zones of the imperial capital comprised the outermost courtyard of the palace. As a result, tents served as spaces of elite sociability, set against the background of majestic trees, bubbling brooks, and rolling hills. The present chapter also examines extant tents and tent furnishings in light of the activities that took place thereabout. Music and dancing animated the royal gardens, creating a multi-sensory, embodied experience of the natural world mediated through fabric architecture.

Excursions and the Expansion of the Ottoman Court

Much of the literature on tents in medieval and early modern Islamic courts dubs the lavish encampments of sultans and shahs as "mobile palaces"—or some variation thereof.[113] Indeed, the *raison d'être* of fabric architecture at its core is to be transportable. As a direct correlation to this ability to be moved from place to place, tents also are inherently temporary in their construction.[114] These two interdependent qualities of fabric architecture—temporality and mobility—underlie tents' ability to function in various

---

[113] For examples, see: O'Kane, "From Tents to Pavilions"; Mansel, "Travelling Palaces"; Gronke, "The Persian Court Between Palace and Tent."

[114] The subsequent chapter will address the concept of temporality in relation to tents more fully. In particular, I propose that tents are not ephemeral, but rather can be thought of as *occasional* architecture, that alternates between activation and dormancy.

contexts—from the seasonal migrations of shepherds to the military campaigns of armies on the move. That said, this shared set of basic characteristics for tents throughout history is not enough to equate their usage across such diverse cultures and millennia of use. Rather, these qualities render tents easily adaptable to various situations and needs across time and place. As such, the ways in which imperial tents facilitated mobility in the Ottoman court in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must be grounded in their historical time and place and not assumed to be merely unconscious vestiges of their nomadic origins from the time of Osman I (d. 1323), or when the sultans traveled with their armies conquering territories. Specifically, this chapter addresses tents as mobile architecture at a time when the court moved beyond its walls into the suburban spaces, gardens, and shores of the Bosphorus.

One aspect of this mobility in and beyond the palace proper that was facilitated by tents was the revival of the movements of the court known as *göç-ü hümayun* (imperial migration) and *biniş-i hümayun* (imperial departure).[115] In her discussion of the maturation of the tradition of courtly migration to the outskirts of the city in the early modern period, Gülru Necipoğlu notes that it was not until the seventeenth century that ambassadorial receptions and other such ceremonies took place in the kiosks and

[115] While direct translations of these concepts are not sufficient to describe them and their evolution over time, the key distinction is that the former, *göç*, is a seasonal migration, whereas *biniş* refers to much shorter visits to the countryside, even day trips. Tülay Artan defines *göç*: "The term *göç*, referring to a change of abode, had broad connotations in the Ottoman context, especially with reference to the nomadic past of the Turkish people. In addition to the periodic migration of the nomads of Anatolia from one region or climate to another for feeding or breeding, ever since the sixteenth century. In the Ottoman capital, the seasonal withdrawal to the country retreat was in general restricted to the Imperial Court's changing of abode *göç-ü hümayun* until the eighteenth century." Tülay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus," (PhD thesis, MIT, 1989), 3, Note 4.

pavilions of the royal gardens—a practice which “flowered” in the eighteenth century (for example, see Figure 2.2). Instead, in the sixteenth century, the movements to the countryside were largely private retreats, whether they involved an intimate retinue for a short period of time (*biniş*) or a larger household for the summer months (*göç*).[116] Necipoğlu also notes that the relatively private nature of both short and seasonal migrations of the sultan and his retinue during this time was the result of the continued seclusion of the court, dictated by court custom. Additionally, this privacy allowed royal women a certain level of freedom within the bounds of the secluded gardens on such retreats.[117]

These migrations were revived and redefined starting in the early eighteenth century. Initiated by Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730), this restoration of courtly movements upon the return to Istanbul led to an expansive building program along the shores of the Bosphorus, including renovations of the imperial gardens.[118] This surge in construction resulted in the transformation of the Bosphorus into what Tülay Artan has

---

[116] Gülru Necipoğlu, “The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture” in *Gardens in the Time of Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997), 34-42.

[117] Necipoğlu, “The Suburban Landscape,” 43; The very last paragraph of Robert Walsh’s description of Constantinople titled “Gardens of the Seraglio,” addresses women and their freedom: “An error has long and universally prevailed in western Europe, as to the degree of liberty which Turkish ladies enjoy, and their supposed subjection to their husbands has excite the pity of Christian wives; but, if freedom along constitute happiness, then are not only the wives and the odaliques, but the female slaves in Turkey, the happiest of the human race. … the most beautiful pleasure grounds of every palace, are devoted solely to their use; and the gardens of the seraglio at Constantinople,” Robert Walsh, *Constantinople: And the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. Illustrated in a Series of Drawings from Nature by Thomas Allom*. Fisher, Son, & Co, 1838.

[118] Artan, “Architecture as a Theatre of Life,” 33-34.

characterized as "an architectural entity in its totality." This architectural landscape, she argues, served as a theatrical backdrop for imperial pomp, promenades, and processions.[119] Gülru Necipoğlu likewise emphasizes the shift away from seclusion in favor of gardens functioning as "open royal palace[s] visible to the public gaze."[120] That is not to say all decorum was abandoned and all classes were free to mix and mingle. Rather, the visibility of the sultan, as will be shown, was both facilitated and mediated by fabric architecture in various ways.[121]

While Artan speaks largely about ephemeral hard architecture (i.e., not fabric architecture but rather wooden buildings), visual evidence demonstrates the use of tents and fabric structures as intermediaries between the city's palace and its waterways. For example, a detailed rendering of Beşiktaş Palace on the European shore of the city, published by the Swedish ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, shows the mediating functions of fabric architecture in a nautical procession

---

[119] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," 3-8.

[120] Gülru Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape," 45. Shirine Hamadeh employs the concept of *décloisonnement*, or "opening up," to explain the various ways in which the court and the sultan's subjects intermingled in and around the city. Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures*. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet temper this assertion by demonstrating that the sultan's seclusion of previous centuries was not as strict as some scholars have suggested and therefore this shift in the eighteenth century built upon and expanded the ways in which the sultan would make himself visible to the populous. Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), see especially 28-71, 205-248.

[121] See the work of Darin Stephanov, who works on the ethno-national politics of visibility in the late Ottoman Empire. Darin Stephanov, "Ruler, Visibility, Modernity, and Ethnonationalism in the Late Ottoman Empire," in *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*, edited by Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull, 259-271 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2016);
Darin Stephanov, "Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and the First Shift in Modern Ruler Visibility in the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1: 1-2 (2014): 129-148.

(Figure 2.3).[122] First, the imperial *caïque*s are capped with fabric canopies, which, absent in this black-and-white rendering, would have been constructed in colored fabrics that corresponded to the rank and identity of the individual being transported. The sultan traveled in a red silk canopy, while the heir apparent (*şehzade*) sat beneath a blue silk canopy, the Grand Vizier under green, and the rest of the Harem in white.[123] This image also shows fabric walls similar to those used in tents or as *zokak* lining the quay, here seen with rows of men seemingly awaiting the arrival of the sultan and his entourage via the canopied *caïque*s (Figure 2.4). Thus, while Artan is correct in her assessment that the Bosphorus transformed into a ceremonial space for processions and royal migrations, fabric architecture was used to *conceal* the actual persons on the move, while at the same time declaring their presence as they processed through the city's waterways.

In addition to transporting the sultan and his family beneath color-coded canopies, the fleet of imperial *caïque*s also conveyed tents for use on countryside excursions—both

---

[122] Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane; l'autre l'histoire de l'Empire othoman* (Paris: Impr. de monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1790).

[123] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," 67; "Boğaziçi," *Islam Ansiklopedisi*, 689; Artan also quotes P. Luca Ingigi: "La gita del Harem o Gineceo a'palazzi d'estate precede di qualche giorno qualla del Gran Signore, e fassi con estreme gelosia." Ghoukas Indjidjian, *Villeggiature de' Bizantini sul Bosforo Tracio. Opera del P. Luca Ingigi, tradotta dal P. Sherubino Aznavor* (Venezia: S. Lazzaro, 1831), 144. Ghoukas Indjidjian's 1831 work is also frequently cited for its mention of the imperial movements *göç* and *biniş-i hümayun*: "Riguardo al modo con cui sen vanno i Sultani alle villeggiature,[1] è da notarsi che la gita, quando trattasi di un lungo soggiorno del Sultano colla Famiglia imperial vien chiamata da'Turchi Gheoci, o trasmigrazione; quando è per un giorno soltanto, e senza la Famiglia, dicesi Binis = imbarcarsi[2], facendosi uso per lo più della barca," 144.

göç and *biniş*—in advance of the royal arrival.[124] Indeed, the abundant archival sources demonstrate the frequency with which the Imperial Tent Corps was called upon to deploy tents for these royal movements. For example, a document dated 1233 AH (1817-18 CE) enumerates the costs for the tents and furniture dispatched by the Corps for the sultan's migrations.[125] Furthermore, many documents spanning the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries record the regular repairs requested of the Imperial Tent Corps in order to properly outfit the imperial excursions.[126] The regular maintenance of tents explicitly for the imperial *göç* and *biniş* migrations attests to their extensive use on such voyages throughout this period.

An extant tent in the Topkapı Palace Museum is a rare example of expert repair work completed by the artisans in the Imperial Tent Corps, perhaps for use on such migrations (Figure 2.5). While its current state reveals some obvious and crude patching of disparate pieces, upon closer inspection, the fine appliqué detailing in the columns and capitals of the stylized arcade has been repaired in several places. At either end of the short column, where it meets its base and capital, there is a discernable break in the

---

[124] Artan uses the term "camp-equipment": "When his highness went on one of those excursions, he was preceded by a multitude of caïques and barges, some carrying his officers, pages, and guards; others his horse and camp-equipment."

[125] BOA C.SM.169.8467. See also a similar document dated 1220 AH (1805-06 CE) on such expenses.

[126] For examples of the multitude of similar documents (in chronological order), see: BOA C.SM.177.8900 (dated 1147 AH / 1734-35 CE), BOA C.SM.32.1632 (dated 1174 AH / 1760-61 CE), BOA C.SM.60.3041 (dated 1175 AH / 1762 CE), BOA C.SM.16.815 (dated 1178 AH / 1764-65 CE), BOA C.SM.46.2321 (dated 1197 AH / 1782-83 CE), BOA C.SM.36.1810 (dated 1211 AH / 1796-97 CE), BOA, C.SM.36.1837 (dated 1227 AH / 1812 CE), BOA C.SM.85.4274 (dated 1234 AH / 1818-19 CE), BOA C.SM.167.8361 (dated 1262 AH / 1845-46 CE),

appliqué. The ground cloth of the column is distinctly lighter than the *nohutlu* (literally, "chickpea") color of the capital's ground cloth, or the deep ochre of the base. The column and capital appear to be made of cotton because of their matte finish, whereas the crimson ground cloth of the tent and the column base are rich in their tone and sheen, as they are made of silk. However, the colors, as well as composition and placement of the motifs shows the effort exerted to conceal the repairs. Indeed, the transitions between these sections are expertly masked by the careful imbricating of pieces of appliqué, such as the vertical crimson point coming up on top of the central column section, being laid overtop the pale blue form. These very subtle incongruities appear throughout the tent's walls, but not in a manner that suggest they were a design choice, but rather that these sections were in need of repair, perhaps in advance of the sultan's migrations to the countryside.

Tents performed multiple tasks as the court expanded into the suburbs of the imperial capital and the shores of its waterways. While they added a spectacular layer to the theatrical backdrop of the city's aquatic procession avenues, they also served to conceal the sultan and his entourage while on the move between palaces and gardens, the city center and its suburbs, as well as between land and sea. In this way, tents simultaneously declared the sultan's presence and concealed his person, facilitating and tempering his visibility as he passed through the city's landscape. The tents themselves also traveled along these waterways to prepare for the arrival of their royal patrons. Prior to the Imperial Tent Corps deploying the necessary fabric architecture for these royal migrations to the countryside, they undertook the necessary repairs to be able to provide the court with fully functional and aesthetically topnotch tents for their excursions to the

countryside. The following pages discuss the use of the tents once erected in the royal gardens and suburban zones of the city, but also the ways in which tents mediated and facilitated their inhabitants' interactions with their cohorts as well as nature itself.

Pleasures in the Gardens

Fabric architecture was used in garden spaces by elite individuals partaking in various leisure activities, such as playing music, dancing, and picnicking. Whether single marquees or clusters of canopies, tents provided shade and shelter for these outdoor activities. In other words, by mediating the experience of nature (e.g., providing respite from the bright sun) tents facilitated the use of outdoor spaces for merrymaking. The visual qualities of the tents in turn reflected the leisure activities and sensory pleasures experienced in and around them. The term for one of the most frequently used types of Ottoman royal tents marries these concepts of functionality and aesthetics. The *sayeban* (سايبان), perhaps best translated as baldachin, also refers to a fringed or scalloped edge, or, a canopy that features such a scalloped valance.[127] The root of the word, *saye* (سايه), means shade or protection, and is also employed in the sultanic title, *Shadow of God* (سايۀ خدا).[128] Thus, in its very nomenclature, a type of tent frequently used by the Ottoman court links practicality and beauty, reflecting the dual function of silken structures both

[127] James W. Redhouse, *The Turkish Vade-Mecum of Ottoman Colloquial Language: Containing a Concise Ottoman Grammar* (1890), 1032-1033; James W. Redhouse, *Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Sözlük / Redhouse Turkish/Ottoman-English Dictionary* (İstanbul: SEV Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık, 2000), 989.

[128] Redhouse, *The Turkish Vade-Mecum of Ottoman Colloquial Language*, 1032.

shielding people from nature and allowing them to enjoy its pleasures within the royal gardens and suburban spaces of imperial Istanbul.

An early twentieth-century tinted postcard demonstrates this multifaceted use of tents in gardens, and shows a number of examples of *sayeban*, or scalloped edged-tents (Figure 2.6). As discussed above, there are visual and functional parallels between tents and another kind of mobile architecture: boats. Several scalloped-edged canopies appear suspended over open *caïque*s, providing shade for those aboard the small vessels. Near the bank of the stream, a similarly styled tent with a scalloped valance is erected for use on the shore. While the corpus of extant tents demonstrates that valances are variously adorned with different trimmings including metallic fringe and overlapping petal-like fabric, a tent in the Topkapı Palace Museum collection features edging rather similar to those seen in the tinted postcard (Figure 2.7). The exterior, which appears nearly white in both the postcard and on the extant *sayeban* itself, it actually is faded verdigris, the dye most commonly used for the outer shell of most Ottoman royal tents. The blue-green hue contrasts with the deep crimson interior adorned with small floral sprays arranged in a regulated pattern covering the entire surface of the fabric. The center of the largest panel features a densely embellished medallion formed by concentric circles of repeated motifs, as a variation on the *şemse* medallions seen on many other extant tents.[129] Such an awning provided some shade while allowing for freedom of movement in and around the structure. Its splayed form also rendered the tent's spectacular interior decoration readily visible to anyone in the vicinity.

---

[129] The presence of visual references to the sun (*şemse*) as a light-giving celestial body need not contraditct the shade provided by the tent and the connotations thereof. The sun's light and the tent's shade should be viewed as two sides of the same coin.

Suburban leisure sites—the valley of Kağıthane chief among them—developed into zones of elite sociability as the court expanded beyond the palace walls.[130] As Nurhan Atasoy notes, when the weather was temperate in the summer months, as many as five or six thousand tents were pitched in Kağıthane for days, weeks, or months at a time, thus forming a tented sub-city unto itself.[131] High ranking women in particular enjoyed a certain amount of freedom in the gardens.[132] When promenading, they were shielded by parasols and veils—like single-occupancy tents strolling among the trees. As in the case of the canopied *caïque*s, fabric architecture concealed royal persons and other elites as much as it declared their presence through their spectacular visual and material characteristics. Moreover, fabric-covered litters or palanquins in addition to carriages constitute yet another kind of mobile fabric structure, often occupied by female elites. Furthermore, fabric screens and silk veils allowed people—especially women—to move with relative ease, while still maintaining a sense of decorum and distance, which in turn flaunted their elite status. Julia Pardoe paints a vivid picture of the royal gardens, rife with glistening fabrics that concealed bodies but also heralded the presence of elite individuals:

---

[130] The Kağıthane valley hosted tents on various occasions, as it proved the ideal location for large-scale events including festivals in the month leading up to Ramadan, as well as those associated with the advent of spring. Evliya Çelebi, writing in the seventeenth century, also mentions the expansive gatherings of craftsmen such as goldsmiths in the valley. Eyice, "Halkının ve Padişahlarının Ünlü Mesiresi: Kağıthane," 79.

[131] Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 276; Semavi Eyice, 1997, 75-95; Aktepe 1976, 338-339.

[132] The 1793 *Zenanname* (Book of Women) of Fazıl Enderunlu is probably the most well-known analysis of the behaviors and qualities of types of women and includes paintings of women—veiled and unveiled—enjoying the royal gardens, picnicking, etc. British Library Or.7094, esp. fol. 7r.

> All ranks alike frequent this sweet and balmy spot. The Sultanas move along in quiet stateliness over the greensward in their gilded arabas, drawn by oxen glittering with foil, and covered with awnings of velvet, heavy with gold embroidery and fridges; the light carriages of the Pashas' harems roll rapidly past, decorated with flashing draperies, the horses gaily caparisoned, and the young beauties within pillowed on satins and velvets, and frequently screened by shawls of immense value; while the woves of many of the Beys, the Effendis, and the Emire, leave their arabas [carriages], and seated on Persian carpets under the leafy canopy of the superb maple-trees which abound in the valley, amuse themselves for hours, the elder ladies with their pipes, and the younger ones with their hand-mirrors; greetings innumerable take place on all sides.[133]

Pardoe describes a bustling social scene, adorned with beautiful people draped in luxurious garments, seated on plush carpets, and shaded by awnings of velvet and gold. She also notes that the "young beauties" are "screened by shawls" suggesting that because they are shielded by fabric, these elite women have the opportunity to move about the gardens and socialize. Likewise, Anna Bowman Dodd, traveling in the Ottoman empire some 70 years after Pardoe, also explains the freedoms that come with the carrying of a parasol by a woman of status:

> The carrying of a parasol … announces a certain rank. Turkish women hold their parasols with a tight, clutching clasp. They bury their enveloped heads into the hollow of the inverted disc, as if seeking within that retreat a further retirement to escape from the profane male gaze. Pink, blue, scarlet, purple, white and black – innumerable black parasols of every hue

[133] Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 22-23.

> and fashion were carried by these modest ladies tied up in double-ended pillow-cases.[134]

The commentary on the use of parasols in this way reveals a particular manifestation of tent- or fabric-facilitated mobility and its impact on women's social lives and their experience of nature and the royal gardens. Ornate parasols allow women to move beyond the confines of the palace proper, and at the same time are to protect themselves from any unwanted gazes.[135] No doubt both Pardoe's and Dodd's observations of the gender dynamics of veils and parasols are due in part to their own experiences as women navigating Ottoman Istanbul and their own cultures, and as such they take note of the ways in which women are able to move in and around public spaces.

In addition to these manifestations of mobility in the gardens of Istanbul, another kind of bodily movement might be added—that is, dance. Several images depicting the social mixing and merriment that took place in the suburban spaces of the city—often set against the backdrop of ornate tents—feature well-dressed individuals dancing or enjoying music together, such as Fazıl Enderunlu's well-known *Zenanname*, which portrays women picnicking and listening to music in the Kağıthane gardens.[136] Thomas Allom's drawing of the Sweet Waters of Europe in Reverend Robert Walsh's *Constantinople and the scenery of the seven churches of Asia Minor* shows a group of

---

[134] Dodd, *In the Palaces of the Sultan*, 122.

[135] On female imperial architectural patronage, see: Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan* (New York and London: Routlede, 2017).

[136] Fazıl Enderunlu, *Zenanname*, 1793, British Museum, Or. 7084, fol. 7r.

women on the shores of the stream dancing merrily, with a cluster of tents in the background (Figures 2.8).

Similarly, a postcard produced by French photographers A. Breger Frères also shows men and women—perhaps Europeans or individuals dressed in European fashion—dancing together in the shade of trees in the valley of Kağıthane (Figure 2.9). Spectators sit and watch while chatting with one another. A guitar leaning against the trunk of the largest tree suggests that music would come and go, perhaps reviving the party whenever the mood called for it. These tents transformed open spaces such as meadows and valleys into social spaces embedded within the landscape. Their presence mediated the experience of nature in the countryside so that it may be enjoyed in comfort. Suburban spaces thus become sites of mobility, fluidity, and merriment, where sultanas promenade safely under their parasols and the sounds of guitars strumming and laughing voices echo through the valley.

Furthermore, tents and their soft furnishings visually reflect the social activities that took place in and around them. For instance, a nineteenth-century appliquéd and embroidered ground cover features at its center two clusters of musical instruments that mirror one another (Figures 2.10 and 2.11). The instruments are banded together with swirling ribbons and flowering vines. They appear as though laid on a bed of foliage with variously colored and styled blooms, melding the tent interior with the natural environment. While flora was without a doubt a popular theme in Ottoman tents and textiles for many centuries, here a veritable constellation of sensory pleasures is conjured in the silken environment of an imperial tent, which in turn reflects the experience of the royal gardens. While perhaps inspired by or even culled directly from European

decorative arts, fabric representations of musical instruments evoke the sounds of merriment that would have resonated in and around imperial tents. The flowers allude to both the olfactory and haptic qualities of real flowers, rendered permanent in silk. Perhaps even these floral fabrics would have been scented with incense, perfumes, or rosewater, lending fragrance to the otherwise odorless silken blooms.[137]

Descriptions of garden life in Ottoman Istanbul play on these kinds of sensory metaphors as well. For examples, Julia Pardoe calls the valley "delicious" and describes the intermingling sounds of musicians playing their instruments and the jangling of the coins they collect as payment.[138] Anna Bowman Dodd describes the gardens as having "tapestried walls" and "satin-like lawns," noting that the whole experience is like "entering a fairy realm."[139] These assertions certainly build on exoticizing notions of the East, as portrayed by these European visitors. However, Ottoman poetry also suggests a complex relationship between fabric, architecture, and the sensory pleasures of nature. For example, Nedim describes a fountain in the garden of Grand-Admiral Mustafa Pasha, noting:

> Every one of its gates and walls are as though attractive fabrics
> Each woven on the loom of the world's pleasures

---

[137] Ashley Dimmig, "Synaesthetic Silks: The Multi-Sensory Experientiality of Ottoman Imperial Textiles" (MA thesis, Koç University, Istanbul, 2012). For examples of sensory histories in Ottoman art and architecture, see: Nina Ergin, "The Soundscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques: Architecture and Qur'an Recital," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67, no. 2 (2008): 204-221; Nina Ergin, "The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context," *Art Bulletin* 96, no 1 (2014): 70-97.

[138] Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, 7.

[139] Dodd, *In the Palaces of the Sultan*, 82.

In likening gates and walls to luxurious fabrics, Nedim suggests a visual and material melding of media in the built environment of Ottoman Istanbul, which together combine to produce a pleasure-filled fabric sensorium.[140] Moreover, tents themselves seem to play with light and movement, as well as surreal representations of nature. An orphaned triangular tent section in the Military Museum in Istanbul is dominated by a willow tree rendered in gold embroidery (Figure 2.12). When erected in the gardens, sunlight would strike the gilt surface and dance off of the thick embroidery. This rather whimsical version of what Bernard O'Kane calls the "arboreal aesthetic," brings nature inside the tent, but in a more fanciful, even surreal manner with the red silk ground and glistening golden trees dripping down the length of fabric.[141] Upon closer inspection, the golden tree is dressed in tassels and bells, intertwined with the branches of the willow tree. Again, images of musical instruments, woven together with natural elements such as flowers and trees together build a whimsical and sensorially pleasurable garden environment in silk. Not only does this particular tent visually allude to the perhaps otherworldly sensory brilliance of the its natural settings, it also includes tent motifs in its ornamentation, thus alluding to its own function in a spectacular garden setting rife with sensory pleasures (Figure 2.13).

---

[140] Hamadeh, *The City's Pleasures,* 13-14. Also, Hamadeh discusses the ways in which architectural beauty was appreciated and expressed poetically through sensory pleasures, *The City's Pleasures*, esp. 190-215.

[141] Bernard O'Kane, "The Arboreal Aesthetic: Landscape, Painting and Architecture from Mongol Iran to Mamluk Egypt," in *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. Bernard O'Kane (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 223-251.

Tents erected in the suburban spaces of Istanbul, especially the valley of Kağıthane, served to shade and shelter elite individuals hoping to spend time in the countryside, enjoying the pleasures of nature. There they partook in activities such as dancing and picnicking against the backdrop of spectacularly adorned tents. The tents themselves in turn reflected the goings-on in these tented spaces of leisure and merriment, as well as the nature that surrounded them.

Flowers of Silk

The fact that the palace began to claim swaths of suburban gardens and meadows for its own demonstrates the growing significance and expanded uses of outdoor spaces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[142] It is perhaps no surprise then that the tents erected in such environs reflected this affinity for and the importance of gardens in their decoration. Appliquéd and embroidered flowers certainly were not an innovation in imperial tents of this period, however. They adorn almost every single extant Ottoman tent from any period. Moreover, flowers are practically ubiquitous, appearing on all kinds of textile objects including clothing, carpets, curtains, cushions, and other domestic objects and personal effects such as napkins, handkerchiefs, bed linens, turban covers, wrappers, and so on.[143] This abundance of floral motifs—tulips, roses, hyacinths, and

[142] Nurhan Atasoy notes the decreased public access to gardens, particularly Kağıthane: "Before the sultans used it for building purposes, the people used to come here for recreation. However, after the court began to come here (Kağıthane), access to the palace grounds and gardens was forbidden as in other places." Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 276.

[143] The literature on floral motifs on textiles is considerable. Some examples relevant to the Ottoman court include but are certainly not limited to: Walter B Denny and Sumru Belger Krody, *The Sultan's Garden: The Blossoming of Ottoman Art* (Washington: The

carnations chief among them—is due in part to their function as emblems of the Ottoman court. For this reason, representations of flowers appear in various media across many objects intended for use in the palace. In this way, the royal residences were rendered perpetually in bloom through colorful representations of nature.

In addition to serving as a kind of floral heraldry, scholars have read the representation of flowers in Ottoman textiles and those from various Islamic cultures as allusions to Paradise.[144] In the case of prayer rugs, which are generally distinguished by an arch or *mihrab* motif filled with and/or surrounded by flowers, this interpretation is clearly appropriate.[145] Walter Denny takes this assessment of the floral and architectural coupling further, linking *any* depiction of an arch with flowers to Paradise:

> The arched gateway filled with flowers, widely used as a decorative motif in Islamic architecture, carpets, textiles, and objects of all kinds, is an

---

Textile Museum, 2012); Atasoy, "Floral Decorations in Furniture, Furnishings, and Interiors," in *A Garden for the Sultan*, 98-119; Patricia L. Baker, "Textile patterns on royal Ottoman Kaftans," in *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from Topkapi Palace*, eds. Patricia L. Baker, Hülya Tezcan, Jennifer M. Wearden, and Ahmet Ertuğ (Istanbul: Ertuğ & Kocabiyik, 1997), 31-44; Roderick Taylor, "Designs and Patterns," in *Ottoman Embroidery* (London: Studio Visa, 1993); Reingard Neumann, "Floral Style and Çintamani: Aspects of Ottoman Ornamental Style," in *A Wealth of Silk and Velvet: Ottoman Fabrics and Embroideries*, edited by Christian Erber (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1993), 13-16; Walter Denny, "Textiles" in *Tulips Arabesques and Turbans: Decorative Arts from the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Yanni Petsopoulos (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1982), 121-168.

[144] For the correlation between carpets an Paradise in Persian spheres, for example, see: Ali Hassouri, "Designs Extracted out of the Paradise Design Found in many Iranian Carpets: Paradise under our Feet," in *Traditional Carpets and Kilims in the Muslim World: Past, Present and Future Prospects: Proceedings of the International Seminar held in Tunis, 19-25 November 1999*, eds. Nazeih Taleb Maarouf and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, 2002), 145-148.

[145] For example, see: Richard Ettinghausen, ed., *Prayer Rugs* (Washington, DC: The Textile Museum, 1974).

> amplification of and variation on the depictions of Paradise found in the earliest surviving monuments of Islamic religious art.[146]

Elsewhere Denny addresses tents specifically, asserting that with their appliquéd archways and floral motifs, they too serve as allusions to Paradise:

> This paradox – the wall that doesn't look like a wall, but rather like a series of arched doorways or openings – is commonly found in fabric architecture in Ottoman realms. … In such textiles, a lamp is frequently depicted under each 'arch' and the 'archway' itself leads to a notional vision of flowers. The fabric architecture using arcade motifs partakes again of several general groups of meanings. First, there is the idea of permanence and stability imprinted on the ephemeral fabric architecture of tents. Second, there is the notion of respectability from the connotation of the mosque lamp and the mosque, as appropriated in a royal secular enclosure…[and] secular power has always appropriated the trappings of religion as a means to respectability.[147]

While tents' interior decoration is indeed dominated by arcades filled with floral motifs, this alone is not sufficient to read into them a universal paradisaical meaning. And while it may be true that "secular power" draws from "the trappings of religion," the many and varied uses of gardens by the Ottoman court in the eighteenth and nineteenth century indicates that the cultural significance of representations of gardens were equally varied. When tents were erected on religious events, such as during Muharram festivals, or as a

---

[146] Walter Denny, "Reflections of Paradise in Islamic Art," in *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*, edited by Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom (Dartmouth College: Hood Museum of Art, 1991), 37-38.

[147] Walter Denny, "Saff and Sejjadeh: Origins and Meaning of the Prayer Rug," in *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies* 3, no. 2 (1990): 93-104.

temporary mausolea, their floral motifs may indeed take on paradisaical significance.[148] However, as discussed throughout this dissertation, the meanings of tents and their decoration are multiple and malleable and can be altered based on the time and place in which they are temporarily erected. Yet, to separate these meanings into discrete categories would deny their imbrication. Instead, it is perhaps best to think of these meanings as layered, some of which may lay dormant while others rise to the surface, depending on the context and occasion. In other words, these kinds of motifs can recall heavenly and earthly gardens alike, emphasizing one or the other—or both—as occasions warranted.

Furthermore, the presence or representation of arches and colonnades may likewise be read in both religious and secular terms. First and foremost, a *mihrab* is often represented as an arch on prayer rugs. While the arch framing a tent's *hazine* may sometimes be called a *mihrab*, they should not all be read as direct references to the prayer niche marking the direction to Mecca (*qibla*), not least for the fact that the series of arches form an arcade in the round and thus do not face a singular direction. That being said, there are cases of celestial thresholds in the round in permanent architecture. For example, in the Ilkhanid capital of Sultaniyya, the octagonal mausoleum of Öljeitü (r. 1304-1316) features arched doorways around the structure, where the eight sides of the represent the eight gates of Paradise.[149] In the context of a mausoleum, a paradisiacal reading is understandable. However, again, that does not mean that all arches bear

[148] Patricia Baker discusses this situational reading of flowers on architecture and textiles as references to Paradise: Baker, "Textile Patterns on Royal Kaftans," 32-38.

[149] Sheila S. Blair, "The Mongol Capital of Sultaniyya, 'The Imperial,'" *Iran* 24 (1986): 145.

religious significance. Indeed, colonnades line the courtyards of both mosques and palatial architecture in the Ottoman realm. These covered passages lined with arches mediate between the open space of the courtyard and the interior structure. Topkapı Palace's successive courtyards feature many such arcaded colonnades, as do many mosques. One that stands out in this period is the rather unusual oval courtyard of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque (1749-1755).[150] Though I would not argue that this courtyard looked to tents for inspiration simply based on its oval footprint, its function in the choreography of space is in fact similar to many tents in that a courtyard, like a tent, is a kind of in-between architectural form, and therefore mediates the division between interior and exterior, as well as the built and natural environments. Indeed, tents' appliquéd colonnades function similarly. Through their representation in the round, the combination of architectural and floral motifs mediate between interior and exterior, like colonnades in permanent architecture.

While the paradisaical reading of floral motifs woven or stitched in textiles has been well covered in scholarship, fewer studies discuss the associations with worldly gardens. Floral imagery on tents is rooted in broader traditions of depicting blooms and foliage on textiles and architecture, in the Ottoman imperial tents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, a few innovations reflect the court's affinity for the natural world—that is, earthly gardens in which Ottoman elite are enjoying their leisure time, socializing, and hosting receptions. Among the various innovations in tent decoration discussed in the previous chapter, some extant tents reflect an increased

[150] Rüstem, Ünver. *Architecture for a New Age*.

interest in naturalism through their relatively lifelike depictions of flowers in silk.[151] Stitched with thread to create gradients of soft shades, embroidered flowers that appear in late Ottoman tents more closely resemble real flowers than their more stylized, flattened predecessors. This predilection for naturalism was in part inspired by the influx of art objects and architectural decorative modes from Europe. Adopting and adapting naturalism to the depictions of flowers in Ottoman tents, though, appears particularly apt for fabric architecture erected in the flowering meadows of suburban Istanbul.

Another feature of Ottoman tent decoration that seems to dissolve the barrier between interior spaces and nature beyond are representations of trees growing from the ground. For example, while largely stylized and rather fanciful in its color palette, a tent dating to Abdülhamid II's reign (1876-1909) features trees where *şemse* medallions or vase motifs usually appear (Figure 1.9). Rooted to the ground, the motif mimics a row of trees, perhaps seen from a distance and framed by an arcade. Similarly, an earlier tent dating to Mahmud II's reign (1808-1839) bears trees growing out of mounds of earth rendered in silk embroidery (Figure 1.29). These cypresses, while stitched in silk and metallic thread, mirror the real foliage of greater Istanbul. While similar tree motifs representing the so-called "Tree of Life" appear on various textiles around the Islamic world, in the late Ottoman context, the affinity for nature and the increased importance of gardens in court culture is here reflected in tent decoration.[152]

---

[151] Atasoy discusses this rise in naturalism across various media in relation to the importance of flowers and garden culture of the Ottoman court: Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan*, 134-141.

[152] Bernard O'Kane presents a comparative analysis of what he terms the "arboreal aesthetic" across Islamic cultures from Mamluk Egypt to Ilkhanid Iran, as well as Ottoman Turkey. In the latter case, he discusses images of representations of trees and their degree of naturalism, as depicted in early modern Ottoman mosques. He

Building on longstanding practices of depicting flowers and foliage, the representation of such motifs, as well as their manner of representation, serve to visually dissolve the boundary between interior and exterior zones, at a time when suburban gardens played a significant role in the Ottoman court. In addition to individual motifs such as flowers and trees adorning tents, beginning in the nineteenth century, tents also feature embroidered landscape scenes, and even vast panoramas circumscribing the entire interior of imperial tents. The relationship between tent and landscape is redoubled when tents are depicted in the landscapes that are embroidered onto the tent itself.

Panoramas and Scenic Views

A tent made for Sultan Mahmud II, dated 1224 AH (1809 CE), and today in the Military Museum in Istanbul, features not only an abundance of silk foliage, but bears many landscape vignettes as well as a magnificent embroidered panorama around its interior valance (Figure 2.14).[153] Certain elements of its interior decoration can be compared to some of the earliest surviving tents from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—such as the appliquéd arcade, lobed medallions (*şemse*s), and large central medallion on the underside of the roof. Yet it also features many innovations born of the taste for novelty

---

offhandedly suggests that the tree central to story of Osman's dream as a potential root for such motifs. In the end, though, he groups early Ottoman Turkey under the umbrella of "Iranian-influenced areas," that, like Iran proper, absorbed and adapted local and pre-Islamic attitudes toward trees, landscapes, and nature that include but are not limited to their eschatological connotations. Bernard O'Kane, "The Arboreal Aesthetic: Landscape, Painting and Architecture from Mongol Iran to Mamluk Egypt," in *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*, ed. Bernard O'Kane (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 223-251.

[153] This marquee was on display in the Military Museum as of January 2016, but since then the galleries have been partially closed for restoration.

in this period, as discussed in the previous chapter. Some of these novel elements of Mahmud II's marquee include its pale gold silk ground (as opposed to red cotton favored in earlier centuries), the preference for embroidery in its ornament (over the more traditional appliqué), and its wide range of colors (predominantly pastel shades, as well as the inclusion of metallic threads throughout). The tent epitomizes changing court tastes in the decades leading up to the Tanzimat reforms and demonstrates the expanded repertoire of the Imperial Tent Corp in its materials, techniques, and color palette that were discussed in the previous chapter. Beyond these features, the marquee's landscapes and panorama executed in silk and metallic thread stand out as visual elements that appear on tents only in the nineteenth century.

Situated within the lobed medallions beneath the appliquéd arches are small embroidered vignettes depicting clusters of colorful pavilions and tents in a garden setting (Figure 2.15). The ogival dome of the tall kiosk in each scene is striped in variegated hues and topped with a crescent moon finial executed in metallic thread. Verdant trees reach up toward the apex of the kiosk's dome, seemingly enveloping the structure in its branches. Beneath this structure is a tent, with a similarly striped canopy and crescent moon finial.[154] Green trees and rose-hued shrubs surround the tent on all sides. Tents are embroidered elsewhere in the marquee's pictorial program and are likewise shown with colorfully striped canopies (Figure 2.16). In the *şemse* vignette,

---

[154] Such finials, some with moon motifs, were often used to crown the peaks of the royal tents as seen in a number of Levni's paintings shown throughout Chapter 3. On the development of the crescent moon's association with Islam, especially in Ottoman spheres, see: Ünver Rüstem, "From Auspicious Ornament to State Symbol: The Crescent Moon in Ottoman Art and Architecture," in *The Moon: A Voyage Through Time*, ed. Christiane Gruber (Toronto: Aga Khan Museum, 2019), 45-55.

small rectilinear windowed kiosks or pavilions in similar shades flank this central pairing of structures; and the group appears elevated on a delicate platform beneath which still more buildings fill the space. While compressed, the layering of these motifs suggests a recession of space, constructing a scene seemingly in the far distance. The position of these framed landscape vignettes within the tent's decorative program aligns with the placement of windows in a tent wall. When a tent has windows cut into its walls, they are positioned exactly where these lobed medallions exist, in the negative space of the appliquéd arches. Here, these oval-shaped landscapes populated with colorful built structures in a lush arbor or garden function as virtual windows, as though the viewer situated within the tent were simultaneously seeing *into* the fabric picture plane and *through* the tent wall, out onto the suburbs of Istanbul. Nicholas Temple describes a similar tension in an early nineteenth-century diptych by artist Caspar David Fredrich. He discusses the flattening of a "scenographic landscape" with the frame of a window as depicted from the interior of a room.[155] In a similar manner, the embroidered "window" framing the landscape vignette in Mahmud II's marquee mediates between "the localized setting of a domestic interior and the larger city," or, in the case of Ottoman Istanbul, between the architectural interior of a tent and the royal gardens in which it was erected.[156]

Another significant and novel feature of tent decoration in this marquee is the embroidered panorama circumscribing the interior of the tent, situated on the valance at

---

[155] Nick Temple, *Disclosing Horizons: Architecture, Perspective and Redemptive Space* (London: Routledge, 2007), 217.

[156] Temple, *Disclosing Horizons*, 217.

the junction of wall and ceiling (Figure 2.17). In this image, the viewer is positioned inside the tent, looking out on the underside of the large eave, with the panorama at the bottom edge of the awning. The panorama, albeit somewhat stylized and fanciful, represents the picturesque Ottoman city, with its rolling hills, waterways dotted with ships, large scale fenestrated façades, tree-filled courtyards, ornate pavilions, and tents erected amid clusters of blooming trees. A detail shows the juxtapositions of land and water, permanent and fabric architecture, as well as the built environment and natural elements (Figure 2.18). These embroidered scenes do not precisely represent Istanbul's iconic skyline; however, it is not a stretch to understand the arrangement of kiosks in gardens along the shores of a long narrow body of water as a reference to the suburban landscape of Istanbul, particularly along the Golden Horn and Bosphorus Strait.

A late nineteenth-century tent also in the Military Museum in Istanbul features a similar panoramic seascape along its interior valance (Figure 2.19).[157] Like the embroidered panorama in the marquee of Mahmud II, this later example features variously scaled buildings, boats, and trees executed in pastel polychrome silk with a profusion of metallic thread (Figure 2.20). Here again, this panorama is defined by its long shoreline, wrapping around the whole interior of the single-poled canopy. It differs, though, in its placement of the viewer vis-à-vis said shore. In the earlier marquee, the ships on water are scaled down and positioned higher in the composition, and therefore are to be understood as situated in the background of the embroidered scene, whereas in

[157] This tent has been identified in a number of early twentieth-century photographs, and therefore, considering its condition with its frequency of use in that period, suggest it dates to the late nineteenth century, or perhaps the first decade of the twentieth. The occasions on which this tent was used will be discussed at length in Chapter 3.

the later example, the water appears on the lowest portion of the valance, in the foreground of the panorama. Irrespective of its position, the focus of the composition is the shore, where land meets the water. By concentrating on the water's edge, the embroidered panoramas inside these nineteenth-century tents allow for viewers to inhabit the pictorial space—either as an individual strolling along the shore looking out at the Bosphorus, or else as a passenger aboard a *caïque* looking back at the architecture in the landscape. Either way, the panorama is activated by a moving eye, thereby replicating the experience of boating or promenading in the microcosm of the tent.[158]

In her discussion of panoramas in a different medium—photography—Esra Akcan asserts that Istanbul "created a visualization paradigm that marked Istanbul as a panoramic city and informed its modern architecture."[159] As shown throughout this dissertation, imperial Ottoman tents may be considered a kind of modern architecture, albeit in a medium that precludes its study in situ. Tents were no less important to the cityscape that Akcan describes as "a favorite genre for almost all prominent nineteenth-century Ottoman photographers," who "inherited a visual memory of Istanbul that had been constructed in travellers' guides and engravings."[160] For example, a drawing by William H. Bartlett published in Julia Pardoe's *Beauties of the Bosphorus* (1838) depicts a cluster of tents in the foreground of the scene (Figure 2.21). From this elevated vantage

---

[158] As will be discussed below, Esra Akcan discusses panoramic photographs of Istanbul and the moving eye. Esra Akcan, "The Gate of the Bosporus: Early Photographs of Istanbul and the Dolmabahçe Palace," in *The Indigenous Lens? Early Photography in the Near and Middle East*, eds. Markus Ritter and Staci G Scheiwiller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 232-234.

[159] Akcan, "The Gate of the Bosphorus," 222.

[160] Akcan, "The Gate of the Bosphorus," 223.

point, the viewer can see many districts of the city, from the historic peninsula and the European quarter, to the Asian shore and what may be the Princes' Islands in the far distance. The tents serve as an entry point for the armchair traveler, like fabric pillars of a grand gateway marking the entrance to the city from the north. In foregrounding the tents, they appear as prominent as—if not more so than—the great mosques that define the iconic skyline of the Ottoman capital. The pointed silhouette of the tent is echoed throughout Bartlett's drawing—from the masts and sails of the ships populating the Bosphorus, to the cypress trees cascading down the hillside, and the minarets marking the imperial mosques in the old city.

Wendy Shaw discusses similar scenes in a contemporary travelogue, the previously mentioned *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* by Reverend Robert Walsh and illustrated by Thomas Allom, published in 1839.[161] Shaw argues that such picturesque images rendered by foreigners in Istanbul represent "an ambivalence both towards imperialism and the progress it proffered."[162] She describes the British authors' uneasiness with any modernization that was not dependent upon British imperialism, as it threatened their hierarchical worldview. As such, their images of Istanbul and Asia Minor reflect a nostalgia for a present which was about to be lost, on the eve of the Tanzimat reforms, officially begun in the same year their work was

---

[161] Wendy M. K. Shaw, "Between the Sublime and the Picturesque: Mourning Modernization and the Production of Orientalist Landscape in Thomas Allom and Reverend Robert Walsh's *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (c. 1839)," in *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, edited by Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts, 115-125 (Istanbul: Pera Museum, 2011).

[162] Shaw, "Between the Sublime and the Picturesque," 115.

published. The tents in Bartlett's drawing may be viewed similarly. Rather than shown as spectacular temporary architecture keeping up with modern tastes, he recast tents as emblems of a timeless Orient. In this way, the misrepresentation of the tent parallels Shaw's analysis of Allom and Walsh's misunderstanding of the Tophane fountain:

> The paradox of the idealized timelessness of the East and the modernizing reality of the empire reappears immediately in the vignette title page of the volume, featuring a scene of the Market Place of Tophane. … which Walsh identifies as one of the two fountains in the city where 'the Turks seem to have exerted all their skill in sculpture' with a 'beautiful specimen of the arabesque.' This is the Tophane fountain erected in 1732 as part of Mahmud I's (r. 1730-54) modernization of the cannon foundry and barracks as part of an earlier phase of Ottoman military reform. Nonetheless, a century later, it could be understood by the casual observer as a sign not of modernization, but of traditional Ottoman urban form.[163]

Like Walsh's fetishization of the Tophane fountain as a "beautiful specimen" as opposed to a structure celebrating modernizing reforms, other travelers' accounts and their visual representations of tents in the suburbs of Ottoman Istanbul, while accurate to some degree of in their inclusion of tents in the urban and suburban landscape, distort their cultural import as signifiers of modernity and contemporary court life.

While such Orientalist views underpin travel images like Allom's or Bartlett's, illustrated travelogues are just one facet of the corpus of landscapes and panoramas of greater Istanbul produced in this period. Not only are scenic views included in the decorative program of nineteenth-century imperial tents, many of such scenes—whether embroidered in fabric or painted walls—feature tents. Indeed, landscapes of various

---

[163] Shaw, "Between the Sublime and the Picturesque," 117.

scales and subjects adorn the interiors of palaces and upper-class mansions throughout Istanbul and beyond in this period.[164] Usually devoid of human figures or animals, such scenes depict lavish architecture against the backdrop of commanding hills and towering trees. Between these—literally and figuratively—reside tents. In a mural in the Sitting Room of the Valide Sultan apartments in Topkapı Palace, tents occupy the space between the trees and the palatial complex in the foreground (Figure 2.22). Their inclusion in such scenes not only evinces their use in these spaces in contemporary Istanbul; both in the pictorial space and in the real-world gardens they inhabited, tents mediated between the built and natural environments.

Another way in which tents serve this mediating function is by framing viewscapes of the city and the surrounding countryside for the viewer situated within them. When inside Mahmud I's marquee, for example, looking out from the shade of the eave, the gilt embroidered panorama would have been juxtaposed with the real panorama that was the city itself. The framing of a particular view by the tent walls thus created a moving image of the city. Such a sensation could also be experienced in permanent constructions on the seashore, as shown, for example, in Antoine Ignace Melling's depiction of the interior of a coffeehouse in Tophane (Figure 2.23). Melling's work, *A Picturesque Voyage to Constantinople and the Shores of the Bosphorus* (1819) undoubtedly employs the concept of the picturesque as it was developed in Europe. Yet

---

[164] On landscape wall paintings and other murals in Ottoman architecture of this period, see: Günsel Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. G. Fehêr, 711-735 (Budapest: Akadêmiai Kiadó, 1978); Günsel Renda, "Westernisms in Ottoman Art: Wall Paintings in 19th Century Houses," in *The Ottoman House: Papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, eds. Stanley Ireland and William Bechhoefer (London: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and Warwick: The University of Warwick, 1998), 103-109.

his image demonstrates the affinity for highly fenestrated façade that overlook moving scenic views. As David Marshall says of the picturesque: "The picturesque represents a point of view that frames the world and turns nature into a series of living tableaux."[165] A similar depiction of an architectural interior by Amedeo Preziosi likewise frames a picturesque landscape of greater Istanbul as seen through the frame of fenestration (Figure 2.24). From this viewpoint, the Bosphorus Strait and the distant shore are framed, creating a moving, real-time picturesque image of the capital city.

In her description of Beylerbeyi Palace, the nineteenth-century seaside residence on the Asian shore of the Bosphorus—discussed in the last chapter for its tent-like kiosks—Anna Bowman Dodd notes how the sea itself seems to adorn the imperial interior:

> The true decoration of these great rooms lay in the glittering, moving water-world beyond the window ledges, and in the terraces and gardens above and below them. The blue waters of the Bosphorus seemed fairly tumbling into the great interiors, so closely set over the river surface was the palace. Wherever one looked it was to see water moving, glistening, glittering. Tall ships were to be seen riding by between the satin of curtains. Forests of masts were set between the spirals of a minaret, shining from across the opposite shore, and the nearer needles of a towering fir tree. Roses, palms, and strange-leaved plants bloomed and leaved, as it were, within finger-range. Never, surely, had a summer palace captured and framed as successfully the green and blue world of water and bloom set beyond its window ledges.[166]

---

[165] David Marshall, "The Problem of the Picturesque," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3, Aesthetics and the Disciplines (Spring, 2002): 414.

[166] Dodd, *In the Palaces of the Sultan,* 184-185.

Like these seaside palaces and kiosks built in wood and stone, the tent also frames real-time picturesque images of its environs, seemingly subsuming the city and its natural landscape inside their walls. Through their mobility and malleability, though, tents could frame different views with each installation. On the one hand, the tent walls are retractable, and therefore can open or close to varying degrees, reframing the view beyond differently based on how many *hazine*s are rolled up. When the walls are removed entirely, and only the appliquéd and embroidered fabric canopy remains, a full 360-degree panorama is created. In the case of the late-nineteenth century single-poled tent in the Military Museum in Istanbul, with its walls uninstalled the embroidered panorama on the valance would be directly juxtaposed with the landscape that surrounded it (Figure 2.19). In so doing, its natural environs are not only replicated in the tent's interior decoration, they framed nature itself for viewing from the comfort and shade of the imperial canopy.

Furthermore, as mobile architecture, tents' environs change with each installation, and as such would create a new landscape or panorama with every use. This strategic placement of tents in the suburban zones of the imperial city to frame scenic views is paralleled in permanent architecture, as evinced by the framing of distant shores in the depictions of fenestrated interiors by Preziosi and Melling. Writing in the mid-nineteenth century, Caroline Paine remarks on this conscious effort to construct architecture in strategic locations that take advantage of the natural scenery:

> It would seem as if the organ of sight were the one sense of the Turk, through which he receives his highest gratification. That he has a taste for the beauties of natural scenery, may be inferred from the fine positions

> chosen upon the quays for palaces, and the commanding eminences selected for kiosks or summer residences.[167]

Extant architecture corroborates this assessment, and perhaps may even be said of the built environment of Istanbul today. Certainly, in the late Ottoman period nature was transformed into pleasurable viewscapes through the mediation of imperial architecture in myriad ways.[168] In the marquee made for Sultan Mahmud II, the embroidered panorama brings the beauty of the cityscape inside the tent, while also alluding to the tent's framing of the living landscape. In so doing, the tent invites the viewer to ambulate between the silken structure and picturesque nature itself. Moreover, the embroidered panorama is animated through its materiality and mobility. When a gust of wind or sea breeze flowed through the tent, the silken image of the city was set in motion. Similarly, sunlight or candlelight would have played off of the variously textured and metallic surfaces, bringing to life the depicted landscape.

In nineteenth-century Istanbul, imperial tents created all-encompassing picture planes in the round, whether in embroidered silk on their valances or simply by opening

---

[167] Caroline Paine, *Tent and Harem: Notes of an Original Trip* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1859), 12.

[168] This predilection for commanding views can be found in earlier Ottoman palatial architecture. Gülru Necipoğlu discusses the effect of the gaze on the construction of palaces across the early modern Islamic empires, Ottoman Turkey, Safavid Iran, and Mughal India. Yet in architecture—fabric and otherwise—of the later centuries of Ottoman rule, the landscape is strategically framed as the shores of the Boshporus and Golden Horn are built up and façades are increasingly fenestrated. Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 303-342; Necipoğlu, "The Suburban Landscape," 35; Esra Akcan also discusses this mode of architecture with "horizontal windows and fully transparent façades that opened up panoramic view" as appropriate to Istanbul and its way of life in the nineteenth century: Akcan, "The Gate of the Bosphorus," 232-234.

their walls to the living landscapes surround them. In so doing, tents mediated viewer's experience of nature through their temporary construction and interior decoration. Both permanent and fabric imperial architecture melded real and virtual space that showcased the natural beauty of the empire in the round. Yet, the beauty of the city and its built environment was to be enjoyed not only in stereoscopic view, but also through indulgence in the sensory pleasures to be found in these silken palaces, shaded groves, and refreshing seashores.

Mediating and Framing Nature

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ornate tents were a readily available, culturally significant, and malleable form of imperial architecture, perfectly adaptable to suit the court's expansion into the gardens and suburban spaces of the imperial capital. Tents functioned alongside and parallel to newly constructed wooden and stone architecture in these zones, thus adding a further dramaturgical layer to the so-called "theatre of life" taking place on the shores of the Bosphorus and Golden Horn.[169] Unlike the wooden palaces constructed in this time that have since been destroyed, many imperial tents still do survive, albeit rolled up in museum storage facilities or, rarely, installed in galleries. In examining these extant structures and their decoration in conjunction with contemporary images and written accounts, some of the imperial built environment and the court's interaction with it in this period can be reconstructed. Tents also facilitated the seasonal and occasional migrations of the sultan and his household, which were revived in this period as part of court protocol. Building on longstanding traditions of floral

[169] Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life," 1989.

textiles, the fabric architecture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries reflected the primacy of gardens and nature in the Ottoman court at this time, as well as the ways in which it was viewed and framed by permanent architecture.

In these contexts, tents mediated between indoors and outdoors, not only through their fabric picture planes covered in floral motifs and embroidered landscapes, but their open structures allowed viewers to ambulate between their luxurious interiors and their natural environs. Tents also enabled freedom of movement through concealment, particularly for women of a certain status. In the gardens of Kağıthane, sultanas were able to enjoy the sensory pleasures of nature while avoiding unwanted gazes when shielded by their ornate parasols. On a larger scale, tents pitched in the valley provided shade for merrymakers by serving as sites of rest and respite while dancing or picnicking. Even vehicles such as boats and carriages transformed into canopies on the move, as they were draped and dressed by the Imperial Tent Corps. Like the sultanas' parasols, these kinds of vehicles both restricted the gaze, but also heralded the presence of the court in these public spaces through material displays of luxury.

Like fenestrated palaces and open-fronted kiosks, tents framed the cityscape of Istanbul and its suburbs, creating a kind of moving iconic image of the city. Through their transportability and malleability, tents could frame any landscape, changing with each installation. The affinity for these viewscapes is reflected in the tents themselves in the form of embroidered framed landscape vignettes and 360-degree panoramas.

CHAPTER 3

Tents and Ceremony

As convertible and transportable structures, tents were frequently employed as theatrical stage settings at temporary events such as festivals, ceremonies, and receptions. For this reason, tents are often deemed "ephemeral." However, imperial tents were not throwaway objects nor were they abandoned to the elements. As has been discussed previously, the Imperial Tent Corps assiduously kept the tents in good repair for their continued use. Therefore, tents should not be thought of as ephemeral but rather should be considered *occasional* architecture—that is, structures which are temporarily erected and then disassembled, stored, cleaned, and repaired, before reemerging once again for the next big event. They cycle through stages of activation and dormition, not dissimilar to objects used in religious processions or liturgical rites. Not only were the objects themselves serial in their use, the layers of meaning embedded within them likewise could lay dormant or be activated, depending on the situation. Thus, the tent is called upon as needed; and, due to its malleability and multiplicity of meanings, can serve different purposes on various occasions over time.

Building on centuries of performing kingship in princely encampments across Islamic cultures, tents were deployed in service of the Ottoman sultan's edification on various occasions. For example, tents featured prominently in dynastic rituals such as accession and investiture ceremonies, as well as those that highlighted the longevity and

vitality of the House of Osman—namely circumcision festivals for princes and the weddings of princesses. In the interest of facilitating international relations, tents were used to welcome visiting dignitaries, ambassadors, and traveling royals. Diplomacy was not only conducted in fabric architecture, it manifested in the tents themselves by embodying the sultan's favor, or lack thereof. While playing host in such extravagant spaces, tents not only honored the important guests, they also boasted the empire's wealth and strength at a moment when the empire was striving for international recognition. Tents' extravagant decorations and material value undoubtedly added grandeur to any spectacle. They both heralded the occasion and declared the presence of the sultan—literally or sometimes by proxy of his royal tent.

As extraordinary events, such occasions were recorded in various media and therefore mediated through different lenses. These records include written descriptions from eyewitness accounts, commemorative illustrated manuscripts commissioned by high ranking members of the court, pictures taken by court photographers, as well as postcards printed and circulated after the fact. With such rich visual and textual evidence, a clearer picture emerges of the types of occasions on which imperial tents were deployed in the last two hundred years of Ottoman rule. Moreover, such a robust corpus of images also allows for a reconstruction of specific tents' histories, as a few extant tents are recognizable in these historical photographs.

Festivals and Feasts

One of the most famous illustrated manuscripts to ever be commissioned by an Ottoman sultan visually and textually chronicles a spectacular festival held in the *Ok Meydanı*, or

the royal archery grounds. Written by Seyyid Vehbi (d. 1736) and illustrated by court painter Abdulcelil Çelebi, known as Levni (d. 1732), the manuscript records the circumcision festival of 1720 held in honor of Sultan Ahmed III's sons (r. 1703-1730).[170] Lauded for his use of bold colors and innovative pictorial techniques, Levni designed dozens of dynamic compositions dominated by colorfully patterned imperial tents.[171] One of the first double-folio paintings depicts a royal encampment comprising a series of fabric enclosures erected for observing the festivities (Figure 3.1). Due to the abundance of tents in Levni's paintings, the manuscript—and this image in particular—is often cited by scholars when discussing the role of tents in Ottoman court life.[172] The painting introduces the viewer to the festival grounds with an aerial view of the *Ok Meydanı* and the fantastic encampment erected to accommodate the sultan and his entourage for the occasion. As Nurhan Atasoy and others have noted, the arrangement of the encampment

[170] Sinem Erdoğan is currently working on her dissertation at Boğaziçi University, focusing on the only other known illustrated *Surname* manuscript recording the festival held in honor of Sultan Ahmed III's sons' circumcision in 1720. Her work in progress, as presented at Yale University in April 2017, showed a manuscript with many similarities to Levni's pictorial program, including predominance of tents, but also exhibited unique details analyzed in Erdoğan's doctoral thesis.

[171] Esin Atıl notes that of the 175 folios, 137 bear illustrations and all but one are double-page compositions. Two of the painted folios are signed by Levni, although he was undoubtedly assisted by members of his workshop. Esin Atıl, "The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993): 181-200; Esin Atıl, *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Festival* (Istanbul: Kocbank, 1999). For more on Levni's work, see: Deniz Erduman, *Tulpen, Kaftanae und Levni: Hölfische Mode und Kostümalben der Osmanen aus dem Topkapı Palast Istanbul (Tulips, Kaftans and Levni: Imperial Ottoman Costumes and Miniature Albums from Topkapı Palace in Istanbul* (München: Hirmer, 2008).

[172] Most notably, Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000).

is clearly hierarchical.[173] Along the left folio, vizierial tents descend in size, ornament, and position down the page, with the grand vizier's clearly the largest and most decorated among them. Just outside this series of enclosures several tents with specific functions are recognizable. For example, beyond the entrance to the Grand Vizier's complex is a kitchen tent, distinguished by its brown color and roof pierced with a hole for ventilation. Additionally, on the farthest reaches of the encampment are small rectangular structures in the same earthy tone. These simple structures are the bathroom tents, which are kept at a practical distance from the rest to avoid unwanted odors.[174] Similar in form to the Grand Vizier's enclosure, but altogether more lavish, the sultan's imperial tent complex, or *otağ-ı hümayun*, takes up the upper third of the right folio. The complex is densely populated with many ornate tents, which are cordoned off with a crenelated *zokak* or fabric curtain wall, which is adorned with red arches and hanging lamps on a verdigris ground. A similar fabric wall, likely dating to the seventeenth century, is on display at the Military Museum in Istanbul (Figure 3.2). The side on display is composed of red *bogasi* (cotton lining) and adorned with darker red arches and large hanging lamps with minimal appliqué ornament. The obverse features the characteristic verdigris ground with similar red arches and lamps, like the *zokak* depicted in Levni's painting. Within the royal tent complex circumscribed by the *zokak*, the sultan's own tent rises above the rest, set apart by its red and green chevron canopy, and its three poles, each surmounted by a bulbous golden finial. The image is devoid of people, but the space appears ready for the influx of

[173] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 62-63.

[174] A few bathroom tents still survive from the later period in both the Military Museum and Topkapı Palace Museum collections. For examples, see Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, cat. nos. 65-69.

both performers and spectators alike. Thus, the stage is set, and the backdrop comprises ornate, imperial tents of various shapes, sizes, and functions.

The rest of the pictorial program of Levni's *Surname* of 1720 offers a privileged view of the festivities and the extraordinary tents erected for the occasion. After being introduced to the festival encampment with an unpopulated aerial scene, the viewer zooms in, arriving outside the *otağ-ı hümayun* (Figure 3.3). Here Sur Emini Halil Efendi, the person in charge of the festival—along with *Şeyh ül-İslam* Abdullah Efendi, members of the *ulema*, and the royal gatekeepers—wait to greet Grand Vizier İbrahim Pasha approaching on horseback with his attendants.[175] The painting pays homage to these men for their achievements and positions at court.[176] Visually, though, through the sequence of images and strategic changes in proximity, the viewer has entered the procession alongside the parade of dignitaries, through the festival grounds, and has arrived just outside the imperial tent complex—through the proxy of the painted manuscript page.

After a series of paintings depicting orderly processions, Levni portrays the receptions of various high-ranking individuals. A subsequent double-page folio, for example, depicts Sultan Ahmed III receiving the *Şeyh ül-İslam* and *seyyid*s inside the royal enclosure (Figure 3.4). Again, the viewer's experience parallels that of the painting's protagonist as he is likewise allowed a glimpse into the royal enclosure, wherein the sultan sits enthroned beneath the canopy of his magnificently decorated

---

[175] Atil, *Levni and the Surname*, 240.

[176] Atil notes that the Grand Vizier is actually depicted more frequently than the sultan, appearing in 44 versus 41 folios, respectively. She also suggests that while the manuscript was intended for the Ahmed III, the patron may have been İbrahim Pasha. Atil, "The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival," 200.

polychrome tent. The large eave and side walls splayed open create a kind of ceremonial threshold akin to the Gate of Felicity in Topkapı Palace. A painting in Topkapı Palace Museum by Konstantin Kapıdağı executed in 1789 illustrates this parallel (Figure 1.45). Here Sultan Selim III similarly receives members of the court on the occasion of his enthronement while seated in the shade of a wide eave marking the gateway to the palace's innermost courtyard. In addition to its function as a ceremonial threshold, the gate's overhang likens to the fabric shade of the ceremonial tent, here rendered permanent in the palatial complex. Gülru Necipoğlu and others have demonstrated the logic behind the palace's spatial configuration consisting of a series of courtyards of increasing exclusivity, noting that the palace owes its organization and spatial choreography to princely encampments.[177] Levni demonstrates these levels of access in the festival encampment through these sequential images, leading the viewer through each successive level of exclusivity.

Further into the manuscript, the viewer is ultimately granted a glimpse inside the royal tent, where the sultan, his sons, attendants, and religious leaders gather to listen to recitations of sections of the Qur'an (Figure 3.5).[178] The artists makes clear this is the

---

[177] Necipoglu cites a few fifteenth and sixteenth century sources, such as Tursun Beg, who referred to the ordering of royal tents as the "'Ottoman order' (*tertib-i 'osmani*), or the 'order of the Ottoman tradition' (*tertib-i 'osmani*)." Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1991), 31-32; Tursun Beg, fols. 40a, 64b; Promontorio, 45-48; Lutfi, *Asafname*, 26, 31.

[178] Nina Macaraig (Ergin) has worked extensively on the sensescapes of early modern Ottoman architecture, including the practice and significance or Qur'an recitation. See for examples, Nina [Ergin] Macaraig, "The Soundscapes of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques: Architecture and Qur'an Recital," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67, no. 2 (2008), 204-221; Nina [Ergin] Macaraig, "Multi-Sensorial Messages of the Divine and the Personal: Qur'an Inscriptions and Recitation in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Mosques in Istanbul," in *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*,

sultan's own tent by bending perspectival representation to include a portion of the exterior green-and-red chevron canopy. This exclusive access inside the royal tent was appropriate to the manuscript's audience—that is, the upper echelon of Ottoman society who would have had access to the imperial library.

More than merely a visual record of the pomp and circumstance of the circumcision festival, the manuscript's image sequence parallels the protocol for royal receptions, as mediated by both fabric and permanent palatial architecture. As demonstrated by Levni, first the stage is set with an aerial view, then the viewer is led through a series of processions up to the walls of the royal enclosure until he finally enters the tent and is shown an interior view. This progression from outside in parallels records of visitors to Topkapı Palace being led through its series of courtyards, each marked by a monumental threshold, ultimately being admitted into the dimly lit, intimate interior of the Audience Chamber (*Arz Odası*) (Figure 3.6).[179] The suspense continued to build as visitors walked through each succeeding space, until the sovereign was finally revealed, seated in a small ornate chamber. While tents undoubtedly were used in this kind of regimented reception, Levni masterly employs fabric architecture here as a pictorial device to give the viewer the same sense of anticipation and revelation on the manuscript page.

---

eds. Mohammad Gharipour and İrvin Cemil Schick (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 105-118. Furthermore, as Esin Atıl points out, the tent on parade in the guild procession (Figure 3.11), the boy marching along inside the tent on parade is reciting poetry. These examples of recitation pose the question of a tented soundscape. Because of its material and physical properties, ephemeral fabric architecture could manipulate the experience of various sounds including oral recitations.

[179] For example, Jean Baptiste Vanmour depicts Sultan Ahmed III receiving the Dutch Ambassador, Cornelis Calkoen (1696-1764) in the Audience Chamber.

Furthermore, this painting in particular reveals clues about how the interior of such superlative fabric edifices would have been furnished. The sultan sits in his hexagonal high-backed gilt throne, flanked by his sons and attendants. Multiple layers of carpets or silken ground covers further distinguish his position. In addition to the draped interior of the tent itself, the ground also is dressed in ornate textiles and other soft furnishings such as cushions for seating. Not only were carpets used to transform the tent interior into a luxurious palatial space, large scale appliquéd and embroidered silk ground coverings likewise dressed tent interiors. Some examples of these kinds of coverings dating to the nineteenth century survive in the Military Museum collections in Istanbul (Figure 3.7).[180]

Another interior view of the tent complex shows one of the most important aspects of these kinds of public festivals: feasting (Figure 3.8). Here, the viewer is admitted entry into the interior of the Grand Vizier's tent—again demonstrated through Levni's bent perspective—which, like the sultan's chevron patterned tent, can be discerned by the exterior ornamentation. Here, the verdigris roof is adorned with red appliqué in a radial pattern around its peaks. The finials are painted green as opposed to gilt like the sultan's three-poled structure. The perspective is skewed in another manner—splaying the tent spliced down the middle and splayed open—in order to show the entire interior space. Inside, the ground also is dressed with ornate silk covers. Arranged inside are four trays around which many men of high rank sit and eat, including

---

[180] Several of these kinds of ground covers are rectilinear and thus, like carpets, could have been layered or pieced together to create a silken floor for the tent. In addition, large scale semi-circular silk ground covers with notches to accommodate the tent's central pole demonstrate that some tent ground were made to fit specific tents or tent shapes.

the *Şeyh ül-İslam* and several military officers.[181] Such elaborate banquets held in tents built on custom of previous centuries, likewise demonstrated in illustrated manuscripts (Figure 3.9). In addition to the rather exclusive banquet inside the vizierial tents held in honor of military officers at the 1720 festival—which was merely one of many similar feasts in honor of various groups—the sultan also provided food for different classes of people as part of the charity of the festival. For example, the Janissaries were served saffron-flavored rice from dishes laid on the ground, where in a show of appreciation of the sultan's gifts, they scrambled and fought to snatch their plate of rice before their fellow soldiers.[182]

While this manuscript has received a fair amount of scholarly attention, especially by those who wish to reconstruct the princely encampments of Ottoman court, one should remain cautious about making too broad a claim based on a single manuscript. Viewed in conjunction with other forms of evidence, though, some features of Levni's paintings can be corroborated. For example, extant tents bear similarities to Levni's representations, including the chevron patterns on their canopies, the predominance of red and green (verdigris), and *zokak* walls similar to those shown in the manuscript survive. However, he seems to take license with the interior decoration of tents—perhaps suggesting that the artist was less familiar with the exclusive interior zones but had seen the exteriors of such tents on many occasions. Furthermore, considering this series of images in comparison with the surviving visual record reveals a number of repeated uses of tents. Beyond the aforementioned function of fabric architecutre as interim banquet halls and audience

[181] Atil, *Levni and the Surname*, 172.

[182] Atil, *Levni and the Surname,* 226-227.

chambers, they also served as sites of shaded spectatorship, particularly for observing various performances and processions. Indeed, not only was the festival encampment itself activated as occasional architecture to celebrate the princes' circumcision, it served various purposes over the course of the event. As a result, this multiplicity of functions highlighted the tent's different connotations over the course of the festival.

Several paintings from Levni's *Surname* demonstrate the use of tents as sites of shaded spectatorship—wherein the sultan could observe the festivities, while also being subsumed into the spectacle. Among the spectacles to be observed were guild parades, acrobatic performances, and mock battles, to name but a few examples. Guild parades were in fact a staple in such royal festivities.[183] The guildsmen found various creative methods for mobilizing their crafts in order to proudly process their wares for the sultan and his court. In the *Surname-i Hümayun* of 1582, a member of the Imperial Tent Corps (*Mehterhane-i Hayme*) stoops down beneath the decorative canopy of a parasol-like tent, with the sultan observing from a lofty balcony in İbrahim Pasha Palace, adjacent to the Hippodrome (Figure 3.10). In Levni's painting depicting a section of the guild parade, the Tent Corps is seen at the front of the line, positioned in the lower right corner of the composition (Figure 3.11). The sinuous procession is a perfect example of the dynamic compositions for which Levni was well known. Like the 1582 *Surname*, here the members the Imperial Tent Corp carry a small-scale fabric canopy. This spectacle on the move is positioned on the painted page directly below the entrance to the sultan's royal

[183] A number of guilds are depicted in procession in the other surviving illustrated *Surname* celebrating the 1720 circumcision festival, as well as the 1582 *Surname*, some of whose paintings can be seen in Nurhan Atasoy, *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: An Imperial Celebration* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 1997).

tent complex, framed by the *zokak.* Thus, Levni recognizes the work of the Tent Corps, juxtaposing the small-scale representation of the tentmakers' craft made for the guild procession with the spectacularly adorned monumental fabric structures comprising the *otağ-ı hümayun*. Though it must be said that the tentmakers hardly needed to showcase their art in the guild parade, given that the entire festival took place in a monumental, highly decorated encampment and therefore their craft was on display day and night throughout the festival.

Another instance of using tents to observe the marvels of the festival is shown in a nocturnal scene (Figure 3.12). Here, the sultan sits on an elevated platform situated within the royal enclosure, capped with a bulbous red canopy. This structure was referred to as the Tower of Justice, suggesting it operated as a fabric avatar of the tower by the same name in the second courtyard of Topkapı Palace. In both the imperial tent complex and the palace, the Tower of Justice reaches higher than any surrounding structure, and thus is the most visible as well, providing the sultan with this most privileged view also put him on display for the festival's audience. The use of elevated verandas to frame reciprocal viewing between a sovereign and his people also recalls the "Lofty Gate" (*Ali Qapu*) in the central square of Safavid Isfahan. From this central palatial platform, the shah looked down upon the square, observing special events as well as daily goings on, and likewise, his people could observe him, albeit from a distance.[184] In the festival encampment on the occasion of the princes' circumcision in 1720, similarly was present

[184] Sussan Babaie, *Isfahan and its Palaces: Statecraft, Shi'ism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008); Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23, *Pre-Modern Islamic Palaces* (1993): 303-342.

and visible to a degree, but when elevated and situated among the trappings of imperial celebration, his person was likely obscured to some degree. To better understand the space and distance, Levni offers some suggestion of scale by the depicting men's heads peeking out from between the *zokak*'s fabric crenellations. On the ground outside the *zokak*, the grand vizier and his deputy sit each in his own tent, while the rest of the audience stands in the open air. These elite spectators had front row seats to observe the marvels of the show, which included pyrotechnics and fire-breathing dragons, as well as micro-architecture alight with golden flames, while the sultan himself was slightly removed from the front lines. In other paintings, similar buildings on wheels and even ships are brought in and used as set pieces in the performance of mock battles. Therefore, in addition to serving as viewing platforms and where the sultan could see and make his presence known, here the festival encampment itself was metaphorically pulled into the action, serving as a theatrical backdrop, recalling a military encampment on the edges of a great battle.

In another of Levni's paintings, a dizzying array of dangerous acrobatics are being surveyed by the sultan seated in his chevron-covered canopy, as well as the grand vizier and his deputy, Kethüda Mehmed Pasha, each in his own tent positioned just outside the royal complex's *zokak* (Figure 3.13).[185] Yet, the sultan himself also is shown at the threshold of the *zokak*, blurring the line between interior and exterior, inclusivity and exclusivity. At some points in the manuscript the sultan is seen at a distance, but still relatively visible to the festival's audience. At other times, while still framed by the tent, seated comfortably in its shade, he sits at the threshold of the imperial tent complex, or

---

[185] Atıl, *Levni and the Surname*, 212-213.

even just outside of it, teetering on the liminal boundary between the royal tent enclosure and the more public zones of the festival. In addition to the sultan's stepping out beyond the bounds of the *zokak*, certain groups of people are invited inside the tent, as in the case of the feast in honor of military officers or the recitation of Qur'anic passages in the company of religious leaders. Thus, Levni demonstrates the fluid functions of tents, even on a single occasion—from forming exclusive spaces where only privileged individuals were invited, to becoming spectacles unto themselves, at times functioning as theatrical backdrops, and also mediating the sultan's visibility on the occasion of a superlative royal festival.

Sports and Spectatorship

As exemplified in Levni's painted illustrations in the *Surname-i Hümayun* of 1720, displays of athleticism and feats of balance, power, and strength were not an uncommon form of entertainment at imperial festivals. These kinds of performances were by no means limited to the eighteenth century, and certainly were not particular to this festival. Tents were used as shaded sites for spectating hunts, sports, and other games for centuries. Various sporting events such as wrestling matches and horse races were held in royal gardens and around the city and beyond in the late Ottoman period, often accompanied by at least a small cluster of royal tents, if not an entire encampment, depending on the occasion. In addition to the practical functions of tents at these kinds of sporting events, the tent marked the sultan's presence—whether or not he was actually in attendance—through the proxy of his imperial fabric edifice.

A traveler's account published in the mid-eighteenth century written by French merchant Jean-Claude Flachat describes a vibrant, impressive spectacle.[186] As a textile trader himself, Flachat took special notice of the luxurious fabric architecture and fantastic silks that distinguished the occasion. He describes the scene comprised of the sultan's and grand vizier's, and other lords' tents, noting also the dresses, turbans, and flower-filled gardens wherein men fought in combative contests, which were then followed by a nighttime illuminated feast. His description of the grand encampment as a site for engaging in and observing sporting events mirrors those depicted by Levni decades prior and painted by subsequent artists as well (Figure 3.14).[187] On such

[186] Jean-Claude Flachat, *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts d'une partie de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, et même des Indes Orientales* (Lyon: Jacquenod père et Rusand, 1766), vol. 2, p. 14. "Le lendemain du Bairan le Sultan sortoit du serrail en grand gala avec toute sa Cour. Il sembloit qu'il eût voulu faire un pompeux étalage de tous les trésors qu'il avoit en sa puissance; les yeux étoient éblouis par l'éclat des pierreries, des broderies, & des galons en or & en argent dont les habits de ceux qui étoient à sa suite & les harnois de leurs chevaux étoient enrichis. Les uns étoient vêtus à la Tartare, les autres en Arabes. Chacun témoignoit la meilleure envie de se distinguer. Je n'ai rein vue d'aussi agréable que le spectacle qu'offroit l'amphithéatre de la montagne de Dorman oppose à celle où l'on voyoit le kiosque & la tente du Sultan, du Vizier, & celles des autres Seigneurs de Constantinople. Elles étoient pleines de monde, de même que tous les environs de cette montagne. La variété de la couleur des habillements, & de la pointe des turbans, formoit un point de vue charmant; elle ressembloit aux pyramides de vases que les fleuristes forment dans les jardins, pour mettre les fleurs dans les jour qui leur convient. Les personnes riches qui n'avoient pas leur tentes, étoient dans des bateaux sur la mer. Le musiciens ne cessoient de jouer, les Cavalier Tartares & les'Arabes n'attendoient que le signal pour commancer à se batter. Dès que le Sultan eut donné l'ordre, ils s'élancerent les usn contre les autres; ils s'attaquoient & se défendoient avec une adresse & une agilité suprenante. Une évalution succedoit à une autre; aucune ne se ressembloit. Les voltigeurs firent après cette cavalerie admirer leur souplesse & leur force. On servoit des rafraichissements à toute la Cour. La fête finit par les artifices, les feux & les illuminations"; Quoted in Tulay Artan, "Architecture as a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth-Century Bosphorus," PhD Thesis (MIT, 1989), 58-59.

[187] For example, see the watercolor painting, *Les Lutteurs*, by Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827).

occasions the fabric architecture served as sites of shaded spectatorship while at the same time, the military connotations associated with tents were activated when mock battles took place in front of them. This collapsing of play, sport, and military conquest underscores the fact that the royal tents were largely masculine spaces, as opposed to the various instances wherein textiles and fabric-draped vehicles served women, as discussed in the previous chapter.

In her account published in the first half of the nineteenth century (1839), Julia Pardoe similarly remarks on the tents erected in the meadows of Büyükdere where the sultan observed wrestling matches from the comfort of his tent:

> The valley of Buyukdèrè is the largest glen on the European shore of the channel, extending for five or six miles, and boasting its historical interest as well as its picturesque beauty; for here it was, in a flower-laden meadow of about a mile in width, that the doughty Godfrey de Bouillon encamped his Crusaders in the year 1097, when they were on their way to the siege of Nicaea,–a reminiscence which is often renewed by the sight of Turkish tents on the same spot; the meadow of Buyukdèrè being a favourite resort of the Sultan, who in the summer months repairs thither to witness wrestling matches, the exercise of *jereed*, and other athletic games performed in the open air.[188]

Pardoe paints a complex picture of the sultan and his use of tents in this period. She evokes the sensory pleasures of an idyllic meadow, known for its picturesque beauty, full of blooming flowers in the summertime. Tents feature prominently in this idealized

---

[188] Julia Pardoe, *Beauties of the Bosphorus by Miss Pardoe… Illustrated in a series of views of Constantinople and its environs, from original drawings by W. H. Barlett* (London: Published for the proprietors, by George Virtue, 1838), 146.

picture of the imperial suburbs. In her mind, the site's "historical interest" is brought to life through the presence of the sultan's tents, mirroring the Crusaders' encampment many centuries prior at this precise locale. Thus, she draws a parallel between the historical Crusaders en route to battle in the eleventh century with the sultan's encampment erected to observe wrestling matches and other athletic games many centuries later. Indeed, the establishment of organized sports (whether team or individual competitions) finds its roots in what J. Huizinga recognizes as the play-element in war, which in turn, he claims, originated in sacred play.[189]

As Flachat's and Pardoe's remarks demonstrate, the presence of tents or an encampment at sporting events blurs the distinction between war and games, and at the same time, also evokes celebrations of victory. Huizinga stresses the importance of triumphal processions as a means by which a city or society can recover from the stresses of war. While the combat in which the men mentioned in these accounts was itself a play-act or game, the fighting was all the same concluded with feasts and festive celebrations. In fact, one may infer then that the organization of such combative competitions served just that purpose: playing at war simply to be able to revel in victory thereafter. Such cases demonstrate the tent's malleable meanings, serving as a mock battlefield, sporting stadium, and a festival stage in quick succession.

Additional examples serve to further complicate the relationship between tents, military, and sport. An image published in the multi-volume series by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson—an Armenian who worked for the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul—

---

[189] J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Routledge, 1980), see chapter on "Play and War," esp. pages 102-104.

foregrounds a group of men participating in a military exercise known as *tomak*, a kind of martial art performed with wooden balls (Figure 3.15).[190] The artist depicts a cluster of single-poled but quite decorative tents are bounded by a *zokak* arranged to construct a rectangular enclosure. This tent complex in combination with the open-veranda pavilion on the left side of the composition, together serve as the backdrop for the performance of this exercise as well as various other activities, including a group of mounted troops gathering in the background. Throughout the etching, factions of men either compete in various games or else observe the goings on.

A similar scene appears in the middle ground of an image published in *Atlas des promenades pittoresques* in 1817 (Figure 3.16). A small cluster of canopies is erected alongside what appears to be a *cirit* field, in the imperial garden known as Dolmabahçe.[191] Meaning "filled-in garden," Dolmabahçe literally was filled in specifically to transform the port into a large open space for games in 1614.[192] This is the same site where a neoclassical palace would be built just a few decades later. In Benedict Piringer's etching, barely visible beneath the canopy with a courtside view of the action, is the silhouette of a seated figure, likely the sultan, enjoying the spectacle from the shade. Across the pitch, a group of men gather to watch the match. The space organized in this manner also positions the sultan directly opposite the crowd, thus privileging his

---

[190] Soldiers partaking in various exercises including *tomak*, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman…*, vol. III, Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohosson, Paris, De l'imprimerie de Firmin Didot, 1820.

[191] *Cirit* also depicted in Atıl, *Levni and the Surname*, fols. 42b-43a, pp. 208-209.

[192] Maurice Cerasi, "Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIIIth-XIXth Centuries," in *Environmental Design: Water and Architecture*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli (Rome: Beniamino Carucci Editore, 1985), 37.

position as separate from the rest, but simultaneously framing his person for the elite audience. Thus, the tent not only provides a respite in which the sultan can observe the game in shaded comfort, but also serves as a frame for viewing the sultan in the verdant suburbs of imperial Istanbul.

This arrangement recalls military maneuvers and drills performed for the sultan, as he observes from the shade of his canopy. For example, a series of colored postcards commemorates a display of the Ottoman military for Sultan Reşad (1909-1918). A cluster of tents is distinguishable adjacent to the open field where in the troops demonstrate their organization modeled after the German army (Figure 3.17). Another postcard depicting the same event shows more clearly the *otağ-ı hümayun*, including several types of tents erected for the sultan and other high-ranking individuals to observe the maneuver (Figure 3.18). While the dual-peaked canopies in the distance behind the crowd may have served any number of purposes, the dark tent in the center with a large awning propped up by striped poles is the type beneath which the sultan would sit to receive guests or observe events, as seen many times throughout this dissertation. A third image shows the sultan himself, midstride coming out of a large striped fabric building with other tents visible in the background (Figure 3.19). Royal tents not only provided privacy and shade for the sultan as needed on this occasion, the event itself was lent credence by the presence of the sultan's tents. While not actually on campaign or conquering territories, the display of the sultan, his tents, and his troops painted a picture of a powerful state with a modernized military. This image then was circulated in the form of postcards after the event, thus spreading its message beyond the specific time and place the maneuver itself occurred.

Another group of images likewise demonstrates the multivalent meanings of encampments erected to spectate games and sports. A series of black and white postcards in the Atatürk Kütüphanesi show the Bayram festivities held in Sidi Beşir, a military camp pitched during World War I. Feats of athleticism highly reminiscent of those that were performed for the sultan at the 1720 circumcision festival as depicted in Levni's paintings likewise were performed adjacent to a cluster of tents (Figure 3.20). Though here, the display of acrobatics is performed for the camera, with no spectator visible in the frame. Other photographs in the same series, however, chronicle a well-attended soccer match, which took place in front of tents as well. Massive fabric structures are barely visible in the over exposed photograph showing two football teams marching out onto the pitch, each distinguished by differently colored striped uniforms (Figure 3.21). The spectators sitting in the shade of the conglomeration of tents are discernable only by their silhouettes. Another image of the playing field reveals the tent to be a massive three-poled structure, erected adjacent to a wooden pavilion (Figure 3.22). The exterior of the rather large fabric structure is adorned with thick vertical stripes in alternating colors, not dissimilar to the players' uniforms. An action shot shows the scope of the field (Figure 3.23). This snapshot reveals a hierarchy of fabric architecture, suggesting the tent was the privileged site of spectatorship, similarly to that of the 1720 circumcision festivals. The shade the tent provided no doubt offered much relief from the hot sun, whereas the rest of the audience gathers in front and on top of the wooden structure without any protection from the heat. While taking place in a time of war, games provided a break from the horrors of the battlefield, and the military encampment transformed into a festival ground for a much-needed respite. But as postcards, their audience was more pedestrian than the

elite courtly circles in which Levni's manuscript was viewed. The mass-produced ephemeral images functioned as souvenirs of the events, perhaps sent bearing messages from soldiers back home from the war, lightening the spirits of both senders and recipients. Whether at imperial festivals, during holidays, or while waging war, tents as sites of leisure marked a break or a hiatus from everyday life. Mikhail Bakhtin analyzes the essence of the carnival (or festival), noting that time, normal rhythms of life, and even social decorum are all suspended during the carnival. In this suspended reality, then, the special character of the carnival or festival is able to "revive and renew" the world.[193]

Another example showing large-scale tents at sporting events is a photograph taken by the Abdullah Frères (Figure 3.24). Situated on the shore of the largest of the Princes Islands, Büyükada, a two-poled tent here is seen between a small pavilion at the edge of the dock, adjacent to a more permanent elevated kiosk set against the trees. Boats gather along the shore, shown here at a moment of rest on a day of boat racing at the island. While the sultan himself is not visible, the ornate tent suggests a royal presence. The docks on Büyükada indeed were on occasion transformed into imperial spaces. Tents served as site of royal reception when Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh (1844-1900) departed from the island after visiting the Empire in the late nineteenth century, which will be discussed further below (Figure 3.29).[194] On the occasion of the boat races, the shore was the prime locale for observing the goings on, providing optimal visibility.

---

[193] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984), 7-11.

[194] Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photograph Archive, inv. no. 779-32/15. The institution's records state that it was Prince Albert who is being greeted in the imperial tent on Büyükada, but the photograph's caption says "Prince Alfred'in Büyükada Gezisi."

While a distance from the imperial capital, the Princes Islands served as yet another site for spectating sporting events in tents. This position also allows the sultan's presence to be known. Whether or not his person could be seen, or indeed, if he was even in attendance, the imperial tent sufficed. The efficacy of this positioning is demonstrated in Edward Daniel Clarke's description of the opening ceremonies of the Bayram holiday in the early nineteenth century:

> When the ceremony concluded, the Grand Signior, accompanied by the principal officers of state went to exhibit himself in a kiosk, or tent, near to the Seraglio Point, sitting on a sofa of silver. We were enabled to view this singular instance of parade, from a boat stationed near the place; and, after the Sultan retired, were permitted to examine the splendid pageant brought out for the occasion.[195]

The sultan sitting enthroned in his ornate tent on the shore of the historic peninsula allowed him an uninterrupted view of his immediate domain. But surveying the city from this privileged spot also put him on display, so that passersby in boats could return his gaze, observing the sultan framed by his tent. The exchange of gazes, between subjects and sultan, as mediated through tents exemplifies what Milinda Banerjee terms "ocular sovereignty." In his discussion of a visit paid to Bengal by the Prince of Wales in the nineteenth century, Banerjee notes that "the sight of the prince would bind ruler and ruled," which was mediated through ceremonial ritual as well as portraiture and photographic reproduction.[196] In the Ottoman case, a similar phenomenon occurs when

---

[195] Edward Daniel Clarke, *Travels in Various Countries…*, ed. Robert Walpole (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1814), volume (?), 42-45.

[196] Milinda Banerjee, "'Ocular Sovereignty, Acclamatory Rulership and Political Communication: Visits of Princes of Wales to Bengal," in *Royal Heirs and the Uses of*

the sultan is on display for visual consumption, offering the image of himself to his viewing public. Furthermore, this royal display via the tent survives in the photographic record, further suggesting that on such occasions the sultan's presence was a part of the spectacle.

In this period, religious holidays appear to be rarely missed opportunities for the sultan to see and be seen, especially in the context of sporting events and other such games. H. G. Dwight describes an evening wrestling event played out "under the moon of Ramazan."[197] His account describes a familiar scene wherein a tent enclosure plays host to a sporting event:

> One interior to which they invite is the open space, enclosed by green tent-cloth and not too brilliantly lighted, where may be seen the great Turkish sport of wrestling. Spectators of distinction are accommodated with chairs under an awning; the others squat on their heels around the ring.[198]

Dwight notes that "spectators of distinction" are given pride of place, seated under an awning within the tent enclosure. Once again tents allow for the sultan to be viewed, but also maintain decorum through the choreography of space. The sultan and special guests

---

Soft Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe, eds. Frank Lorenz Müller and Heidi Mehrkens (London: Palgrave, 2016), 86, 81-100.

[197] Dwight, *Constantinople Old and New,* 276; Murat Yıldız analyzes the role of photography and posing in the development of organized wrestling and athletic clubs, revealing changing notions of masculinity in the late Ottoman period. Murat Yıldız, "'What is a Beautiful Body?' Late Ottoman 'Sportsman' Photographs and New Notions of Male Corporeal Beauty," *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 8, no. 2/3 (2015): 192-214.

[198] Dwight, *Constantinople Old and New,* 275.

are set apart under the shade of an awning while others have to sit on the ground in and around the encampment to observe the competition.

Similarly, a special tent was erected on a wooden platform and furnished with chairs for Sultan Reşad in 1912 (Figure 3.25).[199] Established in the same year, the *Islah-ı Nesl-i Feres* society was a social group dedicated to horse racing, breeding, and sport competitions, such as the horse race for which this tent was erected. The makeshift veranda provides shaded comfort set apart from the rest of the crowd, which also functions as a viewing platform for observing the races. Adjacent to the sultan's own tent, in a similar construction is another tent-veranda reserved specially for ambassadors and foreign guests on race day (Figure 3.26).[200] In fact, a strikingly similar arrangement was made for foreign dignitaries in 1720, as depicted by Levni (Figure 3.27). In this double-folio painting the sultan sits framed by his ornate canopy and circumscribed by the *zokak* to watch a procession of gifts for the sultan. Abutting the exterior of the fabric wall is a rather large tent reserved for foreign ambassadors, depicted wearing European clothes and sitting in western-style chairs, as opposed to the cushions otherwise used for seating in the imperial tent complex. The addition of the ambassadors and European dignitaries triangulate the spectatorship between the sultan, his guests, and his subjects. The visiting

---

[199] The society who was responsible for these events was not established until 1912, but the date listed in the archive is 15 Haziran 1328 (1910 A.D.). Thus, there is some confusion here, but regardless, the event would have occurred during the reign of Sultan Reşad (r. 1909-1918), no. 55, p. 129; Photo caption: خاندان آل عثمانه مخصوص چادير (Hanedan al ‘osmaniye mahsus-u çadır), Special tent for the head of the Ottoman dynasty.

[200] Photo caption: یاریش کونی سفرایه و مسافرین اجنبیه یه مخصیص ایدیلن چادیر (Yarış günü süferâya ve misafirin-i ecnebiyeye tahis edilen çadır), Tent assigned to ambassadors and foreign guests on race day.

dignitaries, like the sultan himself, are subsumed into the spectacle. On the one hand, the ambassadors are honored by their close proximity to the sultan and are shaded by his hospitality in the form of a tent. From another angle, the people can see their sovereign's diplomacy at work in the theatrical setting provided by silken structures.

From the festivals Sultan Ahmed III's sons' circumcision festival in 1720 to the holiday revelries held in encampments during World War I, tents were used for spectating games and sports. These kinds of performances no doubt built on the tradition of princely leisure activities such as hunting in the countryside, as well as performances of military prowess and agility, which likewise took place in front of tents. Indeed, the military maneuver demonstrating the modernization of the Ottoman army held during the reign of Sultan Reşad took place next to a series of imperial tents that simultaneously declared the sultan's presence, provided shaded comfort for the sovereign, and offered a vision of an encampment that served as a theatrical backdrop for the events. Displays of athleticism including acrobatics, *tomak*, football, and even boat and horse racing, all served as occasions of and provided a break from everyday life. Moreover, they were opportune moments for the sultan to see and be seen, by his people as well as foreign guests, as mediated through the imperial tent.

Diplomatic Receptions and International Politics

As glimpsed above, tents were an integral part of the welcoming ceremonies and display of hospitality appropriate to high ranking foreign guests. Imperial tents served this function for centuries, as shown by many manuscript illustrations that survive from the early modern period depicting tents being used in this way. Besides Levni's portrayal of

the ambassador's tent at the 1720 circumcision festival, the sultan is shown in other paintings, on various occasions greeting dignitaries from the shade of his imperial tent. In one such painting in the *Şehnâme-i Sultan Mehmed III*, dated 1596, Sultan Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603) is shown larger than the other figures in the scene, with his aigrette seemingly brushing the underside of the ornate canopy (Figure 3.28). The tent stands at the entrance of the *otağ-ı hümayun*, demarcated by a white and blue *zokak*. Here, the royal tent complex was erected for the sultan's use while on campaign away from the imperial capital. The use of the entrance tent as a stage for international receptions is secondary to its function as a fabric palace on the move. However, several examples of receptions in the last quarter of the nineteenth century into the early twentieth century demonstration myriad ways in which tents were deployed in service of the sultan in conducting international diplomacy.

On one such occasion, Prince Alfred (1844-1900), fourth child to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited Istanbul, among his many world travels as a leader in the Royal Navy. A photograph in the Abdülhamid II albums records his departure from the port of Büyükada (one of the Prince's Islands in the Marmara Sea), as his boat is docked on the pier (Figure 3.29).[201] Barely visible on the far-left side of the photograph is the edge of an imperial tent. Its large scale is evinced by the slope and height of the visible fragment of the canopy. The pitched roof is edged with an ornate valance, suggesting this tent is decorated on its interior as well, as would have befitted such a distinguished guest. Men crowd beneath and in front of the tent, as the prince's retinue boards. Since tents were

[201] The photograph's caption gives the Prince's title as the Duke of Edinburgh, thus dating the photograph prior to his assumption of the title of Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha in 1893.

erected as occasions warranted, this installation of monumental fabric architecture was in all likelihood specifically erected to mark the prince's departure with distinction. The show of splendor was meant to provide the prince with sendoff complete with the ceremonial regalia that befit his status.

Also in the last years of the nineteenth century, Prince Alfred's nephew, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany (r. 1888-1918) likewise visited in Istanbul in the late nineteenth century on a number of occasions. Wilhelm II's arrival was heralded in Istanbul with various ceremonies and parades, as shown in a photograph from Abdülhamid II's library (Figure 3.30). On this particular occasion in 1898, Wilhelm II wanted to visit the Holy Land and to pay a visit to Jerusalem, with Abdülhamid II's permission. There was much ado for his tour, which was reported on by the international media. In preparation for the kaiser's visit, the sultan appointed a new governor for the city who undertook several renovation projects in the months prior, including the city's water system. He also ordered the cleaning and overhaul of particular monuments and their surrounding areas, including the Jaffa Gate and the Temple Mount. They also installed telegraph lines so that the kaiser could communicate with Berlin.

Among the preparations, the German and Ottoman courts worked with the Thomas Cook & Son travel agency to arrange for the erection of an imperial encampment just outside the city walls (Figure 3.31). The majority of the residential tents were provided by Germany, a fraction of which can be seen in the background of this image. They are uniform in size, shape, and color, and are capped with the German flag at the peak of each canopy. The sultan, however, provided a suite of large-scale imperial tents of the highest order. Two of these can be seen in the foreground of Figure 3.31, manned

by men dressed in Ottoman military uniforms. These towering fabric edifices are crowned with golden finials in the shape of a stylized sunburst surrounding the Abdülhamid II's tuğra. The peaks of the canopies are further adorned with a radial design in contrasting appliqué. Such a display of royal splendor on the one hand demonstrated the sultan's hospitality for the European monarch, while on the other it reminded his guests of his sovereignty over the Holy Lands, where the kaiser was merely a tourist in these splendid but temporary lodgings.

The interior of the tent was furnished with all the finery the Ottoman court had to offer (Figure 3.32).[202] The tent walls were adorned top to bottom with damask ornamental patterning, which was broken up by pierced windows shaded with corded grillwork allow for light and air flow. A large gold-framed mirror hangs on the wall, reflecting back the tent's interior decoration. The floors were similarly adorned with patterned carpets. The furniture provided by the sultan seems to be largely made of wood and inlaid with delicate patterns of mother-of-pearl. Due to its rather unusual color scheme and decorative program, this tent (and most likely the others in this suite of tents) is readily recognizable, closely resembling a series of tent sections residing in the Military Museum storage depot (Figure 3.33). The fabric, now discolored, was originally a rich purple with contrasting golden yellow pattern constructed in damask weave. The pattern is a relatively small-scale repeat of geometric patterns interlacing to create eight-

---

[202] An exhibition remembering these events was organized by the Tower of David Museum in Jerusalem in 2012. Using historical photographs and newspaper articles as the raw material, the curators virtually reimagined how the ceremonies would have taken place in the twenty-first century. In this reimagining, they mention the reception tent, saying that it was decorated with "ornaments from the city's synagogues." Carl Hoffman, "Historical Exhibition: Kaiser is coming… again!" *The Jerusalem Post* (11 January 2012).

pointed stars, and which frame sunburst motifs that resemble stylized flowers. In addition to the two walls exhibiting the same grilled windows as seen in the photograph of Wilhelm II's tent interior, one panel also features an arched door way, and a third fragment likely functioned as an internal room divider or curtain made from the same fabric as the rest of the tent, complete with an ornate scalloped fringe edged with gold embroidery.

The kaiser's encampment erected for his visit to Jerusalem demonstrates the international political diplomacy played out in material culture and fabric architecture in particular. The encampment comprised both German and Ottoman tents, thus showing their mutual respect and willingness to work together. Yet, the Ottoman tents sent by Sultan Abdülhamid II far surpassed the German ones in scale and splendor. While a grand gesture of hospitality, these tents also served to remind both the German monarch and the citizens of Jerusalem that the sultan was the sovereign leader of the Holy Lands. The kaiser was a welcomed guest, lent an extraordinary suite of tents, but was still a temporary visitor to the sultan's domain.

While the transition of power from Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) to his successor, Sultan Reşad (r. 1909-1918), was tumultuous to say the least, Reşad likewise recognized the efficacy of these forms of imperial pageantry. For example, in the first years of his reign, Reşad welcomed a number of leaders from the recently autonomous Balkan states of Serbia and Bulgaria. The sultan entertained the king of Bulgaria, Ferdinand I (reigned as prince 1887-1908, and as tsar 1908-1918), in a ceremonial encampment in the spring

of 1909 and/or 1910.[203] Like the kaiser's visit a few decades prior, King Ferdinand was welcomed with a parade as well as a suite of imperial tents (Figure 3.34). In contrast to Abdülhamid II, however, visual evidence shows Reşad himself greeted his guests personally. A postcard bearing the date of the visit, shows King Ferdinand and Sultan Reşad standing in front of a chevron-patterned canopy (Figure 3.35). Without figures blocking the view, the arrangement of four chairs situated beneath the shade and framed by the tent's partly retracted walls can be seen in another photograph (Figure 3.36). This tent still survives today and is now kept in the Military Museum in Istanbul (Figure 3.37). The spectacular interior of this particular fabric edifice was discussed in the previous chapter for its embroidered panorama (Figures 2.19 and 2.20). In these photographs the back side of the valance where the panorama is situated is visible and can even be seen billowing in the wind. The arrangement of chairs facing outward from the tent's interior would have placed the glittering silk and metallic embroidered panorama directly in view of the distinguished seated guests.

This chevon canopy with its interior panorama played a central role in the reception of the Bulgarian king. Two photographs show the procession of King Ferdinand (Figure 3.38) and Queen Eleanore, ushered by the sultan himself (Figure 3.39)

---

[203] Several photographs include a chevron-patterned tent (now in the Military Museum in Istanbul), with Sultan Reşad, King Ferdinand, and Queen Eleanore. However, the buildings and imperial regalia seem to differ between the images, although this could have been simply cut out of the frame. Eleanore seems to be wearing the same outfit across the different photographs, but the two men are wearing coats over their uniforms in one and not the others. Perhaps these photographs depict the same event and these differences are explained by the shifting position of the photographer and the changing weather. However, Figure 3.41 was published in 1909 while the postcard in Figure 3.35 is dated 22 March 1910. Perhaps then there were two royal visits, less than a year apart, where the same tent was erected to welcome the sultan's Bulgarian guests.

past a pavilion and a forest of candy-striped poles.[204] While the tent itself is not in either image, its guy ropes are clearly visible. The chevron-patterned canopy is glimpsed in another photograph, however, revealing the group of royals standing together and chatting rather casually in front of the tent (Figure 3.40). This exact tent is seen in yet another photograph of the sultan greeting the Bulgarian royals outside Sirkeci train station (Figure 3.41).[205] Of all the pomp and circumstance that entailed this royal visit, the chevron canopy clearly took pride of place and served as the central reception hall for the king and queen. The guests were seated alongside the sultan in the shade of his imperial tent, wherein an embroidered panorama was situated in their direct line of sight. As with the visits of Prince Alfred and Kaiser Wilhelm II, here the King of Bulgaria is welcomed in the imperial tent, befitting his status but also reminding him that he is a guest of the sultan. This subtle but important meaning of the imperial tent as a reception site for international leaders is perhaps all the more pointed in the case of royals visiting from formerly Ottoman lands.

In fact, tents were called upon to delicately negotiate relations with another Balkan ruler, King Peter of Serbia, also in the first years of Sultan Reşad’s reign. A very similar arrangement of fabric architecture and royal regalia were installed for King Peter

---

[204] It is unclear in which order the party processed.

[205] In this particular location, perhaps the panorama embroidered on the interior valance of this tent was understood in relation to the railroad. Wolfgang Schivelbusch theorizes about the collapse of time and space while journeying on the railroad, which, he claims, results in a kind of “panoramic viewing.” According to Schivelbusch, an individual seated on a fast-moving train would view the surrounding landscape speeding by as a kind of panorama. It is possible that the accelerated mobility of the railroad influenced the appliquéd and embroidered ornament inside mobile fabric architecture in the nineteenth century. Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Railway Journey: Industrialization and Perception of Time and Space* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1986), 52-69.

as they were for Ferdinand and Eleanore. A postcard shows a tent with a scalloped valance, partly opened, furnished with highly ornate chairs (Figure 3.42). The ground is covered in a number of large patterned carpets and the poles with which the tent is erected are similarly striped. According to Sacit Kutlu, these arrangements were made with the understanding that they needed to be of the highest caliber in order to not cause offense which might lead to political problems. As with the chevroned tent that greeted the Bulgarians, the tent erected to welcome the Serbian king can be found in Istanbul today, in the Topkapı Palace Museum (Figure 3.43). The interior decoration is visible in the postcard because the walls are splayed open to either side of the canopy. The *hazine*s are unadorned, but are made of purple silk, now faded to brown. The strut sleeves are embroidered with flowering sinuous vines, also in silk. The central portion of the interior of the canopy and valance (which are not visible in the 1910 postcard) are covered in metallic embroidery, befitting the royal visitor's status.

In these kinds of receptions, splendid tents formed the epitome of royal pageantry, and as such were toted out in order to pay due respect to the visiting kings and princes of Europe. Yet, as on other occasions, the tents served multiple functions. They also reminded the visitors that they were now entering the sultan's realm. They were under his protection but were there only with his blessing. In this way the tent served above all as a site of international diplomacy, but on the sultan's land and on his terms.

Investiture in the Second Constitutional Period

The chevron-patterned canopy of which Sultan Reşad was seemingly very fond was erected for another significant event for which it—the sultan's investiture ceremony in

the spring of 1909. A tinted postcard printed by Max Fructermann, an Austrian expatriate living in Istanbul in the early twentieth century, frames the chevroned canopy erected for the sultan's Girding of the Sword ceremony (Figure 3.44). This particular fabric edifice—one of several erected for the occasion—was reserved for foreign guests, including the French Ambassador shown in the image conversing with another unnamed diplomat. Seated beneath this temporary fabric veranda, well-dressed women turn their heads in all directions, no doubt taking in the splendor of the royal festivities from this elevated vantage point, while at the same time being subsumed into the spectacle. Perhaps, too, they were admiring the fine appliqué and gilt embroidery dressing the interior of the stately tent discussed in the previous chapter (Figures 2.19 and 2.20).[206] Like the tented receptions of foreign dignitaries discussed thus far, here too the chevroned tent served to honor important guests while at the same time enveloping them in the spectacle of the ceremonies. Yet another layer of meaning can be gleaned from the tents present on this particular occasion, several of which can be seen in a photograph of the same scene taken from a different perspective (Figure 3.45). The multiplicity of meanings embedded within even a single tent is exemplified by this chevron-patterned tent's use on these different occasions. In addition to honoring guests, edifying the sultan, and performing power, at Sultan Reşad's Girding ceremony, the imperial tents signified the continuity of the dynasty at this historical moment.

Sultan Reşad came to the throne after his half-brother Sultan Abdülhamid II was deposed in 1909. In 1876, in the first months of Abdülhamid II's reign, the first Ottoman

[206] Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1002-1012. While the photographs may have been imperial commissions, Sandalcı admits that it remains unclear whether or not the palace likewise ordered the postcard series.

constitution was established. However, in less than two years, the sultan eschewed the constitutional monarchy and proclaimed absolute rule, which continued into the twentieth century. He was deposed in 1909, as the result of the Young Turk Revolution (1908-1910)—a movement which sought to reinstate the constitutional monarchy. The years that followed came to be known as the Second Constitutional Period or *İkinci Meşrutiyet Dönemi*. While a new constitution was ratified, the institution of the sultanate was not dissolved. In fact, the new and only ruling party, the Committee of Union and Progress "regarded itself… as the sacred agent of *imperial redemption* and the guarantor of the empire's future security."[207] The figurehead of the sultan played a key role in that future.

Fruchtermann's postcard series chronicles many aspects of Sultan Reşad's accession ceremonies held in the spring of 1909. In addition to imperial tents, other temporary structures such as a semi-fabric "triumphal arch" were erected in the old city to mark the occasion (Figure 3.46). The postcards also show packed streets, military parades, and the arrival of various elite guests in stately carriages (Figure 3.47).[208] Throughout, the series visually records the movement of the sultan himself. Beginning at Dolmabahçe Palace[209]—a seaside palace built on the shores of the Bosphorus in the mid-nineteenth century—the Imperial Band heralds the sultan's exit from the royal residence with a rendition of the Freedom March, a musical "neo-tradition" of the nineteenth

---

[207] Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, 157-159.

[208] Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann*, 1002-1011; In fact, today at the Topkapı Palace Museum in Istanbul, the imperial carriages fall under the same curatorial umbrella as the tents in the collection.

[209] Çelik Gülersoy, *Dolmabahçe: Palace and It's [sic] Environs* (İstanbul: İstanbul Kitaplığı, 1990); Ihsan Yücel and Sema Öner, *Dolmabahçe Palace* (Istanbul: TMMM Dept. of National Palaces, 1995).

century (Figure 3.48).[210] From Dolmabahçe Palace, Reşad traveled aboard the royal steamship to the city's historical Topkapı Palace, originally constructed in the mid-fifteenth century. From here, the sultan boarded the imperial *caïque,* manned by a team of oarsmen in white robes and red fezzes, to travel up the Golden Horn, to the sacred site of Eyüp (Figure 3.49). Eyüp is a neighborhood named after a companion of the Prophet Muhammad, whose grave was discovered there after the Ottomans' conquest of the city in 1453 as a means of legitimization.[211] It was on this sacred ground that the Girding of the Sword ceremony was to take place. There the sultan would don the ancient sword of his ancestors, assuming the mantle of imperial office.[212]

This movement through the city—from the neoclassical Dolmabahçe Palace, to the centuries-old Topkapı Palace, and culminating in a sacred site associated with the Prophet—symbolized a journey back through time. The history of the dynasty was performed through movement in space and traced through moorings at significant imperial monuments. Dolmabahçe spoke to the dynasty's recent architectural achievements and tastes, Topkapı represented the *longue durée*, and the sacred site of Eyüp recalled multiple pasts: both the time of the Prophet as well as the Ottomans' conquest of Constantinople. The ceremony conducted there—the Girding of the Sword of

---

[210] Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition," 9-10

[211] T. Nejat Eralp, "Eyüp Sultan and the Girding of the Sword Ceremonies of Ottoman Sovereigns (*Taklid-i Seyf*)," in *Eyüp Sultan Symposia I-VIII: Selected Articles*, eds. Nancy F. Ozturk and Hakkı Önkal (Istanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık A. Ş., 2005), 81-85.

[212] Specifically, while the sword previously used in the Girding ceremony was related to Muhammad, by this time sultans were sworn into office with the sword of their ancestor, Osman (d. 1323), the namesake of the Ottoman dynasty, thereby forging a connection between the first sultan and the new one.

Osman—was a powerful display of the legitimacy and continuity of the Ottoman dynasty, as each new sultan donned the ancient sword of his forebears, recalling the past, but also heralding in a new age under a new sultan.[213] The imperial tent functioned similarly at this time and in this instance in particular. It represented the dynasty's origins as a nomadic Anatolian principality but also its long history as a powerful and conquering empire, whose future was renewed with each installation of the imperial tent.

The accession ceremonies of the new sultan therefore were meant to project an image of stability and continuity. Indeed, the tent, as a symbol of the sultan's sovereignty, was anything but ephemeral. Rather, its presence on the occasion of his Girding embodied the tents of his forebears, back to the time when the nomadic Ottomans initially rose to prominence among several principalities in Anatolia. Over the centuries, various sultans acceded the throne beneath in the shade of the royal tent. For example, Sultan Selim II (r. 1566-1574), upon the death of his father Sülayman (r. 1520-1566) and his subsequent accession to the throne, held a second ceremony beneath an ornate canopy outside the *otağ-ı hümayun* pitched near Belgrade (Figure 3.50). Both in this double-page manuscript painting—and no doubt in real life—the tent served as a monumental framing device for the elite officers in attendance to view the new sultan on this auspicious occasion.

While no tents survive from this early period, several features of the tents depicted here can be seen in extant materials later in date, such as the striped valances,

---

[213] On the rites associated with succession and the transition between sultans over the course of six centuries of Ottoman rule—including the Girding of the Sword ceremonies held at Eyüp—see: Nicolas Vatin and Gilles Veinstein, *Le Sérail ébranlé: Essai sur les morts, dépositions et avènements des sultans ottomans XIVe-XIXe siècle* (Fayard, 2003).

the golden lobed medallions, and ornate quarter medallions. These motifs in particular, as well much of the appliquéd floral infilling, resemble contemporary book arts. However, the artist seems to take some liberty here. For example, while the artist paints sinuous birds encircling the golden medallions, there is no evidence of any fauna on Ottoman tents from any period.[214] In fact, a four-poled marquee very similar to those depicted in this manuscript double-folio survives in Topkapı Palace Museum (Figure 1.8). Again, while no animals are present, the painting does bear significant resemblance to the extant tent, including bold colors, a striped valance, and central medallions further framed by partial medallions. In addition, while the artist shows the dome of Selim's tent as intricately patterned, this is atypical for actual tents. Extant tents are either plain on the exterior or have minimal, simple patterns such as the chevron on the canopy at Reşad's accession. Instead, this kind of intricate decoration appears almost exclusively on the interior of imperial tents. Portraying the imperial fabric architecture in this way may have been the artist's means of conveying the splendor of the sultan's tents, by showing multiple perspectives of the tent in order to showcase its best features—in other words, by turning it inside out.

The imperial tents erected on the occasion of a sultan's accession is the substitute for all those who came before, back to the primordial tent of Osman I (d. 1323), the founder and namesake of the dynasty. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood define this mode of substitution as:

> The perfect interchangeability of one image or work for another. Under this model, a work does not merely repeat the prior work, for repetition

[214] Birds do appear on Persian tents, though, including the one now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 6.5).

> proposes difference, an alternating interval. Rather, the work simply *is* its own predecessor, such that the prior is no longer prior but present.[215]

Whether or not the physical object is the same, the seriality of tents functioning as ceremonial architecture evinces their *permanence* rather than ephemerality. Their power can be transferred from one to the next, building layers of meaning over time and on different occasions.

Moreover, the chevron-patterned tent from Sultan Reşad's accession ceremony reveals in its very fabric a complicated history of Ottoman imperial fabric architecture. This motif of red and blue-green (more often seen as verdigris) chevron is typical of Ottoman imperial tents. A detail from one of Levni's paintings that began this discussion depicts at the center of the imperial encampment the largest tent, standing taller than all the rest with its three poles capped with large golden finials (Figure 3.51). Its entire exterior is bedecked with a red and green chevron pattern, which can be found elsewhere on subsidiary tents throughout the festival encampment. A similar pattern can be seen on the interior of Sultan Ahmed I's tomb, constructed in the first decades of the seventeenth century (Figure 1.34). Not only the dome, but the walls were also adorned with a similar chevron pattern.[216] This pattern was further emphasized by the presence of tomb covers, which also are chevron, and usually executed in red and/or green silk (Figure 3.52). The appliquéd chevron radiating around the roof of Reşad's tent thus denoted an imperial

---

[215] Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 11.

[216] This chevron pattern may find its antecedent in the red and white chevron patterns painted on the walls of Seljuk architecture. Nick Krabbenhöft, "A Veneer of Power: Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Frescoes on the Walls of Alanya and Some Recommendations for their Preservation," (MA Thesis, Koç University, 2011).

edifice, recalling many layers of both fabric and permanent architecture from centuries past.[217]

On May 10, 1909, *The New York Times* reported on the ceremonies and celebrations that accompanied Sultan Reşad's accession to the throne.

> The scene was a strange admixture of historical Eastern observance and modern Western civilization. … His Majesty, chosen by the Constitutionalists to rule the empire, stood upright in an open carriage fresh from the most fashionable manufacturer in Paris, and held up with a dignified gesture the ancient sword worn by thirty-four of his ancestors and carried by twenty-eight of his forebears since the conquest of Constantinople.[218]

While the headline broadcasts his break with tradition—as he allowed for the first time non-Muslims to witness the Girding of the Sword ceremony at Eyüp—the rest of the article enthusiastically describes the confluence of age-old traditions and modern fashions, illustrated by the act of brandishing an ancient Islamic sword while sitting in a

---

[217] While the interior of this tent—particularly its panorama—has been discussed at length, it is worth noting here that the decorative program inside the tent should be read contextually as well. Beyond potential references to paradise and idyllic earthly gardens, scenic depictions of Istanbul in imperial tent erected on the occasion of the sultan's investiture served to represent the empire's power as embodied in its territory and locality.

[218] "New Sultan Breaks with Moslem Traditions: Christians See Mehmed V. Girt with Osman's Sword in Ayoub Mosque," *New York Times,* May 10, 1909; Another account of these events is found in Dwight, *Constantinople Old and New*, 284: "The first anniversary of the re-establishment of the constitution was celebrated on the 23rd of July (July 10, old style). A highly picturesque celebration it was, too, in Constantinople at least, with its magnificent array of rugs and mediaeval tents on the Hill of Liberty, its review of troops by the Sultan, its procession of the guilds of the city, and its evening illuminations."

modern Parisian carriage.[219] One of Fructermann's postcards depicts this moment described by the *New York Times* (Figure 3.53). Beyond the inclusion of non-Muslims in this sacred rite for the first time, as postcards, these reproduced images allowed larger masses to have a front row view of the festivities as well. Including captions in both Ottoman Turkish and French also demonstrate the varied audiences Fruchtermann was aiming at—from local Ottomans and cosmopolitan elites to international audiences.[220] The cards could be collected as mementos by those who had been in attendance or could serve as visual proxies of participation for those who were not. The history and traditions of the sultan was thus popularized through the reproduction and dissemination of ceremonial images as postcards. Sending a postcard of an Ottoman tent also rendered it mobile in an entirely new way, not simply as a structure on the move but as an image representative of the Ottoman dynasty, its history, and its future.

Malleable Meanings

Colorful manuscript paintings show tents as fanciful backdrops for imperial festivals, but also allude to the ways in which the fabric built environment began to break down certain

---

[219] "New Sultan Breaks with Moslem Traditions," *New York Times,* 1909; Vatin and Veinstein discuss the crucial role of "ancien customs" (invented traditions) in the process of legitimization through ritual in these times of transition, *Le Sérail ébranlé*, 446-447.

[220] *Zat-ı hazret-i padişah-ın kılınç alayı | yem-i saadette süferâya makhsusu çadırı* (The ambassadors' tent on the happy day of the sultan's Girding of the Sword); *Tente antique, dressée en honneur des Ambassadeurs, à l'occasion de la cérémonie de l'Investiture du Sultan Mehmed V. L'ambassadeur de France Monseiur Constant causant avec un diplomate* (An "antique" tent erected in honor of the ambassadors, on the occasion of the investiture ceremony of Mehmed V. The French ambassador Monseiur Constant chatting with a diplomat). Perhaps the French use of the term "antique" to describe the ambassadors' tent aligns with this view of the history and modernity of the Ottoman dynasty converging on this occasion.

barriers between the sultan and his people, specifically through reciprocal viewing framed by the tent. Moreover, sporting events—from Bayram football matches to military exercises, as well as horse and boat racing—proved to be highly opportune moments for the sultan to see and be seen by his people. The tents erected on these occasions set apart the privileged audience comprised of the sultan and other high-ranking dignitaries including foreign ambassadors, but also showcased them for viewing.

CHAPTER 4

Tents and Modernity

The period encompassing the second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century was marked by various efforts to modernize the empire in order to ensure its future. Begun under Sultan Mahmud II (r.1808-1839), but not officially launched until 1839 by Sultan Abdülmecid I (r.1839-1861), the Gülhane Edict ushered in a series of reforms or "reorganization." Thus, the decades that followed came to be known as the Tanzimat ("reorganization") period.[221] One of the major institutional changes included in the decree known as the Gülhane Edict was the recognition of equal citizenship of Muslims and Non-Muslims under the Ottoman state. In addition to the restructuring of the military, education, and the initiation of infrastructure projects, the Tanzimat reforms penetrated the very fabric of society, literally and figuratively, as clothing reform was one of the most visible signs of these state-wide, top-down changes.[222] The underlying motivation of these large-scale transformations was to

---

[221] *Hatt-i Şerif-i Gülhane* (Noble Rescript of the Rose Garden); For discussion of the Gülhane Edict, the Tanizmat reforms, and the effect on the Ottoman people, see Mehrdad Kia, *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (Santa Barbara, Calif: Greenwood, 2011), 18-20.

[222] On the years leading up to the Gülhane edit, see Donald Quateart, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 403-425. See also parts of Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, eds., *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity* (Istanbul: Eren, 2004), such as Ahmet Ersoy, "A Sartorial Tribute to late *Tanzimat* Ottomanism," 253-270.

modernize the empire, but also to extend and recentralize power under the sultan. Throughout the rest of the nineteenth century, different approaches to transforming the empire were achieved varying levels of success. The previous chapter mentioned the establishment and revocation of the first constitution under Sultan Abdülhamid II, who, in later years sought to unite the region in a pan-Islamic empire. His successor, Sultan Reşad, sultan during the second constitutional period, served as a figurehead rather than an authoritarian ruler like his predecessor. In brief, over the course of the nineteenth century until the end of the empire, the notion of a modern Ottoman nation was envisaged and conceptualized in myriad ways by different sultans and under the influence of various political movements. Tents, as potent symbols of the dynasty, were deployed on various occasions to propagate the image of a modernizing empire, however that was defined.

At this time, the arts and architecture of the Ottoman Empire reflect a desire to discover and define the history of the dynasty, as well as the land over which they ruled. For example, archaeological projects brought to light artifacts from previous cultures that had once lived in Anatolia and whose cultural patrimony fell to the Ottoman state.[223] The establishment of imperial museums as well as Ottoman participation in world's fairs likewise demonstrated the interconnectedness of material objects and the performance of history and self through display. Under Abdülhamid II, handicrafts were exhibited in order to acclaim the heritage of the Ottoman people through fabric arts. During the reign of Sultan Reşad (r. 1909-1918), textiles played an important role in the imperial museum.

[223] On archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, see: Zainab Bahrani, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, eds. *Scramble for the past: a story of archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914* (Istanbul: SALT, 2011).

Turbans, kaftans, and other relics belonging to the sultans and royal family were exhibited as a means to construct a shared sense of identity under the umbrella of Ottomanness. Turkish pavilions at world's fairs were often transformed into tented spaces, both for tent's association with the empire but also for dramaturgical purposes. The interest in the dynasty's past also appeared in the visual arts, in which tents feature prominently as a symbol of their Turkic nomadic origins.

This historical consciousness is recognized as one of the hallmarks of modernity.[224] Indeed, at the same time as the history of the Ottoman people was being constructed and displayed through art, architecture, and archaeological artifacts, efforts to modernize the empire were well underway. Imperial tents were sent around the empire in order to inaugurate various infrastructural development projects, such as water services and railways. The tent thus served both as a frame for imperial pomp, as it had always done, but in these instances, it also functioned as propaganda by celebrating the state's efforts toward improving the lives of its people. Images of these fleeting ceremonies survive because of the prolific use of modern technologies of image making, namely photography. While many of the famous photography albums commissioned by Sultan Abdülhamid II are filled with prints chronicling the progress of his constructions across the empire, photographs of the opening ceremonies paint a still richer image of the ways in which Ottoman modernity was constructed through tented ceremonial. I contend that

---

[224] On this period and the interconnectivity of historical consciousness and modernity, Ahmet Ersoy says: "One could argue, then, that the Tanzimat, with its sentiment of dramatic rupture and irretrievable change, marks the rise of a distinctively modern historical consciousness in the Ottoman realm." Ahmet Ersoy, *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015), 14.

the continued use of ornate tents in these new socio-political contexts was not simply an unconscious carryover of ancient methods of performing kingship. Rather, the tent served as a potent symbol of history and tradition at a time when the empire was seeking to foster a sense of nation.

Constructing the Past

An imagined portrait of Osman I (d.1323)—the founder and namesake of the Ottoman dynasty—positions the sultan within a *trompe l'oeil* frame inscribed with his titles in both French and Ottoman Turkish (Figure 4.1). The gouache picture, painted by Konstantin Kapıdağlı and dating to the late eighteenth century, is the first in a series or portraits depicting each of the Ottoman sultans—from the founder Osman up to the time when the paintings were produced. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, Sultan Selim III (r. 1789-1837) commissioned British printmaker John Young to reproduce the series as mezzotints. The prints then were collated into albums to be sent to foreign heads of state, particularly those in Europe, as part of a larger campaign to reform the empire's image abroad. In subsequent decades, the images circulated beyond court through reproduction as *carte de visite* printed by the Abdullah Frères, professional photographers based in Istanbul (Figure 4.2).[225]

Beneath each half-length portrait, a vignette highlights a particular achievement of the depicted sultan, from significant victories on the battlefield to monumental architecture constructed in his name. The scene framed beneath the portrait of Osman shows the ruler enthroned inside a green canopy trimmed in gold with a bold red interior.

---

[225] Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 23-35.

Significantly, the tent was chosen as the first Ottoman sultan's most salient attribute. On the one hand, the vignette pays homage to the dynasty's beginnings as a nomadic principality based in Anatolia in the late thirteenth century. But the tent here also functions as a signifier of sovereignty, as fabric architecture played a prominent role in the built environment of Islamic courts throughout the medieval and early modern periods. In this imagined scene, Osman is shown not as the leader of an itinerant principality in Anatolia. Rather, he is shown in a stately manner, transformed into an emperor, represented in a manner appropriate to the progenitor of the family destined to rule over the two lands and the two seas.[226] In other words, the image of the enthroned ruler in a tent recalls the Ottoman family's nomadic origins but more significantly, it symbolizes the birth of the empire as such by depicting the moment when the warrior became sovereign, in the shade of a royal tent. The production and circulation of such an image in its various iterations in the nineteenth century, especially at the behest of the ruling sultan, attests to the links between the Ottoman dynasty, notions of history and empire, and the royal tent in the cultural imagination in this period.

In addition to modern print technologies aiding the circulation of images that celebrate the history of the House of Osman, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries new venues for displaying and defining the dynasty's past were established—namely, the imperial museum. As with the early museums established in Europe, the exhibitions in the Ottoman Empire reflected a dense aesthetic akin to a bazaar.[227] For

---

[226] For the origin story told of Osman and his destiny, see: Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923* (New York: Basic Books, 2007).

[227] On this aesthetic in the representation of Islamic cultures at world's fairs and early museum exhibitions, see: David J. Roxburgh, "Staging the Orient: A Historical Overview from the Late 1800s to Today," in *The Future of Tradition – The Tradition of Future:*

example, even with the limited view framed in a photograph, the Imperial Weapons Museum is packed floor to ceiling with various kinds of arms and armor (Figure 4.3). While there is no evidence of the presence of tents in the few photographs that survive of the Weapons Museum, it would not be outside the realm of possibility to think that tents might have had a place in such a context, as symbols of a conquering empire on the move led by a nomadic warrior-king.

Various textile artifacts and objects relating to the history of the empire, such as old Janissary uniforms and sultans' costumes, were made visible through public exhibitions in the early twentieth century. One photograph records an exhibition held during Sultan Reşad's reign displaying a jewel-encrusted throne, a vitrine of sultans' costumes, and headgear on faceless mannequins (Figure 4.4).[228] By relegating these objects to glass cases in a museum, they are historicized, displayed as artifacts of the past.[229] Specifically, the type of costume on show here—the turbans and kaftans of former sultans—represent a past age of the Ottoman empire: the pre-Tanzimat era. Among the various reforms established by the Tanzimat, new sartorial norms were introduced, replacing the turban and kaftan with fezzes and western-style military

---

100 years after the exhibition Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art in Munich, edited by Chris Dercon, Léon Krempel and Avinoam Shalem (Munich: Haus der Kunst, 2010), 16-25; See also *Ars Orientalis* volume 30, *Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art* (2000), especially Roxburgh's essay, "Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910," 9-38.

[228] Wendy Shaw, "Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic," *Muqarnas* 24: *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum"* (2007): 262-263.

[229] Gaynor Kavanagh, "Making Histories, Making Memories," in *Making Histories in Museums* ed. Gaynor Kavanagh (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1996), 1-14.

uniforms. As such, with the better part of a century's distance between the clothing worn by early twentieth-century museumgoers the old sultans' kaftans and turbans, the latter would certainly have been seen as vestiges of another age.[230]

The exhibitions of imperial artifacts speak to a cultural interest in the history of the dynasty, which, at this time, served to represent the history of the Ottoman nation.[231] Arranged in a perfect line in the glass-fronted cabinets reconstructs a *silsile*, or a genealogy of sultans represented in physical form by their fabric vestiges.[232] While

---

[230] Foreigners such as Anna Bowman Dodd visited the galleries as well, remarking upon their splendor and historical significance, albeit through an Orientalist lens: "It was, indeed, in the gallery of the second room that the full barbaric glory of the East burst upon me with unexpected, wondrous reality. In glass casements, ranged along the sides of the walls, there stood, stiff and splendid, a whole row of Sultans. Think of it! a long endless line of Khalifas! Even the imagination of the elder Dumas would have reeled at that thought. But there they were; you might even take your choice of them, of any one of this amazingly gorgeous company of glittering, glistening 'Terrible Turks.' From Mahomet the Conqueror, all along the grand sultanic line down to Mahmoud the Reformer—he who seemed almost a contemporary, his date was so very recent—you may pass from one 'Grand Turk' to the other—you may stand and look your fill. …In brocaded mantles, stiff with gold and silver-wrought patterns; in under-vests and flowing inner garments of silk so fine and lissom they cling even about the wooden figures with an exquisite, dainty grace; with vast waist draperies whose glittering lines of light seemed to focus, in gemmed brilliance, on the glistening daggers, the true Oriental waist-belt ornament; gorgeous in stupendously tall turbans that were whiter than all conceivable whiteness, does Mahomet, does Selim, do Suleyman the Magnificent, Murad, Mahmoud, do all of these, stand before you clad in the state of their robes. Each royal turban was adorned with the very aigrette owned and worn by the sovereign. These aigrettes could have paid – to the last farthing – every penny of Turkey's standing debt. 'I might have to live in a garret, but I'd die before I'd part with that one!' cried one of the younger men, in an ecstatic outburst, as, standing before Mahomet II's turbaned splendour, he heard the above suggestion murmured." Dodd, *In the Palaces of the Sultan*, 133-135.

[231] On the broader phenomenon of art museums and constructing the nation, see: Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," in *Exhibiting Cultures* (1991), 88-103.

[232] Nilay Özlü quotes Edwin Grosvenor: "'In the gallery, in glass cases on wooden frames, are arranged in chronologic order the gala robes of each sultan from Mohammed II to Mahmoud II. The fez and Cossack costume of the latter contrasts strangely with the flowing, graceful attire of his predecessors,'" 178 (footnote 30), Nilay Özlü, "Single

showcasing the artifacts of a time gone by, the lineage of garments here—which, in point of fact, is not dissimilar to the chronological display of sultans' garments in Topkapı Palace Museum today—represents an unbroken history. Centuries of Ottoman rule, as evinced by these garments, was thus perhaps meant to assure the museum's audience of a secure future for the Ottoman nation in years to come. At the time of this display, after all, the second constitutional monarchy had been ratified, wherein the sultan served as a potent figurehead for defining the nation. Thus, this exhibition of sultans' regalia did not merely display costumes worn by past sultans in order to celebrate the history of the royal family as such. It also served to construct the history of the Ottoman nation through the lens of the sultanate and its material memorabilia made public through display at the imperial museum.[233]

In addition to sultans' garments and artifacts, other kinds of textile crafts featured in exhibitions held in the last decades of the nineteenth century were documented by Abdülhamid II's court photographers. On one occasion, a densely packed display of decorated fabrics is arranged in an exhibition held in Edirne (Figure 4.5). Every inch of the walls and table are covered in crafts produced by the students of a local girls' school, including embroidered garments, carpets, and a select few pictures. Both the organization of such an event and its place in the photography albums commissioned by Abdülhamid

---

p(a)lace, multiple narratives: The Topkapı Palace in Western travel accounts from the eighteenth to the twentieth century" in *The City in the Muslim World: Depctions by Western Travel Writers,* eds. Mohammad Gharipour and Nilay Özlü (London and New York: Routledge, 2015), 168-188.

[233] On the Ottoman genealogy or *silsile* in the visual arts, see: Emine Fetvacı, *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013); Ayşe Orbay, *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman* (İstanbul: İşbank, 2000).

II demonstrates the state's interest in craft production, not only to showcase the productivity and artistic heritage of its people, but to construct a sense of Ottoman nationhood through the display of material and visual culture.

While ongoing traditions of Ottoman handicrafts were celebrated in such exhibitions, the production of other kinds of textile arts were decidedly modernized in this period. Perhaps the most significant of these endeavors was the establishment of the carpet weaving factory at Hereke.[234] Many of the extraordinary large carpets featured in the neoclassical nineteenth-century palaces such as Dolmabahçe were woven in this workshop, based a short way southeast of the imperial capital on the Marmara Sea.[235] However, it is worth noting that the production of luxury tents—unlike monumental imperial carpets—was not modernized in the same way. The Imperial Tent Corps evolved over time but remained functional in much the same way for centuries. However, a blueprint in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman State Archives) suggests that at least basic army tents—in this case, able to fit ten men—were mass produced (Figure 4.6). The tents made for the sultan and the court, though, continued to be made, stored, cleaned, and repaired in the Imperial Tent Corps.

Another venue wherein history, modernity, nation, and craft converged was at world's fairs and international expositions. While the aforementioned handicraft exhibition took place in Ottoman lands, the following displays were held abroad, and thus

---

[234] Önder Küçükerman, *The Rug and Textiles of Hereke: A Documentary Account of the History of Court Workshop to Model Factory*, translated by M. E. Quigley-Pınar (Ankara: Sümerbank Genel Müdürlüğü, 1987).

[235] Elvan Anmac and Filiz Adigüzel Toprak, "Changing Face of Ottoman Imperial Image: Carpets of Dolmabahçe Palace, Turkiye," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* (2006): 297-303.

the audience would have been rather different. Unlike the exhibits of local textiles and imperial garments, world's fairs more often incorporated ephemeral architecture in their displays, including tents.[236] Beginning with the Great Exhibition of 1851 held in London, the Turkish pavilion is draped in layers of monumental fabric reminiscent of Ottoman imperial tents (Figure 4.7).[237] The entrance is draped in voluminous red curtains, pulled aside to form a theatrical frame. At the apex is affixed a cartouche with the sultan's *tuğra* above the label "Turkey." The picture provides a mere glimpse into the interior of the pavilion, yet a striped blue and white canopy covering the entire ceiling is discernable. This type of striped tent, often deemed "Turkish" in European spheres, will be addressed more fully in the subsequent chapter. Suffice it to say here, that monumental fabric architecture denoted the Ottoman court for European audiences and therefore suited the pavilion installed at the London exhibition.

Other "Oriental" cultures were represented at world's fairs through tents as well, though in rather different ways.[238] For example, the Tunisian diorama at the 1873 world's fair held in Vienna employed textiles to construct a shallow stage, whose backdrop is comprised of North African tent panels (Figure 4.8). These panels remain in Vienna today, and are among the collections of the Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst (Museum for Applied Arts) (Figure 4.9). On the one hand, unlike the Turkish

---

[236] Timothy J. Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[237] *Recollections of the Great Exhibition 1851* (London: Lloyd Brothers & Co. & Simpkin Marshall & Co, 1851), 41.

[238] While Tunisia was still technically under the control of the Ottoman state at this time, it was largely autonomous and was featured as a separate display.

pavilion at London, the tent panels on display here are authentically Tunisian. The display repurposes the Tunisian tent panels, though, as a theatrical backdrop for an ethnographic diorama.[239] Photographs of the pavilion reveal similarities to the London exhibition, as well as the Imperial Museum in Istanbul. The hall's entrance is likewise draped in swaths of fabric and labeled by country (Figure 4.10). Walking directly through this fabric-covered gateway, between two long and ornate cases, a visitor was confronted with the tented diorama. In such a prominent position, these boldly patterned and vibrantly colored appliquéd seem to be the defining feature of the display. Tents took pride of place when representing this corner of the Ottoman Empire, not only by the mere inclusion of appliquéd tent walls, but also through the diorama itself, as a temporary structure somewhere between fabric and architecture. Another view shows even more draped textiles in the form of flags, banners, and carpets are suspended from the ceiling, again reminiscent of fabric architecture (Figure 4.11). Additionally, like the case of sultans' kaftans at the imperial museum in Istanbul, here too garments on mannequins fill glass cases along the walls. This amalgamation of fabric artifacts transforms the space into a bazaar-like fantasy of a tent, allowing European visitors to be transported to their idea of the timeless Orient.

An entire North African tent was erected for the Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1878, just five years after the exhibition at Vienna. A photograph records the presence of a striped tent outside the Algerian pavilion (Figure 4.12). The tent likely was

---

[239] On the broader uses of dioramas, especially in natural history museums, see: Sue Dale Tunnicliffe, *Natural History Dioramas: History, Construction and Educational Role* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015).

meant to represent nomadic Bedouin culture.[240] Such an installation contrasts with other fairs' inclusions of fabric architecture, particularly those that were related to the Ottoman Empire. For example, photographs in the Abdülhamid II collection show the Turkish pavilion at the Great Columbian Exhibition of 1893 held in Chicago.[241] A photograph of the exterior of the pavilion reveals the pavilion to be a rather small square kiosk capped with a single dome (Figure 4.13). However, the somewhat unassuming exterior belies the wealth of textiles inside (Figure 4.14). The stately interior resembles an upper-class Ottoman salon. Low lying couches abut each wall and nearly every surface is covered in thickly decorated textiles. While there are no recognizable extant tent parts or panels present here, the space is clearly meant to recall a tent. Windows pierce walls otherwise draped in carpets or wall hangings featuring arches and dense floral patterning, typical of imperial tents. The windows are framed with heavy draping, and the small-scale furniture also could belong in a royal tent as much as a palace or mansion. Most striking, though, is the tented ceiling, with swaths of fabric bunched and stretched from the edge of the room to the center where the dome breaks the otherwise flat roof, shedding light on the whole interior. The dome recalls the central medallion or *şemse* frequently found on extant tents. The copious use of patterned fabric and its particular arrangement evoke, if not exactly mimic, the ornate interior of an Ottoman imperial tent. This amalgam of hard and

[240] For Bedouin tents and culture, see: Carl Reinhard Raswan, *The Black Tents of Arabia: My Life Among the Bedouins* (London: Routledge, 2016); Thierry Mauger and Danielle Mauger, *In the Shadow of the Black Tents* (Saudi Arabia: Tihama, 1986).

[241] On the World's Columbian Exposition, see: Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 344-365.

fabric architecture was sent to Chicago to represent the Ottoman Empire in material form. As compared to the Bedouin-style tent representing Algeria, the tented interior of this luxurious salon presents a rather different type of fabric architecture. Rather than an ethnographic curiosity, the tented interior of the Turkish pavilion speaks of a wealthy and prosperous empire with a long history of luxury textile production.

Both at home and abroad, tents and other draped interiors, craft exhibitions, and ephemeral architecture served to construct an image of the Ottoman Empire, as well as a sense of nation through history. These examples demonstrate that the tent and various manifestations of fabric architecture played a prominent role in the Ottoman historical imagination, which in turn was used to construct a collective identity of Ottomanness for the nascent Ottoman nation. Beyond the empire proper, the representation of Turkey as such as well as the imagined Orient frequently called upon tents to frame people and artifacts in world's fairs. Even when tents as such were not present, collections of textiles were displayed draped together in interior spaces to as to evoke luxurious tented interiors for international audiences.

Inaugurating Infrastructure

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries imperial tents were deployed to inaugurate various public work projects including the building waterways and railroads.[242] For example, systems of water conveyance built in Jerusalem were

[242] Another famous example of an inaugural ceremony related to waterworks was the opening of the Suez Canal, which likewise featured ephemeral pavilions and many tents. See: David J. Roxburgh forthcoming essay, "The Suez Canal Inauguration Ceremony," in

inaugurated with all the finery of Ottoman ceremony, including a number of pitched tents (Figure 4.15).[243] A large crowd of men gather around an open space, most with their hands raised in a gesture of prayer. Yet, many turn their heads to look directly into the camera. The image is seemingly staged to frame the trappings of ceremony for the camera, including bells, flags, garlands, and several tents, as well as the many individuals in attendance. To the right, the fountain taking the form of a patterned stone archway is flanked by the crowd, some of which are dressed in western-style military uniforms while others are clad in more traditional, religious robes. Another photograph captures the ceremonial procession—seemingly leading up to the fountain and tent at the end, although the former is not discernable in the image (Figure 4.16). The processional avenue is lined with long swags of garlands draped high between poles evenly spaced along either side, a fraction of which also can be seen in Figure 4.15 as well. Also marking this avenue is a low-slung series of fabric banners. On each pole, where the garland is draped high and the fabric banners stretched low, are hung flags with the crescent and star motif. Moreover, beneath each bough of garland, a small cluster of flags disrupts the negative space between the poles.

This arrangement of fabric and floral ephemera installed on this ceremonial occasion reflects motifs present in contemporary extant tents. A ceremonial marquee, for example, is adorned with a flowering garland, draped into two swags, and tied with

---

Making Making Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Islamic Art and Architecture, eds. Margaret Graves and Alex Dika Seggerman (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press).

[243] On politics and hydraulics in this region, see: Michael Christopher Low, “Ottoman Infrastructures of the Saudi Hydro-Date: The Technopolitics of Pilgrimage and Potable Water in the Hijaz,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, no. 4 (2015): 942-974.

undulating delicate ribbons (Figure 4.17). When the tent was erected, the garland would have appeared as if hanging in space. The rich blue ground—which could be read as the sky if the garlands were meant to be seen as suspended in air, or perhaps is reminiscent of water on this particular occasion—is otherwise filled by a large vase out of which flowers, vines, and sinuous cornucopias burst forth, in perfectly symmetrical formation. These delicate yet luxurious elements stitched in silk and gold render permanent what was otherwise ephemeral—in this case, actual garlands like those brought out for ceremonies such as the inauguration of Jerusalem's new waterways.

Tents and Trains

A series of photographs chronicles the ceremonies held in 1905 in honor of the opening of the Damascus-Ma'an line on the Hijaz Railway.[244] Sultan Abdülhamid II actively patronized a number of modernization projects, including the construction of an Ottoman railway network. While the majority of the Ottoman railroads were initiated and sponsored by foreign interests, their construction served the sultan by connecting the vast

[244] The photographs themselves are not dated, therefore, it is possible that they record the inaugural events of 1908, celebrating the Hijaz Railway reaching Medina, and which coincided with the thirty-third anniversary of Sultan Abdülhamid II's accession to the throne. Indeed, some of the photographs' captions reference an accession ceremony. However, the fact that the photographs whose captions explicitly locate the images in Ma'an record the large ceremonial encampment framed with imperial regalia as well as several important individuals giving speeches, suggest that the rail line reaching Ma'an was indeed the main event, as opposed to Medina. Moreover, another piece of evidence that suggests Ali Sâmi's voyage to photograph these ceremonies occurred in 1905 rather than 1908 in a rather unlikely place: the frosting on a cake, which dates that trip to 1323 AH (1905/6 CE). Sâmi took this photograph in Beirut, but its train-centric imagery and inclusion in the same album as the images of Ma'an suggests they were all taken on the same trip.

territories of his empire, at a time when regional powers threatened to pull it apart. The Hijaz Railway, on the other hand, was largely funded by Muslims—within the Empire and without.[245] This railway in particular, then, served not only to strengthen the bonds between the imperial center and the Hijaz, but also had the potential to aid Abdülhamid in the realization of his vision of a pan-Islamic empire.[246] In other words, the construction of the Hijaz Railway reinforced the sultan's role as caliph of all Muslims, and in so doing, aimed to unite the region as a modernized, centralized Islamic power.

The celebratory events held at the train station at Ma'an bore many hallmarks of traditional Ottoman pageantry. Chief among these was an encampment composed of appliquéd and embroidered tents, framed by a festive triumphal arch—all of which was further adorned with flags, banners, garland, and calligraphic insignia. Together these elements served as a festive stage for formal speeches and elaborate feasts. After the ceremonies concluded, their splendor lived on in their photographic representations, which were transported back to Istanbul and bound in albums in the sultan's imperial library. Ottoman sultans in general and Abdülhamid II in particular employed court photographers to document just such occasions. In this case, imperial photographer Ali

[245] Peter Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 17-20; Murat Özyüksel, *The Berlin-Baghdad Railway and the Ottoman Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2016); Zafer Toprak, "Railways, The State and Modernity," in *Iron Track: Age of the Train* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Cultural Activities, Arts and Publishing, 2003), 10-23.

[246] Rashed Chowdhury, "Pan-Islamism and Modernisation During the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid, 1876-1909," (PhD diss., McGill University, 2011), 270-329.

Sâmi was on the scene.[247] By recording the events in this way, the life of the short-lived inauguration was extended through the photographic medium.

The inauguration held at Ma'an epitomizes the rich intersection between longstanding modes of performing power in ceremonial encampments with technological advancements in infrastructure, transportation, and image-making.[248] In fact, the process of modernization was made possible by rooting the future in such familiar traditions and rituals. Tented ceremonies not only inaugurated modernization efforts but were in fact employed for centuries to celebrate the completion of imperial constructions. For example, Ünver Rüstem analyzes the dome closing ceremony of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque, completed in the early seventeenth century.[249] Therefore, it is not unusual or unexpected that the opening ceremonies at the Ma'an train station would be celebrated in similarly elaborate fabric environs. Scholars such as Eric Hobsbawm and Selim Deringil have asserted that the making of modernity has often required the invention of traditions to provide a foundation on which to build a unified nation.[250] Yet, not all traditions need be new or invented to serve such a purpose. In the case of the Ma'an train station inauguration, the tent and train functioned as complementary tools for constructing an

---

[247] Engin Özendes, *Photographer Ali Sami: 1866-1936 | Fotoğrafcı Ali Sami: 1866-1936* (Istanbul: Haset Kitabevi, 1989); Bahattin Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople,* vols. 1 and 2 (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2006).

[248] Roxburgh, "Suez Canal Inauguration Ceremony," *forthcoming*.

[249] Ünver Rüstem, "The Spectacle of Legitimacy: The Dome-Closing Ceremony of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque," *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 253-344.

[250] Selim Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition as Public Images in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808-1908," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 1 (1993): 3-29; E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Ottoman-Islamic modernity, founded in tradition and ritual, at the turn of the twentieth century.

While the exact layout of the Ma'an station inauguration festivities is difficult to discern from the early twentieth-century photographs, it is at least clear that tents played a central role. A wide view provides a broad understanding of the scale of the occasion as well as the trappings of royal pageantry (Figure 4.18). A triple-bayed archway dressed in garland and decorated with banners, flags, and calligraphic panels towers above the crowd. To either side hang placards bearing the Ottoman coat of arms and the sultan's signet (*tuğra*). Behind this arboreal threshold appear several tents, of various sizes with their guy ropes stretched taught, crisscrossing in all directions. While the photograph provides little detail regarding the decoration of the tents erected on this occasion, close examination reveals a few appliquéd tent sections (*hazine*) splayed open, framing the entrance to a tent. This is unsurprising, as elaborate appliquéd or embroidered ornament is almost exclusively relegated to the interior of tents, while exteriors remain unadorned or feature simple patterns such as a chevron design in contrasting colors, typically red and green.

However, it must be noted that the caption inscribed on the frame below this image says that the scene depicted is the celebration of men being discharged from their military service (*istibdal*). However, when men conscripted in the military worked on the railroad, they could have their military service reduced, and therefore this seemingly incongruous graduation celebration of sorts actually demonstrates the versatility of tents'

ceremonial functions on such occasions.[251] While the captions written below each photograph mention this and a number of other features of the inaugural ceremonies, the train remains central.[252] Indeed, another photograph framing a closer view of the same scene makes visible what the wider shot obfuscated: the central archway covered in garland features a large panel bearing a calligram in the shape of a train engine (Figure 4.19).[253]

This same photograph reveals more layers to the imperial regalia and symbolism adorning the festive encampment. Two panels framing the central train-themed calligram bear coats of arms. The manufacture of the Ottoman coat of arms in this period exemplifies one of the invented traditions outlined by Selim Deringil in his discussion of the Ottomans' refashioning of their public image.[254] A contemporary fabric structure—

---

[251] Zeynep Çelik, "Photographing the Mundane," in *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem (Istanbul: Koç University, 2015), 157-168; Osman Akyüz, İbrahim Usul, Mustafa Aksoy, Ömer Faruk Erten, and Mevlüt Ceylan, *İstanbul'dan Medine'ye Bir Tarih Belgeseli: Hicaz Demiryolu Fotoğraf Albümü* (Istanbul: Alkaraka Türk, 1999).

[252] A few images mention the accession of the sultan. This more likely refers to the celebration of the anniversary of the sultan's accession, however. While only one of the captions explicitly states the ceremonies are inaugurating the opening of the rail line to Ma'an (*küşadi icra olunan hatt-ı ʻalide*, or the opening of the "royal line," meaning the railroad), the visual evidence emphatically corroborates that it is the train that takes center stage here.

[253] In his analysis of the Hijaz Railway and the material and visual cultures surrounding it, David Simonowitz argues that the art of calligraphy played a central role in branding the Ottoman railways. He draws a parallel between the calligraphic line and the railway lines as they connect the imperial center to other regions, including the Hijaz and the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. David Simonowitz, "The Mobile Matrix: The Hijaz Railway as Ritual Space and Generator of Space," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (2014): 305-316.

[254] Deringil, "The Invention of Tradition," 3-29.

likely a kind of ceremonial umbrella or palanquin canopy—features similar heraldry (Figure 4.20).[255] Among the symbols combined to form the appliquéd coat of arms include various weapons, an anchor, a book, a set of scales, and cornucopias (Figure 4.21). The symbolically rich motif is further framed by a triangle of garland. Thus, this neo-tradition was grafted onto the longstanding symbol of sultanic power: the tent. In a similar manner, the tent may be thought of as a heraldic emblem unto itself, which can be further encrusted with symbols of the sultan and state. It is even conceivable that the tents erected to inaugurate the Ma'an station bore similar emblems, executed in appliqué or embroidery to echo the royal regalia displayed elsewhere the site.

Still more layers of regalia are glimpsed in the rest of the photograph series by Ali Sâmi commemorating the Ma'an station inauguration. For example, one picture shows the installation of grilled panels that were outfitted with spectacular lights for the occasion, behind which more tents are discernable (Figure 4.22). The train itself also was a key attraction of the celebrations inaugurating the new station. The engine, festooned with garland and flags, served as a monument to modernization, as well as a backdrop for the festivities. In another Sâmi photograph, a group of uniformed officers pose in front of the impressively large and decorated locomotive (Figure 4.23). In addition to the train calligram mentioned above and the engine itself, a confectionary replica of a train engine was the centerpiece of a banquet held in Beirut, which was likewise photographed by Ali Sâmi and included in the Abdülhamid II album (Figure 4.24).[256]

---

[255] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 231, fig. 88.

[256] The inscription on the cake reads "Padişahım çok yaşa," and is dated 1323 AH (1905/1906), Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem, eds. *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840-1914* (Istanbul: Koç University, 2015), 158; Such elaborate feasts took place in luxurious tents for centuries prior, as a means of

Among the events that comprised the inauguration of the Ma'an train station captured by imperial photographer Ali Sâmi, particular attention was paid to the formal speeches recited in front of a wide tent canopy (Figure 4.25). Standing in front of the dark void that is the interior of the tent, a group of men crowds around the *hâkim* of Medina, as he recites a prepared speech. While barely visible due to the bright sun and overexposed film, the large canopy occupies the upper third of the framed image. Indeed, the tent appears to be the device Ali Sâmi consciously chose to function as the compositional frame. In all, six photographs were framed thus, with the tent repeated in each shot and the actors moving from scene to scene. This seriality recalls the use of tents as pictorial devices in many early modern manuscripts, including the *Surname* executed by Abdulcelil Levni in 1720. This technique of framing the action of a scene with fabric architecture in particular is not an uncommon motif in manuscript paintings, and here is translated to a modern method of image-making: photography.

In addition to serving as a compositional anchor, tents functioned similarly in real space to frame important actions and individuals—the sultan chief among them—on various occasions. However, examination of the photograph of the *hâkim*'s speech under the tent and the rest of those in this series reveal a marked absence. The sultan himself is not present. Rather, the imperial tent stands in for his person, while he himself remained in the imperial capital. As these tents were dispatched in his name by the Imperial Tent Corps, and were framed by many layers of royal regalia, including the imperial coat of

---

displaying the sultan's hospitality and generosity. For examples, the *Nusretname* of 1584 and the *Surname* from 1720 both feature paintings of banquets set in polychrome, patterned, monumental fabric environs. Moreover, sugar sculptures likewise were incorporated into such festivals. Silahdar, Fındıklı Mehmet Ağa. *Nusretname* (simplified by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu) v. 1. Istanbul, 1962.

arms, they represented his presence remotely. In this way, the tent served as a metonym for the sultan and his empire, symbolically transporting his royal presence to Ma'an through the vehicle of fabric architecture.

The tent's embodiment of the sultan acquires new meaning when viewed in light of the caption beneath the photograph. Inscribed on the floral pasteboard frame, Abdülhamid is named the *hazret-i hilâfet-penâhî*, or "His excellency, the Shelter of the Caliphate." Using this particular title for the sovereign not only underscores his role as caliph—which was certainly apropos for the occasion celebrating the completion of a section of the Hijaz Railway—but it also emphasizes his role as one who *shelters*. Thus, the temporary structure of the tent symbolized not just the sultan's person but also his protection. Another sultanic title underscores the symbolic efficacy of tents. The shade provided by the tent embodied the sultan's title of "Shadow of God on Earth."[257] At the Ma'an station inaugural ceremonies, the tent did not represent imperial power merely for the sake of exalting the sultan. It was not the sultan's person on display. Rather, it was his good works, his beneficence, and his efforts to protect and serve his people, and all Muslims, through the modernization of pilgrimage.

In fact, the protective canopy of the sultan was deployed on other occasions when his subjects had great need of it. When natural disasters such as fires or floods rendered people homeless, the imperial tent corps would dispatch tents to house those who were displaced. When an outbreak of disease threatened to overextend hospitals, tents were sent in order to construct a temporary quarantine space. Indeed, plague and serious illness

[257] "Tent," Jonathan M. Bloom and Sheila S. Blair, eds. *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, vol. III (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 282.

were concerns for pilgrims traveling to the Holy Cities.[258] While tents used in disaster relief were not of the highest caliber, they still were sent in the sultan's name, in order to aid his people and keep them safe under his protection.[259] In the case of the tents used for the Ma'an train station inauguration, the Hijaz Railway project was meant not only to expedite and modernize Islamic pilgrimage, but to make the journey safer for all Muslims. In other words, while the imperial tent symbolized the sultan's protection, the train itself fulfilled that very promise. In this instance, then, the imperial tent served as a metonym for the sultan and embodied his role as caliph and Shadow of God on Earth.

Another proxy for the sultan appears in the form of the camera. In the aforementioned photograph documenting the *hâkim*'s speech, rows of people gathered on either side of the framed image glance covertly at the camera (Figure 4.25). Perhaps they are simply curious about the mechanism itself, or perhaps they understand that the viewer on the other side of the camera is the sultan, observing the proceedings through the printed image. Abdülhamid's affinity for and deployment of photography in this manner is well known. [260] Through the camera, the sultan surveilled his empire and the progress of his various ongoing modernization projects while stationed safely in Yıldız Palace.[261]

---

[258] Michael Christopher Low, "Empire of the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam Under British Surveillance, 1865-1926," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 2 (2008): 269-290.

[259] For examples, see BOA A.MKT.UM.87.63.1, BOA C.SH.27.1316, BOA DH.MKT.1911.24.1.

[260] Öztuncay, *The Photographers of Constantinople*; Trish Greene, "The Abdülhamid II Photo Collection: Orientalism and Public Image at the End of an Empire," (Thesis, University of Mary Washington).

[261] Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Norton, 1978).

The photographs documenting the inauguration of the Ma'an train station are no exception to this practice.

This emphasis on the sultan's role as caliph clearly suited the celebration of the opening the Hijaz Railway reaching Ma'an, which in broad strokes was intended to modernize pilgrimage for Muslims living in the empire and beyond. But this title also served his ambition to unite the region under the banner of Islam, with Abdülhamid II himself at the helm. In this period, the importation of technologies such as the steam engine were deployed in service of an empire less concerned with refashioning itself in the image of a European power than it was interested in constructing a modernity on its own terms. Moreover, the specific title of "Shelter of the Caliphate" professed Abdülhamid's ability to protect his people and all Muslims—symbolically represented by the shade of the imperial tent.

Abdülhamid employed another modern technology—photography—as a tool to project this image of a modern, safe Islamic power abroad. He famously commissioned and collated a series of photograph albums of depicting the empire, including images demonstrating his many modernization efforts and ongoing construction projects. The albums were sent to both the United States and the United Kingdom, today residing in the Library of Congress and the British Library, respectively.[262] The exact reception to these gifts remains unclear. Abdülhamid II reveals his understanding of the power of such images in his comments in response to the display of Turkish and Muslim peoples at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago, Sultan Abdülhamid was not pleased:

---

[262] Muhammad Isa Waley," Images of the Ottoman Empire: The Photograph Albums Presented by Sultan Abdülhamid II," *British Library Journal* 17, no. 2 (1991): 111-127.

> As the sultan himself dictated to his private secretary: 'Most of the photographs taken [by European photographers] for sale in Europe vilify and mock Our Well Protected Domains. It is imperative that the photographs to be taken in this instance do not insult Islamic peoples by showing them in a vulgar and demeaning light.'[263]

This response attests to the fact that Abdülhamid appreciated the power and effect of photography and the circulation of images. In the case of the inauguration ceremonies held at Ma'an in 1902, the presumed audience for the photographs taken by Ali Sâmi was simply the sultan himself. The relatively limited circulation of this series of images bound in albums for Abdühlamid notwithstanding, many photographs of the railway's construction were disseminated through print media, thereby serving to project widely an image of strength, power, and protection. It would seem as though the sultan was trying to convince himself as much as anyone that he had a firm grasp on his empire and that he was indeed fulfilling his dual roles as sultan and caliph.

The fact that this tented ceremony was inaugurating a rail line with a distinctly religious purpose has yet to be addressed here but doing so will shed further light on the intersections of imperial regalia, tentage traditions, and modernized mobilities. The future that Abdülhamid II envisioned for his empire took the form of a pan-Islamic nation, wherein he could unite Muslims across vast territories under his centralized power. The construction of the Ottoman rail network and the Hijaz Railroad in particular aimed to make that vision a reality. The Hijaz Railway project was unlike the rest of the Ottoman rail network connecting Istanbul with Europe, Berlin with Baghdad, and the far reaches

---

[263] Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimization of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998), 156.

of Anatolia with the imperial center. The iron tracks laid across the terrain of the Levant and Arabia naturally overlapped with existing routes of Islamic pilgrimage. By the turn of the twentieth century and the initiation of Hijaz Railway project, these routes were well defined by centuries of annual mobility of people and objects to and from the Holy Cities. In this case, enduring traditions of ritual pilgrimage and modernized systems of transportation forged a symbiotic, even interdependent relationship. The construction of the Hijaz Railway was grounded in the preexisting routes of pilgrimage and mobility, and in turn, that mobility was facilitated and made easier and safer through the modernization of transport in the region.

Pilgrims traveling to the Hijaz prior to the construction of the railroad risked their personal safety to embark upon the long and arduous journey. Along the road, they would rest at intervals corresponding to a day’s travel, stopping at inns and caravanserais. While the system of transportation changed, many aspects of the pilgrimage rituals remained steadfast. For example, upon their arrival, pilgrims erected tents as temporary lodgings on the plains of Mount Arafat. A photograph from 1916 shows the great variety in the scale and decoration of fabric architecture employed on the occasion (Figure 4.26). The tents range from small, conical, unassuming canvas tents to multi-peaked large-scale structures adorned with ornament in embroidery or appliqué. This array of fabric architecture evinces the different classes of people residing in this ad hoc city of tents. Perhaps, then, it was all the more significant that the Ma’an station opening was heralded with a ceremonial encampment. As a waystation *en route* to Mecca, the ceremonial cluster of tents inaugurating the Ma’an train station foreshadowed the sea of fabric structures at the end of the line awaiting weary pilgrims at their destination.

Among the visual culture and material objects associated with and defined by Islamic pilgrimage, of chief import are the *kiswa* (the fabric cover made annually for the Ka'ba in Mecca) and its vehicle of conveyance, the *mahmal*. The *mahmal* was constructed of a wooden frame and covered with fabric, which was then secured atop a camel for transport. The fabric cover itself was commonly termed *sitr al-mahmal*, or, the "robe of the *mahmal*."[264] A late-nineteenth-century *sitr al-mahmal*, today in the Khalili Collection in London, is adorned with calligraphic bands and gilt floral patterning (Figure 4.27). It also bears the signet (*tuğra*) of Sultan Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876), Abdülhamid II's predecessor. With its pyramidal roof and fabric walls, the *mahmal* closely resembles ornate imperial tents. The semblance is certainly not coincidental, as tent-makers (in this case, based in Cairo) were responsible for fashioning the appliquéd, gold-encrusted fabric palanquins. Furthermore, the production of the holy textiles seems to have been a cooperative effort among workshops. According to Nahla Nassar at the Khalili Collection, the large textiles were "cut and prepared by the *khayamin*, and then brought over to Dar al-Kiswa for the embroidery."[265] While the unadorned utilitarian *mahmal* covers were used for long stretches of the journey, this kind of magnificently ornamented cover was draped over the sacred palanquin for its ceremonial departure and at certain points along the journey, as seen in Figure 4.28. The *tuğra* emblazoned on the front of the silk-covered structure now in the Khalili Collection not only proclaims the sultan's patronage of the *mahmal* and the *kiswa* inside it, like the tent used in the Ma'an

---

[264] Venetia Porter, "Mahmal Revisited," in *The Hajj: Collected Essays*, eds. Venetia Porter and Liana Saif (London: British Museum, 2013), 195.

[265] Porter, "Mahmal Revisited," 203.

inauguration, it too embodies the sultan's protection over the region and the Holy Cities in particular.

The correlation between these examples of mobile, fabric architecture—tents and the sacred *mahmal*—is synthesized in this polychrome lithograph by A. H. Zaki from *The Cairo Punch*, a twentieth-century periodical based out of Cairo (Figure 4.29). The artist depicts two *mahmal*s, one in red, the other in green, seemingly floating above the crowd as they approach their final destination. The two mahmals, likely departed from different points of origin, each carrying sections of the *kiswa*. According to Venetia Porter, the *mahmal* covers made in Egypt were generally red, while those made in Syria were usually green.[266] The pitched canopies to either side of the procession echo the peak of Mount Arafat in the distance. Red and green fabrics adorn not just the *mahmal*s, but the tents, flags, and even pilgrims themselves. These repeated forms and colors draw a visual parallel between these different fabric bodies on the move.

While the tradition of the *mahmal* dates back centuries, in the age of mechanized transportation, the *mahmal*, like the pilgrims *en route* to Mecca, boarded a train for stretches of the journey.[267] In fact, modernizing pilgrimage necessitated wholly new mobile structures, such as the *cami-vagonu* (mosque wagon) to accommodate prayer on trains traveling on the Hijaz Railway. In other words, the railroad project expedited travel for people as well as ritual objects bound for the Hijaz.[268] However, according to a Damascus-based French consul writing in 1910, the magnificence of the ceremonial

---

[266] Porter, "Mahmal Revisited," 201.

[267] Simonowitz, "The Mobile Matrix," 316; Porter, "Mahmal Revisited," 202.

[268] Simonowitz, "The Mobile Matrix," 309-312.

departure of the *mahmal* had waned. "It had been reduced to a salute to the *sancak-i şerif* (Turkish: 'noble banner'), a short prayer, and a 21-gun salute, after which the train chugged out of the station amidst underwhelmed spectators."[269] Here again the performative assertions that the Ottoman domains were well protected, and that Muslims were safe on their ritual journey, actually attests to the contrary. In hindsight, modernization in the form of infrastructure building such as the railroads may be seen as an attempt to save a troubled nation. In the Hamidian period, though, aspirations for the future were grounded in familiar traditions, such as celebrations in imperial tents and sacred textiles associated with ritual pilgrimage.

Like the sultan's and pilgrims' tents, the *kiswa* itself is a mobile fabric structure, while it is carried by the *mahmal* and the train—until it reaches its final destination and is draped over the Ka'ba. At which point, the shrouded cube becomes a point of fixity around which pilgrims circumambulate. In fact, each of the "mobile" structures discussed here (tents, trains, *mahmal*s, and the *kiswa*) are not aimlessly peripatetic, but rather function within a network of movement, organized by points of fixity. In the case of the Ma'an, the ceremonies took place at the *station*—the stopping point, or, a place of mooring on the journey to the Hijaz. Similarly, tents, as mobile fabric architecture only function as interim shelter or as ceremonial stages when the tent is—albeit temporarily—stationary. The ornate *mahmal*, too, is made visible at significant points along the journey, and otherwise is clad in a simple, pragmatic cloth cover while traveling between important milestones. According to Mimi Sheller and John Urry's "New Mobilities Paradigm":

---

[269] Simonowitz, "The Mobile Matrix," 316.

> Places themselves are seen as travelling, slow or fast, greater or shorter distances, within networks of human and nonhuman agents. Places are about relationships, about the placing of peoples, materials, images, and the systems of difference that they perform … We understand 'where' we are through 'vision and motion' practiced through the alignment of material objects, maps, images, and a moving gaze.[270]

In other words, the increased mobility seen as characteristic of the modern period is not simply speed (or technological advancement) for its own sake. Rather, such mobility (or mobilities) connect and transport people and places. The construction of the Hijaz Railway, its celebration under imperial tents, and the material culture of pilgrimage in the form of the *mahmal*, *kiswa*, and hajj encampments together demonstrate the practical uses and symbolic efficacy of mobility in the Ottoman Empire's making of modernity. The deployment of such mobile structures to the Hijaz aimed to reassert control over the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, which were integral to Abdülhamid II's vision of a modernized, pan-Islamic state by literally and metaphorically connecting them to Istanbul—or, by symbolically transporting Istanbul to the Hijaz. Furthermore, Abdülhamid's Hijaz Railway project not only modernized transportation, but modernized pilgrimage, and by extension, Islam, while at the same time, subsuming it under the protective umbrella of Ottoman sovereignty.

Viewing the situation through the lens of the Ma'an case study reveals some of the complexities of envisioning and enacting modernity in the last decades of Ottoman Empire. The emphasis on protection and security undoubtedly was in response to a lack

---

[270] Mimi Sheller and John Urry, "The New Mobilities Paradigm," *Environment and Planning A* 38, no. 2 (2006): 214.

of both. In order to project an image of a prosperous, modernizing empire, then, Abdülhamid rooted the future in familiar rituals and traditions. In this case, this included expediting and safeguarding annual pilgrimage to the Hijaz via the railroad and celebrating new infrastructural development under the canopy of the imperial tent. Together the tent and train aided Abdülhamid in the performance of power and stability, at a time when neither were guaranteed.

Modernity Anchored

Among their many uses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tents came to represent the past, present, and future of the Ottoman nation. Fabric artifacts played a key role in the visualization of history in the late Ottoman Empire. From the exhibition of traditional handicrafts to the imperial museum's display of artifacts belonging to the sultan's forebears, textiles took center stage. Similarly, though certainly mediated through different lenses and viewed by international audiences, the display of tents (as well as tent-like displays) at world's fairs also served to construct an image of the Ottoman Empire in this period. The performance and display of history in these contexts took advantage of the dramaturgical nature of tents, while at the same time evoked the nomadic Turkic history of the Ottoman dynasty and relayed it into the construction of a national identity. Thus, through international exhibitions and world fairs, semi-tented spaces and hybrid fabric architecture served to propagate an image of a prosperous and modernizing empire rooted in tradition.

At the same time, fabric architecture was erected among various ephemeral trappings of imperial ceremonial on occasions heralding modernization efforts, such the

construction of water systems and railroads. By funding projects aimed to serve his people, the sultan protected his subjects in the shade of his proverbial canopy with the underlying motive to strengthen his empire. Rather than edifying the sultan's person, the presence of tents and ceremonial regalia acclaim the construction of infrastructure. The tents erected on the occasion propagated the sultan's beneficence. In other words, it was not the sultan on display here, it was his good works. As the sultan was seen as the Shadow of God on Earth, through the deployment of imperial fabric architecture, he symbolically assumed his people under his protection. In the case of the waterworks of Jerusalem, he also provided the life-giving source of water through his infrastructural construction projects, likewise celebrated in and around tents.

In 1905, Sultan Abdülhamid II (r. 1876-1909) dispatched a series of imperial tents to Ma'an, a city in present-day Jordan, to herald the completion of a major section of the Hijaz Railway. Adorned with floral garlands and stately flags, the imperial tents were meant to serve as ephemeral and occasional monumental reminder of the sultan's power and beneficence at the inauguration. The tent's layered meanings also recalled the sultan's role as caliph and guardian of all Muslims. The security promised and promulgated by the sultan manifest itself in the construction of the Hijaz Railway, which aimed to provide a safe, efficient, modern means of performing pilgrimage to the Holy Cities. In this small case study, the tent and train functioned as complementary tools for making modernity in the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the twentieth century.

The imperial tents deployed for the events inaugurating the new station at Ma'an resembled centuries of tented ceremonies hosted by the Ottoman court. While their ornamentation likely reflected changing tastes, tents' functions and layered meanings

persisted and were strategically deployed in this period marked by various projects aimed at modernization. Other longstanding traditions buttressed the ceremonial encampment on this occasion. Against the backdrop of ornate tents, the train took center stage as a symbol of future progress and prosperity. Rather than simply dressing the occasion for the sake of imperial spectacle, these trappings of regalia grounded this symbol of modernization in traditions signifying the longevity of the Ottoman state. In other words, the sultan's vision for the future of the empire were rooted in its past.

This vision was anchored not only in the history of the Ottoman dynasty, but in Islam as well, as Abdülhamid hoped to capitalize on his role as caliph in order to unite the region as a centralized, modern, pan-Islamic empire. The construction of the Hijaz Railroad and the inauguration of the Ma'an train station in particular aimed to make this future a reality. The railroad meant to expedite travel to the Hijaz for pilgrimage, but also to make it safer for the sultan's Muslim subjects while en route to the Holy Cities. The railroad was literally and metaphorically built on well-established routes of pilgrimage through the Levant and Arabian Peninsula, and in turn, fixed them in the landscape. In this way, the Ottoman sultan reinforced his power over these territories by, in effect, making his claim to the Hijaz permanent in iron.

Mobile fabric architecture in the form of imperial tents, the *mahmal*, and the *kiswa*, metaphorically connected the center of power with distant regions, namely the Hijaz and, in this case, Ma'an specifically. But it was not the transportability of these royally contracted fabric structures that served the sultan's agenda for uniting the region under the umbrella of an Ottoman-Islamic regime. Rather, it was their ability to be planted or fixed—in other words, their ability to be used to stake claim to the territory at

a time when decentralization threatened Abdülhamid's vision for a united pan-Islamic empire. These points of fixity—from encampments to train stations—paradoxically enabled a mobile world.

Just as mobility is dependent upon fixity, in the case of the Ottoman Empire's move toward modernity, the future needed to be secured in the past. Traditions such as those deployed for the Ma'an station inauguration served to familiarize and absorb new technologies into the fold of Ottoman material and visual cultures. While invented, neo-traditions such as the Ottoman coat of arms certainly played a role in the broader efforts to ensure the future of the Ottoman nation, longstanding conventions of performing power and sovereignty also were able to serve the same goal.

Another method by which this vision for the future became fixed was through photography. By documenting the various inaugural events that featured imperial tents, the photographs effectively multiplied the efficacy of the ceremonies by extending their lives and by mobilizing the images beyond a singular time and place. While the audience for the photographs was limited to the sultan—and perhaps his close family and members of the court who had access to his library— in several of these cases, the photographs' collation in albums also quite literally codified Abdülhamid's vision for his empire in black and white.

This confluence of established methods of performing power through material culture and image making, with the importation of new technologies, does not represent a clash of old and new, traditional and modern. Rather, it demonstrates the envisioning of the future tethered to the past, strategically cultivating modernity through anchorage in

tradition. This strategy undoubtedly developed out of the want for security and unity, in order to make real a vision for the future in an uncertain world.

CHAPTER 5

Tents and Their Afterlives

As transportable objects of significant material and cultural value, many tents have been preserved in museums and collections around Europe, including in Sweden, Poland, Germany, Austria, Spain, and Russia. Today, after many losses in the world wars that ravaged much of Europe, it is remarkable that even a few dozen Ottoman or Ottoman-style tents still exist, though some survive only as fragments. Through modes of exchange such as trade and gift-giving, luxuriously decorated tents fit for sultans take on different meanings in their new socio-political contexts outside the Ottoman Empire. From their initial departure to the present day, lavish appliquéd and embroidered tents continued to accrue layers of cultural value and national significance. Myths developed around the objects through their display and publication, at times obfuscating their true provenance and compromising their authenticity. This chapter focuses on the afterlives of a select number of Ottoman tents that are in the care of European museums today and traces how these portable palaces once exclusive to Ottoman sultans were transformed by their journeys through time and space—beyond the empire's borders and eventual collapse.

For as long as ornamented fabrics constituted part of the built environment of the Ottoman court, their value was highly regarded outside the empire. On various occasions, tents were given as diplomatic gifts to foreign heads of state, including the Crimean khan,

the empress of Russia, and the king of Spain. Decorated tents also changed hands through military conflict: they were won on the battlefield and captured by adversaries both for their material value as well as their political symbolism. As a consequence, a market for tents as prized collectibles developed thereafter resulting in the importation of objects and migration of artisans to Christian Europe, most especially Poland-Lithuania. The market demand catalyzed the production of tents that imitated those made by the Imperial Tent Corps and prompted the assembling of pastiches of authentic Ottoman imperial tents. Also contributing to the burgeoning desire for new productions and reconstructed tents was the nineteenth-century taste for *turqueries*, especially as found in Orientalist architecture.[271] Often dubbed "Turkish" rooms or smoking rooms, these Ottoman-styled locales served as display cabinets in the homes of elite European collectors. Such fabric fantasies took on various forms, from the tented interiors at Napoleon Bonaparte's Malmaison to the Prussian palaces of Potsdam. This domestication of the "other" allowed collectors to arrange eclectic artifacts in order to materialize an imagined vision of the "Orient."[272]

By and large, the contexts in which audiences viewed, interacted with, and otherwise consumed these "Oriental" tents shifted from private to public spheres over the centuries. In some cases, privately owned tents were toted out to be displayed on more public occasions, such as the reception of an emperor or an exhibition celebrating the

---

[271] On the material and visual culture of *turquerie*: Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *'Turquerie' and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

[272] While this chapter is focused on the particular ways in which tents are altered and adapted to suit various cultural contexts and political agendas outside the Ottoman Empire, the core concept of an imagined "Orient" is indebted to Edward Said's *Orientalism*. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House US, 2014).

centennial of the Battle of Vienna. This fluidity of function makes the tents efficacious in a myriad of social contexts. Since their realms of consumption moved from elite private residences to national museums, this chapter's final section addresses some of the curatorial narratives, display methods, conservation approaches, and means of reception that continue to shape the experience of Ottoman tents in museums into the twenty-first century.

Diplomatic Gifts

While relatively rare, tents of extraordinary quality occasionally were included among groups of diplomatic gifts bestowed upon heads of state by the Ottoman sultans. Textiles writ large formed the bulk of many such gifts—both foreign and domestic. Official record books illustrate the frequency and volume with which bolts of fabric, tailored garments, and other textile objects were gifted by a sultan in conjunction with special events such as his daughter's wedding or sons' circumcisions. However, account books do not record a similar practice for diplomatic gifts (fabric or otherwise) sent beyond the Empire's borders; the history of textile gifts can only be deduced by individual documents and/or surviving artifacts.[273] In what follows, a few extant examples may

[273] On the types of inventory that record gifts and the kinds of textiles included therein, see: Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics: The Range of Fabrics in the Gift Traffic of the Ottomans," in *Inventories of Textiles, Textiles in Inventories: Studies on Late Medieval and Eary Modern Material Culture*, eds. Thomas Ertl and Barbara Karl (Göttingen, Germany: V&R Unipress Vienna University Press, 2017), 143-164. On gifts, see also Linda Komaroff and Sheila Blair, eds., *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Power and Submission: Gifting at Royal Circumcision Festivals in the Ottoman Empire (16th-18th Centuries)," *Turcica* 41 (2009): 37-88.

demonstrate the spectrum of intentions and receptions of tent-gifts across international borders during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in particular.

Deploying tents as diplomatic gifts was not a practice invented by the Ottomans; rather, tent-gifts appear from the earliest period of Islam. For instance, Caliph Harun al-Rashid (r. 786-809 CE) sent an envoy bearing many gifts—chief among them a spectacular tent—from Baghdad to the court of Charlemagne in 807.[274] Other prominent examples of tents presented to European heads of state from the early modern period onward include a royal tent (*otak*) given to the king of Austria around the year 1650 as well as a similar type of tent given to the German Kaiser and Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI (r. 1711-1740).[275] During the eighteenth century, tents featured prominently in the gift envoys sent to the King of France, Louis XV (r. 1715-1774), on two separate occasions, in 1721 and 1742.[276] The latter example, as Haydn Williams notes, may have been motivated at least in part by the Ottoman court's observations of royal agents in Istanbul, who had been dispatched from European courts in order to purchase decorated tents for their patrons. The inclusion of appliquéd and embroidered fabric architecture in the envoy sent to Louis XV in particular demonstrates the sultan's understanding of

---

[274] Hedda Reindl-Kiel, "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange: East is East and West is West, and Sometimes the Twain Did Meet Diplomatic Gift Exchange in the Ottoman Empire," in *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Providence, and the West*, v. II, eds. Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005) 117.

[275] Reindl-Kiel "The Empire of Fabrics," 160; Nazan Ölçer, "Turkish carpets and their collections in Turkey," in *Turkish Carpets from the 13th-18th Centuries* (Istanbul: Ahmed Ertuğ, 1996), xii-xiii.

[276] Haydn Williams, *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 116, 120.

current fashions in European courts and the value placed on luxury objects from the "east," tents chief among them. Hedda Reindl-Kiel concurs that the choice of gifts was carefully considered vis-à-vis their intended recipients: "Thus, the chief of Ottoman protocol did not follow automatically domestic fashions but focused on the (supposed) wishes of the recipients."[277]

However, gifts of such immense value likely were not deployed only to please the sultan's European counterparts. Examining more broadly the politics of gift exchange reveals potential parallels to discern underlying motives. In part, gifts—including tents—were bestowed upon leaders in order to attempt to construct a hierarchy wherein the Ottoman sultan reigns supreme. This practice is not dissimilar from the gifting of robes of honor (*hil'at*).[278] The practice of investiture predates Islam as ceremonial robing appears in the Qur'an multiple times, though it continued to play a significant role in court ceremonial for centuries thereafter.[279] Indeed, across various Islamic cultures and elsewhere robing has been used as a means of payment, legitimization, and political allegiance. Within the Ottoman court structure, *hil'at* were only bestowed as gifts downward in the hierarchy.[280] The *hil'at* served the dual purpose of bestowing favor upon important subjects while concurrently ensuring their recipients' loyalty. As with robes of honor, tents represented an individual's standing in the Ottoman court and may be seen as

[277] Reindl-Kiel, "The Empire of Fabrics," 160.

[278] For a long history with a cross-cultural approach to investiture and robes of honor: Stewart Gordon, ed., *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

[279] Gordon, "A World of Investiture," in *Robes and Honor*, 12.

[280] Reindl-Kiel, "East is East," 118-119.

the architectural or monumental equivalent of a *hil'at*. In other words, perhaps the tent-gifts sent by the Ottoman sultans to the kings of Europe not only played to the foreign courts' penchant for fanciful *turquerie* but did so in order to subsume their royal persons under the fabric 'embrace' of the Ottoman sultan. Thus, as seen in the previous chapter, the tent operates as a symbol of the sultan's protection, and, by extension, his power and supremacy. Thus, while tent gifts may play to foreign rulers' tastes, they may also carry an underlying message of superiority that may or may not be wholly understood. That is not to say that mutual intelligibility was not of paramount concern, as is demonstrated by the example of tents gifted between the Ottoman sultans and the kings of Spain.

This exchange of tent gifts between the Spanish and Ottoman courts begins not in Istanbul, in the workshops of the Imperial Tent Corps, but rather, in Madrid. Pablo Hernández Sau carefully analyzes the crafting of a gift envoy sent from Madrid to Istanbul in 1784.[281] He details the extensive reconnaissance, consultation, and deliberation undertaken regarding the types of objects and goods to be included among the gifts sent to Sultan Abdülhamid I (r. 1774-1789). The envoy bore many jewels and textiles of great material value, as well as goods representative of the power and reach of the Spanish court, namely chocolate and other imported foodstuffs from New Spain. Also included among the extraordinary textiles was a spectacular tent constructed with an outer layer of crimson damask (*damascos carmesi*) and an inner layer formed by blue curtains. Hernández Sau notes that the production of a tent for the Ottoman sultan demonstrates the Spanish court's knowledge of court protocol in the Islamic world. For

---

[281] Pablo Hernández Sau, "Gifts Across the Mediterranean Sea: The 1784 Spanish Gift-Embassy to Constantinople and its Cross-Cultural Diplomatic Practice," *forthcoming.* Many thanks to the author for sharing an advance draft of the article.

transit, the tent and its requisite framing devices of metal and wood were packed in twenty-four boxes, along with a model of the structure as a reference for its erection. As the designated representative of the Royal Palace workshop, Dionisio Aguilar accompanied the tent to Istanbul in order to assemble the pieces. Like the tent-gifts sent by the Ottoman sultans to Louis XV in the first half of the eighteenth century, here the king of Spain shows his awareness of Ottoman court culture, as well as the value placed on sumptuous fabric architecture employed therein. These examples demonstrate the desire for sending gifts that partake in the mutually understood language of international diplomacy.

A century later, the king of Spain—a seat now occupied by the House of Bourbon—received an Ottoman tent as a gift as well, albeit not from the sultan. A fine example of fabric architecture ornamented with appliqué in the conventional format typical of architectonic motifs and floral infilling, the two-columned oblong tent dates to the second half of the seventeenth century, circa 1650-1697 (Figure 5.1).[282] As curator Antonio Fernández-Puertas notes, there has been much confusion in the scholarship regarding this tent.[283] While its origin and provenance were murky for quite some time, what may be securely stated is that the tent first came into the collection in 1881 when it

---

[282] Antonio Fernández-Puertas, *La tienda turca otomana de la Real Armería (c. 1650-1697) / The Ottoman Tent (c. 1650-1697) at the Real Armería*, English section translated by Jenny Dodman (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2003), 121-143.

[283] Fernández-Puertas, *La tienda turca,* 121-122. Further, he notes that due to lack of access, the false provenance of the tent was repeated in scholarship for many years, even worsening with each retelling. These publications include: Zdzislaw Zygulski, *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1992); Roderick Taylor, *Ottoman Embroidery* (Yeovil: Marston House, 1993); and notably, Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*.

was given as a gift to the King of Spain Alfonso XII (r. 1874-1885) of the House of Bourbon by Francisco Dávalos, the prince of Pescara (located in the Abruzzo region on the Italian peninsula). Upon entering the Spanish court as a gift, the tent's oral history dated it to the early sixteenth century. It was believed to have been given as a gift to the King of France, Francis I (r. 1515-1547), by Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-1566). Francis I then supposedly lost the tent in the battle of Pavia in 1525. There, it had been acquired by Captain Hernando Dávalos, the marquis of Pescara, who then passed it down from father to son until his descendant, Francisco Dávalos, gave it to King Alfonso XII in the late nineteenth century.

Antonio Fernández-Puertas has thoroughly investigated the provenance of the tent in the Real Armería and his findings contradict this tale. Fernández-Puertas accurately dates the tent to somewhere between 1650 and 1697—well over a century later than originally thought—based on its style and the political landscape of Europe at the time.[284] In other words, the tent was not originally a gift sent directly from the Ottoman sultan to the Spanish court; rather, it first came into the hands of European nobles as war booty, and only later was it gifted to the Spanish king in 1881. King Alfonso XII died only two

---

[284] Later, Fernández-Puertas lists all the battles wherein the tent was potentially won (p. 138): "I have dated the tent in Madrid's Real Armería to between 1650 and 1697. In 1683 during the second siege of Vienna, the Ottoman army fled, leaving behind its encampment, and some 1,500 tents were recorded among the spoils. The same occurred in 1687 at the disastrous battle of Naguharnásy. In 1691 Louis of Baden defeated the Turks at Szalankenen. In 1697 they suffered defeat at Zenta at the hand of Prince Eugene of Savoy. This tent must have been captured as booty at one of these battles and stored at the home of a nobleman during the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century until 1881. Why have I dated it to between 1650 and 1697? Because its ornamentation resembles that of tents made during those years and housed in Turkish and European collections. All of the latter are dated to that same period on stylistic grounds and are documented as booty seized at the aforementioned battles." Fernández-Puertas, *La tienda turca,* 122-124.

years after receiving the tent-gift; thereafter, his wife, Maria Cristina, who became queen regent upon his death, gave orders for the tent to be restored by the Real Fabrica de Tapices (Royal Tapestry Manufactory) in Madrid. After the completion of the restoration project, when the Real Armería was opened in 1893, the tent was included in the published catalogue. Fernández-Puertas states that at the time of the tent's acquisition:

> There was no way of 'reading' either its date of origin or Ottoman provenance from its ornamentation, as the article devoted to the tent in the *Catalogue* states at the end that it may have been fashioned in France or Italy, like so many *oeuvres sarracines*. Late nineteenth-century knowledge of Muslim art was very scant and furthermore encumbered by romanticism. The art of the Ottoman empire was unknown. The error surrounding this tent stems from an art-historically unfounded oral tradition relating to its donor, as often occurs in art history. The tent may have remained in Italy until 1881 when its owner, the prince of Pescara, spurred, among other reasons, by the air of renewal that was revolutionizing state unity, decided to give it to King Alfonso XII.[285]

Thus, the tent's provenance was muddled by its movement across time and space, obfuscated by the myths that accompanied it as it crossed borders. This particular example shows that Ottoman or Ottoman-style tents in Europe were imbued with cultural value that may, in fact, have had little to do with the Ottoman court. Rather, their passage through and into new socio-political contexts rewrote the history of these objects, overriding their associations with the Ottoman realm.

A final case of tent-gifting unfolds a little closer to Ottoman lands. As discussed above, tents functioned similarly to robes of honor in their ability to reinforce hierarchies

[285] Fernández-Puertas, *La tienda turca,* 122.

within the court. Likewise, tents also served to concretize the bonds between the Ottoman sultan and his vassals. For example, archival documents reveal that the sultan sent tents as gifts to the Crimean khan as Ottoman vassals; moreover, members of the Imperial Tent Corps were, at times, responsible for the upkeep of the khan's tents as well.[286] Perhaps such magnanimity was not so much a case of charity as it was about maintaining the empire's image through fabric proxies. Tents, like *hil'at* (robes of honor), were clear indicators of the sultan's favor and protection. Thus, the case of a tent gifted to Crimean Khan Giray in 1768 likely sought to ensure the khan's allegiance to the sultan but also to make clear to the Russian Empire to the north that Crimea was under the power and protection of the sultan.[287] Indeed, Crimea proved central to the many wars fought between the Russian and Ottoman powers in this period. Amid the series of conflicts comprising the Russo-Turkish Wars, Selim III bestowed upon Catherine the Great (r. 1762-1796) a tent (*obe, oba*) of fine craftsmanship in 1796, which remains in the State Hermitage Museum still today (Figure 5.2).[288] The overall scheme is a familiar one: a composition dominated by a series of appliquéd arches, *şemse* medallions, grilled windows, and floral infilling. The choice of red for the ground cloth onto which the other

---

[286] For examples of tents given to Crimean leaders in this period: BOA C.AS.760 32064 (*çadır* given to Giray Khan, dated 1202 AH / 1787/8 AD), BOA C.HR.119 5928 (multiple *çadır* given to Crimean khan, dated 1201 AH / 1786/7 AD), BOA C.MTZ.10 458 (*kubbe çadırlı* and *sekban çergesi* given to the present khan, dated 1204 AH / 1789/90 AD); A century earlier, military tents were provided for the Crimean khan and his army: BOA MAD.d..1255 (dated 1105 AH / 1693/4 AD); Giray Sultan likewise bestowed tents upon his inferiors as well: BOA C.AS.596 25114; Nurhan Atasoy also addresses this relationship fostered via tents, 39-41.

[287] BOA C.HR.126 6279.

[288] BOA C.HR.120 5967.

motifs are stitched is conventional as well. However, the color palette and style of the embroidered floral motifs betrays its late eighteenth-century origin. The cloth parts applied to the red ground that form the columns, arches, and vases make use of shades of soft yellows and greens, outlined in metallic (likely gold) embroidery. The powder blue lobed medallions and window frames similarly contrast with the red ground. Each of these appliquéd shapes that constitute the architectonic elements of the composition are then filled with dense polychrome silk and metallic embroidery, creating myriad flowers in a relatively naturalistic style. While the parts that make up the whole demonstrate a high level of craftsmanship, the final product appears somewhat discordant. Without having been able to examine this tent in person, speculation suggests that perhaps this effect may be due to somewhat heavy-handed restoration.

In a 2006 catalogue of the Hermitage's collection of Islamic art, two other tents are presented although they are depicted only in detail images, leaving the reader perplexed as to the actual form, size, and scale of the structures. One tent came from Bukhara around the end of the nineteenth century. The other appears to be an Ottoman tent of extraordinary quality, dating to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (Figure 5.3). The shape of the roof suggests this tent is rectilinear in form and relatively modest in size. Regardless of its scale (which is difficult to ascertain from the photographs), the quality of the embroidery is stellar. Surprisingly, the tent is described as having belonged to "a fairly low-ranking Turkish officer, judging by the absence of the colour red; it is known that the colour red was used in the tents of senior Imperial

ranks."[289] However, the lack of red is not necessarily an indication of quality or rank in this period. In fact, the pastel color palette and delicate needlework work (Figure 5.4) closely resemble the embroidered motifs adorning the marquee made for Sultan Mahmud II just a little over a decade later (Figure 2.14). In addition to the pastel color palette, similarities in the scenic composition appear in comparison to the landscape vignettes and panorama in Mahmud II's marquee. The dusty rose-colored ground creates an ethereal backdrop for floral, arboreal, and architectural motifs. The pictorial scale is fluid, as some tulips reach the top of cypress trees as well as the many-storied pavilions. A domed structure flanked by characteristic pencil-like minarets surely represents a mosque, surrounded by crenelated walls cascading along the edges of hills. While the types of buildings are somewhat repetitive, creating a vague sense of bilateral symmetry, the polychrome flora create a sense of movement and dynamism. Evidently a great amount of skill and a wide spectrum of materials went into the creation of this tent, whether or not it was the famous tent gifted to Catherine or acquired by other means. A document in the Ottoman State archives records the cost for the creation of a highly decorated tent made specifically as a gift for the Empress of Russia.[290] Yet, as Nurhan Atasoy notes "Because of the delight with which [the tent-gift] was received, an order was issued for the manufacture of four additional tents to be given to the embassy guard; these also are still

[289] Michail B. Piotrovskij and Anton Pritula. *Beyond the Palace Walls: Islamic Art from the State Hermitage Museum* (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 2006), 104-105, 115.

[290] BOA C. Hariciye 5967 (dated 1207 AH / 1792 CE); I have not been able to consult this document, nor view the tents in the State Hermitage Museum. However, according to the aforementioned catalogue (*Beyond the Palace Walls*), as well as personal correspondence with the museum staff, the only other tent in the collection seems to be one from Bukhara dating to the second half of the nineteenth century (inv. no. VT-1606).

preserved in the Hermitage."[291] However, the document she cites is dated 1250 AH (1834 AD), decades after Catherine's death. One has to assume that one of these two tents must be the tent-gift and that the other was acquired in some other manner, perhaps as a commissioned work. Despite lingering uncertainties, the presence of multiple tents attributed to Ottoman workshops in the Hermitage collections attests to their cultural and political import, at times functioning as goodwill ambassadors between two often warring empires.

Another appliquéd tent survives from the Russo-Turkish wars of the mid-nineteenth century. Like the tent gifts deployed in support of the Crimean khans, tents were issued to army officials even if they were not, strictly speaking, Ottoman subjects. A Polish general, Władysław Zamoyski (1803-1868) headed Cossack troops based in Üsküdar during the Crimean War. A tent was gifted to General Zamoyski in 1855, which made its way back to his native Poland after the war (Figure 5.5).[292] Now in the castle in Kórnik (outside Pozńan), this tent is one of two in the collection. Both tents are of comparable scale, type, material, and form; they differ only in the dominant color of the interior. Here, the exterior has been replaced; originally it likely would have been made of a verdigris-dyed broadcloth. The interior, while simple, is decorated with appliquéd red columns outlined in white and surmounted by a key motif in brown, white, red, and yellow on the blue ground. The interior of the canopy features similar applications, in a radial composition around the central point of the column. These tents that today reside in

---

[291] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 41

[292] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 248.

museums in Russia and Poland demonstrate some of the political motivations underlying the gifting of tents in times of both war and peace.

Finally, a brief note on the limited scope of this discussion of tents as diplomatic gifts. Due to the fact that tents played such a prominent role in the courts of many pre- and early modern and even modern Islamic dynasties, the exchange of fabric gifts and tents in particular undoubtedly played a part in the international affairs between the Ottomans and their eastern neighbors in this period. However, these circuits of cultural exchange fall beyond the scope of the current project in part due to limited time and access to materials but also because the present goal is to develop an understanding of the ways in which Ottoman royal tents functioned beyond their conventional circuits of use and how their meanings were altered in different, especially European, contexts.

Trophies and the Stories They Tell

Tracing the biographies of Ottoman tents as they traveled outside the sultan's realm often leads back to the moment when Ottoman forces failed to take the city of Vienna in 1683, at which time they abandoned the whole encampment and all its treasures to the victors. Paul Sobolewski, a historian writing in the late nineteenth century, chronicles the battle, narrating the final dramatic moments, in which the Grand Vizier's luxurious tent features prominently. He writes that the commander of the allied troops, the Polish king, Jan III Sobieski,

> had given for the day all hope of the grand struggle, when the provoking composure of Mustapha, whom he espied in a splendid tent tranquilly taking coffee with his two sons, roused him to such a pitch, that he

> instantly gave orders for a general assault. […] He himself made toward Mustapha's tent, beating down all opposition.[293]

According to Sobolewski's written account of the events that was published on the bi- and tri-centennial anniversaries of the 1683 Siege of Vienna, seeing the Grand Vizier's unapologetic display of such indulgence—sipping coffee in a silken palace mid-battle—apparently so enraged the Polish king that he rallied his troops and vanquished the would-be conquerors the very next day. Sobolewski continues his tale, describing how after the battle the Polish king took the beautifully decorated tents for himself. In a letter to his wife, written from inside the conquered tent, Jan III Sobieski stakes his claim to the Ottoman Grand Vizier's possession, stating: "I have become his successor, as I have taken on his splendors."[294] This proclamation demonstrates that Sobieski consciously appropriated one of the Ottomans' most recognizable symbols of power as his own, and in so doing rendered the Grand Vizier's tents the most covetable war trophy in all of Europe.

The legendary tents won on the battlefield outside Vienna ceased to function as Ottoman mobile architecture and thus took on new meaning as war booty and souvenirs

---

[293] Paul Sobolewski, *The 12th Day of September, 1883, Is the 200th Anniversary of One of the Grandest Events in History: John Sobieski, the King of Poland, Conquers the Turks Under the Walls of Vienna September 12-Th, 1683, and Forever After Relieves the Whole Christian World from the Iron Yoke of the Turks* (Chicago: A.B. Szplit, 1983), 22.

[294] Petrus, Jerzy T., *Mementoes of the Victory at Vienna in 1683: Wawel State Collections of Art*. (Warszawa: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1983); Marta Gołąbek, Anna Ekielska-Mardal, and Aleksandra Rodzińska-Chojnowska, *In Honour of King Jan III: Heroes and Souvenirs* (Warsaw: Wilanów Palace Museum, 2012), 80-82; Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 240-241; Zdzisław Żygulski, *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1992).

of the European victory. Arjun Appadurai explains that the seizure of the enemy's possessions in war enhances their value:

> The transfer of commodities in warfare always has a special symbolic intensity, exemplified in the tendency to frame more mundane plunder in the transfer of special arms, insignia, or body parts belonging to the enemy.[295]

While the tents in question certainly would not be considered "mundane plunder"—quite the opposite, they were seen as superlative trophies of victory—their diversion from their "proper paths" does indeed engender a "special symbolic intensity." This moment of rupture sets the objects on a new path, thereby opening a new chapter in their cultural biographies—in other words, the beginning of their afterlives. As was the case when tents were deployed as diplomatic gifts, the European afterlives of Ottoman imperial tents won in battle continued to be written with each shift in the objects' ownership, use, and display, imbuing its very fabric with layers of meaning over time.

In the case of the tents won by Jan III Sobieski outside Vienna that fateful September day in 1683, such intense myths had developed around the tent-trophies that by the two-hundredth anniversary of the battle and the publication of Sobolewski's text, the story of the battle ascribes agency to the tents themselves; they were seen to have catalyzed or even caused the allied victory. In Sobolewski's narrative, seeing Kara Mustafa Pasha relaxing in his ostentatious tent is what motivated Sobieski to attack, and subsequently win the battle. This story's questionable historical veracity notwithstanding,

---

[295] Arjun Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Arjun Appadurai, 3-63 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 26.

it provides vital insight into the roles the tent-trophies played in the European imagination in the decades and centuries that followed the great battle. An examination of several extant tents in European museums demonstrates the various means by which they amassed new meanings across time and place, from 1683 to the present day.

Many tents were seized in the aftermath of the Battle of Vienna. By Sobieski's count, perhaps as many as one hundred thousand tents fell into Polish hands, although the bulk of the cache likely comprised less adorned or altogether utilitarian tents.[296] Among the spoils, the fabled vizier's tent took pride of place for its material and artistic value as well as for its pivotal role in the victory and its association with the legendary hero-king, Jan III Sobieski. According to one of the curators and textile specialists at the Wawel Royal Castle, Magdalena Piwocka, the tents captured at the Battle of Vienna underwent immediate conservation.[297] Even though great care was taken from the start to preserve these spoils of war, over the course of hundreds of years the tents and other fabric objects won in battle nevertheless began to disintegrate or were simply lost over time. Paradoxically, it would seem as though the number of lavishly decorated Ottoman tents in Poland increased: by the end of the eighteenth century, perhaps as many as one

---

[296] Petrus, *Mementoes of the Victory at Vienna in 1683*; Gołąbek, Ekielska-Mardal, and Rodzińska-Chojnowska, *In Honour of King Jan III*, 80-82; Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 240-241.

[297] In a letter to Maria Kazimiera in the weeks following the battle, Sobieski sent for tent-workers from the city of Lviv in order to clean and repair the tents he won in battle. Magdalena Piwocka, "Turkish Tents in Poland," in *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries*, ed. Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi (Istanbul: Fako İlaçları A.Ş, 1999), 54-56.

thousand colorful, appliquéd tents of similar caliber to the Grand Vizier's fabric pavilion were in Poland.[298]

Unfortunately, due to two world wars and various events in the modern period, only twenty-two "Turkish" tents remain in Poland today—the greatest number outside modern-day Turkey.[299] The term "Turkish" in this sense denotes a tent with intricate patterning, in a style akin to the fabric structures used by the Ottoman royal family. The term may also indicate a stylistic association with the "Orient" more broadly, including Persianate and South Asian spheres. In such instances, "Turkish" is a catch-all term that is more indicative of a style or quality than a place of origin (to differentiate, I use the term "Ottoman" to refer specifically to objects and people that come from the Ottoman Empire). Of all the "Turkish" tents now in Europe, it is difficult to say which, if any, truly were won in the iconic battle let alone belonged to Kara Mustafa Pasha or were acquired by King Jan III Sobieski. In fact, this chapter demonstrates that the cultural value of the tents won at Vienna is not restricted to the "authentic" tent that was at the epicenter of the battle. The tents discussed here are by and large later productions, reproductions, and pastiches that, regardless of their ambiguous provenances, serve to recall the battle and bring to life again the great king and his victory for various purposes on a number of occasions. Indeed, as will be shown, in this and other cases the notion of authenticity is not rigid or objective, but rather subjective and socially negotiable.[300]

---

[298] Piwocka, "Turkish Tents in Poland," 56.

[299] Piwocka, "Turkish Tents in Poland," 52.

[300] Brian Spooner, "Weavers and Dealers: Authenticity and Oriental Carpets," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 195-135 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 220-231.

While Ottoman tents in European—especially Polish—collections were altered, reconstructed, imitated, and variously manipulated over time, each one can be seen as a substitute for the original vizierial tent by Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood's definition.[301] Thus, various "Turkish" tents in European collections serve as substitutes for the Grand Vizier's tent, whose fate is indeterminable. Through processes such as appropriation, spoliation, and imitation these substitutes each embody the vizierial tent, thereby increasing the original's efficacy through reiteration.

This multiplication is possible due to the fact that the tents won in the Battle of Vienna were by no means the only examples of Ottoman textile arts in Europe at this time. Since the fifteenth century, people had been traveling between Ottoman and Polish lands, bringing information and objects back and forth. While conflicts arose from time to time, for much of this period relations across the continent were amicable enough to allow for significant cultural and artistic exchange across the vast frontier zones between Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire.[302]

In Poland-Lithuania in particular, people were perhaps more familiar with the religion, life, and aesthetics of their eastern neighbors, and some were already in the habit

---

[301] Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010), 11.

[302] For studies or exhibitions on the material and cultural interaction between Poland and the Ottoman Empire, see Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, *The Orient in Polish Art: Catalogue of the Exhibition, June-October 1992* (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1992); Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, ed., *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries*; Beata Biedrońska-Słota, *Tkaniny Orientalne w Polsce: Gust Czy Tradycja? (Oriental Fabrics in Poland: Taste or Tradition?)* (Warsaw: Wydawn. DiG, 2011); Ayşen Anadol, Anna Czarniecka, Mary P. Işın, and Neyyir Berktay, eds., *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories: 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations* (Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2013).

of collecting artifacts from Ottoman and Safavid lands a century before the great battle. Beata Biedrońska-Słota describes these material objects as "ambassadors of Turkish culture in the Polish[-Lithuanian] Commonwealth and it was such art objects that carried information about Turkish art in the most straightforward way to Poland."[303] Indeed, through war, trade, travel, and diplomacy, Ottomans' material goods were collected and assimilated into various local cultures across early modern Europe.[304] For example, wealthy Poles purchased ornamented tents on their travels or else through intermediaries such as diplomats and dealers as early as the sixteenth century.[305] As a result, there were ample means and opportunities for substituting the legendary vizierial tent with various other fabric artifacts. As a result, many tents—even those known to have been seized in other battles, given as gifts, or purchased directly or indirectly from the Ottoman Empire—acquired a provenance that over time associated them with Sobieski's triumph over the Ottoman army outside Vienna. Even though many of these misattributions can be corrected by simple observation—and since have been reevaluated in the literature—

[303] Beata Biedrońska-Słota, "Turkish Textiles in Poland: Function and Role in Polish-Turkish Relations," in *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, 86.

[304] For information on diplomatic exchanges between the Ottoman Empire and Poland in this period, see Dariusz Kolodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century): An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2000).

[305] For example, King Stefan Bathory (1576-1586) and King Sigismund III Waza (1587-1632) sent envoys to Persia and Turkey who purchased tents. See also Michael Połczyński, "The *Relacyja* of Sefer Muratowicz: 1601-1602 Private Royal Envoy of Sigismund III Vasa to Shah 'Abbas I," *Turkish Historical Review* 5, no. 1 (2014): 59-93; Piwocka, "Turkish Tents in Poland," 54; Nazan Ölçer, "Exhibition of Two Countries at War and Peace," *War and Peace*, 17; Gołąbek, Ekielska-Mardal, and Rodzińska-Chojnowska, *In Honour of King Jan III,* 80-82.

the circumstances of the tents' production remain secondary to their perceived power as putative souvenirs of the battle of Vienna.[306]

In 1983, several exhibitions were held to celebrate the three-hundredth anniversary of King Jan III Sobieski's victory at Vienna. A photograph captures one of the halls of Wawel Royal Castle in Kraków as it was decked out for the auspicious occasion (Figure 5.6). Among the objects on display was a ceremonial marquee, placed at the center in the gallery titled "Symbolic Entry of Polish Troops into the Captured Turkish Camp" (*Symboliczny wjazd wojsk polskich do zdobytego obozu tureckiego*) (Figure 5.7).[307] Typical in form for Ottoman ceremonial tents, the marquee was erected on a platform in the corner of a great hall inside the castle. Above the tent, several large war banners were hung from the hall's coffered ceiling, alluding to their function as flags on the battlefield. Flanking the tent, artifacts of war such as saddles, shields, and various other weapons constructed a *mise-en-scène* of the encampment. A large-scale painting of the hero-king Jan III Sobieski astride a rearing steed, was positioned to the right of the vignette, as though he were charging into the tent. The exhibition is, in essence, a diorama of the climax of the battle, depicting in mixed media the very moment when Jan III Sobieski saved Europe from the invading Ottoman armies. Like many of the tents in Polish collections, this particular marquee, which belongs to the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, at one time was thought to have been won in the Battle of Vienna. Even

---

[306] Piwocka, "Turkish Tents in Poland," 56; Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 29-30.

[307] Translation by Joseph Mueller; Jerzy T. Petrus and Magdalena Piwocka, *Odsiecz wiedeńska 1683: wystawa jubileuszowa w Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu w trzechsetlecie bitwy* (Kraków: Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki na Wawelu, 1990), Figure 43.

though scholars have since challenged and corrected this attribution, the tent's role in this display shows how any appliquéd tent in a "Turkish" style could serve as a substitute for the Grand Vizier's tent—itself the principal memento of Jan III Sobieski's triumph against Kara Mustafa Pasha and the Ottoman armies.

The marquee that played such a prominent role in the 1983 exhibition at Wawel Castle also featured in the galleries at its home institution, the Princes Czartoryski Museum. Established in 1796 by Princess Izabela Czartoryska, the Princes Czartoryski Museum was "dedicated to preserving the memory of Poland's past and place in history."[308] Memorializing national history was of utmost importance at this time due to the recent dissolution of the Polish-Lithuanian state. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth lost its independence through a series of partitions, when Russia, Austria, and Prussia each annexed large territories in the years 1772, 1793, and 1795, until the state was completely dissolved.[309] Consequently, the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—including the period in which Princess Izabela was building her collection—were characterized by cultural, political, and economic uncertainty. Adam Zamoyski notes that it was not merely a vision of the past that the princess sought through her reassembling of nationally significant objects but also a glimpse into the future.[310] Through the display of culturally significant artifacts in national museums, citizens of the

---

[308] Adam Zamoyski, *The Czartoryski Museum* (London: Azimuth Editions on Behalf of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, 2001), 17.

[309] Barbara Arciszewska, "A Golden Age for a Changing Nation: Polish National Identity and the Histories of the Wilanów Residence of King Jan III Sobieski," *Architectural History* 49 (2006): 106.

[310] Zamoyski, *The Czartoryski Museum,* 18.

former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth could reflect on their storied past and envision a future as bright as the glorified reign of King Jan III Sobieski.

The Princes Czartoryski Museum went through many institutional changes over the years, and was nationalized in the twentieth century. When the whole of the collection was finally opened to the public in 1982 (perhaps not coincidentally only a year before the three-hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Vienna), the galleries of Polish historical memorabilia were installed first.[311] In accord with Princess Izabela's original vision, rooms were arranged by their associations with particular kings, events, or periods in Polish history. Chief among these themed galleries was the "Sobieski Room," which, by 1994, included the Czartoryski marquee as one of his spoils from Vienna, even though it was not in fact present at the battle.[312] Rather, it is a pastiche of disparate materials combined in such a manner that it was able to stand in for the Grand Vizier's superlative tent.

At first glance, the Czartoryski tent appears quite similar to other Ottoman marquees in its form and decorative program (Figure 5.7). Upon closer inspection, though, the structure reveals incongruous elements ranging in style, color, technique, and perhaps also date. First, the *şemse* motif flanked by four quarter medallions on the underside of the sloping roof is typical of these kinds of ceremonial tents from the early modern period, as evidenced by numerous contemporary manuscript paintings. This solar motif served as a framing device for an enthroned ruler or dignitary, transforming into a

[311] Zamoyski, *The Czartoryski Museum,* 161.

[312] Zamoyski, *The Czartoryski Museum,* 49, 161-163, Figures 368-371. Izabela's curatorial methods can be partly reconstructed using extant catalogues, such as *The Body of Mementoes Preserved in the Gothic House at Puławy*, published in 1828.

kind of celestial halo. This function of the *şemse* as well as the canopy's color palette and appliqué technique conform to early modern Ottoman tent conventions. In addition, this traditional aesthetic can also be seen on the triangular sections above the side walls and on the triangular flaps framing the entrance. However, the three rectilinear tent walls are quite different in their color palette and stylization of motifs. The otherwise quintessential composition of a series of arches framed by vines and blooms is distinctive because of its dynamic, even whimsical, decorative scheme, executed in vibrant colors (Figures 5.8 and 5.9). Gradients of color suggest volumetric forms with juxtapositions of light and shade.

In her conservation report on the marquee, Beata Biedrońska-Słota acknowledges the incongruities and suggests that the walls might actually be seventeenth-century Indian textiles because of their bright hues and illusionistic dimensionality.[313] However, these kinds of visual effects are not exclusive to South Asian fabrics, and in fact are rather characteristic of later Ottoman tents.[314] These features indicate that the tent walls were likely produced in the eighteenth or nineteenth century, if not the early twentieth.[315] In her tome on the Ottoman imperial encampment, Nurhan Atasoy likewise dates this tent to either the late eighteenth or nineteenth century, acknowledging its incongruities as well.[316]

---

313 Słota, "Conservation of the XVII Century Oriental Tent."

314 Ashley Dimmig, "Fabricating a New Image: Imperial Tents in the Late Ottoman Period," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (2014): 341-372.

315 Żygulski, *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire*, 169-170.

316 Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 243-244.

For further corroboration of a late Ottoman provenance, the walls of this marquee can be compared to an extant nineteenth-century prayer carpet (*seccade*) now held in the Sadberk Hanım Museum in Istanbul (Figure 5.10).[317] This *seccade*'s row of arches or *mihrab*s allocated separate spaces for several people to prostrate alongside one another in the direction of Mecca.[318] Beyond their comparable appliquéd arcades, the walls of the Czartoryski marquee and the prayer rug in the Sadberk Hanım Museum are so strikingly similar that they were likely produced in the same workshop. Thus, the walls of the tent in the Czartoryski collection may in fact be repurposed prayer rugs. One can easily imagine a scenario wherein a communal prayer rug with its distinctive row of arches would be purchased in order to repair or reconstruct a partially damaged tent that also had featured an appliquéd arcade. Equally likely is that the *seccade* in the Sadberk Hanım Museum is a tent wall, removed from its larger context and repurposed as a communal prayer rug, before being accessioned in the Sadberk Hanım Museum's collection. Without further documentary evidence, the original function of these appliquéd sections of the Czartoryski marquee is impossible to ascertain.

What is clear from the material evidence, though, is that a miscellany of visually disparate materials comprises the Czartoryski marquee. The roof and walls stand in stark contrast, and the upper triangular sections of the two side-walls seem to be cut from a

---

[317] Hülya Bilgi and İdil Zanbak, *Skill of the Hand, Delight of the Eye: Ottoman Embroideries in the Sadberk Hanım Museum Collection* (Istanbul: Sadberk Haınm Museum, 2012), 158-159, cat. no. 46; Hülya Bilgi, *Reunited After Centuries: Works of Art Restored to Turkey by the Sadberk Hanım Museum* (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2005), 178-181, cat. no. 78.

[318] Walter B. Denny, "Saff and Sejjadeh: Origins and Meaning of the Prayer Rug," *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies* 3, no. 2 (1990): 93-104.

larger piece of polychrome appliqué in order to fit this irregular shape. Perhaps, as has been suggested, these sections of the reconfigured marquee were all that remained of an older tent that did not stand the test of time, and these parts were all that was salvageable. It is also possible that all parts of the marquee are later in date than the seventeenth century, but their dissimilarities nevertheless indicate bricolage. Scholars have suggested that perhaps the museum combined two fragmented tents at some point in its history, or, alternatively the tent was acquired in its current pastiche form.[319] Despite the negative connotations associated with the term "pastiche," it is appropriate to the Czartoryski marquee as it is defined by art theorist Ingeborg Hoesterey: that is, it is not an imitation of a master original, but a crafted admixture of styles. Hoesterey describes pastiche as "the process of amalgamating stylistic features in a work of fine art."[320] Through this process, the assembled parts work together to form a new, more meaningful whole. Indeed, in the case of the Czartoryski marquee it is in the incongruity of styles where meaning can be found.

Rather than constructing a composite tent of cohesive materials, the lower sections of the walls remain visually distinct from the roof and triangular upper wall sections. The fact that these parts appear incongruous suggests that they function visually as spolia. The tents captured at Vienna and other battles were used, re-used, displayed as

---

[319] Biedrońska-Słota thinks that this tent was transformed in shape and was originally a seventeenth-century rectilinear canopy, and was refitted as a marquee with these new walls at a later date. Żygulski agrees, but rather dates the side walls to the eighteenth rather than the seventeenth century. Atasoy disagrees, noting that there is no indication of refitting, but acknowledges the visual incongruities.

[320] Ingeborg Hoesterey, *Pastiche: Cultural Memory in Art, Film, Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 2.

spoils of war, and also recycled in various ways. Their fragments were likely incorporated into new structures, just as Greco-Roman columns were fitted into architectural structures of Byzantium.[321] Similarly, in the case of the Czartoryski marquee, perhaps these sections were saved and refitted into a new structure to preserve them for their material and cultural value. Alternatively, these appliquéd fragments may have been chosen for constructing a new "Turkish" tent because their rather traditional aesthetic makes them seem to be of an earlier date (contemporary to the battle of Vienna) and thus *appear* to be *spolia*. In any event, they were incorporated into the fabric of the structure in order to be noticeably distinct, set against walls of an exceptionally different color palette and style. Richard Brilliant argues that the visibility of *spolia* is integral to its efficacy:

> Spoliation … is most effective when memory traces can be perceived or, at least, some awareness of the transgressive act of appropriation can be appreciated. Making something past and/or borrowed present again has a representative thrust because it involves reframing.[322]

Their authenticity notwithstanding, the more conventional, Ottoman-looking pieces in the Czartoryski marquee functioned as visible spolia, which confirmed the tent's role as an emblem of victory over the Ottomans. Whether or not these fragments actually survived

---

[321] Beat Brenk, "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41, Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday (1987), 103-109; see also several chapters in Richard Brilliant and Dale Kinney, eds., *Reuse Value:* Spolia *and Appropriation in Art and Architecture, From Constantine to Sherrie Levine* (Surry, England: Ashgate, 2011); Suzan Yalman and Ivana Jevtic, eds., *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives of Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era* (Istanbul: ANAMED, 2018).

[322] Brilliant, "Authenticity and Alienation," in *Reuse Value,* 168-169.

the famous battle, or were acquired via alternative means, their seventeenth-century stylization signified the subjugation of Ottoman power in their reframing.

The reversal of power dynamics manifested in this pastiche fabric structure is further complicated by the tent's new socio-religious context. By defeating the Ottomans, the Poles not only saved the city of Vienna but also all of Christian Europe from the warring Muslim "infidels." In fact, Poland had considered itself the "bulwark of Christianity" for quite some time, as it was situated both literally and figuratively on the frontlines against Islamic powers to the east.[323] The victory at Vienna further bolstered this notion. Indeed, it is partly through such transregional positioning that the Poles defined themselves and their nation, which was performed and remembered through the public display and engagement with the material remains of a triumphal past.

Besides its use in martial rhetoric, an examination of the makeup of the marquee in the Princes Czartoryski Foundation reveals a rather complex provenance. Incongruous styles here are combined into a pastiche "Turkish" tent. On the one hand, the amalgam of conventional, perhaps older fabrics and newer, more vibrant tent walls underscores the

---

[323] Paul W. Knoll, "Poland as 'Antemurale Christianitatis' in the Late Middle Ages," *The Catholic Historical Review* 60 (1974): 381-401; Poskrobko-Strzeciwilk translated the quote from Maria Bogucka, *Dzieje kultury polskiej do 1918 roku* (*History of Polish Culture before 1918*) (Wrocław, Warsaw, Kraków: Zakład Nardowy im. Osslińskich, 1981), 181; Janina Poskrobko-Strzeciwilk, "The Collection of the So-Called Polish Silk Sashes at the Ratti Center at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York" (MA thesis, SUNY Fashion Institute of Technology, 1997), 6. See also Arciszewska, "A Golden Age for a Changing Nation," 109; Zdzisław Żygulski and Stanisław Markowski, *An Outline History of Polish Applied Art. An Outline History of Polish Applied Art* (Warsaw: Interpr. Publ, 1987), 30. This "subjugation" of the Other appears in other textile arts as well, as many eastern imported textiles were reworked and refitted to be used in various liturgical objects and vestments. For examples, see Adam Jasienski, "A Savage Magnificence: Ottomanizing Fashion and the Politics of Display in Early Modern East-Central Europe," *Muqarnas* 31 (2014):183; Anadol, Czarniecka, Işın, and Berktay, eds., *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories,*145-149, cat. nos. 40-49.

process of spoliation. But the tent as an assembled whole still recalls the victory at the Battle of Vienna for generations of Poles. Through its continued display in both celebratory exhibitions and museum displays, the marquee functions as a trophy and memento of the victory at Vienna whether or not it was ever used in battle.

Refitting fabric *spolia* into new tents also may have been practiced in the Ottoman Imperial Tent Corps itself. The tent "fragments"—actually whole medallions—now known by the name of the collector, the Sangusko family, are likewise colored by the myths and legends surrounding the tents won in 1683 outside Vienna (Figure 5.11). These medallions now kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, The George Washington University Museum, and the Textile Museum (among others) were woven in sixteenth-century Safavid Iran, and represent the apex of complex figured weaving. According to the oral history of these objects, they had adorned the tents of Safavid shahs until they were lost to the Ottomans. Subsequently, the craftsman working in the Ottoman Imperial Tent Corps incorporated these tent-trophies into their own fabric architecture, after which they were lost to the Poles in 1683. While the date and place of manufacture ascribed to these objects may be correct, the degree of truth of this tale about how they came into the hands of the Sanguszko family before being donated to the aforementioned institutions in the 1920s remains unknown.[324] Regardless, the idea of reusing tents or tent parts as trophies on display—or integrated

---

[324] The provenance of the Sanguszko tent fragments and their like are discussed in personal correspondence between Royall Tyler and Mildred Bliss, dated April 29, 1928. Thanks to Amanda Philips for sharing with me this source from the Dumbarton Oaks Archive.

into new structures as spolia–was not unknown, allowing for the mythic afterlives of these textile artifacts to be based on a kernel of truth.

Yet, a tent need not be a pastiche or reconstruction to have its cultural value coopted. A modestly sized but delicately appliquéd rectilinear tent in the National Museum in Kraków was repurposed on a number of occasions (Figure 5.12). The tent is known to have belonged to Şeytan İbrahim Pasha of Damascus before being won in the Battle of Zurawno by Stanisław Zygmunt Druszkiewicz (1621-1690), one of the military commanders under Jan III Sobieski. It remained in the Druszkiewicz family, as the colonel passed it down to his son, Julian, and then his granddaughter (Julian's child), when she married Flawiusz Suffczynski of Lancuchow in 1732. The tent remained in the possession of the Suffczynski family still when, in 1880, the Emperor Franz Joseph I (r. 1848-1916) visited Galicia. The family provided the tent for the emperor's comfort on the occasion, which was later commemorated in a painting by Tadeusz Rybkowski (Figure 5.13). Just a few years after the Emperor's visit, the tent was deployed for another public occasion—this time for the bicentennial celebration of the battle of Vienna. This tent was one of many erected in the city square for the occasion, held in Kraków in 1883. While the tent's provenance is securely established as an acquisition by the Druszkiewicz family in the Battle of Zurawno—seven years *before* the Ottomans attempted to take Vienna—the tent nevertheless served as a substitute for those captured in 1683.[325]

Another seventeenth-century Ottoman tent repurposed in a new socio-political context after its capture is exhibited today in the Türckische Cammer in Dresden (Figure 5.14). In the first decades of the eighteenth century, Elector of Saxony August II the

---

[325] Biedronski-Slota, "Namiot Turecki," 25.

Strong (r. 1694-1733) set about to revive and reorganize his beleaguered army. In 1729 the Elector imported more than a thousand tents from around Europe, with which his newly reorganized army would perform in a “military maneuver” that would demonstrate their power for the Elector and his privileged guests, including the Prussian king Frederich Wilhelm I (Figure 5.15). Known as the Zeithain Encampment, the maneuver required tents not only as accommodations for the troops and important guests, but also magnificent fabric edifices like this one in Dresden, which were called upon to recreate a Turkish encampment like that at the great victory at Vienna, approximately fifty years prior.[326]

This truly stunning example of seventeenth-century Ottoman fabric architecture in the Türckische Cammer was brought to Dresden from Poland specially for the Zeithain Encampment, although its provenance before 1729 remains unknown.[327] It may very well have been won in the siege of Vienna. In other words, even if the tent in question indeed comes from the place it was purported to have originated—in this case, having been won at the battle of Vienna—by its reuse in a theatrical performance aimed at propagating the strength and prowess of Saxon army, the tent’s role is recast. These examples of tents with complicated provenances, mythic histories, and sensationalist narratives demonstrate the malleability of meanings projected onto fabric architecture. As a building that exists only on occasion, usually for special events, a tent’s significance is continuously reformed and reframed.

---

[326] Holger Schuckelt and Martin Steinbrück, *The Turkish Chamber: Oriental Splendour in the Dresden Armoury* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunsverlag; Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2010), 112.

[327] Williams, *Turquerie*, 115.

Whether a tent's history was rewritten or its fabric reconfigured, these are just a few examples of the multitude of ways in which Ottoman tents were consumed in Polish spheres after the battle of Vienna. In Poland-Lithuania, the demand for "Turkish" tents sparked the establishment of local workshops to produce Ottoman-style tents domestically within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The cities of Lviv and Brody were major centers for tent production in the eighteenth century and employed artisans who had traveled from the Ottoman Empire as well as native Polish craftsmen.[328] One "Turkish" tent of Polish production dates from the eighteenth century and today is on display at the Regional Museum in the city of Tarnów (Figure 5.16).[329] The overall composition of the appliquéd walls resembles seventeenth-century Ottoman tents with the deep but now heavily faded blue background, embellished medallions situated within lobed arches, and abundance of floral patterning. Upon closer inspection, however, the style proves quite a departure from early modern Ottoman conventions. The exaggerated capitals overpower diminutive columns set on awkward quadrangular bases (Figure

[328] Lviv had been a production center for tents long before the eighteenth century, as shown by the fact that Jan III Sobieski requested craftsmen from that city to clean and repair the tents he won in the battle. Piwocka, "Turkish Tents in Poland," 56; Ölçer, "Exhibition of Two Countries at War and Peace," 17; Gołąbek, Ekielska-Mardal, and Rodzińska-Chojnowska, *In Honour of King Jan III,* 80-82; Haydn Williams, *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy* (London, New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 115-116.

[329] There seems to be some ambiguity about the provenance of this piece, as Atasoy, Piwocka, and Żygulski say that it and its counterparts in Ukrainian collections were found in the Rzewuski Chateau in Podhorce near Lviv, but in the catalogue record for the *War & Peace* exhibition, it is noted that it "originates from the collection of the Sanguszko Princes of Gumnisko," 364-365, cat. no. 278. Regardless, it may be ascertained that it was in the possession of a noble Polish family, used and preserved in an estate, and is of Polish production, likely dating to the eighteenth century. Piwocka, "Turkish Tents in Poland," 60-61; See also: Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 249, cat. no. 105.

5.17). The overlarge capitals alternate in color between green, red, and ivory—a choice atypical of seventeenth-century Ottoman tents, which display more subtle variations in pattern and color.

Additionally, scholars have noted features (such as undulating ribbons) that are neither Ottoman nor Polish in origin, but rather recall western European decorative arts.[330] Another minor yet telling feature of this tent that potentially points to external artistic inspiration is the crosshatched pattern, most noticeably situated in polygonal frames fitted into the capitals and lobed medallions (Figure 5.18). While Ottoman tents feature corded grillwork in windows, to my knowledge, no extant Ottoman tent features couched cording in a decorative crosshatched pattern in this manner. Together, the amalgamation of transregional motifs results in a European-Ottoman hybrid tent that is distinctly Polish.

In this regard, in his discussion of a portrait of a Polish noble in Minsk, Tomasz Grusiecki suggests scholars reevaluate these kinds of amalgamated objects as evidence of cultural entanglement. He suggests: "For the sake of historical accuracy, we must keep this often-messy pluralism of origins in place rather than attempting to disentangle it."[331] Even though the Tarnów tent moved relatively little in its lifetime, it demonstrates a transregional mobility of textile patterns, as well as people across borders. Thus, beyond

---

[330] Piwocka "Turkish Tents in Poland," 56; Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun,* 249; Żygulski and Markowski, *An Outline of History of Polish Applied Art,* 48; However, undulating ribbons and other Baroque or Rococo motifs were also featured in Ottoman imperial tents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (See Chapter 1 of this dissertation).

[331] Tomasz Grusiecki, "Uprooting Origins: Polish Lithuanian Art and the Challenge of Pluralism," in *Globalizing East European Art Histories: Past and Present*, eds. Beáta Hock and Anu Allas (London: Taylor and Francis, 2018), 35.

the narrow conception of fabric architecture's mobility due to its transportability, the Tarnów tent represents a different kind of mobility—of people and ideas, artists and aesthetics, across borders and continents—all of which resist neat disentanglement.

The fashion for "Oriental" artifacts in early modern Polish spheres was due in part to the idea that Polish nobles were the descendants of nomads who, many centuries prior, had moved into the region that would become Poland. For these reasons, the Polish noble class, or *szlachta*, appropriated the artistic styles of their contemporary eastern neighbors as a means of visually asserting their imagined origins in Sarmatia, an ancient civilization located north of the Black Sea.[332] This Sarmatian heritage was one of the defining characteristics of the early modern Polish nation, whose citizenry constituted the *szlachta*.[333] Polish elites asserted their heritage, identity, or even political allegiances by donning Sarmatian fashions. For example, Orientalizing garments and accessories served to distinguish the *szlachta* from western-leaning rulers who claimed Roman ancestry and symbols of kingly power. The appropriation and adaptation of contemporary Ottoman

---

[332] Maria Bogucka, *The Lost World of the "Sarmatians": Custom As the Regulator of Polish Social Life in Early Modern Times* (Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, 1996); Arciszewska, "A Golden Age for a Changing Nation"; Joanna Orzeł, "Sarmatism As Europe's Founding Myth," *Polish Political Science* 39 (2010): 149-157; Zdzisław Żygulski, "The Elements of Islamic Culture in the Polish Sarmatism of the 16th-18th Centuries," *Actas del XXIII. Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte 2* (1977): 203-208; Zdzisław Żygulski Jr., "Armenians in Poland: A Foreign Culture Incorporated," in *The Art of the Islamic World and the Artistic Relationships Between Poland and Islamic Countries*, eds. Beata Biedrońska-Słota, Magdalena Ginter-Frołow, and Jerzy Malinowski (Kraków: "Manggha" Museum of Japanese Art and Technology; Warsaw: Polish Institute of World Art Studies, 2011), 317-336.

[333] Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Queen Liberty: The Concept of Freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 3.

fashions as a means of representing an ancient past was not seen as anachronistic.[334] Rather, Ottoman and Safavid artifacts were readily recognizable signs of eastern lands, and their local availability provided ample opportunity for adopting and adapting their aesthetic to suit the nobility's needs.[335]

In addition to asserting eastern geographical origins, appliquéd tents embodied other facets of Sarmatian ideology. As mobile architecture, tents are both literally and symbolically fundamental to a transhumant life style, and the Sarmatians were thought to have been a nomadic or semi-nomadic people. Early modern Polish nobles were by no means nomadic, but they cherished their land and had a great affinity for nature and country living.[336] Furthermore, tents served as staging grounds for festivals and celebrations across many cultures. In the performance of their Sarmatian origins, Polish nobles themselves engaged in feasts, hunts, splendid celebrations, and displays of chivalry, many of which took place in and around tents.[337]

While Sarmatism prevailed in the material cultures of early modern Poland-Lithuania, the Tarnów tent was made much later, either in the decades leading up to or

---

[334] Żygulski and Markowski, *An Outline History of Polish Applied Art,* 29-30; Jasienski also discusses the unproblematic contradiction in simultaneously deriding the Ottomans and appropriating their fashions as a symbol of "pre-Islamic Easternness." Jasienski, "A Savage Magnificence," 186, 191.

[335] Arcszewska, "A Golden Age for a Changing Nation," 104-106; Gołąbek, Ekielska-Mardal, and Rodzińska-Chojnowska, *In Honour of King Jan III,* 80-82; Jasienski, "A Savage Magnificence" 176; Dan D. Y. Shapira, "Turkism, Polish *Sarmatism*, and 'Jewish *szlachta'*: Some Reflections on a Cultural Context of the Polish-Lithuanian Karaites," *Karadeniz Araştırmaları* 20 (Winter 2009): 29-43.

[336] Bogucka, *The Lost World of the "Sarmatians,"* 9-12.

[337] Żygulski and Markowski, *An Outline of Polish Applied Art,* 30, 34, 40-41, 48.

else during the process of partitioning. Like early modern fashions that evoked the east for the purposes of performing Polish identity and politics, in the eighteenth century, “Turkish” tents similarly served to construct a national identity through a shared history, specifically highlighting a moment in time when Poland was victorious under the hero-king, Jan III Sobieski. In this way, the tent recalled multiple pasts: the *szlachta*’s ancient origins and the king’s victory at Vienna. In this regard, Nagel and Wood discuss the means by which art can traverse or collapse time:

> No device more effectively generates the effect of a doubling or bending of time than a work of art, a strange kind of event whose relation to time is plural. The artwork is made or designed by an individual or by a group of individuals at some moment, but it also points away from that moment, backward to a remote ancestral origin, perhaps, or to a prior artifact, or to an origin outside of time, in divinity. At the same time it points forward to all its future recipients who will activate and reactivate it as a meaningful event. The work of art is a message whose sender and destination are constantly shifting.[338]

Luxurious, decorated tents provided multivalent material proxies for Polish nobles to remember the past and manifest their hopes for the future. These threads of time and memory intersect in the material and visual properties of “Turkish” tents, which are continuously activated and reactivated in various socio-political contexts. This bitemporality is not dissimilar to the ways in which tents were deployed in the Ottoman court to reassert the past as a living heritage.

[338] Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance,* 9.

Another tent whose afterlife warrants close analysis counts among the collections housed in Jan III Sobieski's former residence, the Wilanów Palace Museum, located on the outskirts of Warsaw. Over the centuries, the estate changed hands several times and underwent various updates and restoration projects before coming into the hands of Stanisław Kostka Potocki in the early nineteenth century.[339] It was under the custodianship of Potocki that the historic private residence was first converted, at least in part, into a publicly accessible national museum dedicated to Sobieski. Potocki saw himself as a steward of Polish history and as such sought to reconstitute the king's own collection of art and personal effects for the Polish nation. The hero's collection could not be considered complete without the Grand Vizier's tent that became the king's trophy. As with many tents in Poland and other European collections, the tent purchased by Potocki was originally thought to have been the singular vizierial tent, or at least one of the many opulent tents captured by Jan III Sobieski at Vienna (Figure 5.19).[340] However, as has been demonstrated, simple observation challenges the claim to such an illustrious provenance. The tent that Potocki acquired was still whole in the early twentieth century, but today survives only in two partial panels, each distinguished by an arch beneath which is stitched a lobed medallion (Figure 5.20). Many elements of these fragments

[339] Arcszewska, "A Golden Age for a Changing Nation," 101; Wojciech Fijałkowski, *Wilanów, Past and Present* (Warsaw: Interpress, 1985), 9-14; Wojciech Fijałkowski and Jacek Krawczyk, *Wilanów, dawny i współczesny (Wilanów, Past and Present)* (Warsaw: PAGINA, 2002), 103-4; Gołąbek, Ekielska-Mardal, and Rodzińska-Chojnowska, *In Honour of King Jan III*, 7-9.

[340] Atasoy questions this provenance, and attributes its unusual aesthetic to a provincial style. Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 246, cat. no. 102; See also *War & Peace*, 218-219, cat. nos. 113 and 114; Gołąbek, Ekielska-Mardal, and Rodzińska-Chojnowska*, In Honour of King Jan III,* 80-82.

parallel those seen in early modern Ottoman imperial tents, including the architectonic design, floral infilling, and friezes of repeating stylized patterns above and below the two registers of appliquéd arcades. Many features of the tent are incompatible with a seventeenth-century Ottoman provenance, however. As seen in the photograph of the complete tent, each panel contrasts with those adjacent, rendering the overall composition rather discordant. Seventeenth-century Ottoman tents included variation among the panels, but only subtle ones. Here, the contrast of colors and forms is visually bombastic, rather unlike the elegant aesthetic harmony of Ottoman imperial tents.[341] This harsh juxtaposition of variously colored arches can also be seen in the tent walls preserved in the Regional Museum at Tarnów as well (Figure 5.16). In the latter case, though, the overall effect is now much more subdued due to the tent's extensive fading.

One of the fragmented but recently conserved tent panels in Wilanów Palace Museum reveals another element that suggests a Polish provenance, rather than the tent having once belonged to Ottoman military commanders. At the apex of the arch, two stylized tulips meet (Figure 5.21). While tulips were a very common floral motif used in Ottoman textiles (including tents), these floral examples are textured with a crosshatched cording that is uncharacteristic of tents made in Ottoman imperial workshops. Instead, they appear in Ottoman-style tents of Polish production. As discussed above, this pattern is seen on the tent walls in the Regional Museum in Tarnów, which features motifs

[341] Alternatively, such a color scheme is more characteristic of later North African tents, which is one possible origin for this particular tent. For example, two narrower tent panels in the collections of Museum for Applied Arts in Vienna exhibit similar colors and techniques, but rather different compositions.

thought to have been adapted from France and integrated into the stylistic amalgam that characterized eighteenth-century Polish-made luxury tents.

While a visual analysis may reveal that this tent did not belong to Kara Mustafa Pasha or Jan III Sobieski, it still functioned in later centuries as if it had been the original. Substitutions of this iconic tent-trophy amplified the original's cultural value and efficacy, and allowed viewers to travel back in time to an age of Polish independence and regional ascendancy. As a fluid and mobile structure, the tent also embodied the nobility's reverence for freedom, a concept which was integral to the early modern Polish national identity.[342] Part of the essence of belonging to the noble class, or *szlachta*, was a sense of being "as free as air," which meant living peacefully in the idyllic Polish countryside, in harmony with nature.[343] The association between freedom, travel, and tents is succinctly demonstrated by the conclusion of Paul Sobolewski's retelling of the Battle of Vienna mentioned above. Sobolewski recounts Jan III Sobieski's accomplishments and finishes with an anecdote about how, after his victory, the great hero grew tired of court life and lived out the rest of his days traveling in the countryside, pitching his tent "wherever a beautiful valley, picturesque landscapes, the mountain torrent, or any natural object attracted his attention."[344] This understanding of freedom *in* and *as* nature no doubt deepened after the partitioning of Poland-Lithuania in the eighteenth century, which stripped the state of its independence and split the land

---

[342] Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, *Queen Liberty*, 1.

[343] Bogucka, *The Lost World of the "Sarmatians,"* 12.

[344] Sobolewski, *The 12th Day of September*, 24.

between neighboring powers.[345] Thus, in the nineteenth century, a visit to Potocki's new Wilanów Palace Museum not only allowed disenfranchised Poles to relive their heritage and history through both fabric and permanent architecture but also served as an escape for the Polish public in much the same way as did for Sobieksi. Whether or not Potocki believed this tent to be Sobieski's superlative tent-trophy, it nevertheless came to serve a surrogate memento that was granted legitimacy through its display in the king's own country estate. By substituting a newer tent for the lost original, this object extended the life of the Ottoman vizier's grand tent and repurposed it as a symbol of Polish freedom. In the context of this countryside estate-turned-museum, the substitute tent elicited nostalgia for the hero-king and the idyllic life he lived there.[346]

As mentioned briefly in the opening pages of this chapter, in addition to the terrors inflicted upon the citizens of Europe, the Second World War left many collections and artifacts in tatters. Many Ottoman tents in European collections were lost or destroyed in these years. However, there is at least one case where tents not only survived the Nazi invasion, but were displayed with abandon. A 1944 photograph of a large hall in Wawel Royal Castle in Kraków, taken when Nazi leaders occupied the city and its castle, depicts two tents deconstructed and draped around the entire perimeter of the grand interior (Figure 5.22). The four walls of the banquet hall are covered with the walls of two surviving seventeenth-century Ottoman tents, with matching tent sections positioned

---

[345] These kinds of themes were also common in literature during the Romantic period (1822-1864), such as the work of the national poet Adam Mickiewcz.

[346] Arcszewska discusses nineteenth-century narratives that "re-cast Wilanów, no longer as an embodiment of the *szlachta* or Sarmatian nation ideal but rather as of a nation in the modern, Hegelian sense." Arcszewska, "A Golden Age for a Changing Nation," 111.

opposite one another. On the long walls, to the left and right of the image, hang parts of a large tent with a red ground and covered in exceptional floral appliqué. At the far side of the hall hangs a slightly smaller but no less spectacular blue-grounded tent, which has been recently restored and reinstalled in Wawel Castle as a tent (Figure 5.23). The display of tent walls in a large hall in this manner may be the result of the room's conversion into a movie theater for the Nazi officers stationed there. In other words, the heavy monumental fabrics served the practical purpose of controlling light and sound in a space where film was to be projected. Perhaps even the tents' Oriental character was deemed appropriate for a movie-viewing context, as many theaters built in the early twentieth century adopted exoticizing tropes—the Chinese Theater in Hollywood a prime example.[347]

These exotic objects also may have played into the racist ideologies and notions of cultural supremacy espoused by the Nazi party. While these tents served as material reminders of the Polish victory over the Ottomans, with the Nazi invasion, the Germans claimed supremacy over Poles. While the tents themselves did not leave Wawel Castle during the war, the city's subjugation brought the castle's collections under the control of the Nazi powers, therefore rendering these objects twice-won war booty. Furthermore, because of their status as trophies, the tents may have been deployed as a kind of talisman, in the hopes of ensuring Nazi triumph.

It is also possible that the Nazis took umbrage with the tents' original function as mobile architecture. In his infamous manifesto *Mein Kampf*, Adolf Hitler describes the

---

[347] On various structures that ape Islamic architectural forms: Phil Pasquini, *Domes, Arches and Minarets: A History of Islamic-Inspired Buildings in America* (Novato, CA: Flypaper Press, 2012).

problem with nomadic cultures, members of the Jewish faith among them. He notes that some people are forced by their environment to live such a life, and that racially inferior peoples cannot help the fact that they are not advanced enough to develop settlements, and thus participate in true civilization.[348] Along this line of thinking, the noncivilized nomad is seen as a threat to sedentary nations' way of life.[349] As John Noyes explains:

> If the history of the civilized West could be told as a process of sedentarization, then nomadism was either the barbaric roots out of which civilization had emerged, or else it occupied the geographical limits of the civilized world. The aggressive, active nomad was relegated to prehistory, and the passive, primitive nomad was placed outside history. For civilization to imagine itself as sedentary, it has to imagine nomadism as elsewhere and else-when.[350]

If the Nazis stationed at Wawel Castle perceived nomadic life in this way, perhaps their display of Ottoman tents was a means of exerting control over a primitive and uncivilized

---

[348] "The true nomad does actually possess a definite delimited territory where he lives. It is merely that he does not cultivate it, as the settled farmer does, but that he lives on the products of his herds, with which he wanders over his domain. The natural reason for this mode of existence is to be found in the fact that the soil is not fertile and that it does not give the steady produce which makes a fixed abode possible. Outside of this natural cause, however, there is a more profound cause: namely, that no mechanical civilization is at hand to make up for the natural poverty of the region in question. There are territories where the Aryan can establish fixed settlements by means of the technical skill which he has developed in the course of more than a thousand years, even though these territories would otherwise have to be abandoned, unless the Aryan were willing to wander about them in nomadic fashion; but his technical tradition and his age-long experience of the use of technical means would probably make the nomadic life unbearable for him." Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 237.

[349] Noyes, "National Identity, Nomadism, and Narration in Gustav Frenssen's *Peter Moors Journey in Southwest Africa*," in The Imperialist Imagination, 97.

[350] Noyes, "National Identity, Nomadism, and Narration," 98.

way of being and living. By securing tent walls onto the castle's stone interior, the previously peripatetic fabric structures are de-mobilized or sedentarized. Though these tents remained stationary in Wawel Royal Castle for quite some time, before and after the Nazi occupation, their various modes of display over the centuries continued to reconfigure their dynamic and ever-evolving biography.

Many of the tents that survive in European museums today have come to be associated with the Ottomans' attack on Vienna in 1683 through written and oral narratives, spectacular celebrations, and museum displays and temporary exhibitions. The tent-trophies and their surrogates played an especially important role in Polish spheres, where they came to tell the history of the nation, its nomadic roots, and its storied triumphs. Even as *spolia*, pastiches, or imitation Ottoman tents, the manipulability and malleability of these fabric edifices allowed for their meanings to be altered, layered, or rewritten entirely throughout their afterlives, as they traversed time and space—and eventually came to clad cinematic milieus under Nazi auspices.

Fabric Fantasies in Gardens

Further echoes of Ottoman or "Turkish" tents can be detected in the gardens of European estates, in the form of permanent or semi-solid pavilions imitating tents in their silhouette and decoration. Such structures form a subset of the widespread fashion for adorning gardens with structures emulating architectural modes reminiscent of "Turkish," "Chinese," and "Tartar" traditions, including pagodas and mosques, in addition to

tents.[351] One example of an Orientalist tent-pavilion may serve to illustrate the type. A pen, ink, and watercolor drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum depicts a design for a "Turkish" tent to be erected under the patronage of Charles Hamilton in Painshill Park, Surrey (Figure 5.24). The drawing is attributed to Henry Keene (1726-1776) and dates to circa 1760. The drawing—one of two illustrating the Painshill tent pavilion—shows a tent of white fabric trimmed in pale blue, and adorned with finials along its canopy's edge. Tassels hang from the points where the draped canvas is secured, creating a scalloped frame around the pavilion's entrance.[352] The ogival roof is likewise adorned with delicate blue floral motifs as well as capped with a metallic crescent moon finial and forked ribbon as a banner. The eighteenth-century tent-pavilion, while meant to resemble fabric architecture, actually was a multi-media construction, with a brick floor and walls, the latter also then plastered and painted. A wooden armature and lead coating formed the domed canopy, and the whole structure was finished with swags of painted canvas in order to mimic a fabric structure. The pavilion lasted approximately a century until its near complete destruction in 1870. However, in recent decades, after excavation of the site, this drawing has served as a point of reference for reconstructing the tent-pavilion.[353]

---

[351] For examples of each, see: Nebahat Avcıoğlu, *'Turquerie' and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011). Here Avcıoğlu analyzes a significant corpus of Turkish-style pavilions—some of which resemble tents, or else mosques or Turkish baths—in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[352] The other image is a sketch depicting the pavilion situated in its natural environs and is dated 1779 by Swedish royal garden designer Fredrik Magnus Piper, labeled "The Tent at Paynes-Hill." Mavis Collier and David Wrightson, "The Re-Creation of the Turkish Tent at Painshill," *Garden History* 21, no. 1 (Summer 1993), 46.

[353] Collier and Wrightson, "The Re-Creation of the Turkish Tent at Painshill," 46-59.

The new construction was relocated in order to comply with new property boundaries, but placed in a position such that the prized vista it overlooked was maintained.[354]

This tent-pavilion and others like it look nothing like Ottoman imperial tents, as is very apparent when it is compared to the many extant examples presented throughout this dissertation. As this chapter nonetheless has shown, true Ottoman tents were not uncommon among European courts, whether won in battle, purchased in markets, commissioned by Ottoman artisans, or gifted from the sultan. In some cases, it is possible that the architects responsible for the form and style of these structures were at least cursorily familiar with real Ottoman tents. For example, Fredrik Magnus Piper, the artist behind the second drawing of the Painshill tent-pavilion, upon returning to his native Sweden, headed the development of Haga Park in Stockholm for the King of Sweden Gustav III (r. 1771-1792), who owned a magnificent example of a late-seventeenth-century Ottoman tent. Whether Piper had ever encountered the king's tent remains to be determined. However, one is left to wonder whether this tent served as the inspiration for the gardens' *pièce de résistance*: a set of magnificently monumental "Turkish" tents made of copper, designed by noted French painter and architect Louis Jean Desprez (Figure 5.25). It is unclear whether Desprez had personally seen the king's Ottoman tent or consulted Piper for his knowledge of the Painshill tent-pavilion. Setting aside its hypothetical sources of inspiration, the tent shines bright against its natural surroundings with its painted exterior in cerulean blue and gold stripes. Unfortunately, the copper tents were partly destroyed in a fire, and, like the Painshill tent-pavilion, were rebuilt relatively recently, in 1962-1964. However, this composition of vertical stripes (often blue

---

[354] Collier and Wrightson, "The Re-Creation of the Turkish Tent at Painshill," 48.

alternating with white or pale yellow) does not resemble any extant Ottoman tent—even though a superlative example of an appliquéd seventeenth-century Ottoman imperial tent was available close at hand in the royal armory in Stockholm (Figure 5.26).

This tent, which resides in the Armémuseum in Stockholm today, came into the royal collection of Charles XII (r. 1697-1718) after it was won in the 1702 battle of Kiszkow from the Saxons, who continued to use it after it was captured at the siege of Vienna in 1683 on behalf of Elector Johan Georg III.[355] In other words, it was twice-won war booty—first taken from the Ottomans by the Saxon army, who then lost it to the Charles XII a few decades later. The tent remained in the hands of kings of Sweden and was used on various occasions over the intervening centuries.[356] For example, it was erected to welcome Queen Lovisa Ulrika to Sweden in 1744 and, later in the eighteenth century, to ornament King Gustav III's equestrian tournaments. Therefore, it appears that the tent was made visible to elite audiences on at least one occasion during Gustav III's

[355] Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun*, 286-287 (Atasoy says Charles II, but it was XII); For more on Charles XII's relations with the Ottoman empire and his affinity for Ottoman architecture, see: Milton Edward Nelson, *Charles XII in the Ottoman Empire 1709-1714: His International Policies* (PhD diss., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1961); Åsa Karlsson, *Karl XII: och svenskarna i osmanska riket* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2015); Martin Olin, "The Palace of Charles XII. Architecture and Abolutism in Sweden around 1700" (in *The Emperor's House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*, eds. Michael Featherstone, Jean-Michel Spieser, Gulru Tanman, Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt, 2015), 324.

[356] Irma Wallenborg, "A Floral Seventeenth Century Turkish Tent," in hoc signo vinces (2006), 177-183; Irma Wallenborg, "Transfer of a Tent and Knowledge from Poland to Sweden," in *Crossroads of Costume and Textiles in Poland, Papers from the International Conference of the ICOM Costume Committee at the National Museum in Cracow, September 28-October 4, 2003*, eds Beata Biedrońska-Słotowa, 129-131 (Kraków: The National Museum in Cracow, 2005); Agnes Geijer, *Oriental Textiles in Sweden* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1951), 118.

reign, and could therefore have served as a reference for Desprez if he had wanted to faithfully reproduce Ottoman fabric architecture in more permanent copper.

The tent succumbed to the ravages of time and was in desperate need of repair by the nineteenth century. According to Irma Wallenborg, an 1859 inventory deemed the tent "unfit for use." Two years later, in 1861, Rudolf Österberg proposed a restoration project, at least for the exterior.[357] A small painted sketch in the Army Museum Library depicts Österberg's vision (Figure 5.27). While the projected "restoration" never came to pass, its illustration reveals an altogether refashioned tent, not at all faithful to the original, but which recasts the fabric edifice as Swedish. In a somewhat circular fashion, the proposed "Swedification" of the Ottoman tent in the royal collection at Stockholm resembles the copper "Turkish" tents in Haga Park.[358] It seems likely that the designer who suggested the tent's original red and verdigris exterior be replaced with one of vertical blue stripes accented with gold stars and dagger-like motifs took inspiration from Desprez's copper structures. In other words, perhaps the proposed restoration was based on the perceived authenticity of the aesthetic of the copper tents crowning Haga Park.

A question remains, however: why did Desprez not use the authentic and rather magnificent example of early modern imperial Ottoman tents in the royal armory collections for designing the copper "Turkish" tents at Haga Park? These three very different forms of material documentation—the tent itself, the illustrated proposal, and the copper tents—intersect to reveal a complex web of mutually constitutive notions of

---

[357] Irma Wallenborg, "A Floral Seventeenth Century Turkish Tent," 178.

[358] For comparison, see the Swedish tents in: Irma Wallenbor, "Svenska militära tält – från textiltryck till polyamidlaminat," *Armémuseum Meddelande* 67 (2007): 41-77.

fantasy and authenticity, expectation and reality.[359] These examples attest to the imagined vision of what constituted a "Turkish" tent in European visual cultures, irrespective of their authenticity or knowledge of authentic Ottoman tents.

Tent Rooms and Orientalist Interiors

The characteristic silhouette of a tent with its sloped peak(s) evoked "Oriental" architecture in European gardens in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Concurrently, the draped interiors of tents likewise were appropriated and subsumed into elites' estates and wealthy collectors' homes around western Europe. Both the exterior form of tents and their fabric interiors became decorative devices in European architecture, but often not together. This section examines a few examples of tent rooms, located in modern day Germany, France, and Poland, as well as America, and dating from the early nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth. Like the Orientalist tent-pavilions that populated gardens, tent rooms, too, were often dubbed "Turkish" or "Oriental," regardless of their origin or inspiration.

Napoleon Bonaparte's Château de Malmaison, located outside Paris, features a number of tented interiors. Upon approaching the château (turned museum), visitors enter the former servants' staging area adjacent to the reception rooms (Figure 5.28). The small rectilinear structure of blue metal stands out against the stone masonry façade. The

[359] Thankfully, though, the tent recently underwent extensive and faithful restoration at the expert hands of Gunvor Klingberg, Irma Wallenborg, Anita Andersson, and their team, and is now partly on display in the Armémuseum today: *Konserveringen av Ett blommande turkiskt 1600-talstält*, Gunvor Klingberg, Irma Wallenborg, Anita Andersson; Armémuseum, rapport nr. 3.

detailed ornamentation is largely confined to the pediment, which is adorned with painted vertical blue and white stripes, a faux valance with red tassels, and a row of small golden finials. The interior of the structure is likewise dressed in a blue-and-white striped pattern similar to the pediment outside (Figure 5.29). The château's visitor guide describes the addition as having "the shape of a military tent with the interior décor imitating a striped fabric."[360] The rigid form of the exterior and stiff striped pattern dressing the interior is softened by the inclusion of curtains in the same pattern as the walls, thus creating a more tent-like effect. A similar device is employed in the Council Chamber inside the château (Figure 5.30). All four walls as well as the room's ceiling are plastered with a blue-and-white striped fabric. Like the servants' antechamber, the fabric is affixed flush to the walls, and therefore appears quite rigid. The "tented" quality of the chamber is achieved rather subtly by the shallow sloped ceiling and the fabric draped over the entrances at either end of the space (Figure 5.31). Moreover, the all-over pattern of vertical blue and white stripes is quite characteristic of tents of European manufacture. For example, tents from Louis Philippe's court (ca. 1830-40) today on display in the Gobelins Mobilier National in Paris exemplifies this type (Figure 1.1). Indeed, much like the red and green verdigris exterior that demarcated the Ottoman sultan's tent, in European contexts this pattern denotes the tent of the war chief or head of state, which is why the architects of Malmaison, Percier and Fontaine, employed it for the emperor's council chamber in particular.[361] However, as has been shown, the lines between what is Ottoman, "Turkish,"

---

[360] *Guide de Visite Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison & Bois-Préau.*

[361] Charles-Éloi Vial, "Tentes de chasse, de parade et de voyage," in *Le bivouac de Napoléon luxe imperial en Campagne*, eds Jehanne Lazaj (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2014), 26.

and European are blurred in some cases, as with the copper tents in Haga Park that feature a very similar striped decoration. In the case of Haga Park, the tents and their pattern are considered "Turkish," but the Council Chamber at Malmaison recreates the interior of a French tent of a high-ranking military officer.

A wholly different kind of tent room is located on the upper floor of Château de Malmaison. While many of the private rooms feature soft drapes and illusionistic fabric wall coverings, Josephine Bonaparte's bedroom stands out (Figure 5.32). The walls of the oval boudoir are draped in thick crimson panels trimmed in gold fringe and set between thin golden engaged columns. The sectioned effect—very similar to the *hazine*s comprising actual fabric architecture—continues onto the ceiling. These panels create the illusion of a tent canopy without the use of draped fabric. The trompe l'oeil opening framing the painted sky further suggests that the bedchamber's décor is meant to transport the viewers to an outdoor setting, while they remain firmly within the comfortable and private confines of the château. The marked differences between Josephine's bedroom and Napoleon's tented council chamber are in part due to the disparate uses of said rooms. Their juxtaposition, however, also demonstrates the versatility of fabric architecture to define male and female spheres, as well as public and private spaces.

The fashion for tent rooms continued into the nineteenth century in Prussian palaces as well. Perhaps influenced by Napoleon's tented Council Chamber, a modest bedroom in Charlottenhof Palace in Potsdam repeats this blue-and-white striped tent aesthetic (Figure 5.33). Charlottenhof was gifted to Frederick William and his wife Elisabeth Ludovika of Bavaria by Frederick's father in 1825 in order to serve as the

young couple's summer residence. The tent room remains a highlight of the modest palace. There, it is supposedly "fashioned after the example of the Roman Generals' tents," thus paying tribute to the bride's Bavarian heritage since blue and white are the colors of the Bavarian flag.[362]

While this tent room and some of the tent-pavilions such as that at Painshill Park had little if anything to do with Ottoman imperial tents, these examples reveal the interconnected and layered meanings ascribed to tents in Europe, and thus nuance our understanding of the reception of fabric architecture in these various socio-political spheres. Another example of a tent room in a Prussian palace also in Potsdam, located just a short walk from Charlottenhof across the Sanssouci gardens, likewise features elements that mimic the inside of a tent, resulting in a unique draped interior (Figure 5.34). Now reconstructed based on historical photographs, the original tent room in the Marmorpalais, or Marble Palace, dates to 1787-1793—presaging both those in Charlottenhof and Malmaison (Figure 5.35). The walls, sofas, and ceiling are covered in a fabric, as may now be expected, of blue and white vertical stripes. Here, though, the blue is rather subdued, only softly contrasting with the ivory stripes. Pale golden silk is draped thickly in sections similar to those in Josephine Bonaparte's bedchamber at Malmaison, and again evocative of the *hazine*s of real tents. In neither case does this drapery perform any practical function other than evoking a tent interior, and perhaps some level of insulation. In the Marble Palace's tent room, rather than the draped panels being separated by columns, more folded silk adds yet another layer of luxury. The cloth

---

[362] http://www.potsdam-park-sanssouci.de/charlottenhof-palace.html; Antje Adler, *Gelebte Antike – Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und Charlottenhof* (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 2012), 166-167.

is an ivory sateen with a faux leopard print on the obverse (Figure 5.36). This woven replication of animal print also forms the dust skirt around the base of the sofa, and also crowns the draped *hazine* panels. Where the wall drapery is gathered, ostrich feathers add another layer of luxury to this Orientalist fantasy.

The ceiling, however, is perhaps the most spectacular and puzzling aspect of the room (Figure 5.37). Rather than forming a peak like the interior of a tent canopy, here the sections that taper and meet at the center of the ceiling turn inward, almost as though a sloped tent roof has been turned inside out and upside down. According to the museum staff and wall didactics, this inverse peak used to have suspended from it a chandelier in the form of a turban. The suggestion of a correlation between a tent and the body has already been discussed regarding the parallels between tents and *hil'at* and their socio-political functions. This allusion to an Oriental body, though, performs a rather different function. The suspension of a turban-*cum*-chandelier suggests that the body or head of an Ottoman is an artifact or trophy to be collected and displayed. Such symbolism is further underscored by the fact that in Ottoman lands tombstones are carved in the shape of headgear appropriate to the deceased.[363] Therefore, a disembodied turban hanging in a tent-room unambiguously displays the defeated enemy by proxy.

A similar kind of tent-body crowned with a turban, relatively contemporary to this tent room, is represented in a watercolor and pencil drawing of a "Turkish" tent design (Figure 5.38). The tent is composed of a white semispherical dome and a skirt of voluminous pale blue fabric trimmed in gold and adorned with tassels. Haydn Williams

[363] Edhem Eldem, *Death in Istanbul: Death and Its Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Culture* (Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005).

suggests that the design, which is dated 1767 and was planned for construction in the garden of Den Eult in the Netherlands, recalls the papier mâché heads used in *courses des têtes*.[364] In these games, courtly players would don fabricated heads of Turks, Russians, Tatars, or other ethnicities in order to lay-act competitions, perhaps not dissimilar to our contemporary appropriation of Native American identities as sports team mascots. Unlike Napoleon's council chamber, which is meant to evoke the chief's war tent, the tent room at the Marble Palace in Potsdam transforms into a space dedicated to playful indulgence.

While recognizably inauthentic from a modern perspective, these "Turkish" tented interiors served several functions and reflected myriad meanings as these were ascribed to tents in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe. The malleability of fabric architecture—including the tent-pavilions and tent rooms discussed above—allow them to transform space and bend time, whether to bring to life boudoir fantasies and Orientalist follies, celebrate Bavarian heritage, or evoke the military power of Ancient Rome and the Ancien Régime alike. In some ways, the transformation of a palace chamber into a tent parallels the importation of whole interiors to European and American homes and museums, such as the famed Aleppo and Damascus Rooms in the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, respectively. In both cases an architectural interior or period room is subsumed by a larger whole. Iván Szántó compares the "installment of small-scale architectural elements … into larger spaces" with the display of Islamic tents in European contexts, most notably for the celebrations of the siege of Vienna in 1683.[365] Szántó continues:

---

[364] Williams, *Turquerie*, 118-119.

[365] Iván Szántó, "The Damascus Room, Lechner, and the Domestication of Oriental Space," in *Ödön Lechner in Context: Studies of the international conference on the*

> Through the projection of individual objects into the macrocosm of the museum via the micro-architecture of the showpieces, the displayers signified their aspiration for increased scientific accuracy and authority on the one hand, and territorial control on the other. Political geography, urban space, exhibition space, and exhibit are thus blending into each other and create a sense of totality which propels the visitor into a recreated present time of bygone worlds.[366]

Szántó's notion of a "recreated present time of bygone worlds" certainly applies to the pastiche and imitation tents that serve as substitutes for the Grand Vizier's tent lost in the battle of Vienna. Yet it also relates to the idea of a tent room: the tent room is transformative insofar as it transports the viewer to another time, another place, another world—irrespective of its accuracy in representing said world.

Tented interiors also served as immersive display cases for the personal collections of European elites in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in particular. One such room is preserved in the Castello d'Albertis in Genoa, Italy (Figure 5.39).[367] The room allowed Naval Captain Enrico Alberto d'Albertis to relive his travels to the eastern Mediterranean whenever he so desired. Among his travels, d'Albertis attended the inauguration of the Suez canal, which included an extraordinary display of fabric

---

occasion of the 100th anniversary of Ödön Lechner's death, eds. Zsomber Jékely with the assistance of Zsuzsa Margittai and Klára Szegzárdy-Csengery (Budapest: Museum of Applied Arts, 2015), 146.

[366] Szántó, "The Damascus Room," 148-149.

[367] Maria Camilla de Palma, *Castello D'Albertis Museum of World Cultures* (Milano: Silvana, 2016).

architecture.[368] He purchased a number of appliquéd tent panels from the *Chariah-el-Khayamia* (Tent Market) in Cairo (Figure 5.40).[369] The "Turkish" or "Smoking" room in his Genovese residence thereby served the dual purposes of revisiting the Orient at his leisure and to provide a context—however (in)authentic it may be—for the display of the tent panels he collected. As Olga Bush notes:

> The furnishings in this room, then, are 'Turkish,' in their anti-historical accumulation of disparate objects; but the textile architecture is specifically Ottoman, stylized by still participating in the coeval reality of D'Albertis' experiences in Muslim lands.[370]

D'Albertis was not unknowledgeable about the fabric architecture of the Ottoman world, so revered across the continent.

Practically a world away and nearly a century later, a similar room displaying Cairene tent panels was fashioned in the Honolulu estate of Doris Duke. After traveling the world for several years on her honeymoon, Duke began work on her Hawai'ian home, a fantasy retreat known as Shangri La. She combined disparate architectural styles from across the Islamic world—from the carved wooden architecture of Morocco to the tile

---

[368] de Palma, *Castello D'Albertis*, 24-25; For more on the celebrations inaugurating the Suez Canal, see: David Roxburgh, "The Suez Canal Inauguration Ceremony," in *The Art of Exchange: Islamic Art and Architecture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Margaret Graves and Alex Dika Seggerman (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2020), *forthcoming.*

[369] Bush, "Bringing the 'Other' Home: The Islamicate Residential Spaces of the Castello d'Albertis in Genoa, Italy, 1890-1930," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz: Visualizing Otherness in Modern Italy (XIX-XX Century)* (Lix. Band 2017, Helf I): 81-82; For more on the Cairo Tent Makers' Market, see: Sam Bowker, "The Urban Fabric of Cairo: *Khayamiya* and the *Suradeq*," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, vol. 2 (2014): 473-501.

[370] Bush, "Bringing the 'Other' Home," 81-82.

mosaic of Safavid Iran, and the fine stone work of Mughal India. The site continued to evolve over her lifetime, and by the 1960s, she had transformed her dining room into a tent (Figure 5.41). Like D'Albertis, Duke displayed her collection of Cairene tent panels in a room outfitted as a tent. The dining room's walls and pitched ceiling covered in stiped blue fabric recall the Council Chamber in Malmaison, though without its military connotations. Unlike the tent rooms discussed thus far, Duke's dining room allows for convertibility of the space, as two of the fabric walls are actually curtains that can be retracted, revealing floor-to-ceiling windows, and thus visually opening the space to the natural environs of her estate in Hawai'i.[371]

While tents can transform any space into a temporarily built environment, tent rooms, while stationary, have the power to transport the viewer who enters it to another time or another place, including one's own imagination. Some tent rooms manifest in fabric architecture their patrons' Orientalist fantasies, while others recreate military environs—the case of Malmaison representing both in Josephine's bedroom and Napoleon's council chamber, respectively. Still others serve as contextualizing environs for collected objects, as with the tent rooms in the Castello d'Albertis and Doris Duke's Shangri La. The varied uses and connotations of these tent rooms further attests to the conceptual malleability of fabric architecture in various contexts.

Conservation Challenges and Curatorial Narratives

---

[371] Thomas Mellins, Donald Albrecht, Deborah Pope, Linda Komaroff, and Tim Street-Porter, *Doris Duke's Shangri La: A House in Paradise: Architecture, Landscape and Islamic Art* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2012).

The afterlives of the tents examined in this chapter continue to be written to the present day. By way of conclusion, then, I wish to draw attention to some of the issues that face the curators under whose care these magnificent but unwieldy objects are kept. First and foremost, fabric architecture poses significant conservation issues. Many of the curators who kindly took the time to meet with me and share their knowledge of the tents in their collections lamented the condition of the objects. Indeed, the few restoration projects undertaken recently—including for the tents in the Türckische Cammer in Dresden (Figure 5.14) and the Wawel Royal Castle in Kraków (Figure 5.23)—required substantial time and funds to complete. Storage proves difficult as well because tents require significant space where real estate is often coveted.[372] While tent walls may be rolled fairly neatly, canopies certainly cannot, and therefore no matter how they are stored, the material is put under varying levels of stress.

Methods of display likewise present many complications. For example, exhibitions of tents and tent fragments vary in their approaches, especially considering the degree to which the viewer is able to access the object. For example, the three-columned tent in Dresden allows the museumgoer to physically walk through the tent, while employing ropes and low platforms to keep visitors at a safe distance. A tent in the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, by contrast, is shown in its entirety encased in a glass cube, thus allowing the visitor to appreciate the silhouette of the structure as well as its interior, visible through the tent's open entrance and framed by its outstretched eave, while restricting physical contact (Figure 5.42). Its placement in the gallery,

[372] My understanding of these restoration projects developed from conversing with the curators while conducting dissertation research, but also these issues and more were the primary focus of a workshop held in Berlin in October 2014.

though, is not dissimilar to the display of tents in the Ziethain Encampment in 1730, as it here serves to tell the story of the siege of Vienna and other wars with the Ottomans more broadly. Still other institutions have proven quite creative in their display tactics. The Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe, having only tent fragments in their collection, employed imaginative means for contextualizing the objects (Figure 5.43). Here, newly constructed canvas tents serve as thematic vitrines, which serve the dual purpose of contextualization and also keeping the fragile objects in dim light to minimize potential damage.

In such contexts, the tents won as war booty or simply appropriated as trophies continue to tell the story of the victors for contemporary audiences. The curatorial narrative framing the viewing of Ottoman and "Turkish" tents in European collections privileges their afterlives—that is, their role as diplomatic gifts, war booty, souvenirs, mementoes, or simply objects acquired by wealthy travelers and collectors. In these European institutions, the emphasis remains on the European royals or nobles who won, bought, or purchased such tents. They often were kept in families and passed down through many generations until the family sold or donated them to national museums. It is natural, then, that the stories they tell in museum contexts focuses on the agents of their afterlives, that is, collectors, owners, or stewards. As these objects came under the care of their states, they were recast yet again to tell the histories of nations—even if the tents, as well as their original and subsequent owners, existed well before the creation of modern nations.

A final example, though ludic in nature, draws together many of the themes of this chapter. The Heeresgeschichtliches Museum in Vienna invites children to celebrate

their birthday in the museum, and to “transform into knights, damsels, and hearty Musketeers” (Figure 5.44).[373] The museum’s website goes on to describe the events awaiting adventurous children: “During a side-trip to the far-away orient, a strange thing is discovered, and a visit to the Turkish tent will surely remain unforgotten.” While these events are geared toward children, and therefore emphasize play and imagination, they also bring to light many of the ways in which the meanings of tents were altered and coopted in European contexts from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century. The tent becomes a portal through which the children can enter another world and another time—into a fairyland replete with awe-inspiring tales. It also serves as an artifactual aide-mémoire to ensure the past remains unforgotten, in the process perennially reasserting history as told by the tents’ victors, inheritors, and collectors over the course of generations.

[373] https://www.hgm.at/en/visitor-service/children/birthdayparty.html.

CONCLUSION

Tents in an Era of Transformation

As the first major study dedicated exclusively to Ottoman imperial tents dating to the last two hundred years of Ottoman rule, this dissertation's scope is quite broad. In the first instance, a close examination of the corpus of extant objects underpins any subsequent analysis. Their materiality and scale preclude them from being studied in situ or erected in any way unless they already happen to be pitched in a museum's galleries (which is possible only after significant expense and time spent on their restoration and installation). However, an attempt has been made to understand their physical and visual attributes by viewing the tents in person—whether as they were laid out on the floor of museum depots, held open by curators and other museum staff, or glimpsed by by gently lifting a corner of a tent deemed too delicate to be unrolled. The process of surveying collections—the Topkapı Palace Museum and the Military Museum in Istanbul chief among them—was both difficult and exhilarating and revealed more than a few surprises. Even targeted searches raised many more questions and led to new avenues of inquiry that are by no means exhausted in this dissertation.

The project's temporal scope is defined by the historical periodization proposed by Linda Darling in 2002. Inclusive of most of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and stretching into the early twentieth, Darling deems this era one of transformation. In part, my choice to employ her periodization is due to the fact that the tents are very rarely

dated, and thus a broad range is necessary. Moreover, their reuse over time potentially muddle their exact dating still further. Thus, the dating and by extension the delineation of the corpus is based largely on style, material, technique, and sometimes condition—all in comparison with contemporary textiles, architecture, and other visual and material evidence.

Among the characteristics that define the corpus can be counted the increased use of silk and metallic threads, a broader color palette, a profusion of embroidery in addition to and sometimes more than the traditional appliqué, as well as an expanded repertoire of motifs such as panoramas and styles (such as naturalism). The experimentation and innovation evident in the extant material dovetails nicely with Darling's notion of a period of transformation in the history of the Ottoman Empire, as many varied "new styles" emerged in imperial tent decoration.

While the aesthetic of tents from this period indeed embody this era of change, fabric architecture had been an integral part of the Ottoman court—as well as those of their forebears and contemporaries—for centuries. The novelty observed in the surviving tents demonstrates a number of changes in tent production at this time; such changes are simultaneously novel and steeped in a long and rich history of tentage in the Ottoman Empire. Through their malleability and adaptability, imperial tents in the changing socio-cultural contexts of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries acquire new meanings, thus adding to rather than replacing established tent traditions. Therefore, in order to properly historically situate the objects, the dissertation brings together many sources of evidence, including manuscript illustrations, written and illustrated

travelogues, paintings, photographs, albums, postcards, and other ephemera such as newspapers and periodicals.

By recasting tents as fabric architecture, the first chapter explored the intersections of tents and their more permanent counterparts such as palaces, kiosks, pavilions, and imperial thresholds. Among the trends that were introduced to architecture (of various media) was the inclusion of *trompe l'oeil* or otherwise illusionistic representations of fabric, particularly curtains and canopies. The boundary between real and virtual space was blurred by such artifice, especially when juxtaposed with real textile objects or represented on the fabric picture plane of the tent. In various ways, permanent architecture mimicked tents, suggesting that tents played an important role as architectural icons of the sultan and empire. The Deleuzian "fold" aptly describes the undulating eaves of the Sublime Porte and the kinked roofs of the Beylerbeyi Palace kiosks, as well as the painted canopies adorning the concave surfaces of domes in both palaces and mosques. Taken together, these trends suggest a subgenre of Ottoman architecture in this period that I call the "tented baroque."

Chapter 2 situates tents in their natural environs, demonstrating the ways in which fabric architecture can serve as mediator: *sayeban*s provided shade, shielding merrymakers from the hot sun; shawls and veils concealed women as they moved through the gardens; and canopied *caïque*s simultaneously obscured the sultan and his entourage while visually declaring their presence. The affinity for outdoor leisure time and enjoyment of nature is reflected in the tents themselves. Building on longstanding traditions of depicting flowers and foliage on textiles, the tents from this period reflect their natural surroundings through depictions of growing trees and the adoption of

naturalism in the rendering of floral motifs. One of the most significant innovations in tent decoration in this period—particularly the nineteenth century—is the addition of embroidered landscapes and panoramas. Reflecting contemporary trends in permanent architecture, the tents not only depicted Istanbul and its waterways in silk, they also framed living panoramas in their construction. In short, tents mediated the experience of nature. At the same time, they also represented nature in their decoration and framed it through their convertible structures.

While tents are often deemed ephemeral, Chapter 3 suggests that it would be more accurate to consider them occasional or serial architecture. Toted out for various kinds of extravagant ceremonies, tents are temporary in their construction, but are then reused on subsequent occasions. In this way, tents are more permanent than they are ephemeral. Over the course of its life, an imperial tent was used in a broad range of events, and its meaning(s) changed with each installation. The myriad layers of cultural and political significance embedded within the fabric structure are brought to the fore as needed, whether the canopy or festival encampment is erected for spectating sports, commemorating the coming of age of princes, or hosting foreign royals. On such occasions, the sultan's tents at times even served multiple purposes at a single event. For example, while the tent may provide shade for the sultan's and his guests' comfort, it also framed the exalted persons for viewing by different audiences, framing and subsuming them into the grand spectacle. The visual arts are often used to commemorate these temporary occasions and as a result served to broaden their impact. Postcards of such events, for instance, reached viewers beyond the limited circles of the court, the upper echelons of Ottoman society, and elite visitors.

By way of understanding Ottoman modernity, Chapter 4 explores the ways in which the past is conceived and constructed through tents and other textile artifacts. With the establishment of the Imperial Museum and the exhibition of the Ottoman Empire at several world's fairs, tents and textiles were deployed in the service of constructing a sense of Ottoman nationhood, built on the history of the dynasty. Akin to trends in permanent architecture, a subset of the extant tents reveals a tendency for citation of historical or classical modes. This architectural self-historicization further underscores the longevity of the Ottoman state. At the same time, modernization projects changed the face of the empire, particularly its infrastructure and transportation systems. The sultan took advantage of new technologies—especially photography and print—to disseminate images of the modernizing empire. This dual strategy of looking to the past while constructing the future might be thought of as two sides of the coin that is modernity. In other words, the vision of the future may be glimpsed in the past—and both were concurrently celebrated in tents.

A great many of the surviving Ottoman imperial tents today reside in museums and collections around Europe. Chapter 5 addresses this phenomenon by tracing the afterlives of several of these tents, whether they left Ottoman lands as gifts, were won as war booty, or were bought and collected by wealthy patrons. In Polish spheres in particular, the tents won by Jan III Sobieski at the Battle of Vienna resulted in a deep fascination for Ottoman tents that may still be observed in modern museum displays. Substitutes of the Grand Vizier's legendary tent in the form of pastiches and imitations were used to tell the tale of the great European victory. The Ottoman and Ottomanesque tents circulating in Europe throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries underscore

the international currency of fabric architecture from the "East." A number of garden pavilions and tent rooms in palaces in western Europe recall Ottoman fabric architecture only vaguely, taking significant liberties with the putative source of inspiration. Nineteenth -and early twentieth-century collectors of tent panels contextualized the objects in different ways, whether displaying them among other "Turkish" or "Oriental" objects in themed rooms or fashioning draped and tented interiors with which to frame them. Displays of tents in museums today, such as those in the Military Museum in Vienna, reflect the long and complicated history of these objects as they passed from Ottoman lands into European hands.

While the chapters' thematic foci—architecture, nature, ceremony, modernity, and afterlives—emerged from the collected evidence, a number of other issues can be traced throughout the dissertation. The use and reuse of tents over time, for various occasions, and in different places appears again and again. In the literal sense, tents can be reused because the Imperial Tent Corps kept them up with regular cleaning and repair. For this reason, tents like the chevron-patterned canopy with the embroidered panorama could be brought out on a number of occasions in the first years of Sultan Reşad's reign. Metaphorically, though, the sultan's tent could be thought of as a substitute for that of his forebears, tracing the lineage of rulers back to their nomadic origins and the time of Osman. In this way, the continued use of royal tents over time created a kind of fabric *silsile*—a chain or genealogy—parallel to dynastic succession. The tents that traveled to Europe, too, were altered and substituted over time, as their histories were rewritten through alterations of the material objects and the narratives woven in and around them.

Another thematic topos that arises is shade (*saye*). In the term for a particular type of tent, *sayeban*, shade is embedded in its very etymology. But the correlation between tents and shade assumes deeper significance as well, as it can be used to describe the sultan himself as the Shadow of God (*zillullah*). In the case of the ceremonies inaugurating the Ma'an train station, the tent in conjunction with the sultanic title "Shelter of the Caliphate" (*hilâfet-penâhî*) adds yet another facet to the metaphorical connotations of shade. The intersection of tents and royal titles draws out another unifying theme of the dissertation. The malleability of tents' functions and their meanings meant that they served as opportune devices for defining and performing identity, whether that of the sultan, the House of Osman, or the Ottoman nation at large.

Via its broad scope, this dissertation lays the foundation for continued research and paves the way for future avenues of inquiry, including the continued use of decorated tents into the Republican period. Additionally, further research could provide the necessary evidence to nuance our understanding of different levels of tent use and patronage in Ottoman society. How do the sultan's tents differ from the grand vizier's or the *şehzade*? How does gender affect the use of tents in courtly circles? How and in what manner did the penchant for sumptuous fabric architecture trickle down the social hierarchy and manifest in tents for the market, for aristocratic and even merchant classes? While the dissertation focuses largely on royal patronage and the imperial center of Istanbul, a future project could move beyond the court and capital city by investigating the uses of ceremonial fabric architecture in other regions such as Egypt or Iraq.[374]

---

[374] Sam Bowker has worked on the *Khayamiyya* in Cairo, a tent-making cooperative that still operates in Egypt today. Sam Bowker, "The Urban Fabric of Cairo: Khayamiya and the Suradeq," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (2014): 475-501.

Furthermore, comparison with various historical and contemporary courtly tent practices would illustrate the ways in which the Ottoman case is particular, and how it operates in broader terms. For example, photographs taken by Antoin Sevruguin (1830-1933) in particular reveal that royal tents were used in similar ways in Qajar Iran (1789-1925). A number of tents were erected on the occasion of annual horse races, much like those discussed in Chapter 3 (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). In addition, monumental tent-like fabrics complete with appliquéd arches and ornate roundels were draped over the façade of Gulistan Palace in Tehran to theatrical effect (Figures 6.3 and 6.4). Smaller, more intimate but no less luxuriant tents survive from this period as well, such as a single-columned conical structure now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figure 6.5). Later Pahlavi Iran (1925-1979) would also make for an interesting comparison, too, as the royal family performed national history through the proxy of place and princely tentage in 1971 when Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (r. 1941-1979) ordered a massive luxury encampment to be erected near the ancient site of Persepolis for the 2,500th anniversary celebration of the first Persian empire (Figure 6.6). Further investigation into the use and socio-political meanings of tents in tents would, however, necessitate access to collections and archives in Iran.

Lastly, another fruitful comparison could be made with the use of royal tents in colonized India. While Peter Andrews has worked extensively on the tent culture in the Mughal court (1526-1540, 1555-1857), Queen Victoria likewise employed tents in her role as Empress of India (Figure 6.8). Such a comparison between a colonizer performing power through the adoption of local customs and the Ottomans who remained

uncolonized and deployed their own historical past in order to maintain power while modernizing, undoubtedly would make for a thought-provoking case study.

In addition to pioneering scholarship on an understudied era of Ottoman imperial tentage, and therefore contributing to the subfield of tent studies, this study also contributes to broader discourses on Ottoman architecture and court life by assessing these fabric structures in conjunction with myriad visual sources, including illustrated manuscripts, photography, and printed commodities such as newspapers and postcards. The discussion of tents as fabric architecture brings to life a seemingly lost—but really only momentarily invisible—layer of the built environment of the Ottoman court. As such, this project engages with recent discourses on architectural trends such as the reevaluation of the eighteenth-century Ottoman baroque and the nineteenth-century manifestation of the historical imaginary in imperial constructions, in addition to studies on royal gardens. The dissertation also makes available rarely seen textile artifacts and analyzes them in light of the broader history of Ottoman and Islamic textiles. This analysis of the ceremonial uses of tents in the late Ottoman period can, hopefully, contribute to the highly fraught and complicated notion of modernity and its development outside Europe. In the case of the Ottoman empire, traditions of princely tentage were called upon to demonstrate the empire's longevity and adaptability, in an era marked by change.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival Sources

BOA – Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
(The Ottoman State Archives of the Prime Minister's Office)

A.MKT.UM.87.63.1 (Sadâret Mektubî Kalemi Umum Vilayat Evrakı), 1268 AH / 1851-2 CE

C.AS.596 25114 (Cevdet Askeriye), 1206 AH / 1791-2 CE

C.AS.760 32064 (Cevdet Askeriye), 1202 AH / 1787-8 CE

C.HR.119 5928 (Cevdet Hariciye), 1201 AH / 1786-7 CE

C.HR.120 5967 (Cevdet Hariciye), 1207 AH / 1792 CE

C.HR.126 6279 (Cevdet Hariciye), 1182 AH / 1768 CE

C.HR 5967 (Cevdet Hariciye), 1207 AH / 1792 CE

C.MTZ.10 (Cevdet Eyalet-i Mümtaze), 1204 AH / 1789-90 CE

C.SH.27.1316 (Cevdet Sıhhiye), 1256 AH / 1840-1 CE

C.SM.9.A.460 (Cevdet Saray), 1215 AH / 1800 CE

C.SM.16.815 (Cevdet Saray), 1178 AH / 1764-5 CE

C.SM.32.1632 (Cevdet Saray), 1174 AH / 1760-1 CE

C.SM.36.1810 (Cevdet Saray), 1211 AH / 1796-7 CE

C.SM.36.1837 (Cevdet Saray), 1227 AH / 1812 CE

C.SM.46.2321 (Cevdet Saray), 1197 AH / 1782-3 CE

C.SM.60.3041 (Cevdet Saray), 1175 AH / 1762 CE

C.SM.85.4274 (Cevdet Saray), 1234 AH / 1818-9 CE

C.SM.167.8361 (Cevdet Saray), 1262 AH / 1845-6 CE

C.SM.169.8467 (Cevdet Saray), 1233 AH / 1817-8 CE

C.SM.177.8900 (Cevdet Saray), 1147 AH / 1734-5 CE

D.BŞM 15 (Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Kalemi Evrakı), 934 AH / 1527-8 CE

D.BŞM 3937 (Bab-ı Defteri Başmuhasebe Kalemi Evrakı), 1182 AH /1768-9 CE

DH.MKT.1911.24.1 (Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi), 1309 AH / 1891-2 CE

MAD.d..1255 (Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler), 1105 AH / 1693-4 CE

Primary Sources

Abu al-Fazl ibn Mubarak and H. Blochmann. *The Áín i Akbarí.* Osnabruck: Biblio Verlag, 1985, I.

Baratti, Antonio. *Constantinople portrayed and described: with news on the famous seven churches of Asia Minor and other observable sites of the East: work adorned with 100 elegant steel carvings drawn on the places by very talented architects and in which on the faith of notions personally drawn in the East and exact recent information is given a precise and complete picture of the capital of the Ottoman Empire, of religion, government and customs of its inhabitants, and generally of the recently introduced political innovations*. Turin: Typographical Works by Alessandro Fontana, 1840.

Bent, James Theodore, John Covel, and Thomas Dallam. *Early voyages and travels in the Levant*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1893.

Bon, Ottaviano. *The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court* (*From the Seventeenth-Century Edition of John Withers*). Edited by Godfrey Goodwin. London: Saqi, 1996.

Bon, Ottaviano. *A Description of the Grand Signour's Seraglio or Turkish Emperours Court.* Edited by Robert Withers, and John Greaves. London: Printed for Jo. Ridley, 1653.

Brassey, Anna. *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam": Our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months*. New York: John Wurtele Lovell, 1881.

Busbecq, Ogier Ghislain de. *Turkish Letters*. London: Sickle Moon Books, 2001.

Cafer Efendi, and Howard Crane. *Risāle-i Miʿmāriyye: An Early-Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Treatise on Architecture: Facsimile with Translation and Notes*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987.

Clarke, Edward Daniel. *Travels in Various Countries*. Edited by Robert Walpole. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1814.

Crane, Howard, Esra Akın, and Gülru Necipoğlu. *Sinan's Autobiographies Five Sixteenth-Century Texts*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

Craven, Elizabeth. *A Journey Through the Crimea to Constantinople*. New York: Arno Press, 1970.

Dodd, Anna Bowman. *In the Palaces of the Sultan*. New York, NY: Dodd, Mead and Co, 1903.

d'Ohsson, Ignatius Mouradgea. *Oriental Antiquities, and General View of the Othoman Customs, Laws, and Ceremonies Exhibiting Many Curious Pieces of the Eastern Hemisphere, Relative to the Christian and Jewish Dispensations; with Various Rites and Mysteries of the Oriental Freemasons. Dedicated to the King of Sweden. Translated from the French of M. De M. D'Ohsson, Knight of the Royal Masonic Orders of Vasa—Templars—Malta—Philippine—Ros a Crucian &C.—Secretary to the King of Sweden; Formerly His Interpreter and Charge D'affairs at the Court of Constantinople*. Philadelphia: Printed for the Select Committee and Grand Lodge of Enquiry, 1788.

d'Ohsson, Ignatius Mouradgea. *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman, divisé en deux parties, dont l'une comprend la législation mahométane; l'autre l'histoire de l'Empire othoman.* Paris: Impr. de monsieur [Firmin Didot], 1790.

Enderunlu, Fazıl. *Zenanname* (Book of Women), 1793. British Library Or.7094.

Dwight, H. G., *Constantinople, Old and New: Illustrated*. London, 1915.

Flachat, Jean-Claude. *Observations sur le commerce et sur les arts d'une partie de l'Europe, de l'Asie, de l'Afrique, et même des Indes Orientales.* Lyon: Jacquenod père et Rusand, 1766.

Hatt-i Şerif-i Gülhane (Noble Rescript of the Rose Garden)

Hidden, Alexander W. *The Ottoman Dynasty; A History of the Sultans of Turkey from the Earliest Authentic Record to the Present Time, with Notes on the Manners and Customs of the People*. New York: N.W. Hidden, 1912.

Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kampf*. London, New York, Melbourne: Hurst and Blackett, Ltd., 1812.

Hoffman, Carl. "Historical Exhibition: Kaiser is coming… again!" *The Jerusalem Post.* 11 January 2012.

Hornby, Edmund. *In and Around Stamboul*. Philadelphia: J. Challen & Son, Lindsay & Blakiston, 1858.

Ingigi, P. Luca. "La gita del Harem o Gineceo a'palazzi d'estate precede di qualche giorno qualla del Gran Signore, e fassi con estreme gelosia." Ghoukas Indjidjian, *Villeggiature de' Bizantini sul Bosforo Tracio. Opera del P. Luca Ingigi, tradotta dal P. Sherubino Aznavor.* Venezia: S. Lazzaro, 1831.

Kotzebue, Moritz von. *Narrative of a Journey into Persia, in the Suite of the Imperial Russian Embassy, in the Year 1817*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1819.

Lamartine, A. A. *Lamartine ve İstanbul Yazıları.* Translated by N. Berk. Istanbul, 1971.

Lamartine, Alphonse de. *History of Turkey*. New York, NY: D. Appleton & Co, 1855.

Lamartine, Alphonse de. *A Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Comprising Recollections, Sketches, Etc. Made During a Tour in the East in 1832-3*. 1835.

Launay, Marie de. *Osmanlı mimarisi, usûl-i mi'marî-i Osmanî; L'architecture ottomane; Die ottomanische Baukunst*. İstanbul: Çamlica, 2010.

Lokman, and Nigâr Anafarta. *Hünernâme: Minyatürleri ve Sanatcilari.* Istanbul: 1969.

Marsigli, L. F. *L'Etat Militaire de L'Empire Ottoman, ses progress et sa decadence.* Amsterdam, 1732.

Miller, Barnette. *Beyond the Sublime Porte: The Grand Seraglio of Stambul*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931.

Montagu, Mary Wortley, and Robert Halsband. *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. Oxford, England: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Naima Mustafa Efendi. *Naima Tarihi,* (simplified by Zuhuri Danışman). Istanbul, 1969.

"New Sultan Breaks with Moslem Traditions: Christians See Mehmed V. Girt with Osman's Sword in Ayoub Mosque." *New York Times,* May 10, 1909.

Orchowski, A. J. *History of the Siege of Vienna, by the Turks in 1683; And of Its Deliverance by John Sobieski, King of Poland*. London: Gunnell & Shearman, 1829.

Paine, Caroline. *Tent and Harem Notes of an Oriental Trip*. New York: D. Appleton and Co, 1859.

Pardoe, Julia. *Beauties of the Bosphorus by Miss Pardoe… Illustrated in a series of views of Constantinople and its environs, from original drawings by W. H. Barlett.* London: Published for the proprietors, by George Virtue, 1838.

Pardoe, Julia. *The City of the Sultan, and Domestic Manners of the Turks, with a steam voyage up the Danube [in 1836]*. London: Routledge, 1854.

Pertusier's *Promenades pittoresque dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*. Paris: H. Nicolle, 1815.

Porter, David. *Constantinople and Its Environs In a Series of Letters, Exhibiting the Actual State of the Manners, Customs, and Habits of the Turks, Armenians, Jews, and Greeks*. New York: Harper, 1835.

Porter, Robert Ker. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &C. &C.: During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821.

Recollections of the Great Exhibition 1851. London: Lloyd Brothers & Co. & Simpkin Marshall & Co, 1851.

Sobieski, John. *The Letter of the King of Poland to His Excellency, the Marquess De Grana From the Turkish Camp in the Visiers Tent at Vienna, the 13 of September 1683*. London: Printed, and are to be sold by Walter Davis, 1683.

Sobolewski, Paul. *The 12th Day of September, 1883, Is the 200th Anniversary of One of the Grandest Events in History: John Sobieski, the King of Poland, Conquers the Turks Under the Walls of Vienna September 12-Th, 1683, and Forever After Relieves the Whole Christian World from the Iron Yoke of the Turks*. Chicago: "Gazeta Polska" 1883.

Sobolewski, Paul. *John Sobieski: The King of Poland, Conquers the Turks Under the Walls of Vienna September 12th, 1683, and Forever After Relieves the Whole Christian World from the Iron Yoke of the Turks*. Chicago: Edward C. Rozanski, Edward. J. Moskal, Tony Szplit, 1983.

Trinity College Library, Cambridge, MS Freshfield O. 17.2.

Tursun Beg, Halil İnalcik and Rhoads Murphey. *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*. Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1978.

Tyler, Royall, and Mildred Bliss correspondence, dated April 29, 1928. Dumbarton Oaks Archive.

Walsh, Robert. *Constantinople: And the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor. Illustrated in a Series of Drawings from Nature by Thomas Allom*. Fisher, Son, & Co, 1838.

Secondary Sources

Ådahl, Karin. *Orientalismen i svensk konst: islamiska föremål, förebilder och influenser i konst och konsthantverk*. Höganäs: Wiken, 1990.

Adler, Antje. *Gelebte Antike: Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und Charlottenhof.* Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 2012.

Ahmet Ağa, Richard Franz Kreutel, and Esat Nermi. *Viyana kuşatması günlüğü*. İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1970.

Ağın, Ahmed. *Beşiktaş İlçesi Yıldız Sarayı, Çırağan Sarayı; Tarihi ve Yapılışları.* İstanbul: Tan Gazetesi ve Matbaası, 1965.

Akarlı, Engin Deniz. "The Tangled Ends of an Empire: Ottoman Encounters with the West and Problems of Westernization, An Overview." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 26, no. 3 (2007): 353-366.

Akarlı, Engin Deniz. *The Problems of External Pressures, Power Struggles, and Budgetary Deficits in Ottoman Politics Under Abdulhamid II (1876-1909): Origins And Solutions.* Princeton University Thesis, 1976.

Akcan, Esra. "The Gate of the Bosporus: Early Photographs of Istanbul and the Dolmabahçe Palace." In *The Indigenous Lens? Early Photography in the Near and Middle East*, edited by Markus Ritter and Staci G Scheiwiller, 221-236. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018.

Aksakal, Hasan. *The Ambivalent Nature of Turkish Modernization: A Reading on Turkey in Context of Modernization, Nationalism and Civilization.* Ayman Verlag und Media-Service, 2010.

Akin, Nur, Afife Batur, Selçuk Batur, and Mimarlar Odasi. *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: A Supra-National Heritage.* Istanbul Büyükkent Subesi. Istanbul: YEM Yayin, 2001.

Aksoy Yıldız. "Palace Gardens in Istanbul: The Example of Dolmabahçe." *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 31, no. 4 (2011): 332-342.

Akşit, İlhan. *The Palaces of Topkapı and Dolmabahçe.* Istanbul: Fatih Yayinevi Matbaasi, 1980.

Aktepe, M.Münir. *Şem'dani-zade Fındıklı Süleyman Efendi Tarihi: Mür'it-Tevarih.* İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversity, 1976.

Allsen, Thomas T. *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Al-Sharairi, Nidal, Ziad Al-Saad, and Ion Sandu. "Identification of Dyes Applied to Ottoman Textiles." *International Journal of Conservation Science* 8, no. 2 (April-June 2017): 251-258.

Anadol, Ayşen, Anna Czarniecka, Mary P. Işın, and Neyyir Berktay, eds. *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories: 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations.* Istanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Museum, 2013.

Andrews, Peter A. *Felt Tents and Pavilions: The Nomadic Tradition and Its Interaction with Princely Tentage.* London: Melisende, 1999.

Andrews, Peter A. "The Generous Heart or the Mass of Clouds: The Court Tents of Shah Jahan." *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 149-165.

Andrews, Peter A. *Nomad Tent Types in the Middle East*. Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1997.

Andrews, Peter A. "Tent; Ottoman Empire." *The Dictionary of Art*. London 1996, 478-480.

Andrews, Peter A. "Tent." *Oxford Art Online.* http://www.oxfordartonline.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/subscriber/article/grove/art/T083817 (accessed January 16, 2014).

Andrews, Peter A., and Mügül Andrews. *Tentage at the Calico Museum and Its Patterns*. 2015.

Andrews, Walter G. *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song: Ottoman Lyric Poetry*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985.

Andrews, Walter G., and Mehmet Kalpaklı. *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Anmac, Elvan, and Filiz Adigüzel Toprak. "Changing Face of Ottoman Imperial Image: Carpets of Dolmabahçe Palace, Turkiye." *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* (2006): 297-303.

Appadurai, Arjun. "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective.* Edited by Arjun Appadurai, 3-63. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Arciszewska, Barbara. "A Golden Age for a Changing Nation: Polish National Identity and the Histories of the Wilanów Residence of King Jan III Sobieski" *Architectural History* 49 (2006): 101-128.

Arık, Rüçhan. "Neue Forschungen Über Anatolisch-Türkische Kunst Während der Verwestlichungsperiode." *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, Edited by G. Feher, 57-69. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.

Arseven, Celal Esad. *Sanat Ansiklopedisi,* Istanbul 1950 and 1975.

Arseven, Celal Esad. *Türk Sanatı*, Istanbul, n.d., 24-30.

Arseven, Celal Esad. "Benaluka." *Sanat Ansiklopedisi,* Istanbul, 1950, II/85 I.

Artan, Tülay. *Architecture As a Theatre of Life: Profile of the Eighteenth Century Bosphorus*. Ph.D. thesis: M.I.T., 1989.

Artan, Tülay. "The Making of the Sublime Porte near the Alay Köşkü and a Tour of a Grand Vizierial Palace at Süleymaniye." *Turcica* 43 (2011): 145-206.

Atasoy, Nurhan. *1582 Surname-i Hümayun: An Imperial Celebration.* Istanbul: Koçbank, 1997.

Atasoy, Nurhan. *A Garden for the Sultan: Gardens and Flowers in the Ottoman Culture.* Turkey: Aygaz, 2002.

Atasoy, Nurhan. *İbrahim Paşa Sarayı*. Istanbul, 1972.

Atasoy, Nurhan. *Otağ-ı Hümayun: Osmanlı Çadırları: Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Has Ahırlar, 22 Kasım 2000-22 Mayıs 2001*. T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü.

Atasoy, Nurhan. *Otağ-ı Hümayun: Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex*. Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000.

Atasoy, Nurhan. "Ottoman Garden Pavilions and Tents." *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 15–20.

Atasoy, Nurhan and Filiz Çağman. *Turkish Miniature Painting*. Istanbul: R.C.D. Cultural Institute, 1974.

Atasoy, Nurhan, and Lâle Uluç. *Impressions of Ottoman Culture in Europe, 1453-1699*. Istanbul: Armaggan, 2012.

Atasoy, Nurhan, and Tulay Artan. *Splendors of the Ottoman Sultans*. Memphis, TN: Lithograph, 1992.

Atasoy, Nurhan, Walter B. Denny, Louise W. Mackie, Hülya Tezcan, Şerife Atlıhan, Julian Raby, and Alison Effeny. *İpek, the Crescent & the Rose: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets*. London: Azimuth Editions Ltd. on behalf of TEB İletişim ve Yaypıncılık, 2001.

Atıl, Esin. *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent*. Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1987.

Atıl, Esin. *Levni and the Surname: The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival.* Istanbul: Koçbank, 1999.

Atıl, Esin. "The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Festival." Muqarnas 10 (1993): 181-200.

Atıl, Esin. *Süleymanname: The Illustrated History of Süleyman the Magnificent.* Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1986.

Atıl, Esin, and Zacharias Wehme. *Images of Imperial İstanbul: Facsimile Edition of Eight Panoramic Views Made by Zacharias Wehme in 1582 from an Album in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek Dresden (Mscr. J 2a)*. İstanbul: A. Ertuğ, 1993.

Atsız, Bedriye. "Türkische Kunstgegenstände im Bayerischen Armeemuseum in Ingolstadt." *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, Edited by G. Feher, 123-124. Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1978.

Avcioğlu, Nebahat. "A Palace of One's Own: Stanislas I's Kiosks and the Idea of Self-Representation." *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 4 (2003): 662-684.

Avcıoğlu, Nebahat. *'Turquerie' and the Politics of Representation, 1728-1876.* Farnham: Ashgate, 2011.

al-Azmeh, Aziz. *Islams and Modernities.* London: Verso, 1996.

al-Azmeh, Aziz. *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Pagan Polities.* London: I.B. Tauris, 1997.

Babaie, Sussan. *Isfahan and its Palaces: Statecraft, Shi'ism and the Architecture of Conviviality in Early Modern Iran*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008.

Bağcı, Serpil, Filiz Çağman, Günsel Renda, and Zeren Tanındı. *Ottoman Painting.* Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism Publications, 2010.

Bahrani, Zainab, Zeynep Çelik, and Edhem Eldem, eds. *Scramble for the Past: A Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire, 1753-1914.* Istanbul: SALT, 2011.

Baker, Patricia L. *Islamic Textiles*. London: British Museum Press, 1995.

Baker, Patricia L. "Textile patterns on royal Ottoman Kaftans," in *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from Topkapi Palace*. Edited by Patricia L. Baker, Hülya Tezcan, Jennifer M. Wearden, and Ahmet Ertuğ, 31-44. Istanbul: Ertuğ & Kocabiyik, 1997.

Baker, Patricia L., Hülya Tezcan, Jennifer M. Wearden, and Ahmet Ertuğ, eds. *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from Topkapi Palace*. Istanbul: Ertuğ & Kocabiyik, 1997.

Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Rabelais and His World.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Banerjee, Milinda. "Ocular Sovereignty, Acclamatory Rulership and Political Communication: Visits of Princes of Wales to Bengal." In *Royal Heirs and the Uses of Soft Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Edited by Frank Lorenz Müller and Heidi Mehrkens, PAGES. London: Palgrave, 2016.

Bang, Peter F., and Dariusz Kołodziejczyk. *Universal Empire A Comparative Approach to Imperial Culture and Representation in Eurasian History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139136952>.

Barışta, Örcün. *Techniques from Turkish Embroidery.* Ankara: Gazi University, Informal Vocational Education Faculty, 1997.

Barışta, Hatice Örcün. "Turkish Embroideries: Later Period of the Ottoman Empire." *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*, edited by Tadeusz Majda, 37-42. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990.

Barışta, Örcün. *Turkish Handicrafts.* Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1988.

Barışta, Örcün. *Türk işleme sanatı tarihi*. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi, 1984.

Barillari, Diana, and Ezio Godoli. *Istanbul 1900: Art-Nouveau Architecture and Interiors.* New York, NY: Rizzoli, 1996.

Barkan, Ömer Lütfü. "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na ait Tereke Defterleri. (1545-1659)." *Belgeler* III, iss. 5-6 (1968).

Barkey, Karen. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Bartsch, Katharine and Elise Kamleh. "Karbala in Lucknow: An Itinerary of Architectural Mobility." *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, No. 2 (2014), 267-302.

Bates, Ulku U. "The European Influence on Ottoman Architecture." In *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*. Edited by Abraham Ascher, Tibor Halasi-Kun, and Béla K. Király, 167-182. Brooklyn, NY: Brooklyn College Press, 1979.

Batur, Enis, Selahattin Özpalabıyıklar, Şennur Şentürk, Zafer Toprak, eds. *Iron Track: Age of the Train*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Cultural Activities, Arts and Publishing, 2003.

Baudrillard, Jean. "The trompe-l'oeil." In *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France,* Edited by Norman Bryson, 53-62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2000.

Baxter, Denise Amy, and Meredith Martin. *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors*. Farnham, England: Ashgate, 2010.

Beach, Milo Cleveland. "Mughal Tents." *Orientations* 16, No. 1 (January 1985): 32-43.

Bergmann, Bettina. "Painted Perspectives of a Villa Visit: Landscape as Status and Metaphor." In *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Décor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula.* Edited by Elaine K. Gazda, assisted by Anne E. Haeck, 49-70. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.

Berman, Nina. *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000-1989*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011.

Berker, Nurhayat and Sami Güner. *Türk Islemeleri: The Turkish Embroidery.* Ankara: Yapı Kredi Yayinlari, 1991.

Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Beylerbeyi Palace. İstanbul: TBMM Dept. of National Palaces, 1993.

Bhambra, Gurminder K. *Rethinking Modernity: Postcolonialism and the Sociological Imagination.* New York, NY: Palgrave, 2007.

Białostocki, Jan. *Sarmatism*. Oxford University Press, Grove Art, 1996.

Biedrońska-Słota, Beata. "Conservation of the XVII Century Oriental Tent from the Czartoryski Collection in Cracow." *Conxervazione e Restauro dei Tessili Convegno Internazionale Como 1980.* Milano, 1980.

Biedrońska-Słota, Beata, ed. *Crossroads of Costume and Textiles in Poland, Papers from the International Conference of the ICOM Costume Committee at the National Museum in Cracow, September 28-October 4, 2003.* Kraków: National Museum in Cracow, 2005.

Biedrońska-Słota, Beata. "Namiot Turecki w Zbiorach Działu Tkanin Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie / A Turkish Tent in the Krakow National Museum." *Art Turc/Turkish Art 10th Congres international d'art turc, Fondation Max van Berchem.* Geneva 1999, 183-190.

Biedrońska-Słota, Beata. *The Orient in Polish Art: Catalogue of the Exhibition.* Cracow: National Museum, 1992.

Biedrońska-Słota, Beata. *Sarmatyzm: Sen o Potędze (Sarmatism: a Dream of Power)*. Krakau: Muzeum Narodowe, 2010.

Biedrońska-Słota, Beata. *Tkaniny Orientalne w Polsce: Gust Czy Tradycja? (Oriental Fabrics in Poland: Taste or Tradition?)* Warszawa: Wydawn. DiG, 2011.

Biedrońska-Słota, Beata. "Turkish Textiles in Poland: Function and Role in Polish-Turkish Relations." In *Distant Neighbour Close Memories 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations*, Edited by Ayşen Anadol, Anna Czarniecka, Mary P. Işın, and Neyyir Berktay, 86-95. İstanbul: Sakıp Sabancı Müzesi, 2014.

Biedrońska-Słota, Beata, Magdalena Ginter-Frołow and Jerzy Malinowski, eds. *The Art of the Islamic World and the Artistic Relationships Between Poland and Islamic Countries; 11th Conference of the Polish Institute of World Art Studies.* Kraków: "Manggha" Museum of Japanese Art and Technology; Warsaw: Polish Institute of World Art Studies, 2011.

Bierman, Irene A., Rifaʿat Ali Abou-El-Haj, and Donald Preziosi. *The Ottoman City and Its Parts: Urban Structure and Social Order*. New Rochelle, N.Y.: A.D. Caratzas, 1991.

Bilgi, Hülya. *Reunited After Centuries: Works of Art Restored to Turkey by the Sadberk Hanım Museum.* Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2005.

Bilgi, Hülya and İdil Zanbak. *Skill of the Hand, Delight of the Eye Ottoman Embroideries in the Saberk Hanım Museum Collection: [Exhibition, Istanbul, Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 7 December 2012 - 26 May 2013]*. Istanbul: Sadberk Hanim Museum, 2012.

Bilgi, Hülya and Priscilla Mary Isin. *Çatma and Kemha: Ottoman Silk Textiles.* Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2007.

Bilsel, Can. *Antiquity on Display: Regimes of the Authentic in Berlin's Pergamon Museum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

"Birthday Party: Your Child's Special Day." *Heeresgeschichtliches Museum* https://www.hgm.at/en/visitor-service/children/birthdayparty.html. (Accessed 2 March 2018).

Bisaha, Nancy. *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Blair, Sheila S. "The Mongol Capital of Sultaniyya, 'The Imperial.'" *Iran* 24 (1986): 139-151.

Blair, Sheila, and Jonathan Bloom, eds. *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*. Dartmouth College: Hood Museum of Art, 1991.

Bleichmar, Daniela, and Meredith Martin. *Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World*. John Wiley & Sons, 2016.

Blumi, Isa. *Foundations of Modernity: Human Agency and the Imperial State.* New York: Routledge, 2012.

Böhme, Harmut et al, eds. *Art & Textiles: Fabric as Material and Concept in Modern Art from Klimt to the Present*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2014.

Böhmer, Harald, Nevin Enez, Recep Karadağ, Charllotte Kown, eds. *Koekboya: Natural Dyes and Textiles: A Colour Journey from Turkey to India and Beyond.* Ganderkesee: Remhob, cop. 2002.

Bogucka, Maria. *Dzieje kultury polskiej do 1918 roku* (*History of Polish Culture before 1918)*. Wrocław, Warsaw, Kraków: Zakład Nardowy im. Osslińskich, 1981.

Bogucka, Maria. *The Lost World of the "Sarmatians": Custom As the Regulator of Polish Social Life in Early Modern Times*. Warszawa: Polish Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, 1996.

Booth, Marilyn, ed. *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Bowker, Sam. "The Urban Fabric of Cairo: Khayamiya and the Suradeq." *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (2014): 475-501.

Boyar, Ebru, and Kate Fleet. *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. *Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic.* Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2001.

Bozdoğan, Sibel. "Reading Ottoman Architecture through Modernist Lenses: Nationalist Historiography and the "New Architecture" in the Early Republic." In *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum,"* edited by Julia Bailey, Sibel Bozdoğan, and Gülru Necipoğlu, PAGES. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Brenk, Beat. "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41, Studies on Art and Archaeology in Honor of Ernst Kitzinger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday (1987).

Brilliant, Richard, ed. *Reuse Value: Spolia And Appropriation in Art and Architecture From Constantine to Sherrie Levine.* Farnham, Surrey, UK, England: Ashgate, 2011.

Broadbridge, Anne F. *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Brown, Bill. "Thing Theory." *Critical Inquiry.* 28, no. 1 (2001):

Brummett, Palmira, ed. *The "Book" of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Brusati, Celeste. "Perspectives in Flux: Viewing Dutch Pictures in Real Time." *Art History* 35 (2012): 908-933.

Bujak, Adam, Krystyna Haupt, Eunika Bogucka-Jamka, Jolanta Sosnowska, and Jan K. Ostrowski. *The Royal Cracow*. Cracow: Biały Kruk, 2005.

Bush, Olga. "Bringing the 'Other' Home: The Islamicate Residential Spaces of the Castello d'Albertis in Genoa, Italy, 1890-1930." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz: Visualizing Otherness in Modern Italy (XIX-XX Century)*. Edited by Eva-Maria Troelenberg and Melania Savino, 63-85. Firenze, Kunsthistorisches Institut 2017.

Butler, Daniel Allen. *Shadow of the Sultan's Realm: The Destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Modern Middle East*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2011.

Cannadine, David and S. R. F Price. *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Caraffa Costanza, and Shalem Avinoam. "Hitler's Carpet a Tale of One City." *Mitteilungen Des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 55, no. 1 (2013): 119-143.

Cavaliero, Roderick. *Ottomania The Romantics and the Myth of the Islamic Orient*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2010.

Celaloğlu, Mustafa. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Yükselme Devrinde Türk Ordusunun Savaşları ve Devletin Kurumu, İç ve Dış Siyasası (Tabakttülmemalik ve Derecetülmesalik),* Simplified by Sadrettin Tokdemir). Istanbul, 1937.

Çelik, Zeynep. "Photographing the Mundane." In *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Zeynep Çelik and Edhem Eldem, 154-203. Istanbul: Koç University, 2015.

Çelik, Zeynep, and Edhem Eldem, eds. *Camera Ottomana: Photography and Modernity in the Ottoman Empire, 1840-1914.* Istanbul: Koç University, 2015.

Cerasi, Maurice M. "The Commerce of Forms and Types Between the West and the Ottoman East from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century." *Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 1-2 (1997-99): 114-133.

Cerasi, Maurice M. "Historicism and Inventive Innovation in Ottoman Architecture: 1720-1820." In *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: A Supra-National Heritage*, edited by Nur Akın, Afife Batur, and Selçuk Batur, 34-38. İstanbul: YEM Yayın, 2001.

Cerasi, Maurice. M. "Late-Ottoman Architects and Master Builders." *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 87-102.

Cerasi, Maurice M. "Open Space, Water and Trees in Ottoman Urban Culture in the XVIIIth-XIXth Centuries." In *Environmental Design: Water and Architecture*. Edited by Attilio Petruccioli, 36-49. Rome: Beniamino Carucci Editore, 1985.

Cerasi, Maurice M. "The Urban Perspective of Ottoman Monuments from Sinan to Mehmet Tahir: \ Change and Continuity." In *Seven Centuries of Ottoman Architecture: A Supra-National Heritage*, edited by Nur Akın, Afife Batur, and Selçuk Batur, 171-190. İstanbul: YEM Yayın, 2001.

Ceylan, Mevlüt. *İstanbul'dan Medine'ye Bir Tarih Belgeseli: Hicaz Demiryolu Fotoğraf Albümü*. Istanbul: Alkaraka Türk, 1999.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000.

"Charlottenhof Palace." *Sanssouci Park Postdam*. http://www.potsdam-park-sanssouci.de/charlottenhof-palace.html

Chevallier, Bernard, and Marc Walter. *L'art de vivre au temps de Joséphine*. Paris: Flammarion, 1998.

Chrisman-Campbell, Kimberly. *Fashion Victims: Dress at the Court of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015.

Christensen, Peter. *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017.

Chowdhury, Rashed. "Pan-Islamism and Modernisation During the Reign of Sultan Abdülhamid, 1876-1909." PhD Thesis, McGill University, 2011.

Classen, Constance, J. P. Toner, Richard Newhauser, Herman Roodenburg, Anne C. Vila, and David Howes, eds. *A Cultural History of the Senses*. London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.

Collier, Mavis, and David Wrightson. "The Re-Creation of the Turkish Tent at Painshill." *Garden History* 21, no. 1 (Summer 1993): 46-59.

Conan, Michel, Nurhan Atasoy, and M. Baha Tanman, eds. *Nurhan Atasoy'a Armağan*. Istanbul: Lale Yayıncılık, 2014.

Conley, Tom. Forward to Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

Constantinople Through the Lens of Achilles Samandji and Eugene Dalleggio. Turin: Umberto Allemandi & C, 2009.

Crăciun, Magdalena. *Material Culture and Authenticity: Fake Branded Fashion in Europe*. 2014.

Curatola, Giovanni. *Turkish Art and Architecture: From the Seljuks to the Ottomans*. New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2010.

Czyżewski, Krzysztof, Krystyna Malcharek, Stanisław Michta, Łukasz Schuster, and Adam Wierzba. *Wawel: Castle Armoury*. Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2006.

Çağman, Filiz and Zeren Tanindi. *Islamic Miniature Painting: Topkapi Saray Museum*. Istanbul: Ali Riza Baskan, 1979.

Çalış, Deniz B. "Gardens at the Kağıthane Commons during the Tulip Period (1534-1682)." In *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity: Questions, Methods, and Resources in A Multicultural Perspective*, edited by Michel Conan, 239-266. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007.

Çelik, Zeynep. *Displaying the Orient Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

Çelik, Zeynep. *The Impact of Westernization on Istanbul's Urban Form, 1838-1908*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Dissertation, 1984.

Çelik, Zeynep. *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986.

Çelik Alexander, Zeynep. "Colonialism, Orientalism and the Canon." *Intersections / Borden, Iain; Rendell, Jane* (2000): 161-169.

Chowdhury, Zirwat. "An Imperial Mughal Tent and Mobile Sovereignty in Eighteenth-Century Jodhpur." *Art History* 38, no. 4: 668-681.

Çürük, Cenap. *İslam Ansiklopedisi (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı),* Istanbul 1993.

Çürük, Cenap, and Ersin Çiçekçiler. *Örnekleriyle Türk Çadırları*. İstanbul: Askeri Müze Yayınları, 1983.

Dale, Stephen F. "The Islamic World in the Age of European Expansion, 1500-1800." In *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World*, edited by Robinson, 62-89. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Dale, Stephen Frederic. *The Muslim Empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Dankoff, Robert, ed., Evliya Çelebi. *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman Melek Ahmed Pasha (1588-1662): As Portrayed in Evliya Çelebi's Book of Travels (Seyahat-name).* Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991.

Dankoff, Robert, and Gottfried Hagen. *An Ottoman Mentality the World of Evliya Çelebi (Revised Second Edition)*. Leiden: BRILL, 2006.

Darling, Linda. "Another Look at Periodization in Ottoman History." *Turkish Studies Association Journal* 26, no. 2 (Fall 2002): 19-28.

De Jonghe, Daniel et. al. *The Ottoman Silk Textiles of the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels.* Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2004.

Deleuze, Gilles. *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.

De Nicola, Bruno. "Ruling from Tents: Some Remarks on Women's *Ordos* in Ilkhanid Iran." In *Ferdowsi, the Mongols and the History of Iran: Art, Literature and Culture from early Islamic to Qajar Persia; Studies in Honour of Charles Melville,* edited by Robert Hillenbrand, A.C.S. Peacock and Firuza Abdullaeva, 126-136. London: I.B. Tauris, 2013.

Denny, Walter B. “A Group of Silk Islamic Banners.” Textile Museum Journal 4, no. 1 (1974): 67-81.

Denny, Walter B. “Reflections of Paradise in Islamic Art.” In *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art*, edited by Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, 33-43. Dartmouth College: Hood Museum of Art, 1991.

Denny, Walter B. “Saff and Sejjadeh: Origins and Meaning of the Prayer Rug.” *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies* 3, no. 2 (1990): 93-104.

Denny, Walter B. “Textiles.” In *Tulips Arabesques and Turbans: Decorative Arts from the Ottoman Empire*. Edited by Yanni Petsopoulos, 121-168. New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1982.

Denny, Walter B. and Sumru B. Krody. *The Classical Tradition in Anatolian Carpets*. Washington, DC: Textile Museum in association with Scala, 2002.

Denny, Walter B. and Sumru B. Krody, *The Sultan's Garden: The Blossoming of Ottoman Art*. Washington, DC: The Textile Museum, 2012.

Denny, Walter B. and Sumru B. Krody. *The Sultan's Garden: The Blossoming of Ottoman Art.* Washington, D.C.: The Textile Museum, 2012.

Dercon, Chris, Léon Krempel and Avinoam Shalem, eds. *The Future of Tradition – The Tradition of Future: 100 years after the exhibition Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art in Munich*. Munich: Haus der Kunst, 2010.

Deringil, Selim. “The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly* 35 (1993): 3-29.

Deringil, Selim. *The Ottomans, the Turks And World Power Politics: Collected Essays.* Istanbul: Isis, 2000.

Deringil, Selim. *Turkish Foreign Policy During the Second World War: an Active Neutrality.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Deringil, Selim. *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1998.

Deroche, François. *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script.* Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2005.

Develioğlu, Ferit. *Osmanlıca-Türkçe Ansiklopedik Lügat, Eski ve Yeni Harflere*. Ankara, 1962.

Dikici, Ayşe Ezgi. *Imperfect Bodies Perfect Companions?: Dwarfs and Mutes at the Ottoman Court in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. M.A. Thesis: Koç University, 2006.

Dirlik, Arif. "Modernity As History: Post-Revolutionary China, Globalization and the Question of Modernity." *Social History* 27, no. 1 (2002): 16-39.

Dimmig, Ashley. "Fabricating a New Image: Imperial Tents in the Late Ottoman Period." *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (2014): 341-372.

Dimmig, Ashley. "Substitutes and Souvenirs: Reliving Polish Victory in 'Turkish' Tents." *The Art of Travel: The Mobility of People and Things in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, ed. Elisabeth Fraser (New York, NY: Routledge, 2019).

Dimmig, Ashley. "Synaesthetic Silks: The Multi-Sensory Experientiality of Ottoman Imperial Textiles." MA Thesis, Koç University, Istanbul, 2012.

Driver, Felix, and David Gilbert. *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1999.

Duindam, Jeroen Frans Jozef, Tülay Artan, and İ. Metin Kunt. *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Duncan, Carol. "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship" In *ibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Edited by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, 88-103. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Durand-Guédy, David. "Ruling from the Outside: A New Perspective on Early Turkish Kingship in Iran." In *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, edited by Lynette Mitchell and Charles Melville, 325-342. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013.

Durand-Guédy, David. "The Tents of the Saljuqs." In *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*, edited by David Durand-Guédy in *Brill's Inner Asian Library,* vol. 31, edited by Michael R. Drompp and Devin DeWeese. 149-189. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013.

Durand-Guédy, David, ed. *Turko-Mongol Rulers, Cities and City Life*. *Brill's Inner Asian Library,* vol. 31, edited by Michael R. Drompp and Devin DeWeese. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013.

Ekin Erkan, Nihal. "Urban planning in Turkey as a Process of Translation." *Translation Studies* 3, no. 2 (2010): 188-200.

Ekşioğlu, Ayşegül. *Rönesans ve Barok Bahçe Sanatı'nın İstanbul Saraylarındaki Etkileri Dolmabahçe ve Beylerbeyi Sarayı Örneği*. Tez (Y. Lisans) İTÜ Fen Bil. Enst., 2001.

Eldem, Edhem. *Death in Istanbul: Death and Its Rituals in Ottoman-Islamic Culture.* Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2005.

Eldem, Edhem. *Pride and Privilege: A History of Ottoman Orders, Medals and Decorations.* Istanbul: Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Centre, 2004.

Eldem, Edhem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Alan Masters, eds. *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Eldem, Sedad Hakkı. *Sa'dabad.* Istanbul: Kültür Bakanliği, 1978.

Elias, Jamal J. *Aisha's Cushion Religious Art, Perception, and Practice in Islam*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Ellis, Marianne and Jennifer Mary Wearden, eds. *Ottoman Embroidery.* London: V & A Publications; Distributed by Harry N. Abrams, 2001.

Emiralioğlu, M. Pinar. *Geographical Knowledge and Imperial Culture in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*. Routledge, 2016.

Emrence, Cem. *Remapping the Ottoman Middle East Modernity, Imperial Bureaucracy, and the Islamic State*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2012.

Enez, Nevin. "Dye Research on the Prayer Rugs of the Topkapı Collection." *Oriental Carpet & Textile Studies* 4 (1993): 191-204.

Eralp, T. Nejat. "Eyüp Sultan and the Girding of the Sword Ceremonies of Ottoman Sovereigns (*Taklid-i Seyf*)." In *Eyüp Sultan Symposia I-VIII: Selected Articles*. Edited by Nancy F. Ozturk and Hakkı Önkal, 81-85. Istanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık A. Ş., 2005.

Erber, Christian and Gisela Helmecke, eds. *A Wealth of Silk and Velvet: Ottoman Fabrics and Embroideries.* Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1993.

Erdoğan Sinem. [Dissertation on *Surname*] PhD Thesis, Boğaziçi University. *Forthcoming*. (?)

Erduman-Çalış, Deniz. *Tulpen, Kaftane Und Levnî: Höfische Mode Und Kostümalben Der Osmanen Aus Dem Topkapı Palast Istanbul; Tulips, Kaftans and Levnî: Imperial Ottoman Costumes and Miniature Albums from Topkapı Palace in Istanbul*. München: Hirmer Verlag, 2008.

Ergin, Nina. *Between East and West: Modernity, Identity, and the Turkish Bath*. Trondheim: Program on East European Cultures and Societies, 2010.

Ergin, Nina. “The Fragrance of the Divine: Ottoman Incense Burners and Their Context.” *The Art Bulletin* 96, No. 1 (2014): 70-97.

Ergin, Nina. “Multi-Sensorial Messages of the Divine and the Personal: Qur’an Inscriptions and Recitation in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Mosques in Istanbul.” In *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*. Edited by Mohammad Gharipour and İrvin Cemil Schick, 105-118. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013.

Ergin, Nina. “The Soundscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul Mosques: Architecture and Qur'an Recital.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 67, no. 2 (2008): 204.

Erimtan, Can. *Ottomans Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey.* New York: Tauris Academic Studies; Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

Erol, Turan. *A History of Turkish Painting*. Genève: Palasar, 1987.

Ersoy, Ahmet. *Architecture and the Late Ottoman Historical Imaginary: Reconfiguring the Architectural Past in a Modernizing Empire*. 2015.

Ersoy, Ahmet. “Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period.” In *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the “Lands of Rum,”* edited by Julia Bailey, Sibel Bozdoğan, and Gülru Necipoğlu, PAGES. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Ersoy, Ahmet, “A Sartorial Tribute to late *Tanzimat* Ottomanism.” In *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*. Edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, 253-270. Istanbul: Eren, 2004.

Ertl, Thomas, and Barbara Karl, eds. *Inventories of Textiles, Textiles in Inventories: Studies on Late Medieval and Eary Modern Material Culture*. Göttingen, Germany: V&R Unipress Vienna University Press, 2017.

Ertuğ, Ahmet, Patricia L. Baker, Hülya Tezcan, and Jennifer Mary Wearden. *Silks for the Sultans: Ottoman Imperial Garments from Topkapı Palace*. Turkey: Ertuğ & Kocabiyik, 1996.

Erzen, Jale Nejdet. “Aesthetics and Aisthesis in Ottoman Art and Architecture.” *Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, no. 1 (1991): 1-24.

Esemenli, Deniz. *Osmanlı Sarayı ve Dolmabahçe*. İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2002.

Essinger, James. *Jacquard’s Web: How a Hand-Loom Led to the Birth of the Information Age.* Cary: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Ettinghausen, Richard. “The Emperor’s Choice.” *Islamic Art and Archaeology: Collected Papers,* edited by Richard Ettinghausen and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, 98-120. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984.

Ettinghausen, Richard. ed. *Prayer Rugs*. Washington, DC: The Textile Museum, 1974.

Eyice, “Halkının ve Padişahlarının Ünlü Mesiresi: Kağıthane.” 1997.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Another Mirror for Princes: The Public Image of the Ottoman Sultans and its Reception*. Istanbul: Isis Press, 2008.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Artisans of Empire: Crafts and Craftspeople Under the Ottomans*. New York, NY: I.B. Tauris, 2009.

Faroqhi, Suraiya, ed. *The Later Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *The Ottoman Empire and the World Around It*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2010.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. “What Happened in Istanbul Gardens and Beauty Spots?: Evliya Çelebi on Religion, Domination and Entertainment.” In *Şehrâyîn: Illuminating the Ottoman World: Perceptions, Encounters, and Boundaries; Festschrift Hans Georg Majer,* edited by Yavuz Köse, with the collaboration of Tobias Völker. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012.

Faroqhi, Suraiya and Christoph K Neumann, eds. *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*. Istanbul: Eren, 2004.

Faroqhi, Suraiya, and Randi Deguilhem, eds. *Crafts and Craftsmen of the Middle East Fashioning the Individual in the Muslim Mediterranean*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2005.

Feher, Geza. *Türkisches und balkanisches Kunsthandwerk*. Budapest, 1975.

Feher, Geza. “La Tente Turque du Musee National Hungrois.” *Folia Archaeologica* 13 (1961): 213-223.

Fernández-Puertas, Antonio. *La tienda turca otomana de la Real Armería (c. 1650-1697) / The Ottoman Tent (c. 1650-1697) at the Real Armería*, English section translated by Jenny Dodman, 121-143. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2003.

Fetvacı, Emine. *Picturing History at the Ottoman Court.* Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013.

Fichtner, Paula Sutter. *Terror and Toleration: The Habsburg Empire Confronts Islam, 1536-1850*. Reaktion Books, 2008.

Fijałkowski, Wojciech. *Wilanów, Past and Present.* Warsaw: Interpress, 1985.

Fijałkowski, Wojciech, and Jacek Krawczyk. *Wilanów, dawny i współczesny (Wilanów, Past and Present).* Warsaw: PAGINA, 2002.

Findley, Carter V. *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789-2007.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010.

Findley, Carter V. *The Turks in World History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Finkel, Caroline. *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1923*. New York, NY: Basic Books, 2006.

Fleischer, Cornell H. *Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: The Historian Mustafa Âli (1541-1600)*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Fortna, Benjamin C. "The Ottoman Empire and After: From a State of "Nations" to "Nation-states." In *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey, Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945*. Edited by Benjamin C. Fortna, Stefanos Katsikas, Dimitris Kamouzis and Paraskevas Konortas, 1-12. London: Routledge, 2013.

Franaszek, Antoni, Magdalena Piwocka, Jerzy T. Petrus, and Jerzy Szablowski. *The Relief of Vienna in 1683: The Exhibition in the Wawel Royal Castle on the 300th Anniversary of the Battle: A Guide*. Kraków: Anczyca w Krakowie, 1984.

Freely, John. *Inside the Seraglio: Private Lives of the Sultans in Istanbul*. London: Penguin Books, 2000.

Freely, John, and Anthony E. Baker. *A History of Ottoman Architecture*. Southampton: WIT Press, 2010.

Friedrichsmeyer, Sara, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, eds. *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

Freitag, Ulrike, Malte Fuhrmann, Nora Lafi, and Florian Riedler. *The City in the Ottoman Empire: Migration and the Making of Urban Modernity*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2011.

Funari, Pedro Paulo A., Renata Senna Garraffoni, and Bethany Lynn Letalien, eds. *New Perspectives on the Ancient World: Modern Perceptions, Ancient Representations*. Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2008.

Galland, A. *İstanbul'a ait Günlük Anılar. 1672-1673.* Ankara, 1973.

Gaonkar, Dilip Parameshwar. *Alternative Modernities*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

Garfield, Simon. *Mauve: How One Man Invented a Color That Changed the World.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2000.

Geijer, Agnes. *Oriental Textiles in Sweden.* Copenhagen, 1951.

Geppert, Alexander C. T. *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-De-Siècle Europe*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

Gerstel, Sharon E. J., ed. *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religions Screens, East and West.* Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2006.

Gharipour, Mohammad, and İrvin Cemil Schick, eds. *Calligraphy and Architecture in the Muslim World*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013.

Gharipour, Mohammad, and Nilay Özlü. *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers.* London and New York: Routledge, 2015.

Glandon, Kyle T. *Exploiting Ephemerality Temporary Architecture and Placemaking*. Master of Architecture Thesis, University of Cincinnati, 2007.

Gołąbek, Marta, Anna Ekielska-Mardal, and Aleksandra Rodzińska-Chojnowska, *In Honour of King Jan III: Heroes and Souvenirs* (Warsaw: Wilanów Palace Museum, 2012).

Golombek, Lisa. "The Draped Universe of Islam." In *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World: Papers from A Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen; Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2-4 April 1980*, edited by Priscilla P. Soucek, 25-38. Published for the College Art Association of America by the Pennsylvania State University Press and University Park and London, 1988.

Gombrich, E. H. *Art and Illusion; A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1960.

Goodwin, Godfrey. *A History of Ottoman Architecture*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.

Gosudarstvennyĭ Ėrmitazh, and Dallas Historical Society. *Catherine the Great: Treasures of Imperial Russia from the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg*. Dallas, TX: Dallas Historical Society, 1990.

Göçek, Fatma Müge. *East Encounters West France and the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Göçek, Fatma Müge. *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Göçek, Fatma Müge. *Toward a Theory of Westernization and Social Change: Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Ottoman Society.* Thesis (Ph. D.) Princeton University, 1988.

Göçek, Fatma Müge. *The Transformation of Turkey Redefining State and Society from the Ottoman Empire to the Modern Era*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011.

Gordon, Stewart. "A World of Investiture." In *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*. Edited by Stewart Gordon, 1-19. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Gordon, Stewart, ed. *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture.* Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

Grabar, Oleg. "An Exhibition of High Ottoman Art." *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 1-11.

Grabar, Oleg. "The Many Gates of Ottoman Art." In *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100-1800: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art, Volume II,* 353-361. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2006. [First published in *Art Turc/Turkish Art,* tenth International Congress of Turkish Art, 19-26. Geneva, 1999.]

Grabar, Oleg. "The Shared Culture of Objects." In *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100-1800: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art, Volume II,* 51-67. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2006. [First published in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, 115-129. Washington, D.C., 1997.]

Grabar, Oleg. "Trade with the East and the Influence of Islamic Art on the 'Luxury Arts' in the West." In *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100-1800: Constructing the Study of Islamic Art, Volume II*, 43-51. Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2006. [First published in *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII Secolo,* ed. H. Belting, 27-32. Bologna, 1982.]

Graves, Margaret. "Feeling Uncomfortable in the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of ArtHistoriography* 6 (June 2012): 1-27.

Greene, Trish. *The Abdülhamid II Photo Collection: Orientalism and Public Image at the End of an Empire.* Thesis, University of Mary Washington.

Gronke, Monika. “The Persian Court Between Palace and Tent: From Timur to ‘Abbas I.” In *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century*, edited by Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny, 18-22. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992.

Gruber, Christiane J. “Architecture on the Move.” *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, No. 2 (2014): 241-264.

Grusiecki, Tomasz. “Uprooting Origins: Polish Lithuanian Art and the Challenge of Pluralism.” In *Globalizing East European Art Histories: Past and Present*. Edited by Beáta Hock and Anu Allas, 25-38. London: Taylor and Francis, 2018.

Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, Anna. *Queen Liberty: The Concept of Freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.* Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Guide de Visite Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison & Bois-Préau. (After Bourguignon, Jean. *Malmaison: l'histoire et la visite du château*. Paris: F. Didot, 1937?).

Gül, Murat. *The Emergence of Modern Istanbul Transformation and Modernisation of a City*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2009.

Gül, Murat, and Richard Lamb. “Mapping, Regularizing and Modernizing Ottoman Istanbul: Aspects of the Genesis of the 1839 Development Policy.” *Urban History* 31, no. 3 (2004): 420-436.

Gülersoy, Çelik. *The Çerâğan Palaces*. Sultanahmet, İstanbul: İstanbul Kitaplığı, 1992.

Gülersoy, Çelik. *Dolmabahçe: Palace and It’s [sic] Environs*. İstanbul: İstanbul Kitapliği, 1990.

Gülersoy, Çelik. *Yıldız Parc and Malta Pavilion*. Istanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu, 1983.

Gürel, Evrim. *Turkey and the West: Change in Continuity?: A Two-Way Approach to Turkey’s Relations with the West.* Lunds universitet/Statsvetenskapliga institutionen, 2010.

Gürel, Meltem. “Dolmabahce as Liminal Space.” In *150. Yılında Dolmabahçe Sarayı Uluslararasi Sempozyumu*, edited by Dr. Kemal Kabraman. Istanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2007.

Gürpınar, Doğan. *Ottoman Imperial Diplomacy A Political, Social and Cultural History*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2014.

Hackforth-Jones, Jocelyn, and Mary Roberts. *Edges of Empire: Orientalism and Visual Culture*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2005.

Hagen, Gottfried, and Ethan L. Menchinger. "Ottoman Historical Thought" (2014): 92-106.

Hamadeh, Shirine. *The City's Pleasures: Istanbul in the Eighteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

Hamadeh, Shirine. "Ottoman Expressions of Early Modernity and the "Inevitable" Question of Westernization." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 63, no. 1 (2004): 32-51.

Hamadeh, Shirine. "Splash and Spectacle: The Obsession with Fountains in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul." *Muqarnas* 19, No. 1 (2002): 123-148.

Hamadeh, Shirine. "Westernization, Decadence, and the Turkish Baroque: Modern Constructions of the Eighteenth Century." In *Muqarnas* 24 *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum,"* edited by Julia Bailey, Sibel Bozdoğan, and Gülru Necipoğlu, 185-197. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Haskell, Francis. "The Manufacture of the Past in Nineteenth-Century Painting." In *Past and Present in Art and Taste: Selected Essays,* 75-89. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Hassam, Andrew. "Portable Iron Structures and Uncertain Colonial Spaces at the Sydenham Crystal Palace." In *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity.* Edited by Felix Driver and David Gilbert, 174-193. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1999.

Hassouri, Ali. "Designs Extracted out of the Paradise Design Found in many Iranian Carpets: Paradise under our Feet." In *Traditional Carpets and Kilims in the Muslim World: Past, Present and Future Prospects: Proceedings of the International Seminar held in Tunis, 19-25 November 1999*. Edited by Nazeih Taleb Maarouf and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, 145-148. Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, 2002.

Heidegger, Martin. "Building, Dwelling, Thinking." *Rethinking Architecture* (2000): 100-109.

Hellier, Chris, and Francesco Venturi. *Splendours of the Bosphorus: Houses and Palaces of Istanbul*. London: Tauris Parke Books, 1993.

Hills, Helen. "Introduction." *Rethinking the Baroque*. Edited by Helen Hills. London: Ashgate, 2011.

Hills, Helen, ed. *Rethinking the Baroque*. London: Ashgate, 2011.

Hinsley, Curtis M. “The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World’s Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.” In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Edited by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, 344-365. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Hobsbawm, E. J. *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1987.

Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Hock, Beáta, and Anu Allas, eds. *Globalizing East European Art Histories: Past and Present*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2018.

Hoesterey, Ingeborg. *Pastiche: Cultural Memory in Art, Film, Literature.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Hoffman, Eva R. “Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century.” *Art History* 24, No. 1 (February 2001): 17-50.

Holod, Renata, and Ahmet Evin, eds. *Modern Turkish Architecture*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

Howard, Douglas A. *A History of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Howes, David. *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Culture Reader*. Oxford: Berg, 2005.

Huizinga, J. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture.* London: Routledge, 1980.

Hüttler, Michael Hans Ernst Weidinger, and Tülay Artan, eds. *A Composite Universe: Arts and Society in Istanbul at the End of the 18th Century*. Don Juan Archiv Wien Forschungsverlag, 2013.

Imber, Colin, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey, eds. *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Providence, and the West*. London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005.

İnalcık, Halil. *Application of the Tanzimat and Its Social Effects*. Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press, 1976.

İnalcık, Halil, and Donald Quataert. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

İnalcık, Halil, and Günsel Renda. *Ottoman Civilization*. Ankara: Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture, 2003.

İnankur, Zeynep, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts, eds. *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*. Istanbul: Pera Museum, 2011.

İpek, Selin. "Ottoman Fabrics During the 18th and 19th Centuries." *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 697 (2012): http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/tsaconf/697.

Ireland, Stanley and William Bechhoefer, eds. *The Ottoman House, Papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*. London and Coventry: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and The University of Warwick, 1998.

İrepoğlu, Gül. *Levni, Nakış-Şiir-Renk.* Istanbul, 1999.

Işın, Ekrem, and Virigia Taylor Saçlıoğlu. *Everyday Life in Istanbul: Social Historical Essays on People, Culture and Spatial Relations*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Publiction, 2001.

İslamoğlu-İnan, Huri. *Constituting Modernity Private Property in the East and West*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

Jacoby, Tim. "The Ottoman State: A Distinct Form of Imperial Rule?" *Journal of Peasant Studies* 35, no. 2 (2008): 268-291.

Jaguaribe, Beatriz. "Modernist Ruins: National Narratives and Architectural Forms." In *Alternative Modernities,* edited by Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, 327-347. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001.

Jasienski, Adam. "A Savage Magnificence: Ottomanizing Fashion and the Politics of Display in Early Modern East-Central Europe." *Muqarnas* 31 (2014): 173-205.

Jones, Ann Rosalind, and Peter Stallybrass. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Jung, Jacqueline E. *The Gothic Screen: Space, Sculpture, and Community in the Cathedrals of France and Germany, Ca. 1200-1400*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Kafesçioğlu, Çiğdem. *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital (Buildings, Landscapes, and Societies)*: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.

Kahraman, Kemal. *150. Yılında Dolmabahçe Sarayı Uluslararası Sempozyumu: Bildiriler*. İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar, 2007.

Karateke, Hakan T., and Maurus Reinkowski. *Legitimizing the Order: The Ottoman Rhetoric of State Power*. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Karateke, Hakan T. *An Ottoman Protocol Register: Containing Ceremonies from 1736 to 1808: Beo Sadaret Defterleri 350 in the Prime Ministry Ottoman State Archives, Istanbul*. Istanbul: The Ottoman Bank Archive and Research Centre, 2007.

Karl, Barbara. *Treasury, Kunstkammer, Museum: Objects from the Islamic World in the Museum Collections of Vienna.* Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011.

Karlsson, Åsa. *Karl XII: och svenskarna i osmanska riket.* Stockholm: Atlantis, 2015.

Karp, Ivan, and Steven Lavine, eds. *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Karpat, Kemal H. *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Kavanagh, Gaynor. *Making Histories in Museums.* London: Leicester University Press, 1996.

Kavanaugh, Leslie Jaye. *Chrono-Topologies Hybrid Spatialities and Multiple Temporalities*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010.

Kaya, Ibrahim. *Social Theory and Later Modernities The Turkish Experience*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2004.

Kayalı, Hasan and A. Kevin Reinhart. "Studies in Late Ottoman Islam." *Archivum Ottomanicum* 19, edited by György Hazai, et al., (2001): 193-138. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Kent, Marian. *The Great Powers and the End of the Ottoman Empire*. London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1984/1996.

Keyman, Emin Fuat. *Remaking Turkey: Globalization, Alternative Modernities, and Democracy*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2007.

Khan, Hasan-Uddin. "Editorial: Towards a New Paradigm for the Architecture and Arts of Islam." *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 1, No. 1 (2012): 5-22.

Kia, Mehrdad. *Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011.

King, Donald. *Imperial Ottoman Textiles.* London: Colnaghi, 1980.

Klingberg, Gunvor, Irma Wallenborg, and Anita Andersson. *Ett blommande turkiskt 1600-talstaelt, Armemuseum rapport nr. 3.* Stockholm, 1987.

Knellwolf, Christa. "The Exotic Frontier of the Imperial Imagination." *Eighteenth Century Life* 26, no. 3 (2002): 10-30.

Knoll, Paul W. "Poland as 'Antemurale Christianitatis' in the Late Middle Ages." *The Catholic Historical Review* 60 (1974): 381-401.

Kochanski, Halik. *The Eagle Unbowed: Poland and the Poles in the Second World War*. 2012. ebook

Koç, Fatma, and Emine Koca. "The Westernization Process in Ottoman Women's Garments: 18th Century-20th Century." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* (AJWS) 13, no. 4 (2007): 57-84.

Kołodziejczyk, Dariusz. *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century): An Annotated Edition of 'ahdnames and Other Documents*. Leiden: Brill, 2000.

Komaroff, Linda, and Sheila Blair, eds. *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Kontje, Todd Curtis. *German Orientalisms*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Konyalı, İbrahim Hakkı. *Saray ve Kervansaraylarımız Arasında İbrahim Paşa Sarayı*. Istanbul, 1939.

Konyalı, İbrahim Hakkı. *İstanbul Sarayları – Atmeydanı – Pertev Paşa Sarayı – Çinili Köşk.* Istanbul, 1942 and 1943.

Kosciuszko Foundation. *Hussars and the Crescent: A Loan Exhibition Commemorating the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Polish Relief of Vienna, December 2-4, 1983: Accompanied by a Special Program of Lectures, Recitals, and Slide Presentations*. New York, NY (15 E. 65th St., New York 10025): Kosciuszko Foundation, 1983.

Koselleck, Reinhart. *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Krabbenhöft, Nick. "A Veneer of Power: Thirteenth-Century Seljuk Frescoes on the Walls of Alanya and Some Recommendations for their Preservation." MA Thesis, Koç University, 2011.

Kracauer, Siegfried. *Propaganda and the Nazi War Film.* New York: Museum of Modern Art, Film library, 1942.

Krody, Sumru Belger. *Flowers of Silk and Gold: Four Centuries of Ottoman Embroidery.* Washington, D.C: The Textile Museum, 2000.

Kroll, Piotr, "The Polish Nobility's Attitude to Turkey in the 17th and 18th Centuries." The Wilanow Palace Museum, Warsaw, 2013, http://www.wilanow-palac.art.pl/print/the_polish_nobility_s_attitude_to_turkey_in_the_17th_and_18th_centuries.html (accessed January 20, 2014).

Krzywy, Roman. "The Paradoxes of the Nobility's Orientalism." The Wilanów Palace Museum, Warsaw, 2013, http://www.wilanowpalac.art.pl/print/the_paradoxes_of_the_nobility_s_orientalism.html (accessed January 20, 2014).

Kuban, Doğan. *Wooden Palaces of the Ottomans: Vanished Urban Visions*. Istanbul, Turkey: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi Yayınları, 2001.

Kuban, Doğan, Adair Mill, and Cemal Emden. *Ottoman Architecture*. Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 2010.

Kubler, George. *The Shape of Time: Remarks on the History of Things*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.

Küçükerman, Önder. *The Rugs and Textiles of Hereke: A Documentary Account of the History of Hereke Court Workshop to Model Factory.* Ankara: Sümerbank Genel Müdürlüğü, 1987.

Kuran, Aptullah. "Eighteenth Century Ottoman Architecture." In *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, edited by Thomas Naff and Roger Owen, 303-328. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1977.

Kuran, Aptullah. "The Evolution of the Sultan's Pavilion in Ottoman Imperial Mosques." *Islamic Art* 4 (1990-1991): 281-300.

Kuran, Aptullah. "Interiority and Exteriority in Turkish Architecture." In *Islamic Art: Common Principles, Forms and Themes: Proceedings of the International Symposium held in Istanbul in April 1983*, edited by Ahmed Mohammed Issa and Tahsin Ömer Tahaoğlu, 84-88. Damascus: Dar Al-Fikr, 1989.

Kuran, Aptullah. "A Spatial Study of Three Ottoman Capitals: Bursa, Edirne, and Istanbul." *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 114-131.

Kurt, Yılmaz, and Muhammed Ceyhan. *Osmanlı Paleografyası ve Osmanlı Diplomatikası*. 2012.

Kuruyazıcı, Hasan. *Batılılaşan İstanbul'un Ermeni Mimarları Armenian Architects of Istanbul: In the Area of Westernization.* İstanbul: International Hrant Dink Foundation, 2011.

Küçükerman, Önder, Ali Konyalı, and Ellen Yazar. *One Empire, Two Palaces: "Topkapı" and "Dolmabahçe" in the Industry and Design Competition*. Istanbul: YKY, 2007.

Lacan, Jacques. *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis.* New York: Norton, 1978.

Leary, Jim. *Past Mobilities: Archaeological Approaches to Movement and Mobility*. 2014.

Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Oxford, OX, UK: Blackwell, 1991.

Levey, Michael. *The World of Ottoman Art*. New York, NY: Scribner, 1975.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Myth and Meaning*. New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1979.

Lewis, Bernard. "The Islamic Guilds." *The Economic History Review* A8, no. 1 (1937): 20-37.

Lockman, Zachary. *Contending Visions of the Middle East; the History and Politics of Orientalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Low, Michael Christopher. "Empire of the Hajj: Pilgrims, Plagues, and Pan-Islam Under British Surveillance, 1865-1926." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 40, no. 2 (2008): 269-290.

Low, Michael Christopher. "Ottoman Infrastructures of the Saudi Hydro-Date: The Technopolitics of Pilgrimage and Potable Water in the Hijaz." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 57, no. 4 (2015): 942-974.

Maarouf, Nazeih Taleb, and Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, eds. *Traditional Carpets and Kilims in the Muslim World: Past, Present and Future Prospects: Proceedings of the International Seminar held in Tunis, 19-25 November 1999*. Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, 2002.

Majda, T. "Ottoman art in the Polish collections." In *War and Peace, Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th centuries,* exhibition catalog. Istanbul, 1999. 50.

Majda, Tadeusz, ed. *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art*. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1990.

Mankowski, T. *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI-XVIII w., Wroclaw 1954 (Polish Textiles and Embroideries, XVI-XVIII),* 115.

Mansel, Philip. *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996.

Mansel, Philip. "Travelling Palaces." Halı 39 (1988): 30-35.

Mansel, Philip. *Sultans in Splendour: Monarchs of the Middle East, 1869-1945*. London: Parkway, 2000.

Marchand, Suzanne L. *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire: Religion, Race, and Scholarship*. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute, 2009.

Mardin, Şerif. *Religion, Society, and Modernity in Turkey*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2006.

Mardin, Şerif, Peter Benedict, Erol Tümertekin, and Fatma Mansur. *Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century.* Leiden: Brill, 1974.

Marshall, David. "The Problem of the Picturesque." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35, no. 3, Aesthetics and the Disciplines (Spring, 2002): 413-437.

Marzolph, Ulrich. "Coffeehouses, Public Baths, and Mosques: German Architecture in the Oriental Style." Paper presented at the *Encounters with Islamic Art: Reception, Revival, and Response* Symposium, Ann Arbor, 1 February 2014.

Mason, Paul Warren. *Ephemerality, Modernity, and Progress, Architectural Light and Color at Chicago's "A Century of Progress International Exposition, 1933-34."* PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin–Madison, 2004.

Massey, Lyle. *Picturing Space, Displacing Bodies: Anamorphosis in Early Modern Theories of Perspective*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.

Masuya, Tomoko. "Ilkhanid Courtly Life." In *The Legacy of Genghis Khan: Courtly Art and Culture in Western Asia, 1256-1353,* edited by Linda Komaroff and Stefano Carboni, 75-103. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002.

Mauger. Thierry, and Danielle Mauger, *In the Shadow of the Black Tents.* Saudi Arabia: Tihama, 1986.

McMeekin, Sean. *The Berlin-Baghdad Express: The Ottoman Empire and Germany's Bid for World Power*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010.

Meeker, Michael E. *A Nation of Empire: The Ottoman Legacy of Turkish Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

Mellins, Thomas, Donald Albrecht, Deborah Pope, Linda Komaroff, and Tim Street-Porter. *Doris Duke's Shangri La: A House in Paradise: Architecture, Landscape and Islamic Art.* New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2012.

Menashe, Louis. "Historians Define the Baroque: Notes on a Problem of Art and Social History." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7, no. 3 (1965): 333-342.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *Phenomenology of Perception*. 1962.

Micklewright, Nancy. "In the Service of the Empire: Ottoman Official Photography." *Archaeologists and Travelers in Ottoman Lands; Essays: Photography, Travel, and Travel Photography.*

Micklewright, Nancy. *Women's Dress in 19th Century Istanbul: Mirror of a Changing Society*. PhD Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1986.

Mikhail Alan, and Philliou Christine M. "The Ottoman Empire and the Imperial Turn." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 4 (2012): 721-745.

Mikosch, Elisabeth and Holger Schuckelt. "Das saechsische Janitscharenbataillon beim Zeithainer Lager 1730." *Im Lichte des Halbmonds, Das Abendland und der türkische Orient,* (exhibition catalog). Dresden, 1995. 289-295.

Mikusch, Dagobert von, and John Linton. *Mustapha Kemal; Between Europe and Asia*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., Inc, 1931.

Miles, M. "Signing in the Seraglio: Mutes, Dwarfs Amd Jestures at the Ottoman Court 1500-1700." *Disability & Society* 15, no. 1 (2000): 115-134.

Milli Saraylar: Dolmabahçe Sarayı, Beylerbeyi Sarayı, Küçüksu Kasrı, Ihlamur Kasrı, Aynalıkavak Kasrı, Maslak Kasırları, Yıldız Sarayı, Şale-Yalova Atatürk Köşkleri. İstanbul: TBMM vakfı, 1987.

Mitchell, Colin Paul. *New Perspectives on Safavid Iran: Empire and Society*. London: Routledge, 2011.

Mitchell, Lynette and Charles Melville, eds. *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013.

Mitchell, Timothy. *Colonising Egypt.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Moin, A. Azfar. *The Millennial Sovereign: Sacred Kingship and Sainthood in Islam.* New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.

Morkoç, Selen B. *A Study of Ottoman Narratives on Architecture: Text, Context and Hermeneutics*. Bethesda, MD: Academica Press, 2010.

Moscow Armoury Museum. *The Armoury in the Moscow Kremlin*. Lenengrad: Aurora Art Publishers, 1982.

Mukherji, Subha, ed. *Thinking on Thresholds: The Poetics of Transitive Spaces.* New York and London: Anthem Press, 2011.

Müller, Frank Lorenz, and Heidi Mehrkens, eds. *Royal Heirs and the Uses of Soft Power in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. London: Palgrave, 2016.

Murphey, Rhoads. *Exploring Ottoman Sovereignty Tradition, Image and Practice in the Ottoman Imperial Household, 1400-1800*. London: Continuum, 2008.

Musées et domaine nationaux de Compiègne, Emmanuel Starcky, and Isabelle Dubois-Brinkmann. *Folie textile mode et décoration sous le Second Empire: [exposition], Palais de Compiègne, 7 juin - 14 octobre 2013; Mulhouse, musée de l'Impression sur étoffes, 8 novembre 2013 - 12 octobre 2014]*. Paris: RMN-Grand Palais, 2013.

Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, *The Orient in Polish Art: Catalogue of the Exhibition, June-October 1992.* Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1992.

Myers, Fred R. *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2002.

Nagel, Alexander, and Christopher S. Wood. *Anachronic Renaissance*. New York: Zone Books, 2010.

The National Palaces: Dolmabahçe Palace, Beylerbeyi Palace, Küçüksu Pavilion, Ihlamur Pavilion, Aynalıkavak Pavilion, the Maslak Royal Lodges, Şale/Yıldız Palace, the Atatürk Mansion, Yalova. Istanbul: TBMM Trust, 1992.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. *The Age of Sinan: Architectural Culture In the Ottoman Empire.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: The Topkapi Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*. New York, NY: Architectural History Foundation, 1991.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces." *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 303-342.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. "From International Timurid to Ottoman: A Change of Taste in Sixteenth-Century Ceramic Tiles." *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 136-170.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. “An Outline of Shifting Paradigms in the Palatial Architecture of the Pre-Modern Islamic World.” Ars Orientalis 23 (1993): 3-24.

Necipoğlu, Gülru. “Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry.” Art Bulletin 71, no. 3 (1989).

Necipoğlu, Gülru. “The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture.” In *Gardens in the Time of Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, edited by Attilio Petruccioli, 32-71. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997.

Necipoğlu, Gülru, and Mohammad Al-Asad. *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture : Topkapı Palace Museum Library MS H. 1956*. Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995.

Nefedova-Gruntova, Ol’ga, and Jean-Baptiste Vanmour. *A Journey into the World of the Ottomans: The Art of Jean-Baptiste Vanmour, 1671-1737.* Milano, Italy: Skira, 2009.

Nelson, Milton Edward. *Charles XII in the Ottoman Empire 1709-1714: His International Policies.* PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1961.

Neumann, Reingard. “Floral Style and Çintamani: Aspects of Ottoman Ornamental Style.” In *A Wealth of Silk and Velvet: Ottoman Fabrics and Embroideries*. Edited by Christian Erber, 13-16. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1993.

Noyes, John K. “National Identity, Nomadism, and Narration in Gustav Frenssen’s *Peter Moors Journey in Southwest Africa*.” In *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*. Edited by Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop, PAGES. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008.

Nutku, Özdemir. *IV. Mehmet’in Edirne Şenliği (1675).* Ankara, 1972.

O’Kane, Bernard. “The Arboreal Aesthetic: Landscape, Painting and Architecture from Mongol Iran to Mamluk Egypt.” In *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand,* edited by Bernard O’Kane, 223-251. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005.

O’Kane, Bernard, ed. *The Iconography of Islamic Art: Studies in Honour of Robert Hillenbrand*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

O’Kane, Bernard. “From Tents to Pavilions: Royal Mobility and Persian Palace Design.” *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 249-268.

Ölçer, Nazan. "Exhibition of Two Countries at War and Peace." In *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries*. Edited by Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, 17-19. İstanbul: Fako İlaçları A.Ş, 1999.

Ölçer, Nazan, Nils Rüters, and Ahmet Ertuğ, eds. *Turkish Carpets from the 13th-18th Centuries: Rare Carpets Selected from the Collections of Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul, Vakiflar Carpet Museum, Istanbul, State Museums of Berlin-Museum of Islamic Arts, Budapest Museum of Applied Arts, Konya Mevlana Museum, Heinrich Kirchheim: Together with Paintings from State Museums of Berlin-National Gallery, Warsaw National Museum, the National Gallery, London, Heinrich Kirchheim*. Istanbul: Ahmet Ertuğ, 1996.

Olin, Martin. "The Palace of Charles XII. Architecture and Abolutism in Sweden around 1700." In *The Emperor's House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*. Edited by Michael Featherstone, Jean-Michel Spieser, Gulru Tanman, Ulrike Wulf-Rheidt, PAGES. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015.

Olson, Robert W. "Jews, Janissaries, Esnaf and the Revolt of 1740 in Istanbul: Social Upheaval and Political Realignment in the Ottoman Empire." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 20, no. 2 (1977): 185-207.

Onuk, Taciser. *Osmanlı Çadır Sanatı: XVII-XIX Yüzyıl; Ottoman Tent Art XVII-XIX Centuries.* Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1998.

Orbay, Ayşe. *The Sultan's Portrait: Picturing the House of Osman.* İstanbul: İşbank, 2000.

Ortaylı, İlber. *Private and Royal Life in the Ottoman Palace*. New York: Blue Dome Press, 2014.

Orzeł, Joanna. "Sarmatism As Europe's Founding Myth." *Polish Political Science* 39 (2010): 149-157.

Osmanlı Kumaş ve İşlemeleri: Atılla Ekşinozlugil Koleksiyonu | Ottoman Textiles and Embroideries Atılla Ekşinozlugil Collection. HorHor Sanat Galerisi.

Ostrowski, Jan K. *Art in Poland, 1572-1764: Land of the Winged Horsemen*. Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 1999.

Ostrowski, Jan K. *Wawel: Castle and Cathedral*. Cracow: Karpaty, 1996.

Ostrowski, Jan K., and Jerzy T. Petrus. *Podhorce: dzieje wnętrz pałacowych i galerii obrazów*. Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, 2001.

Ögel, Bahaeddin. *Türklerde Ordu, Ordugah ve Otağ*. Ankara, 1984.

Öz, Ilban. İstanbul: *Topkapı and Yıldız Palaces*. Istanbul: Ministry of Culture and Tourism General Directorate of Antiquities and Museums, 1983.

Özendes, Engin. *Photographer Ali Sami: 1866-1936 | Fotoğrafcı Ali Sami: 1866-1936.* Istanbul: Haset Kitabevi, 1989.

Özergin, M. Kemal. Temürlü Sanatına ait eski bir belge, Tebrizli Cafer'in bir arzı. *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı, VI.* Istanbul, 1976. 471-521.

Özgüven, Burcu. "Ottoman Encampment and Urban Settlement: A Comparative Evaluation." *Papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996.* Ankara, 1998.

Özlü, Nilay. "Single p(a)lace, multiple narratives: The Topkapı Palace in Western travel accounts from the eighteenth to the twentieth century." In *The City in the Muslim World: Depctions by Western Travel Writers.* Edited by Mohammad Gharipour and Nilay Özlü, 168-188. London and New York: Routledge, 2015.

Öztaş, Cemal, İskenter Pala, and Ömer Taşdelen. *Boğaziçi'ndeki Mücevher Dolmabahçe Sarayı; The Jewel on the Bosphorus Dolmabahçe Palace.* Beşiktaş, İstanbul: TBMM Milli Saraylar Daire Başkanlığı, 2006.

Öztuncay, Bahattin. *The Photographers of Constantinople,* vols. 1 and 2. Istanbul: Aygaz, 2006.

Ozturk, Nancy F., and Hakkı Önkal, eds. *Eyüp Sultan Symposia I-VIII: Selected Articles*. Istanbul: Dünya Yayıncılık A. Ş., 2005.

Öztürk, Necdet. *Çadırdan saraya: 14-15. yüzyıl Osmanlı devlet düzeni*. Üsküdar, İstanbul: Yitik Hazine, 2012.

Özyüksel, Murat. *The Berlin-Baghdad Railway and the Ottoman Empire.* London: I. B. Tauris, 2016.

Pakalın, Mehmet Zeki. *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü.* Istanbul, 1946.

de Palma, Maria Camilla. *Castello d'Albertis Museum of World Cultures.* Milano: Silvana, 2016.

Palmer, Alan. *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*. New York: M. Evans, 1992.

Panofsky, Erwin. *Perspective as Symbolic Form*. New York: Zone Books, 1991.

Pasquini, Phil. *Domes, Arches and Minarets: A History of Islamic-Inspired Buildings in America.* Novato, CA: Flypaper Press, 2012.

Peker, Ali Uzay. “A Retreating Power: The Ottoman Approach to the West in the 18th Century.” In *Power and Culture: Hegemony, Interaction, and Dissent*, edited by Ausma Cimdiņa and Jonathan Osmond, 69-86. Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2006.

Peker, Ali Uzay. “Western Influences on the Ottoman Empire and Occidentalism in the Architecture of Istanbul.” *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26, no. 3 (2002): 139-163.

Percier, Charles, and Pierre François Léonard Fontaine. *Recueil de décorations intérieures: comprenant tout ce qui a rapport a l'ameublement*. Farnborough: Gregg, 1971.

Petsopoulos, Yanni, ed. *Tulips Arabesques and Turbans: Decorative Arts from the Ottoman Empire*. New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1982.

Petrash-Saenger-Zimmerman-Majer. *Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute, Die “Türkische Kammer” des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden Baden.* München, 1991.

Petruccioli, Attilio, ed. *Environmental Design: Water and Architecture*. Rome: Beniamino Carucci Editore, 1985.

Petruccioli, Attilio, ed. *Gardens in the Time of Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*. Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1997.

Petrus, Jerzy T. *Mementoes of the Victory at Vienna in 1683: Wawel State Collections of Art.* Warszawa: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicze, 1983.

Petrus, Jerzy T., and Magdalena Piwocka. *Odsiecz wiedeńska 1683: wystawa jubileuszowa w Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu w trzechsetlecie bitwy.* Kraków: Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki na Wawelu, 1990.

Petrus, Jerzy T., Magdalena Ozga, Maria Podlodowska-Reklewska, Krystyna Malcharek, and Witold Siemaszkiewicz, *Namiot Turkecki w Zbiorach Wawelskich, Wystawa czerwiec-wrzesień 2013; An Ottoman Tent from the Wawel Collections, Exhibition June-September 2013.* Krakow: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu Kraków, 2013.

Philliou, Christine, M. *Biography of an Empire: Governing Ottomans in an Age of Revolution*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011.

Piemontese, Angelo M. “The Statutes of the Qajar Orders of Knighthood.” *East and West* 19, no. 3/4 (September-December 1969): 431-473.

Pilehvarian, Nuran Kara, Nur Urfalıoğlu, and Lütfi Yazıcıoğlu. *Fountains in Ottoman Istanbul.* İstanbul: Yapı-Endüstri Merkezi, 2004.

Piotrovskij, Michail B., and Anton Pritula. *Beyond the Palace Walls: Islamic Art from the State Hermitage Museum.* Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 2006.

Piwocka, Magdalena. "Namiot z Kolekcji Lanckoroniskich W Zamku Krolewskim Na Wawelu." *Studia Waweliana* V, 1996. 59-75.

Piwocka, Magdalena. *Oriental Tents: Wawel State Collections of Art.* Warszawa: Krajowa Agencja Wydawn, 1982.

Piwocka, Magdalena. *A Seventeenth Century Turkish Tent: Wawel Royal Castle: on View May-December 2002.* Cracow, Poland: Wawel Royal Castle, 2002.

Piwocka, Magdalena. "Turkish Tents in Poland." *War & Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th centuries* (exhibition catalogue). Istanbul, 1999. 53-61.

Piwocka, Magdalena. *Wawel State Collections of Art, Oriental Tents.* Warszawa, 1982.

Połczyński, Michael. "The *Relacyja* of Sefer Muratowicz: 1601-1602 Private Royal Envoy of Sigismund III Vasa to Shah 'Abbas I." *Turkish Historical Review* 5, no. 1 (2014): 59-93.

Popelka, Liuselotte. *Heeresgeschichtliches Musuem in Vienna.* Graz-Köln, 1988, 22-23.

Porter, Venetia, ed. *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Porter, Venetia. "Mahmal Revisited." In *The Hajj: Collected Essays*. Edited by Venetia Porter and Liana Saif, 195-205. London: British Museum, 2013.

Porter, Venetia. "Textiles of Mecca and Medina." In *Hajj: Journey to the Heart of Islam.* Edited by Venetia Porter, 65-75. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Porter, Venetia, and Liana Saif, eds. *The Hajj: Collected Essays*. London: British Museum, 2013.

Poskrobko-Strzeciwilk, Janina. "The Collection of the So-Called Polish Silk Sashes at the Ratti Center at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York." MA thesis, SUNY Fashion Institute of Technology, 1997.

Preziosi, Donald, and Claire J. Farago. *Grasping the World: The Idea of the Museum*. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate Pub, 2004.

Quataert, Donald. "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720-1829." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29, no. 3 (1997): 403–425.

Quataert, Donald. *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Radovan, Mario. *In the Shadow of Time: Reflections on Ephemerality, Knowledge and Imagination*. Croatia: Jasmin Ćelić, 2009.

Raswan, Carl Reinhard. *The Black Tents of Arabia: My Life Among the Bedouins.* London: Routledge, 2016.

Redford, Scott. "Portable Palaces: On the Circulation of Objects and Ideas about Architecture in Medieval Anatolia and Mesopotamia." *Medieval Encounters* 18 (2012): 382-412.

Redhouse, James W. *The Turkish Vade-Mecum of Ottoman Colloquial Language: Containing a Concise Ottoman Grammar*. 1890.

Redhouse, James W. *Türkçe-İngilizce Sözlüğü (English-Turkish Dictionary).* Istanbul, 1998.

Redhouse, James W. *Redhouse Türkçe/Osmanlıca-İngilizce Sözlük / Redhouse Turkish/Ottoman-English Dictionary.* İstanbul: SEV Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık, 2000.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "The Empire of Fabrics: The Range of Fabrics in the Gift Traffic of the Ottomans." In *Inventories of Textiles, Textiles in Inventories: Studies on Late Medieval and Eary Modern Material Culture*. Edited by Thomas Ertl and Barbara Karl, 143-164. Göttingen, Germany: V&R Unipress Vienna University Press, 2017.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "Ottoman-European Cultural Exchange: East is East and West is West, and Sometimes the Twain Did Meet Diplomatic Gift Exchange in the Ottoman Empire." In *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies: State, Providence, and the West*, v. II. Edited by Colin Imber, Keiko Kiyotaki and Rhoads Murphey, 113-123. London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "Ottoman Courtly Tents and Turkic Tradition." *Ciepo Interim Symposium: The Central Asiatic Roots of Ottoman Culture,* edited by İlhan Şahin, Baktıbek İsakov, and Cengiz Buyarç, 641-655. İstanbul: İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odaları Birliği Yayını, 2014.

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "Portable Palaces: Imperial Tents Some Notes on a Neglected Aspect of Ottoman Material Culture." *İnalcik Hoca'ya Armağan* (forthcoming?)

Reindl-Kiel, Hedda. "Power and Submission: Gifting at Royal Circumcision Festivals in the Ottoman Empire (16th-18th centuries)." *Turcica* 41 (2009): 37–88.

Renda, Günsel. *Batılılaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanatı, 1700-1850.* Ankara: Haceteppe Üniversitesi, 1977.

Renda, Günsel. "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses." *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art,* edited by Géza Fehér, 711-735. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.

Renda, Günsel. "Westernisms in Ottoman Art: Wall Paintings in 19th Century Houses." In *The Ottoman House, Papers from the Amasya Symposium, 24-27 September 1996*, edited by Stanley Ireland and William Bechhoefer, 103-109. London and Coventry: The British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara and The University of Warwick, 1998.

Reychman, Jan, Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, and Ananiasz Zajączkowski. *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish Diplomatics*. The Hague: Mouton, 1968.

Rice, Charles. "Rethinking Histories of the Interior." *The Journal of Architecture* 9, No. 3 (2004): 275-287.

Ritter, Markus, and Staci G Scheiwiller, eds. *The Indigenous Lens:? Early Photography in the Near and Middle East*. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).

Roberts, Mary. *Intimate Outsiders: The Harem in Ottoman and Orientalist Art and Travel Literature*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

Roberts, Mary. *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture.* Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015.

Roberts, Mary. "Ottoman Statecraft and the 'Pencil of Nature': Photography, Painting, and Drawing at the Court of Sultan Abdülaziz." *Ars Orientalis* 43 (2013): 11-30.

Rogers, J. M. *Empire of the Sultans: Ottoman Art from the Khalili Collection*. Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art. Alexandria, VA: Art Services International, 2000.

Rogers, J. M., ed. *The Topkapı Saray Museum: Costumes, Embroideries, and Other Textiles*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986.

Rogers, J. M. *The Uses of Anachronism on Cultural and Methodological Diversity in Islamic Art: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered on 17 October 1991*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1994.

Romanelli, Giandomenico. "Venedik Büyükelçisi Soranzo." *Yüzyıllar Boyunca Venedik ve İstanbul Görünümleri Vedute di Venezia ed Istanbul Attraverso i Secoli.* Istanbul, 1995, 231-232, 259.

Roxburgh, David J. "Au Bonheur des Amateurs: Collecting and Exhibiting Islamic Art, ca. 1880-1910." *Ars Orientalis* 30, *Exhibiting the Middle East: Collections and Perceptions of Islamic Art* (2000): 9-38.

Roxburgh, David J. "Ruy González De Clavijo's Narrative of Courtly Life and Ceremony in Timur's Samarqand, 1404." In *The "Book"of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, edited by Palmira Brummett, 113-158. Leiden: Brill, 2009.

Roxburgh, David J. "Staging the Orient: A Historical Overview from the Late 1800s to Today." In *The Future of Tradition – The Tradition of Future: 100 years after the exhibition Masterpieces of Muhammadan Art in Munich*. Edited by Chris Dercon, Léon Krempel and Avinoam Shalem, 16-25. Munich: Haus der Kunst, 2010.

Roxburgh, David J. "The Suez Canal Inauguration Ceremony," in *Making Making Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Islamic Art and Architecture*. Edited by Margaret Graves and Alex Dika Seggerman. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, Forthcoming.

Ruggles, D. Fairchild. *Islamic Gardens and Landscapes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Rustow, Dankwart A. *Politics and Westernization in the Near East*. Princeton: Center of International Studies, Princeton University, 1956.

Rüstem, Ünver. *Architecture for a New Age: Imperial Ottoman Mosques in Eighteenth-Century Istanbul.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 2013.

Rüstem, Ünver. "From Auspicious Ornament to State Symbol: The Crescent Moon in Ottoman Art and Architecture." In *The Moon: A Voyage Through Time*, ed. Christiane Gruber, 45-55. Toronto: Aga Khan Museum, 2019.

Rüstem, Ünver. *Ottoman Baroque: The Architectural Refashioning of Eighteenth-Century Istanbul.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019.

Rüstem, Ünver. "The Spectacle of Legitimacy: The Dome-Closing Ceremony of the Sultan Ahmed Mosque." *Muqarnas* 33 (2016): 253-344.

Rycault, Paul. *The History of the Turkish Empire from the year 1623 to the year 1677*. London, 1680.

Rychlowska, M. "Namiotnictwo" ("Tent Making"). *Zarys historii wlokicnnictwa na zicmiach polscich do konca XVIII wieku.* Wroclaw, 1966, 535-547.

Şahin, İlhan, Baktıbek İsakov, and Cengiz Buyar, eds. *Ciépo Interim Symposium: The Central Asiatic Roots of Ottoman Culture*. İstanbul: İstanbul Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odaları Birliği, 2014.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Knopf, 1993.

Sakaoğlu, Necdet and Nuri Akbayar. *A Milestone on Turkey's Path of Westernization: Sultan Abdülmecid.* Turkey: Deniz Bank, 2002.

Sajdi, Dana. *Ottoman Tulips, Ottoman Coffee Leisure and Lifestyle in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007.

Salzmann, Ariel. *Tocqueville in the Ottoman Empire: Rival Paths to the Modern State.* Boston: Brill, 2004.

Sandalcı, Mert. *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann*. İstanbul: Koçbank, 2000.

Sanders, Julie. *Adaptation and Appropriation.* Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2006.

Sandstrom, Sven. *Levels of Unreality: Studies in Structure and Constructionin Italian Mural Painting During the Renaissance.* Uppsala: Almquist e Wiksells Boktryckeri Ab, 1963.

Sau, Pablo Hernández. "Gifts Across the Mediterranean Sea: The 1784 Spanish Gift-Embassy to Constantinople and its Cross-Cultural Diplomatic Practice." *Forthcoming.*

Schimmel, Annemarie. *A Two-Colored Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

Schivelbusch, Wolfgang. *Railway Journey: Industrialization and Perception of Time and Space.* Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1986.

Schuckelt, Holger. "Die Rolle Sachsense in den Türkenkriegen des 16. und 17. Jahruhunderts." *Im Lichte des Halbmonds, Das Abendland und der türkische Orient* (exhibition catalog). Dresden, 1995, 170-177.

Schuckelt, Holger. "Die Osmanischen Zelte der Dresdener Rüstkammer." *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden.* Dresden, 1992, 27-34.

Schuckelt. Holger, and Martin Steinbrück. *The Turkish Chamber: Oriental Splendour in the Dresden Armoury.* Berlin: Deutscher Kunsverlag; Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2010.

Semenov, Oleg. "Oriental Carpets and Russian Interiors in the 19th Century." *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies III, Part 1; In Honour of May H. Beattie,* edited by Robert Pinner and Walter B. Denny, 153-166. London: HALI O.C.T.S. Ltd. and HALI Publications Ltd., 1987.

Semper, Gottfried. *The Four Elements of Architecture and Other Writings.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Semper, Gottfried, and Harry Francis Mallgrave. *Style: Style in the Technical and Tectonic Arts; or, Practical Aesthetics.* Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute, 2007.

Şerifoğlu, Ömer Faruk. *Su Guzeli: Istanbul Sebilleri.* Istanbul: Istanbul Buyuksehir Belediyesi Kultur Isleri Daire Baskanligi Yayinlari, 1995.

Sertoğlu, Mithat. *Osmanlı Tarih Lugati.* Istanbul, 1986.

Shalem, Avinoam. "What do we mean when we say 'Islamic art'? A plea for a critical rewriting of the history of the arts of Islam." *Journal of Art Historiography* 6 (2012): 1-18.

Shapira, Dan D. Y. "'Turkism', Polish *Sarmatism* and 'Jewish *szlachta*': Some Reflections on a Cultural Context of the Polish-Lithuanian Karaites." *Karadeniz Araştırmaları* 20 (Winter 2009): 29-43.

Shaw, Stanford J., and Ezel Kural Shaw. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Shaw, Wendy M. K. "Between the Sublime and the Picturesque: Mourning Modernization and the Production of Orientalist Landscape in Thomas Allom and Reverend Robert Walsh's *Constantinople and the Scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor* (c. 1839)." In *The Poetics and Politics of Place: Ottoman Istanbul and British Orientalism*, edited by Zeynep İnankur, Reina Lewis, and Mary Roberts, 115-125. Istanbul: Pera Museum, 2011.

Shaw, Wendy M. K. "Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic," *Muqarnas* 24: *History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum"* (2007): 253-279.

Shaw, Wendy M. K. *Ottoman Painting: Reflections of Western Art from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic.* London: I. B. Tauris, 2011.

Shaw, Wendy M. K. *Possessors and Possessed: Museums, Archaeology, and the Visualization of History in the Late Ottoman Empire.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.Tekeli, Sadık. Military Museum Collections. Harbiye, İstanbul: Askeri Müze, 1995.

Sheller, Mimi, and John Urry. "The New Mobilities Paradigm." *Environment and Planning A* 38, no. 2 (2006): 207-226.

Shields, Rob. *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Silahdar, Fındıklı Mehmet Ağa. *Nusretname* (simplified by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu) v. 1. Istanbul, 1962.

Sint Nicolaas, Eveline. *Jean-Baptiste Vanmour: An Eyewitness of the Tulip Era*. Beşiktaş, Istanbul: Koçbank, 2003.

Simonowitz, David. "The Mobile Matrix: The Hijaz Railway as Ritual Space and Generator of Space." *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 3, no. 2 (2014): 305-316.

Soucek, Priscilla. "Coinage of the Qajars: A System in Continual Transition," *Iranian Studies* 34, no. 1 (2001), 51-87.

Soucek, Priscilla P., ed. *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World, Papers from A Colloquium in Memory of Richard Ettinghausen, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2-4 April 1980, Planned and Organized by Carol Manson Bier*. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press for the College Art Association of America, 1988.

Soudavar, Abolala. *Aura of Kings: Legitimacy and Divine Sanction in Iranian Kingship.* Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2003.

Soudavar, Abolala, with contribution by Milo Cleveland Beach. *Art of the Persian Courts: Selections from the Art and History Trust Collection*. New York: Rizzoli, 1992.

Sparke, Penny. *Designing the Modern Interior: From the Victorians to Today*. Oxford: Berg, 2009.

Spooner, Brian. "Weavers and Dealers: Authenticity and Oriental Carpets." In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Edited by Arjun Appadurai, 195-135. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

St. Laurent, Beatrice. *Ottomanization and Westernization The Architecture and Urban Development of Bursa, 1839-1914.* Thesis (Ph. D.) Harvard University, 1989.

Stephanov, Darin. "Ruler, Visibility, Modernity, and Ethnonationalism in the Late Ottoman Empire." In *Living in the Ottoman Realm: Empire and Identity, 13th to 20th Centuries*. Edited by Christine Isom-Verhaaren and Kent F. Schull, 259-271. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2016.

Stephanov, Darin. "Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839) and the First Shift in Modern Ruler Visibility in the Ottoman Empire." *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 1: 1-2 (2014): 129-148.

Stern, Robert A. M., and Cynthia C. Davidson. *Tradition and Invention in Architecture: Conversations and Essays*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Streusand, Douglas E. *Islamic Gunpowder Empires Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2011.

Strzygowski, Josef. “Türkler ve Orta Asya Sanatı meselesi.” *Türkiyat Mecmuası III 1926-1933.* Istanbul, 1935, 1-80.

Stiles, Andrina. *Russia, Poland and the Ottoman Empire, 1725-1800*. London: Hodder & Stoughton Educational, 1991.

Stoichiță, Victor Ieronim. *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Stone, Caroline. “Movable Palaces.” *Saudi Aramco World* (July/August 2010): 36-43.

Summers, David. *Vision, Reflection, and Desire in Western Painting*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Sürür. Ayten. *Türk İşleme Sanatı.* Istanbul, 1976.

Swallow, Charles. *The Sick Man of Europe: Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic, 1789-1923*. Tonbridge: E. Benn, 1973.

Szablowski, Jerzy. *Collections of the Royal Castle of Wawel*. Arkady, 1969, 1975.

Szántó, Iván. “The Damascus Room, Lechner, and the Domestication of Oriental Space.” In *Ödön Lechner in Context: Studies of the international conference on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Ödön Lechner’s death*. Edited by Zsomber Jékely with the assistance of Zsuzsa Margittai and Klára Szegzárdy-Csengery, 143-152. Budapest: Museum of Applied Arts, 2015.

Şentürk, A. Atillâ, and Yahyâ Bey. *Yahyâ Beğ'in Şehzâde Mustafa mersiyesi yahut Kanunî hicviyesi*. İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1998.

Tanen, Ted M. G. “Festivals and Diplomacy.” In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display.* Edited by Ivan Karp and Steven Lavine, 366-371. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991.

Taylor, Peter J. *Modernities: A Geohistorical Interpretation.* Minneapolis, MN, 1999.

Taylor, Roderick. *Ottoman Embroidery*. New York, NY: Interlink Books, 1993.

Tekeli, Ilhan. “The Social Context of the Development of Architecture in Turkey.” In *Modern Turkish Architecture*, eds. Renata Holod and Ahmet Evin, 9-33. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

Tekeli, Sadık. *Askeri Müze Yazma Eserler Kataloğu.* Harbiye, İstanbul: Askeri Müze ve Kültür Sitesi Komutanlığı, 1998.

Tekeli, Sadık, ed. *Military Museum Collections*. Harbiye, İstanbul: Askeri Müze, 1995.

Temple, Nick. *Disclosing Horizons: Architecture, Perspective and Redemptive Space*. London: Routledge, 2007.

"Tent," *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture*, vol. III. Edited by Jonathan M. Bloom and Sheila S. Blair, 275-289. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Tezcan, Bakı. *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Tezcan, Hülya. "Silk Kilims, Saddles and other Covers Woven for the Palace." In *Traditional Carpets and Kilims in the Muslim World: Past, Present and Future Prospects – Proceedings of the International Seminar held in Tunis, 19-25 November 1999*, 79-84. Istanbul: Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, IRICICA, 2002.

Tezcan, Hülya. "Topkapı Palace Museum Textile Collection: Selected Examples of Upholstery Fabrics, Prayer Rugs, and Other Domestic Textiles." In *Textile Furnishings from the Topkapı Palace Museum*, edited by Hülya Tezcan and Sumiyo Okumura, 23-31 (Vehbi Koç Vakfı, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007)

Tezcan, Hülya and Sumiyo Okumura. *Textile Furnishings from the Topkapi Palace Museum.* Istanbul: Vehbi Koç Vakfi and the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2007.

Thomas, Nicholas. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Thornton, Peter. *Baroque and Rococo Silks.* London: Faber and Faber, 1965.

Thornton, Peter. *Form & Decoration: Innovation in the Decorative Arts, 1470-1870.* New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams, 1998.

Thys-Şenocak, Lucienne. *Ottoman Women Builders: The Architectural Patronage of Hadice Turhan Sultan.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006.

Toprak, Zafer. "Railways, The State and Modernity," In *Iron Track: Age of the Train*. Edited by Enis Batur, Selahattin Özpalabıyıklar, Şennur Şentürk, Zafer Toprak, 10-23. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Cultural Activities, Arts and Publishing, 2003.

Tözün, Burcu. *Beylerbeyi Sarayı iç Mekan Dekorasyonu*. Y. Lisans. Tez, İTÜ Fen Bil. Enst., 2002.

Tuan, Yi-fu. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977.

Tuğlacı, Pars. *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture.* Istanbul, Türkiye: Yeni Çığır Kitabevi, 1990.

Tunnicliffe, Sue Dale. *Natural History Dioramas: History, Construction and Educational Role.* Dordrecht: Springer, 2015.

Turan, Osman. *Selçuklular Tarihi ve Türk İslam Medeniyeti.* Istanbul, 1969.

Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi. *War and Peace: Ottoman-Polish Relations in the 15th-19th Centuries*. İstanbul: Fako İlaçları A.Ş, 1999.

Türker, Deniz. *Ottoman Victoriana: Nineteenth-Century Sultans and the Making of a Palace, 1759-1909.* PhD Thesis, Harvard, 2016.

Varjú-Ember, Mária. *Old Textiles: Treasures of the Hungarian National Museum.* Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1980.

Venn, Couze. *Occidentalism, Modernity and Subjectivity*. London: SAGE Publications, 2000.

Vertovec, Steven, and Robin Cohen, eds. *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Vial, Charles-Éloi. "Tentes de chasse, de parade et de voyage." In *Le bivouac de Napoléon luxe imperial en Campagne.* Edited by Jehanne Lazaj. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2014.

Uçar, Ahmet. *Nakş-ı İstanbul: Ortaköy Büyük Mecidiye Camii.* Istanbul: Gürsoy Grup, 2015.

Unat, Faik Reşit, and Bekir Sıtkı Baykal. *Osmanlı sefirleri ve sefaretnameleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1968.

Urry, John. *Mobilities*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2007.

Uzunçarşili, İsmail Hakkı. *Osmanlı Devletı Teşkilatına Medhal.* Istanbul, 1942.

Uzunçarşili, İsmail Hakkı. *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkiları.* Ankara, 1945 and 1984.

Vatin, Nicolas, and Gilles Veinstein. *Le Sérail ébranlé: Essai sur les morts, dépositions et avènements des sultans ottomans XIVe-XIXe siècle.* Fayard, 2003.

Waissenberger, R. and G. Düriegl. *Die Türken vor Wien, Europa und die Entscheidung an der Donau 1683.* Wien, 1983.

Waley, Muhammad Isa." Images of the Ottoman Empire: The Photograph Albums Presented by Sultan Abdülhamid II." *British Library Journal* 17, no. 2 (1991): 111-127.

Wallenborg, Irma. "A Floral Seventeenth Century Turkish Tent," *in hoc signo vinces* (2006): 177-183.

Wallenborg, Irma. "Svenska militära tält – från textiltryck till polyamidlaminat." *Armémuseum Meddelande* 67 (2007): 41-77.

Wallenborg, Irma. "Transfer of a Tent and Knowledge from Poland to Sweden." In *Crossroads of Costume and Textiles in Poland, Papers from the International Conference of the ICOM Costume Committee at the National Museum in Cracow, September 28-October 4, 2003*. Edited by Beata Biedrońska-Słota, 129-131. Kraków: The National Museum in Cracow, 2005.

Weddigen, Tristan. "Unfolding Textile Spaces: Antiquity/Modern Period." In *Art & Textiles: Fabric as Material and Concept in Modern Art from Klimt to the Present*, edited by Harmut Böhme et al, 88-95. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2014.

Welch, David. *Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933-1945*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2001.

Wharton, Alyson. *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan Family and the History of Ottoman Architecture.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2014.

Wheatcroft, Andrew. *The Enemy at the Gate Habsburgs, Ottomans and the Battle for Europe*. New York: Basic Books, 2009.

Whitman, Sidney. *Turkish Memories.* London: Heinemann, 1914.

Williams, Haydn. *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy*. 2014.

Woköck, Ursula. *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Woodhead, Christine. *The Ottoman World*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012.

Yacan, Sibel. *Türklerde Çadır*. Harbiye, İstanbul: Askeri Müze ve Kültür Sitesi Komutanlığı, 1995.

Yalman, Suzan, and Ivana Jevtic, eds. *Spolia Reincarnated: Afterlives of Objects, Materials, and Spaces in Anatolia from Antiquity to the Ottoman Era.* Istanbul: ANAMED, 2018.

Yavuz, Yıldırım. "European Influence on Turkish National Architecture During the Second Constitutional Period." In *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, ed. Géza Fehér, 891-905. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1978.

Yenişehirlioğlu, Filiz. "Western Influence on the Ottoman Architecture in the 18th Century." *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa, 1683 bis 1789: Konflikt, Entspannung, und Austausch,* edited by Gernot Heiss and Grete Klingenstein, 153-178. München: Oldenbourg, 1983.

Yeomans, Richard. *The Art and Architecture of Ottoman Istanbul.* Reading, Berkshire, England: Garnet, 2012.

Yıldız, Murat. "'What is a Beautiful Body?' Late Ottoman 'Sportsman' Photographs and New Notions of Male Corporeal Beauty." *Middle East Journal of Culture and Communication* 8, no. 2/3 (2015): 192-214.

Yoltar-Yıldırım, Ayşin. *Ottoman Decorative Arts*. Republic of Turkey: Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2009.

Zamoyski, Adam. *The Czartoryski Museum.* London: Azimuth Editions on Behalf of the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, 2001.

Zandi-Sayek, Sibel. "Poetry, Pleasure, and Building: Ottoman Architectural Culture in the Eighteenth Century." *Eighteenth-Century Life* 34, no. 3 (2010): 130-134.

Zarycki, Tomasz. "Orientalism and Images of Eastern Poland." *Endogenous Factors in Development of the Eastern Poland,* ed. Marian Stefański, 73-88. Lublin: Innovatio Press Wydawnictwo Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Ekonomii i Innowacji, 2010.

Zilfi, Madeline C. "Whose Laws?: Gendering the Ottoman Sumptuary Regime." In *Ottoman Costumes: From Textile to Identity*, edited by Suraiya Faroqhi and Christoph K. Neumann, 125-141. Istanbul: Eren, 2004.

Zimmermann, Eva. (Petrasch-Saenger-Majer), "Textilen, Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Die Karlsruher Türkenbeute." *Die 'Türkische Kammer' des Markgrafen Ludwig Wilhelm von Baden Baden*. München, 1991.

Zürcher, Erik J. *Turkey: A Modern History.* London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

Żygulski, Zdzisław. "Armenians in Poland: A Foreign Culture Incorporated." In *The Art of the Islamic World and the Artistic Relationships Between Poland and Islamic Countries*. Edited by Beata Biedrońska-Słota, Magdalena Ginter-Frołow, and Jerzy

Malinowski, 317-336. Kraków: "Manggha" Museum of Japanese Art and Technology; Warsaw: Polish Institute of World Art Studies, 2011.

Żygulski, Zdzisław. "The Elements of Islamic Culture in the Polish Sarmatism of the 16th-18th Centuries." *Actas del XXIII. Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte 2* (1977): 203-208.

Żygulski, Zdzisław. *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire.* New York: New York University Press, 1992.

Żygulski, Zdzisław. *Sztuka Islamu w Zbiroach Polskish.* Warszawa, 1989, Cat. no. 101-109.

Żygulski, Zdzisław. "Turkish Art in Poland." *Seventh International Congress of Turkish Art.* Warsaw, 1990, 285-292.

Żygulski, Zdzisław, and Stanisław Markowski. *An Outline History of Polish Applied Art. An Outline History of Polish Applied Art.* Warsaw: Interpr. Publ, 198.

FIGURES

Chapter 1

Figure 1.1: Striped tent from Louis Philippe's court, ca. 1830-40, cotton(?), Gobelins Mobilier National, Paris (photograph by Courtney Wilder).

Figure 1.2: Double-columned tent in “classical” decorative mode, 17th century, cotton and silk, appliqué, Armémuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. 3508.

Figure 1.3: Double-columned tent in “classical” decorative mode (detail of tent in Figure 1.2), 17th century, cotton and silk, appliqué, Armémuseum, Stockholm, inv. no. 3508.

Figure 1.4: Marquee with floral motifs, (late) 19th century, silk with metallic threads and velvet chenille cord, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-1.

Figure 1.5: Marquee with floral motifs (detail of tent in Figure 1.4), late 19th century, silk with metallic threads and velvet chenille cord, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-1.

Figure 1.6: Calligraphy borders with floral imagery, included in albums bound under the auspices of Sultan Abdülhamid II, University of Michigan Islamic Manuscripts Collection, Isl. Ms. 441, fol. 2b.

Figure 1.7: Calligraphy borders with floral imagery, included in albums bound under the auspices of Sultan Abdülhamid II, University of Michigan Islamic Manuscripts Collection, Isl. Ms. 438, fol. 1b.

Figure 1.8: Four-poled marquee, 19th century, fulled wool, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-20.

Figure 1.9: Square form single-columned tent, dated 1302 (1886 AD), cotton and silk, embroidery (mainly *sûzenî* stitch), Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. nos. 23569, 23630, 23643.

Figure 1.10: Embroidered ewer and sprig of flowers (detail of tent in Figure 1.11), dated 1302 (1886 AD), cotton and silk, embroidery (mainly *sûzenî* stitch), Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. nos. 23569, 23630, 23643.

Figure 1.11: Double-columned marquee with side panels, mid- to late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-29.

Figure 1.12: Sunburst motif in gold embroidery (detail of tent in Figure 1.11), mid- to late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-29.

Figure 1.13: Single-columned conical tent with walls, late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-9.

Figure 1.14: Canopy interior of single-columned conical tent with walls (detail of tent in Figure 1.13), late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-9.

Figure 1.15: Single-columned conical tent, late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-11.

Figure 1.16: Valance of a single-columned conical tent (detail of Figure 1.15), late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-11.

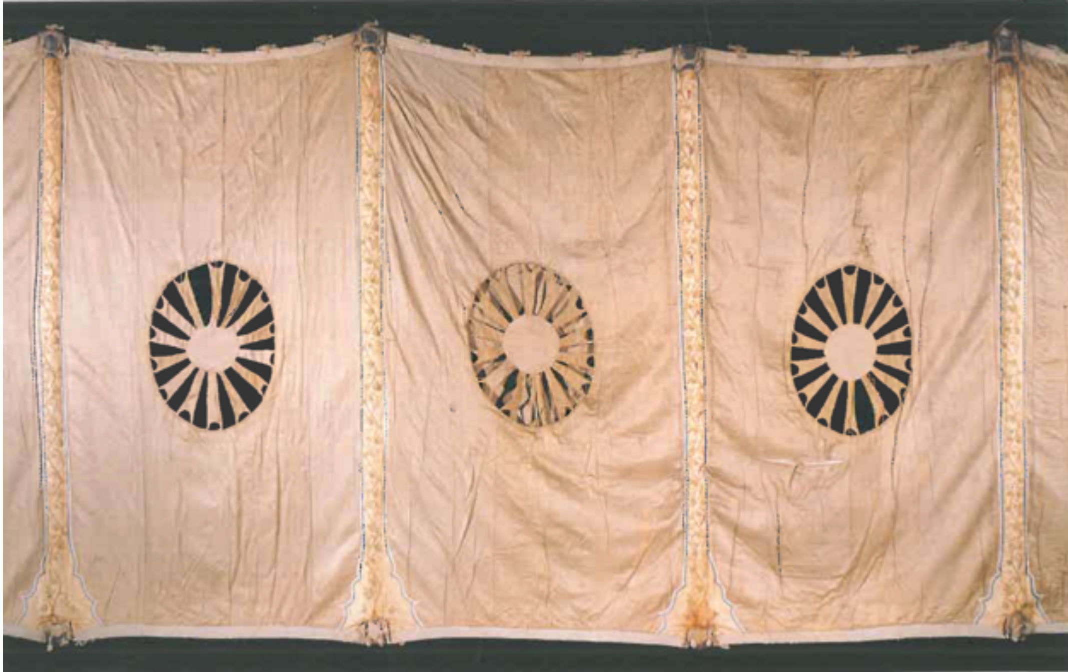

Figure 1.17: Tent wall with sunburst oval windows, 19th century, silk, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, 23651.

Figure 1.18: Marquee with classicizing decorative program, 19th century, silk, appliqué and embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-12.

Figure 1.19: Tent wall with oval windows and "baroque" motifs, second half of the 18th century, satin (silk?), appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, 23615.

Figure 1.20: Oval windows and “baroque” motifs on the exterior of Nakşidil Valide Sultan *Türbe* (mother of Mahmud II, died 1817), Istanbul.

Figure 1.21: Two-columned tent with “draped curtain” motifs and large frontal eave, 18th or 19th century, silk, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-8 (very similar to 29-7).

Figure 1.22: Wall (interior) of two-columned tent with “draped curtain” motifs and large frontal eave (detail of tent in Figure 1.21), 18th or 19th century, silk, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-7 (very similar to 29-8).

Figure 1.23: Roof (interior) of two-columned tent with “draped curtain” motifs and large frontal eave, 18th or 19th century, silk, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-8 (very similar to 29-7).

Figure 1.24: “Draped curtain” motifs with corded grilled window (detail of tent in Figure 1.21), 18th or 19th century, silk, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 29-7 (very similar to 29-8).

Figure 1.25: Büyük Mecidiye Camii and its interior decoration with trompe l'oeil windows and curtains, commissioned by Abdülmecid, architects Garabet Balyan and Nikoğos Balyan, 1853-1856, Ortaköy, Istanbul.

Figure 1.26: Büyük Mecidiye Camii interior with windows overlooking the Bosphorus, commissioned by Abdülmecid, architects Garabet Balyan and Nikoğos Balyan, 1853-1856, Ortaköy, Istanbul.

Figure 1.27: Two-columned tent with large frontal eave, mid-19th century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26380.

Figure 1.28: Roof of two-columned tent with large frontal eave (detail of tent in Figure 1.27), mid-19th century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26380.

Figure 1.29: *Hazine* from two-columned tent with large frontal eave (detail of tent in Figure 1.27), mid-19th century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26380.

Figure 1.30: Four-columned marquee, mid-19th century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. TSM 29-33, 29-34, 29-58. (matches similar tent in Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26380).

Figure 1.31: Drawing of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Baldaccino* in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, (1623-34) by Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, 1653-91, Engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 45.82.2(39).

Figure 1.32: Carved and painted wooden Solomonic tent pole, nineteenth century, Military Museum, Istanbul.

Figure 1.33: Carved and painted wooden Solomonic tent pole, nineteenth century, Military Museum, Istanbul.

Figure 1.34: Chevron-patterned dome interior of Sultan Ahmet I's tomb, 1609-1616, Istanbul (photograph by Nina Ergin/Macaraig).

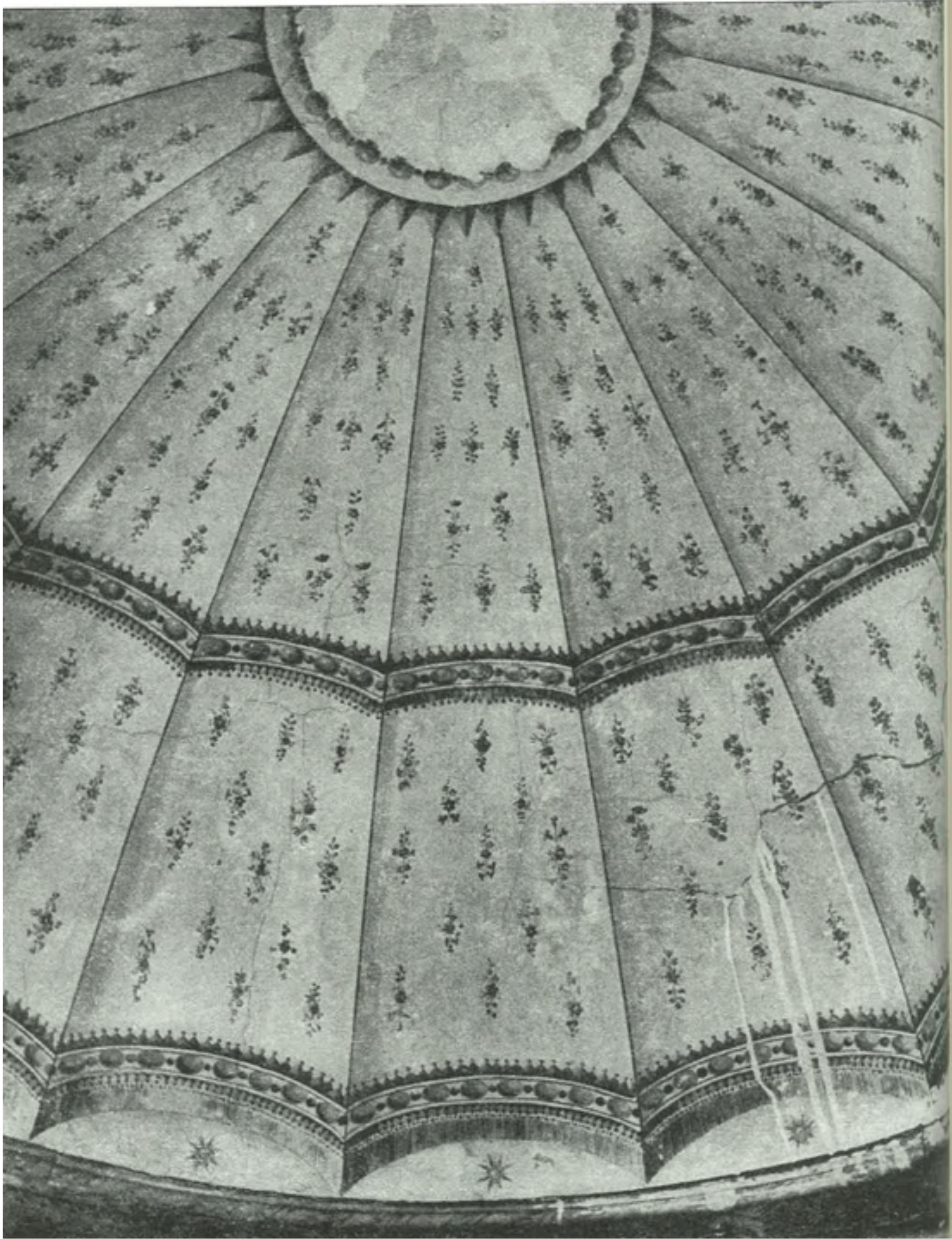

Figure 1.35: Painted tent-ceiling, Sultan Abdülhamid I apartments, 18th century, Topkapı Palace, Istanbul.

After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem. *Köşkler ve kasırlar* (İstanbul: Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Yüksek Mimarlık Bölümü Rölöve Kürsüsü, 1973), fig. 241.

Figure 1.36: Tent-painted ceiling (Hamidian period), Çapanoğlu mosque, 1779, Yozgat (photograph by Emily Neumeier).

Figure 1.37: Tent-painted ceiling (Hamidian period), Çapanoğlu mosque, 1779, Yozgat (photograph by Emily Neumeier).

Figure 1.38: Andrea Mantegna, *di sotto in sù* frescoed vault, 1473, Camera degli Sposi, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.

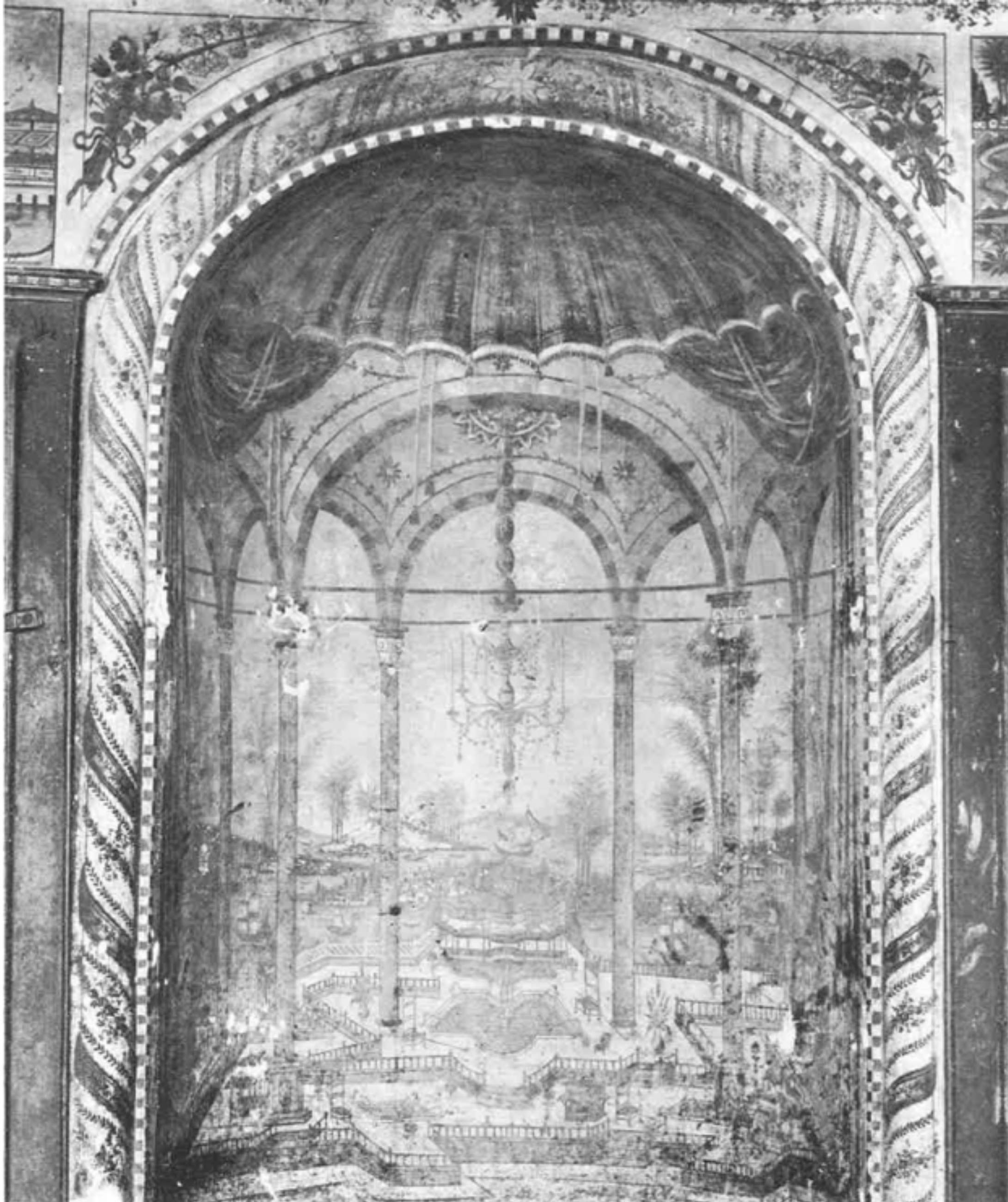

Figure 1.39: Niche fresco with painted canopy and image of tent in background, house in Dana street, 18th century, Istanbul.

After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976), fig. 235.

Figure 1.40: Tophane Fountain, commissioned by Sultan Mahmud I (r. 1730-1754), constructed by Kayserili Mehmed Ağa, 1732, marble, wood, lead-covered dome, Istanbul.

Figure 1.41: Two-columned marquee with large eave, 19th century, cotton, appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 23742.

Figure 1.42: Two-columned marquee with large eave, 19th century, cotton, appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 23770.

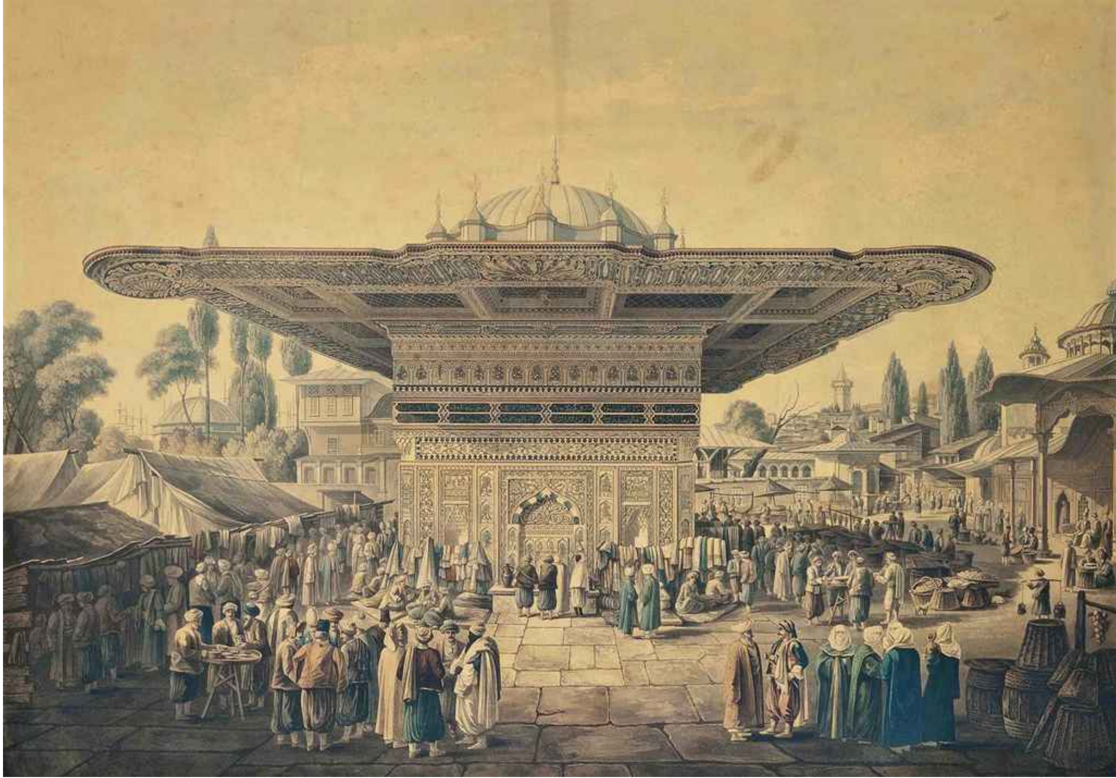

Figure 1.43: Tophane Fountain, Richard Gilson Reeve and J. Bailey (after William Page), 1829, hand-colored aquatint.

Figure 1.44: Bâbü's-saade (Gate of Felicity), originally constructed in the 15th century, baroque and rococo elements added in the last quarter of the 18th century, Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 1.45: Selim III’s enthronement ceremony at the Gate of Felicity in Topkapı Palace, Konstantin Kapıdağı, c. 1789, oil on canvas, Topkapı Palace Museum.

Figure 1.46: Accession ceremony of Selim III (r. 1566-1574) in his imperial tent, *Nuzhet Asrar al-Ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar*, fols. 110b-111a, 1568-69, Topkapı Palace Museum H.1339.

Figure 1.47: Two-columned tent with wide frontal eave, late 17th century, cotton, appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. nos. 23604, 23661, 23657.

Figure 1.48: Tent Kiosk in Yıldız Park, “Vue de Tchadir-Kiosque ? Dans le Parc Imperial de Yildiz,” 19th century, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, inv. no. 90815-0011.

Figure 1.49: Curtained Kiosk with curtains in Kağthane, “Vie due Perdeli-Kiosque” (پرده لی کوشک), 19th century, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, inv. no. 90489-0004.

Figure 1.50: Perdeli Kiosk in Kağthane, “Vue de la Maison Impériale des eaux Douces d'Europe,” published in Pertusier’s *Atlas des promenades pittoresque dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, 1817.

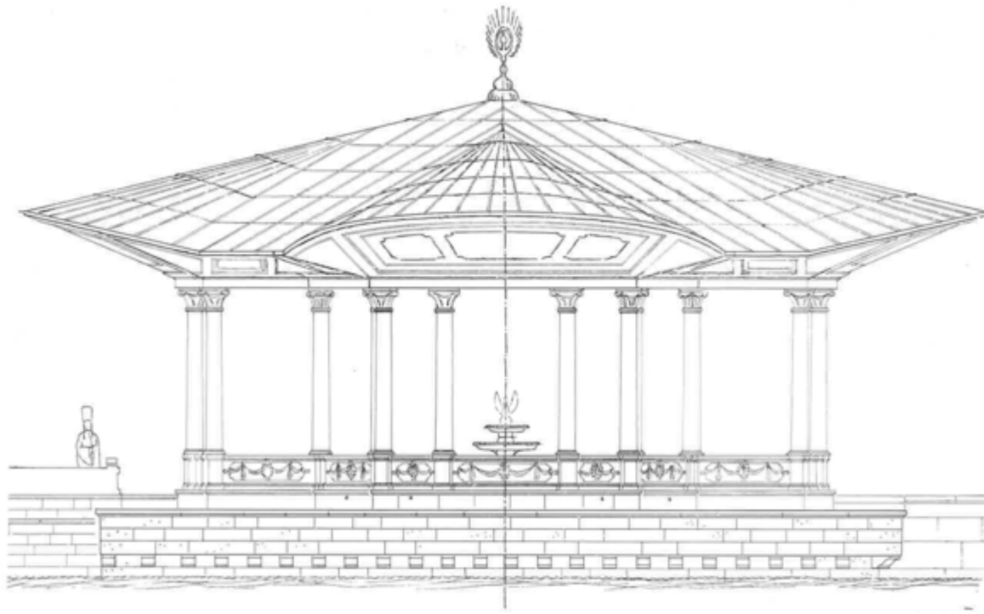

Figure 1.51: Cross-section of Curtained Kiosk in Kağıthane.

After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, p. 86, fig. 82.

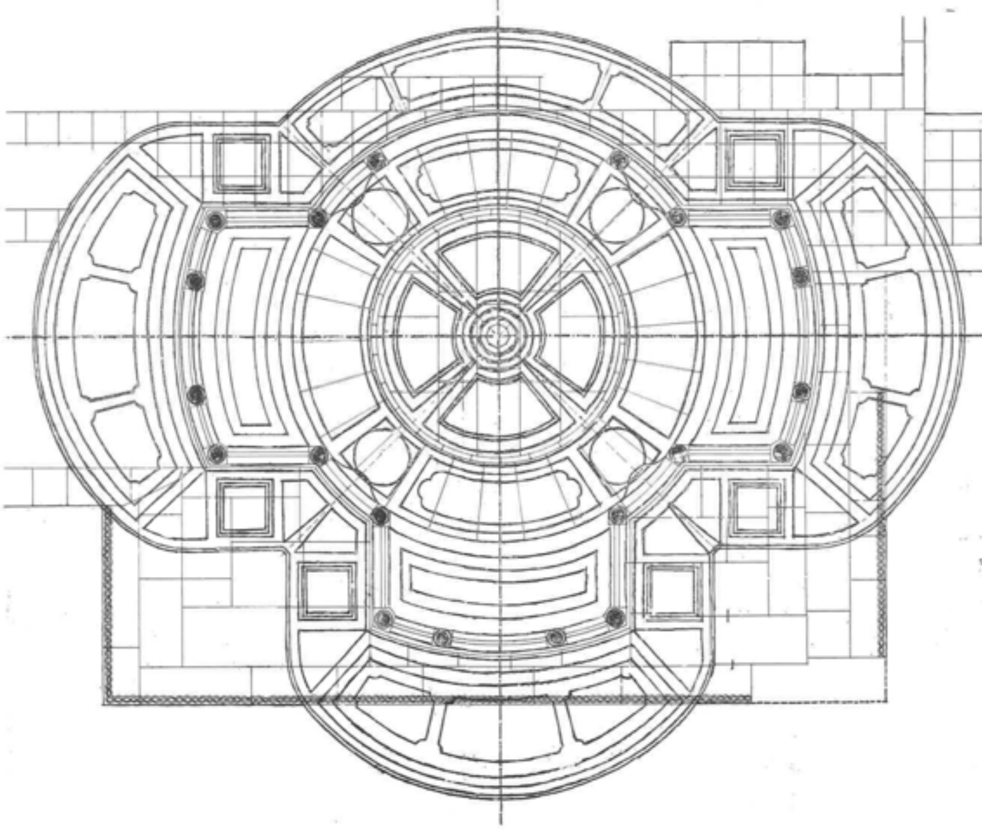

Figure 1.52: Schematic drawing of Curtained Kiosk in Kağıthane.

After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Sa'dabad*, p. 86, fig. 83.

Figure 1.53: Pair of fountains/gates(?) with undulating roofs outside Nusretiye Mosque, Krikor Balyan, 1823-1826, Istanbul (photograph by Sabiha Goloğlu).

Figure 1.54: Alay Köşkü (Procession Kiosk), commissioned by Mahmud II (r. 1808-1838), at Gülhane Park, adjacent to Topkapı Palace, Istanbul.

Figure 1.55: Dome interior of the Alay Köşkü (Procession Kiosk), commissioned by Mahmud II (r. 1808-1838), at Gülhane Park, adjacent to Topkapı Palace, Istanbul.

Figure 1.56: Beylerbeyi Palace and its seaside kiosks, Hagop Balyan and Sarkis Balyan, commissioned by Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876), 1861, Istanbul.

Figure 1.57: Beylerbeyi seaside kiosk with crimped sloping roof, Hagop Balyan and Sarkis Balyan, commissioned by Abdülaziz (r. 1861-1876), 1861, Istanbul.

Figure 1.58: "Vue de Beycos" (Beykoz Kasrı) with tents on the shore, B. Kargopoulo Photography, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, inv. no. 9/631/25.

Figure 1.59: *Bab-ı Âli* “Sublime Porte” (Gate of the Grand Vizier’s Office) at Gülhane Park, adjacent to Topkapı Palace, 1844, Istanbul.

Figure 1.60: Nizamiye Gate with undulating eave/roof, Bab-ı Serasker (Office of the War Minister), 1836-37(?).

After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Istanbul Anıları*, fig. 88, pp. 140-141, 143; Original photograph by James Robertson or Felice A. Beato; possibly belonging to the Helmut Gernsheim collection, now in the UT Austin photography archive.

Chapter 2

Figure 2.1: Manuscript painting of Sultan Selim II (r.1566-1574) hunting in Üsküdar-Haramidere while seated beneath his colorful marquee at the entrance to the royal tent encampment (*otağ-ı hümayun*), *Shahname Shemailname-i Al-i Osman,* ca. 1596-1600, Topkapı Palace Museum, A.3592, fol. 39b.

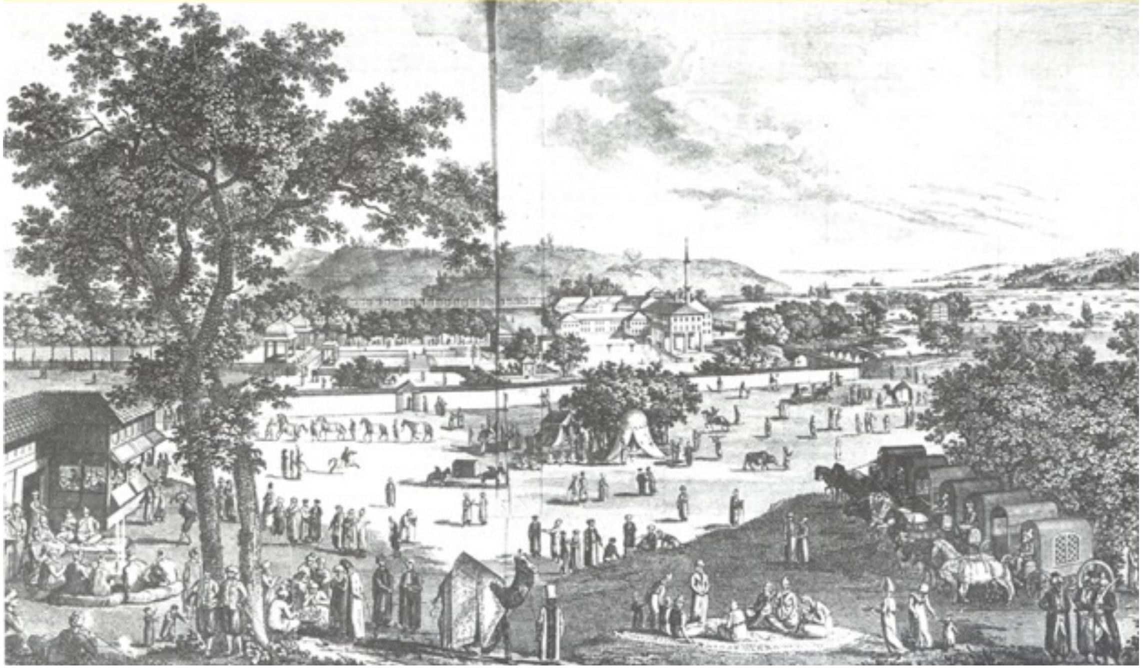

Figure 2.2: Entertainment given at Sa'dâbâd for the large entourage of Czar Alexander I's ambassador extraordinary Italinski upon his arrival in Istanbul (1803), collection unknown.

After: Pars Tuğlacı, *The Role of the Balian Family in Ottoman Architecture* (Istanbul: Yeni Çığır Kitabevi, 1990), 32.

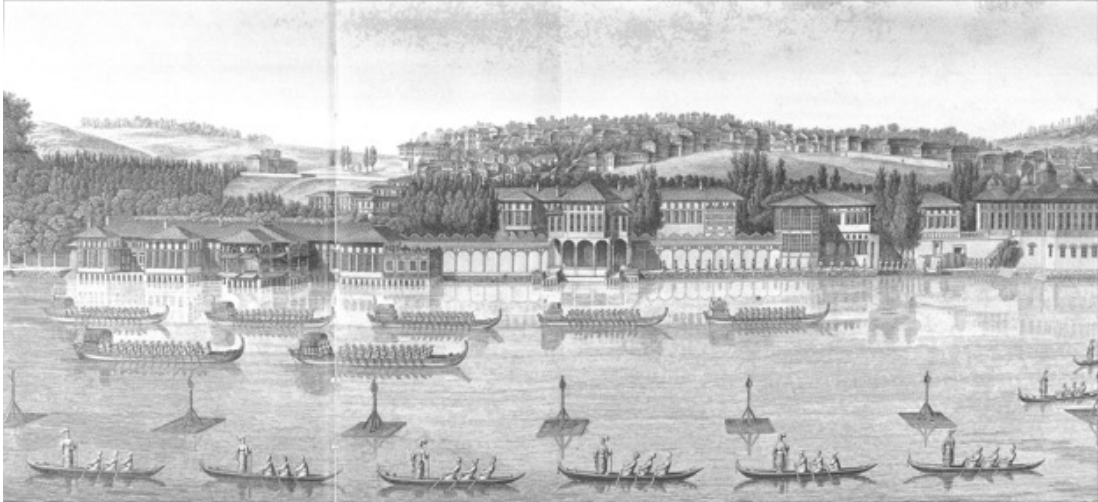

Figure 2.3: “Beşiktaş Sarayı,” engraving by Ignatius Mouradgea d'Ohsson (1740-1807).

After: Nurhan Atasoy, *A Garden for the Sultan: Gardens and Flowers in the Ottoman Culture* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2011), fig. 415, pp. 296-297.

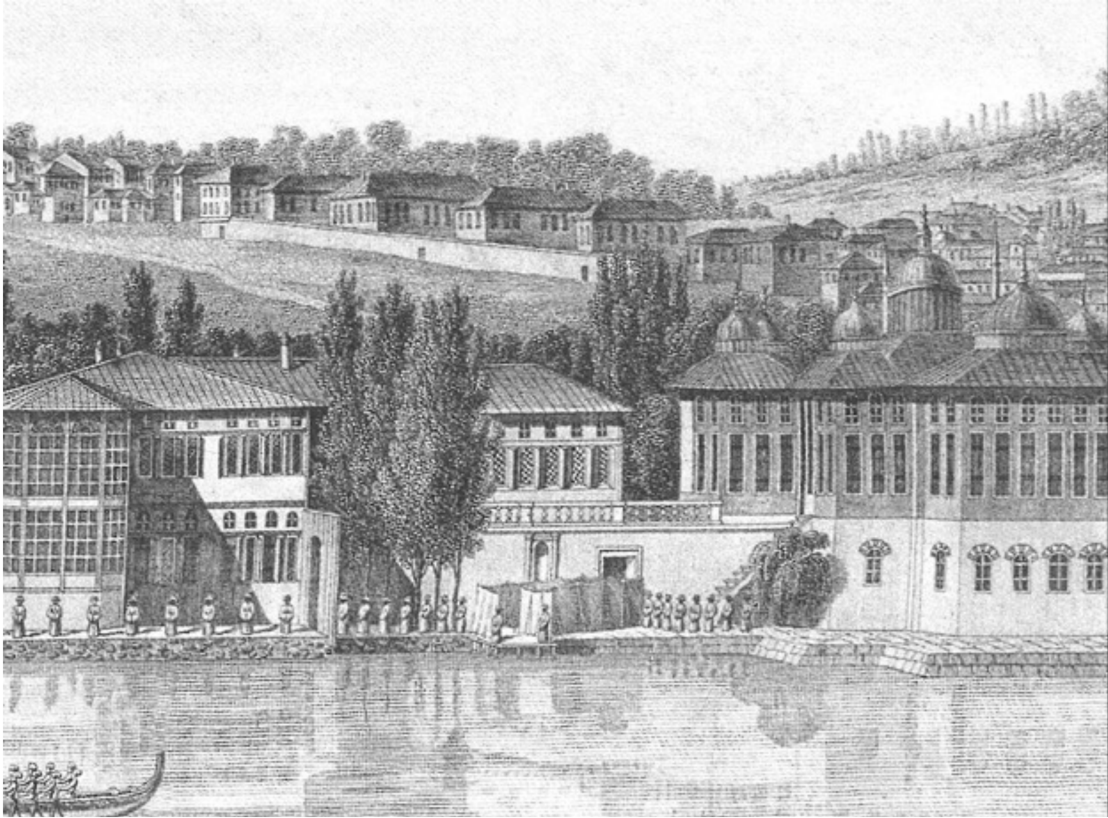

Figure 2.4: Tent walls lining the path from the pier to the palace (detail of Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.5: Patchwork tent wall with Ottoman period repairs in its appliquéd decoration, nineteenth century, silk and cotton, appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 29-2.

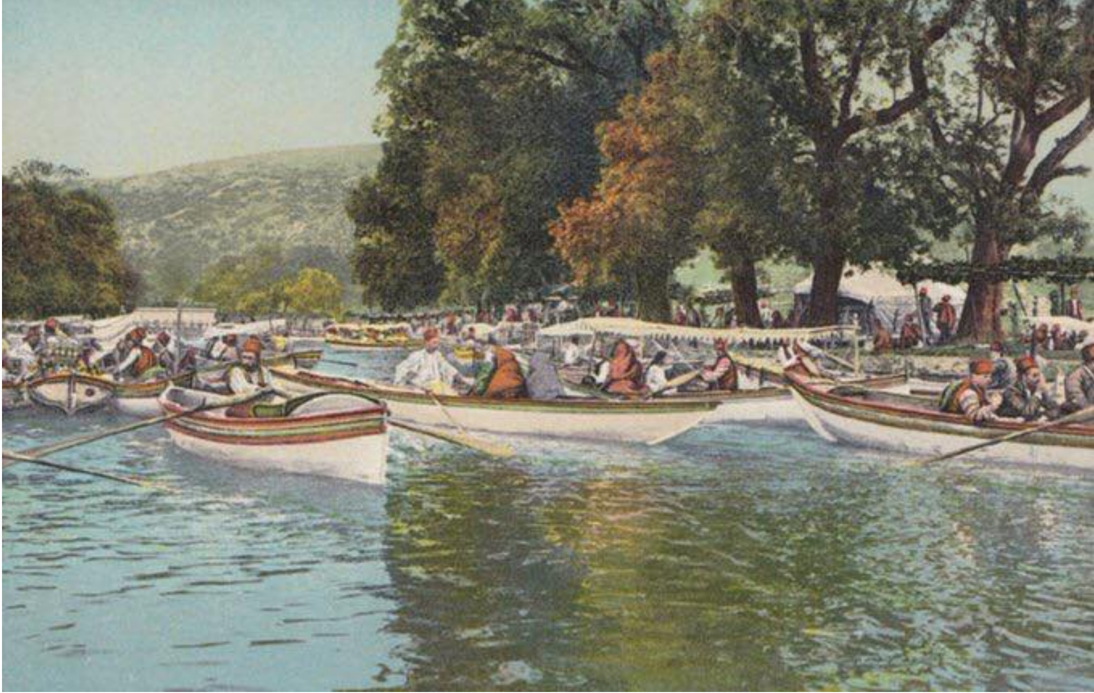

Figure 2.6: Canopied boats and tents in Kağıthane gardens, 1920, colored postcard, from a series *Kağıthane Mesiresi Tatlı Sular Kartpostallar* (http://urun.gittigidiyor.com/koleksiyon/1920-kagithane-mesiresi-tatli-sular-kartpostal-6-250432170)

Figure 2.7: Marquee with a scalloped trim (*sayeban*), nineteenth century, silk and cotton, embroidery and appliqué, Topkapı Palace Museum, inv. no. 29-25.

Figure 2.8: “The Sweet Waters of Europe,” including tents and people dancing, published in *Constantinople and the scenery of the seven churches of Asia Minor*, drawing by Thomas Allom with descriptions by Rev. Robert Walsh, London, Fisher, son, & co., 1838, pp. 56-57.

Also published in Antonio Baratii, *Constantinopoli effigiata e descritta…* vol. I, Torino: Stabilimento Tipografico di Alessandro Fontana, 1840, pp. 487-486.

Figure 2.9: Men and women socializing in the Kağıthane gardens with tents in the background, A. Breger Frères, Paris, late nineteenth or early twentieth century, black and white photograph, unknown collection.

Figure 2.10: Ground covering with musical instruments and floral appliqué, nineteenth century, cotton and silk, appliqué and embroidery, Askeri Müzesi, inv. no. 23721.

Figure 2.11: Appliquéd musical instruments among foliage (detail of ground covering in Figure 2.10), nineteenth century, cotton and silk, appliqué and embroidery, Askeri Müzesi, inv. no. 23721.

Figure 2.12: Tent wall fragment with willow tree design, nineteenth century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Askeri Müzesi, inv. no. unknown.

Figure 2.13: Images of tents embroidered on a tent (detail of tent in Figure 2.12), silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Askeri Müzesi, inv. no. unknown.

Figure 2.14: Marquee made for Sultan Mahmud II, 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379.

Figure 2.15: Vignette in a *şemse* medallion (detail of Figure 2.14), 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379.

Figure 2.16: Tents embroidered on a valance (detail of Figure 2.14), 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379.

Figure 2.17: Awning with embroidered panorama (detail of Figure 2.14), 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379.

Figure 2.18: Section of embroidered panorama (detail of Figure 2.14), 1224 AH (1809 CE), silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26379.

Figure 2.19: Single-columned tent with an embroidered panorama on the interior valence, late nineteenth or early twentieth century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26537.

Figure 2.20: Section of embroidered panorama (detail of Figure 2.19), late nineteenth or early twentieth century, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26537.

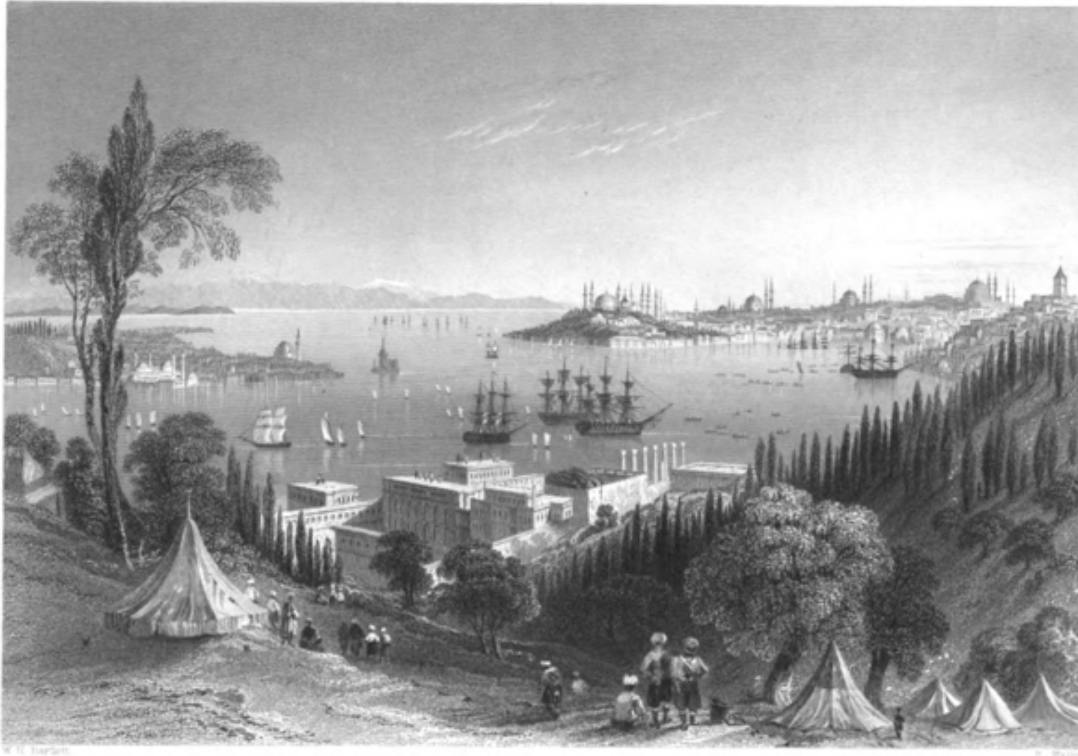

Figure 2.21: View of Istanbul published in Julia Pardoe's *Beauties of the Bosphorus*, drawing by William H. Bartlett, Published for the proprietors by George Virtue, London, 1838, 16-17.

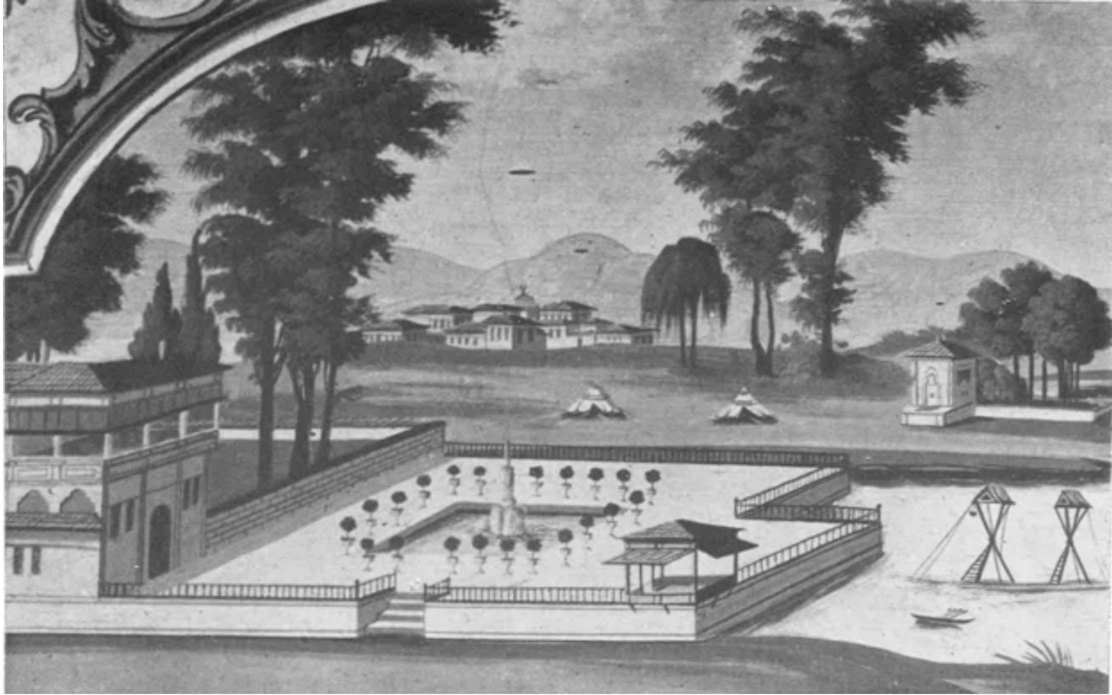

Figure 2.22: Part of a mural in the Sitting Room of the Valide Sultan apartments in Topkapı Palace depicting a garden scene with pavilions, fountains, trees, and tents, second half of the eighteenth century.

After: Sedad Hakkı Eldem, *Türk Bahçeleri* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1976), 236-237, fig. 346. Also published in Günsel Renda, “Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses,” in *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art*, edited by G. Fehêr, 711-735 (Budapest: Akadêmiai Kiadó, 1978), 722, fig. 4.

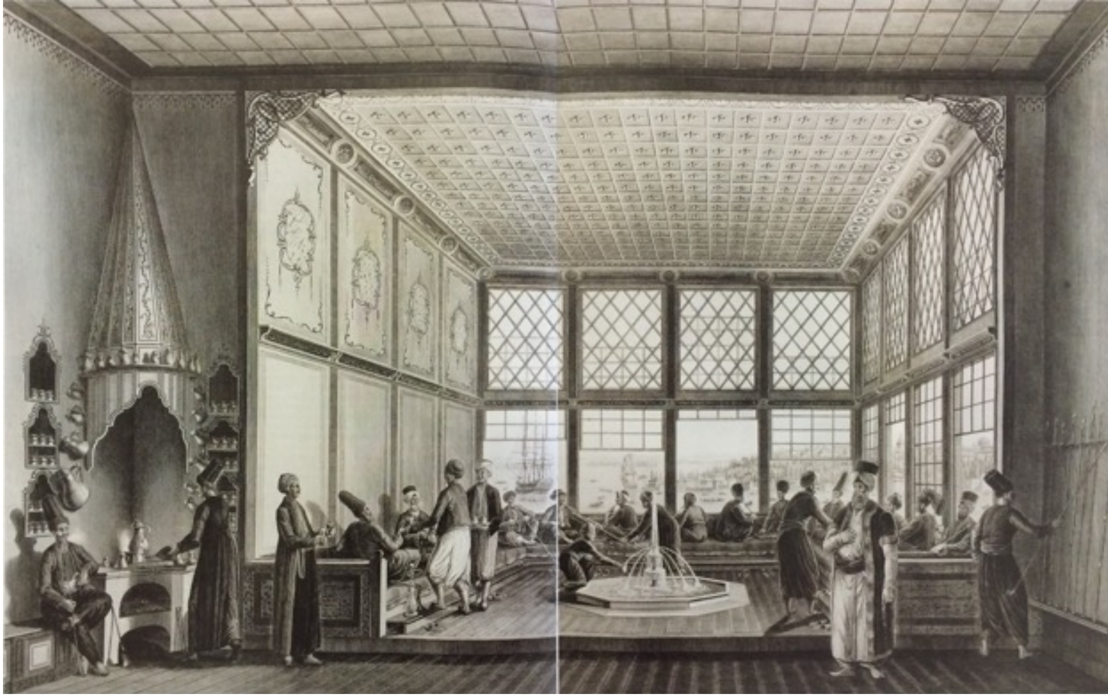

Figure 2.23: "Interior of a Public Coffeehouse in Tophane Square," *A Picturesque Voyage to Constantinople and the Shores of the Bosphorus*, Antoine Ignace Melling, London, The Presses of P. Didot the Elder Printer to the King, 1819.

Figure 2.24: Architectural interior overlooking the Bosphorus, Amedeo Preziosi (1816-1882), watercolor, unknown collection.

Chapter 3

Figure 3.1: Festival encampment including *otağ-ı hümayun*, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 10b-11a.

Figure 3.2: *Zokak* (tent complex enclosure wall), 17th century, red *bogasi* (cotton), obverse verdigris, appliqué, Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. unknown (Atasoy calls it a "study piece").

Figure 3.3: Arrival of the Grand Vizier outside the *otağ-ı hümayun*, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 12b-13a.

Figure 3.4: Sultan Ahmed III receiving *seyyid*s, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 20b-21a.

Figure 3.5: Qur’anic recitations inside the sultan’s tent, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 40b-41a.

Figure 3.6: Sultan Ahmed III (r. 1703-1730) receiving Dutch Ambassador Cornelis Calkoen (1696-1764) in the Audience Chamber, Jean Baptiste Vanmour, c. 1727-1730, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-4078.

Figure 3.7: Ground covering, 19th century, cotton with silk embroidery, Military Museum, Istanbul, 4521(?).

Figure 3.8: Feast for military leaders inside Grand Vizier's tent(s), *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 85b-86a.

Figure 3.9: Banquet given by Lala Mustafa Pasha to the Janissaries in Izmit, situated in front of a tent encampment, *Nusretname*, 1584, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 1365, fol. 34b

Figure 3.10: Tent Corps (*Mehterhâne-i Hayme*) in the guild parade, *Surname-i Hümayun*, 1582, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 1344, fols. 188b-189a.

Figure 3.11: Tent Corps (*Mehterhâne-i Hayme*) in the guild parade, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 107b-108a.

Figure 3.12: Sultan Ahmed III and others watching nocturnal entertainments, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 51b-52a.

Figure 3.13: Sultan Ahmed III and others watching acrobatic performances, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 38b-39a.

Figure 3.14: Wrestlers in front of tent, *Les Lutteurs*, Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827), watercolor.

After: *At the Sublime Porte: Ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire (1550-1800). 11 May – 3 June 1988* (London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1988), 55-56, 100-101.

Figure 3.15: Soldiers partaking in various exercises including *tomak*, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, vol. III, Ignatius Mouradgea D'Ohosson, Paris, De l'imprimerie de Firmin Didot, 1820.

Figure 3.16: Vue De La Vallée De Dolma Baktché, *Atlas Des Promenades Pittoresque*, Charles Pertusier (author), etching and aquatint by Benedict Piringer after a drawing by Michel Francois Préaulx, Paris, 1817, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, SP.471 (P&D Study Room, level D, case SC, shelf 54). (https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1106658/atlas-des-promenades-pittoresques-dans-print-preaulx-michel-francois/)

KP 320 Osmanlı ordusunun Alman ordusuna özenerek düzenlediği ve Sultan Reşad'ın katıldığı Çatalca civarında Seyitler'de yapılan büyük manevralar.

Figure 3.17: The Ottoman Army performing Grand Maneuvers emulating the organization of the German Army for Sultan Reşad, postcard.

After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 320.

Figure 3.18: Imperial tents at the Grand Maneuver at Seidler, postcard.

After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 322.

Figure 3.19: Sultan Reşad in front of a large striped tent on the occasion of the army's Grand Maneuver, postcard.

After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 321.

Figure 3.20: Acrobatic performance at the Sidi Beşir camp during Bayram festivities, World War I*, black and white postcard, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Krt_012570.

*Records list the date as: 02 Ağustos 1325 (1907), but the camp was in use during World War I

Figure 3.21: Athletes at the Sidi Beşir camp during Bayram festivities, World War I*, black and white postcard, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Krt_012573.

Figure 3.22: Sporting field at the Sidi Beşir camp during Bayram festivities, 1919 (World War I*), black and white postcard, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Krt 012567.

Figure 3.23: Football match at the Sidi Beşir camp during Bayram festivities, World War I*, black and white postcard, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Krt_012568.

*Records list the date as: 20 Haziran 1325 (1907), but the camp was in use during World War I

Figure 3.24: Boat races at Büyükada, 19th century, Abdullah Frères, black and white photograph, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, Istanbul, 9/836/35.

خاندان آل عثمانه مخصوص چادیر

Figure 3.25: Tents reserved for the Sultan Reşad, *Islah-ı Nesl-i Feres* (Horse sporting society) publication, 15 June 1328 (1910)*, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Shb 003929.

*Records list the date as: 1328 (1910), but the society was established in 1912.

Figure 3.26: Tents reserved for foreign ambassadors (b), *Islah-ı Nesl-i Feres* (Horse sporting society) publication, 15 June 1328 (1910)*, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Shb_003929.

Figure 3.27: Foreign ambassadors in their tent outside the *otağ-ı hümayun*, *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 139b-140a.

Figure 3.28: Mehmed III receiving a Hungarian delegation in his tent, *Şehnâme-i Sultan Mehmed III,* 1596, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 1609, fols. 26b-27a.

Figure 3.29: Prince Alfred* departs from Büyükada (one of the Princes' Islands in the Marmara Sea), Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, Istanbul, 779-32/15.

*İÜK catalogue says "Prens Albert (Edinburg Dükü)," but the Ottoman on the photograph reads الفرد (Alfred)

Figure 3.30: Welcome ceremony for Kaiser Wilhelm II in Istanbul, Abdullah Frères, Istanbul University Rare Books Library and Photography Archive, 90614/38.

Figure 3.31: The tent (exterior) of Kaiser Wilhelm II in Jerusalem, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90621/29.

Figure 3.32: The furnished interior of the tent of Kaiser Wilhelm II in Jerusalem, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90621/30.

Figure 3.33: Tent wall made of Tunisian drapery material, 17th-18th century, Military Museum, Istanbul, 23705.

Figure 3.34: Bulgarian King Ferdinand visits Istanbul, photograph, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Alb 000145-012.

Figure 3.35: Review of 22 March 1910, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria visits the Imperial Tent on his trip to Istanbul, postcard.

After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 317.

Figure 3.36: Bulgarian King Ferdinand visits Istanbul, photograph, Atatürk Kütüphanesi, Istanbul, Alb 000145-011.

Figure 3.37: Single-columned tent with chevron appliquéd canopy exterior, late nineteenth or early twentieth century, cotton (exterior), appliqué and embroidery (interior), Military Museum, Istanbul, inv. no. 26537. (See also Figures 2.19-2.20).

Figure 3.38: King Ferdinand and Eleonore of Bulgaria visiting Istanbul, March 1910.

Figure 3.39: King Ferdinand and Eleonore of Bulgaria, visiting Istanbul, March 1910.

Figure 3.40: King Ferdinand and Eleonore of Bulgaria, visiting Istanbul, March 1910.

Figure 3.41: Sultan Reşad receiving King Ferdinand and Queen Eleanore of Bulgaria in a single-columned tent erected in front of the Sirkeci train station, 1909.

After: Nurhan Atasoy, “Ottoman Garden Pavilions and Tents,” *Muqarnas* 21, Essays in Honor of J. M. Rogers (2004): 15-19, fig. 2; *Resimli Kitap* 2, no. 9 (1909), 947.

Figure 3.42: King Peter of Serbia at the review of 6 April 1910, postcard.

After: Sacit Kutlu, *Didâr-i Hürriyet: Kartpostallarda İkinci Meşrutiyet* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2008), fig. 318.

Figure 3.43: Single-columned conical tent, late 19th century, silk and metallic threads, embroidery, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 29-32.

Figure 3.44: Ambassadorial tent erected on the occasion of Sultan Reşad's Girding ceremony,
tinted postcard printed by Max Fructermann, 1909, Hakan Akçaoğlu Collection.

After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1009.

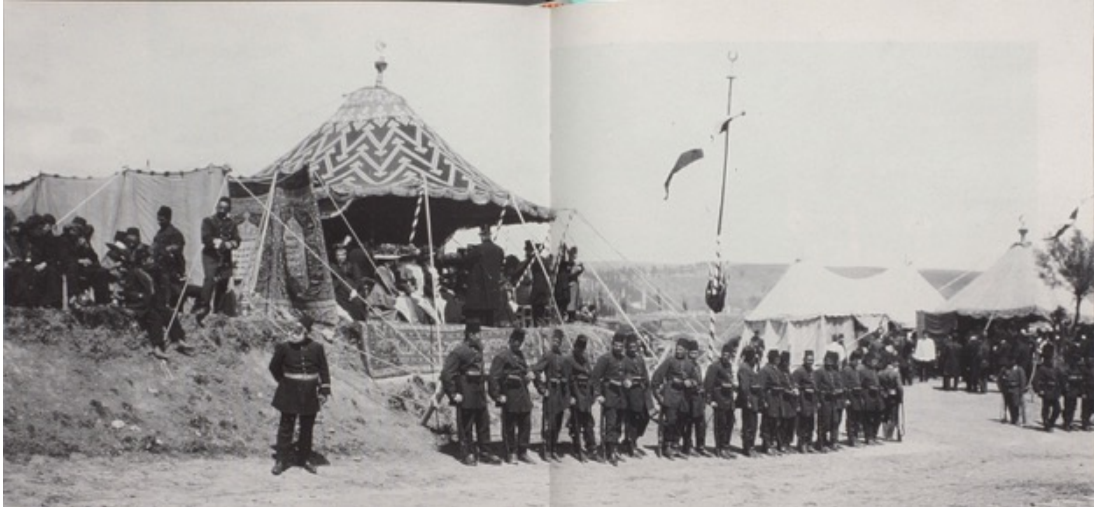

Figure 3.45: The coronation of Mehmed Resat at Eyüp, The Ambassadors' Tent, 10 May 1909.

After: Costas M. Stamatopoulos, *Constantinople through the Lens of Achilles Samandji and Eugene Dalleggio* (Turin: Allemandi, 2009), 440-441.

Figure 3.46: Triumphal arch erected for the investiture ceremony of Sultan Mehmed Reşad V, Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909.

After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1009.

Figure 3.47: Members of the Assembly of Notables on their way to the investiture ceremony, Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909.

After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1010.

Figure 3.48: The Imperial Band playing the Freedom March in front of Dolmabahçe Palace, Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909.

After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1004.

Figure 3.49: The Sultan going to Topkapı Palace in the Imperial Caique, Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909.

After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1006.

Figure 3.50: Accession ceremony of Sultan Selim II beneath a canopy of an ornate tent while on campagin at Sigetvar, *Nuzhet Asrar al-Ahbar der Sefer-i Sigetvar*, 1568-69, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, H. 1339, 110b-111a.

Figure 3.51: Detail of *otağ-ı hümayun* (royal tent complex) (detail of double-page manuscript painting in Figure 3.1), *Surname-i Hümayun*, Abdulcelil Levni (d. 1732), 1720, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, A-3593, fols. 10b-11a.

Figure 3.52: Cenotaph Cover with Qur'anic verses, silk satin, Ottoman, 17th-18th century, The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 83.7.

Figure 3.53: The investiture of Sultan Mehmet Reşad V on April 27, 1325 (May 10, 1909), Max Fruchtermann postcard, 1909.

After: Mert Sandalcı, *The Postcards of Max Fruchtermann* (Istanbul: Koçbank, 2000), 1007.

Chapter 4

Figure 4.1: Imagined portrait of Osman I (d. 1326), founder and namesake of the Ottoman (*Osmanlı*) dynasty, part of a series by Konstantin Kapıdağlı, late 18th century, gouache on paper Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 17-70-71.

Figure 4.2: *Carte de visite* reproductions of the Young Album after the Kapadağlı series, Abdullah Frères, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, 96.5.14.

After: Mary Roberts, *Istanbul Exchanges: Ottomans, Orientalists, and Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015).

Figure 4.3: Interior of the Weapons Museum, Abdülhamid II albums, published between 1880 and 1893, Library of Congress, 11910/2.

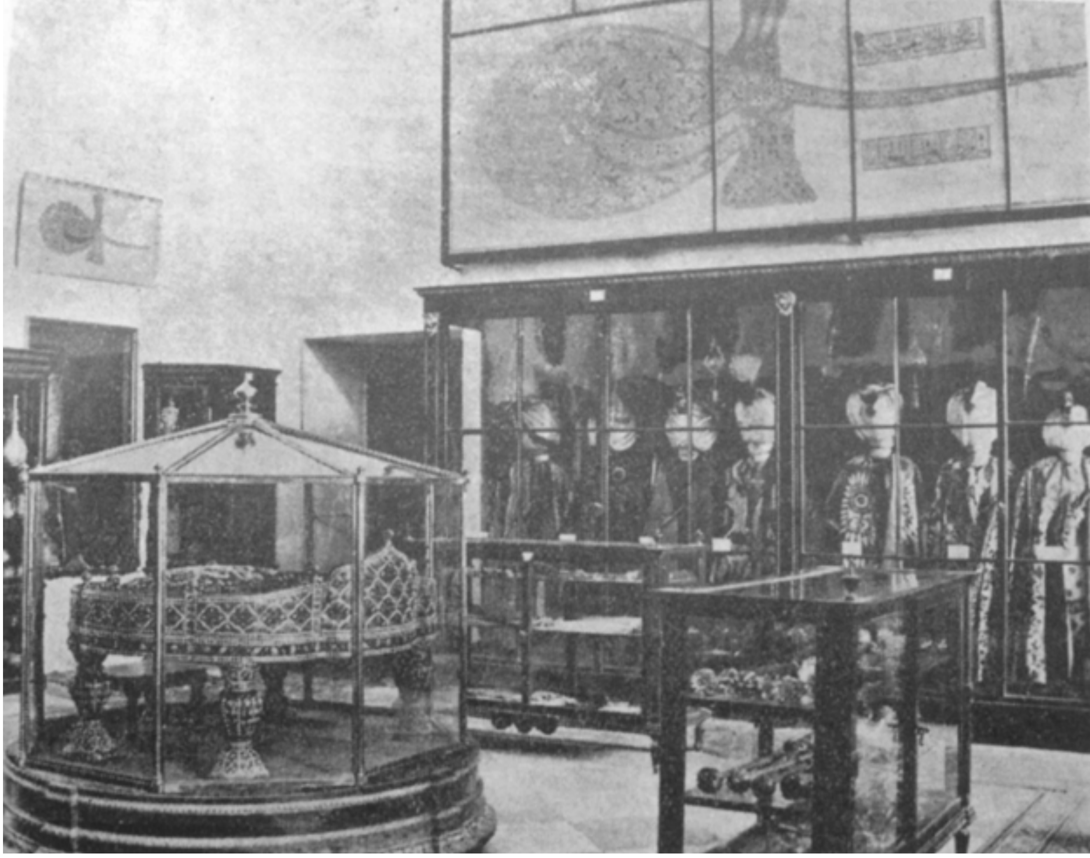

Figure 4.4: Exhibit of sultan's costumes and throne during the reign of Sultan Reşad (r. 1909-1918), Ottoman Imperial Museum, Istanbul.

After: Wendy Shaw, "Museums and Narratives of Display from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007): 265 (After Halil Edhem, Topkapı Sarayı [Istanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi, 1931], 33.

Figure 4.5: Special section for the handiwork of female school students, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90550/7.

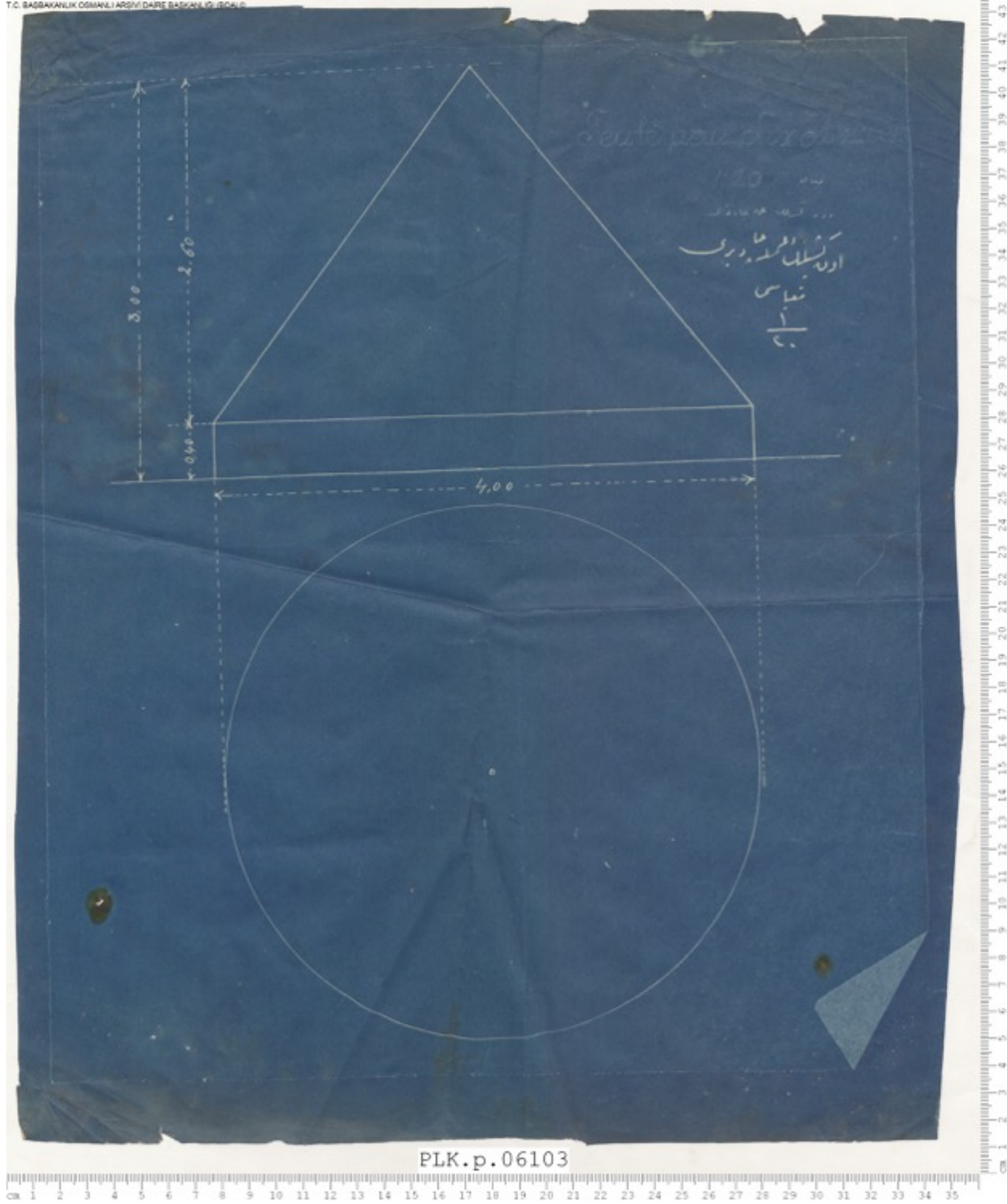

Figure 4.6: Blueprint for an army tent to fit ten men, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (Ottoman State Archives), Istanbul, PLK.6103/1.

Figure 4.7: Turkish Pavilion, *Recollections of the Great Exhibition 1851* (London: Lloyd Brothers & Co. & Simpkin Marshall & Co, 1851), 41.

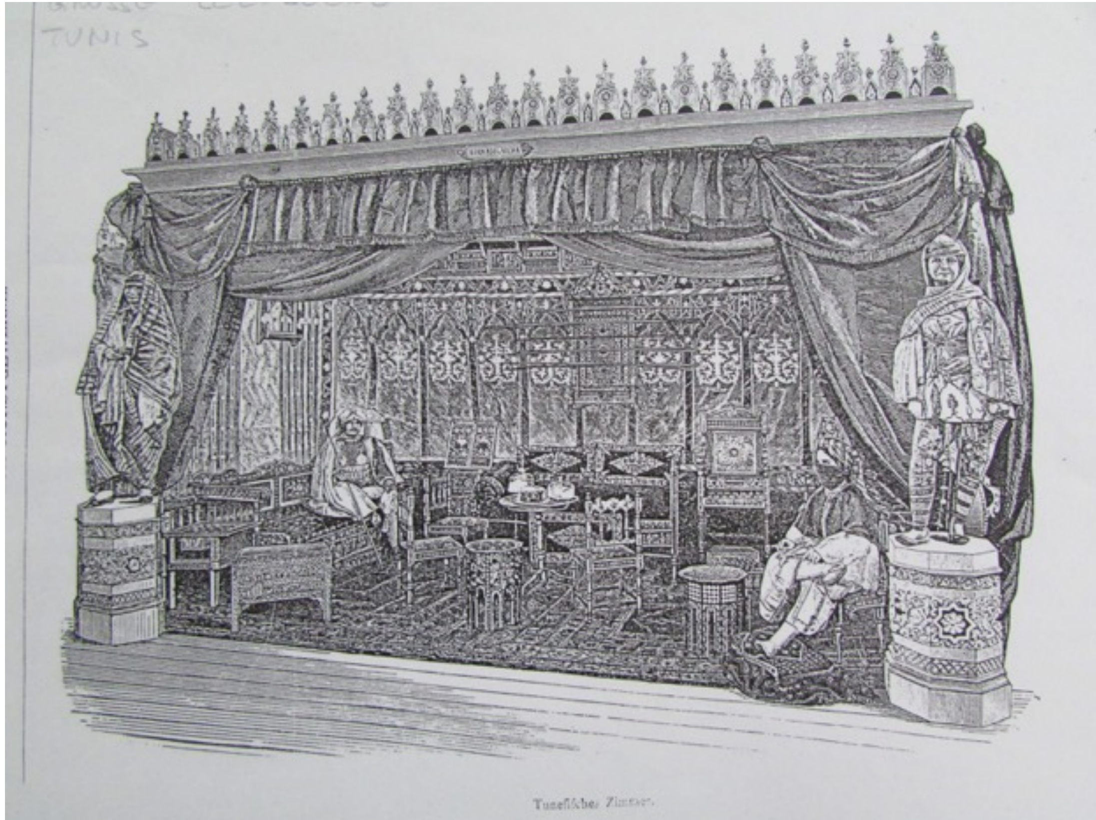

Figure 4.8: Tunisian display at the Vienna World's Fair, 1873.

From: curatorial file from Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst (Museum for Applied Arts) (MAK), OR 142.

Figure 4.9: Tunisian tent panels featured at the Vienna World's Fair, 1873, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst (Museum for Applied Arts) (MAK), Vienna, OR 142.

Figure 4.10: Tunisian display at the Vienna World's Fair, 1873, National Gallery of Art Image Collections, Digital Rare Albums A209, pl. 8, Washington DC.

Figure 4.11: Tunisian display at the Vienna World’s Fair, 1873, National Gallery of Art Image Collections, Digital Rare Albums A209, pl. 15, Washington DC.

Figure 4.12: Algerian pavilion at the Exposition Universelle of 1878, Paris, National Gallery of Art Image Collections, Washington DC, dli_14093000014_cor.

Figure 4.13: Pavilion at the Great Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, 1893, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 91387/7.

Figure 4.14: Interior of the pavilion at the Great Columbian Exhibition, Chicago, 1893, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 91387/6.

Figure 4.15: Opening ceremony for a water conveyance system in Jerusalem, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90575/13.

Figure 4.16: Opening ceremony for a water conveyance system in Jerusalem, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90575/14.

Figure 4.17: Marquee with garland and vase motifs, silk with gold embroidery, 19th century, Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul, 29-23.

Figure 4.18: Ceremonial encampment for the inauguration of the Ma’an train station (Hijaz Railway), 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/17.

Figure 4.19: Ceremonial encampment for the inauguration of the Ma’an train station (Hijaz Railway), 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/10.

Figure 4.20: Ceremonial canopy with the Ottoman coat of arms, late 19th or early 20th century, Military Museum, Istanbul, 23882.

After: Nurhan Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Compex* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000), 231, fig. 88.

Figure 4.21: Detail of appliquéd coat of arms (Figure 4.20)

Figure 4.22: Decorative lighting for the inauguration of the Ma'an train station (Hijaz Railway), 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/18.

Figure 4.23: Officers pose in front of a train engine at the inaugural ceremony for the Ma’an train station (Hijaz Railway), 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/16.

Figure 4.24: Set up for a celebratory banquet with a train-themed centerpiece, Beirut, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90520/7.

Figure 4.25: Tented ceremony inaugurating the Ma’an train station on the Hijaz Railway, 1902, Photographer Ali Sâmi, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 90521/9.

Figure 4.26: Camp of the pilgrims on the plains of Arafat, Bernhard B. Moritz, 1916, Library of Congress, LOT3704, no. 78.

Figure 4.27: Mahmal, 1867-76, silk and metallic threads, appliqué and embroidery, Khalili Collection, London, TXT442.

Figure 4.28: *Mahmal* Procession, Abdülhamid II photography albums, Istanbul University Rare Book Library and Photography Archive, 91313/7.

Figure 4.29: *Mahmal*s and tents in a painted lithograph by A.H. Zaki, *The Cairo Punch*, The British Museum.

Chapter 5

Figure 5.1: Two-columned tent, 17th century, cotton with silk and leather accents, appliqué, La Real Armería, Madrid.

After: Fernández-Puertas, *La tienda turca otomana de la Real Armería (c. 1650-1697) / The Ottoman Tent at the Real Armería (c. 1650-1697)* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2003).

Figure 5.2: Two-columned rectilinear red-ground tent with architectural and floral motifs, 18th century, Cotton and silk, appliqué and embroidery (esp. *sûzanî*), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. No. VT-1605.

Figure 5.3: Tent canopy with scenic and architectural motifs, 18th century, cotton and silk(?), embroidered (esp. *sûzanî* technique), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. VT-1607.

Figure 5.4: Tent with scenic and architectural motifs (detail of tent in Figure 5.3), 18th century, cotton and silk(?), embroidered (esp. *sûzanî* technique), State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. no. VT-1607.

Figure 5.5: Conical tent (roof and walls), 19th century, cotton appliqué, Kornik Library, PAN, Kornik, Tent Inv. No. MK 2538.

After: Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000), 248.

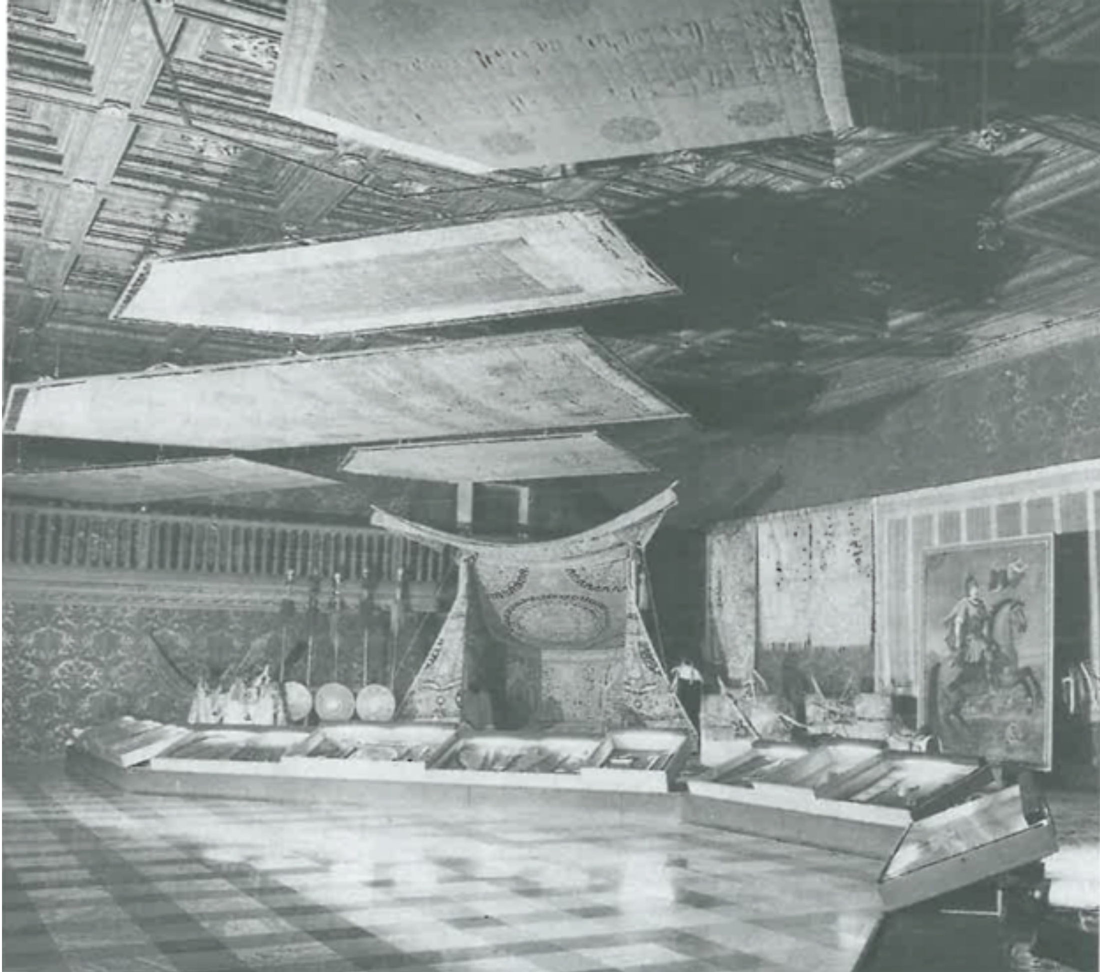

Figure 5.6: Exhibition in Wawel Royal Castle, gallery entitled "Symbolic Entry of Polish Troops into the Captured Turkish Camp," featuring a marquee from the Princes Czartoryski Foundation, 1983, Kraków.

After: Jerzy T. Petrus and Magdalena Piwocka, *Odsiecz wiedeńska 1683: wystawa jubileuszowa w Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu w trzechsetlecie bitwy* (Kraków: Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki na Wawelu, 1990), Figure 43.

Figure 5.7: Ceremonial marquee, likely a composite tent made of materials ranging from the late 17th to the 19th century, woolen appliqué, Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Kraków. Inv. No. XIV-892.

Figure 5.8: Ceremonial marquee interior (detail of tent in Figure 5.7), likely a composite tent made of materials ranging from the late 17th to the 19th century, woolen appliqué, Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Kraków. Inv. No. XIV-892.

Figure 5.9: Appliqué floral motifs on ceremonial marquee wall (detail of tent in Figure 5.7), likely a composite tent made of materials ranging from the late 17th to the 19th century, woolen appliqué, Princes Czartoryski Foundation, Kraków. Inv. No. XIV-892.

Figure 5.10: *Seccade* (multiple-niche prayer rug), likely 19th century, woolen appliqué, Sadberk Hanım Museum, Istanbul.

After: Hülya Bilgi, *Reunited After Centuries: Works of art restored to Turkey by the Sadberk Hanım Museum* (Istanbul: Sadberk Hanım Müzesi, 2005), cat. no. 78, pp. 178-181.

Figure 5.11: Polylobed ogival tent medallion, ca. 1540, Iran (possibly Tabriz), silk and metallic threads, cut and voided velvet with continuous floats of flat metal thread, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No. 27.51.1 (Sanguszko gift).

Figure 5.12: Two-columned rectilinear tent captured at the Battle of Zurawno by Stanislaw Zygmunt Druszkiewicz (one of Jan Sobieski III's commanders) from Şeytan İbrahim Pasha of Damascus in 1676, 17th century, National Museum, Kraków, Inv. No. 9509/1-5.

After: Nurhan Atasoy, *Otağ-ı Hümayun: The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex* (Istanbul Aygaz, 2000), 250-251.

Figure 5.13: Painting of 17th-century two-columned rectilinear tent erected for Emperor Frances Josef in Krakow during a wedding celebration in 1881, Tadeusz Rybkowski, watercolor, (Tent in Figure 5.12, National Museum, Krakow, Inv. No. 9509/1-5).

Figure 5.14: Three-columned tent acquired for use in the Zeithain Encampment, 17th century, cotton with satin and gilt leather accents, appliqué, Türckische Cammer, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Inv. No. Y 364.

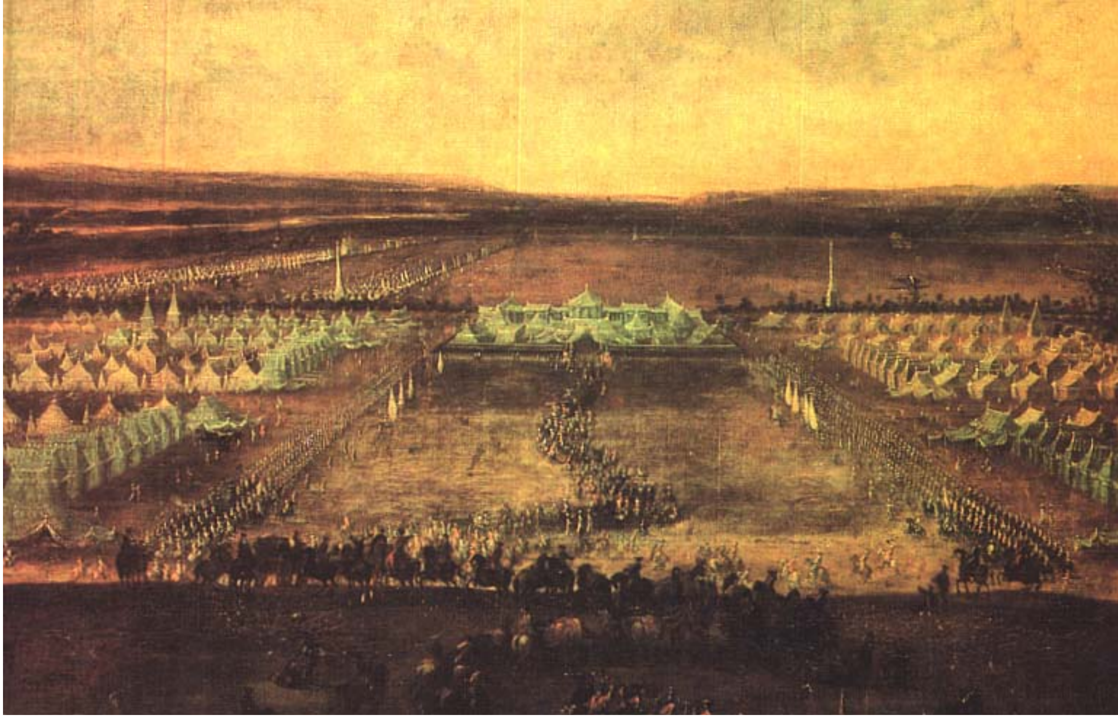

Figure 5.15: Painting depicting the Ziethain Encampment in 1730, Johann Alexander Thiele.

Figure 5.16: Tent walls among other Oriental-style Sarmatian objects, 18th century, linen, wool, and leather appliqué, likely produced in Lviv or Brody, Tarnów Regional Museum, Tarnów.

Figure 5.17: Portion of a tent wall included in display of Sarmatian objects (detail of tent in Figure 5.16), 18th century, linen, wool, and leather appliqué, likely produced in Lviv or Brody, Tarnów Regional Museum, Tarnów.

Figure 5.18: Decorative motif on tent wall included in display of Sarmatian objects (detail of tent in Figure 5.16), 18th century, linen, wool, and leather appliqué, likely produced in Lviv or Brody, Tarnów Regional Museum, Tarnów.

Figure 5.19: Early twentieth-century photograph of a three-poled tent, likely 18th century, woolen appliqué, Wilanów Palace Museum, Warsaw.

Figure 5.20: One of two surviving partial panels of a three-poled tent in Figure 5.19, likely 18th century, woolen appliqué, Wilanów Palace Museum, Warsaw.

Figure 5.21: Detail of one of two surviving partial panels of a three-poled tent in Figure 5.19, likely 18th century, woolen appliqué, Wilanów Palace Museum, Warsaw.

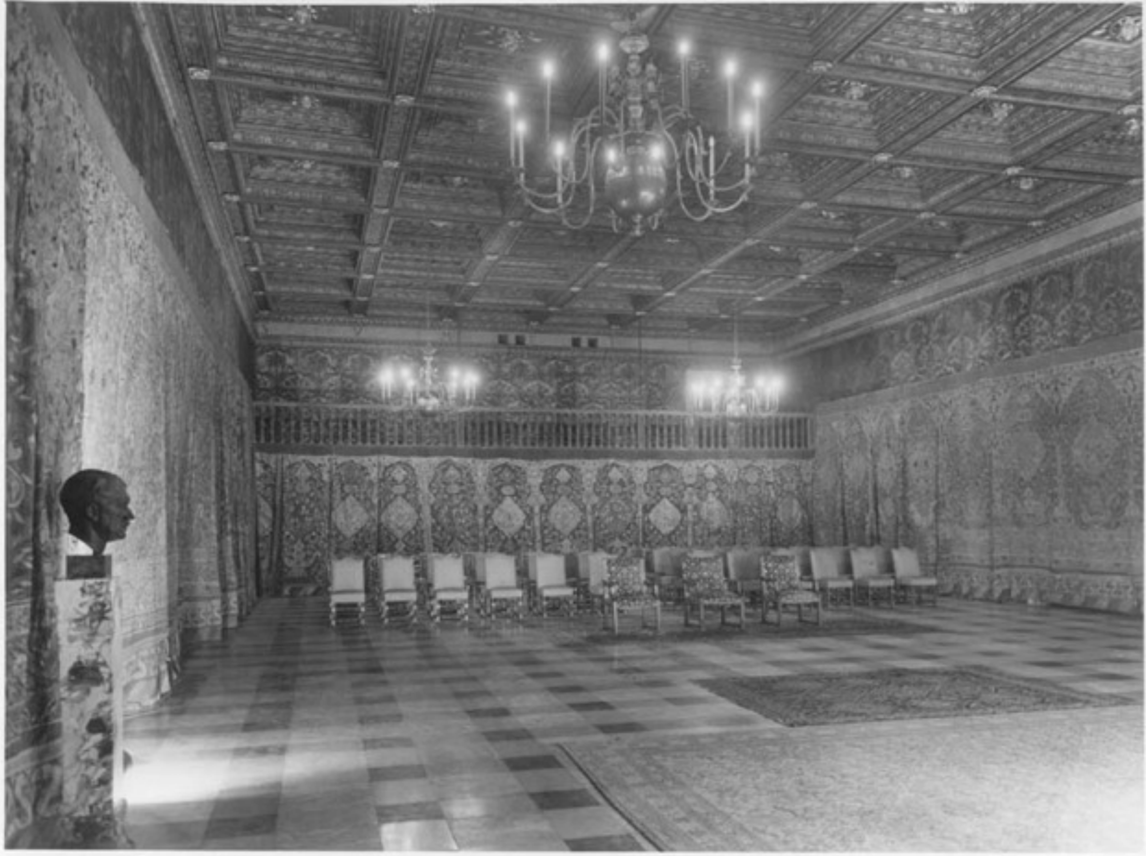

Figure 5.22: Tent walls draped over the walls of a banquet hall outfitted as a cinema in Wawel Royal Castle in 1944, Kraków, Inv. No. AF-1206-II_58.

Figure 5.23: Two-columned oblong tent (sections of which visible in photograph in Figure 5.22), 17th century, linen with silk and leather accents, appliqué, Wawel Royal Castle, Kraków, Inv. No. 896.

Figure 5.24: Design for a Turkish Tent, attributed to Henry Keene (1726-1776), c. 1760, pen and ink and watercolor, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv. No. E.916-1921.

After: Charles T. Newton, *Images of the Ottoman Empire* (London: V&A Publications, 2007), 70.

Figure 5.25: Pavilion known as “The Sultan’s Copper Tents,” originally built 1787-1790, restored 1962-1964, Designed by Louis Jean Desprez, Hagapark, Stockholm.

Figure 5.26: Large two-columned tent owned by Charles II, 17th century, cotton appliqué, Armemuseum, Stockholm, Inv. No. 3508 a-c.

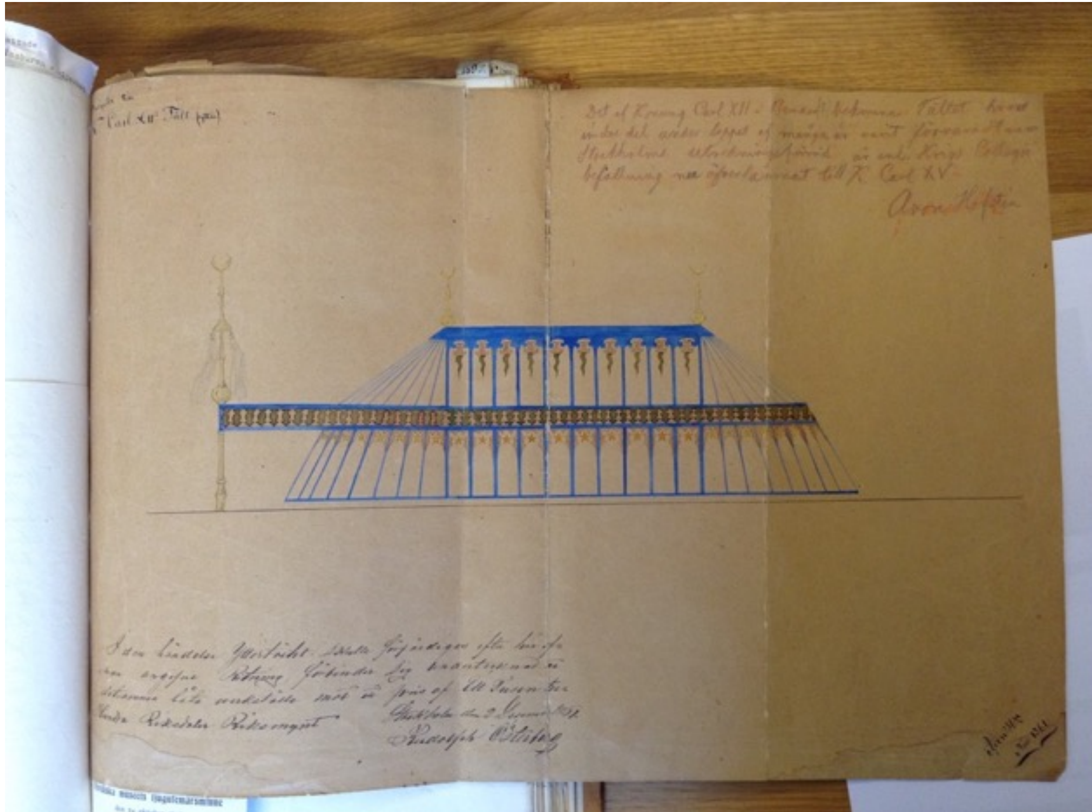

Figure 5.27: Illustrated proposal for restoring large 17th-century tent owned by Charles XII (Figure 5.26), Rudolg Österberg, 1861, Armemuseum Library, Stockholm.

Figure 5.28: Tent-like servants' pavilion (exterior) at Château de Malmaison, added in 1808, outside Paris.

Figure 5.29: Tent-like servants' pavilion (interior) at Château de Malmaison, added in 1808, outside Paris.

Figure 5.30: Tent-like council chamber in Château de Malmaison, 1800, outside Paris.

Figure 5.31: Tent-like council chamber in Château de Malmaison (detail), 1800, outside Paris.

Figure 5.32: Empress Josephine Bonaparte’s Bedroom in Château de Malmaison with draped walls and trompe l’oeil ceiling resembling a tent, Designed by Berthault, 1812.

Figure 5.33: Tent room in Charlottenhof Palace, Potsdam, 1828-29.

Figure 5.34: Orientalist tent room in Marmorpalais (Marble Palace), largely reconstructed, Palace architect Carl von Gontard, Interior designer Carl Cotthard Langhans, 1787–93, Potsdam.

Figure 5.35: Historical photograph of the Orientalist tent room in Marmorpalais (Marble Palace), largely reconstructed, Palace architect Carl von Gontard, Interior designer Carl Cotthard Langhans, 1787–93, Potsdam.

After: Marmopalais Museum didactics.

Figure 5.36: Orientalist tent room (fabric detail) in Marmorpalais (Marble Palace), largely reconstructed, Palace architect Carl von Gontard, Interior designer Carl Cotthard Langhans, 1787–93, Potsdam.

Figure 5.37: Orientalist tent room (ceiling) in Marmorpalais (Marble Palace), largely reconstructed, Palace architect Carl von Gontard, Interior designer Carl Cotthard Langhans, 1787–93, Potsdam.

Figure 5.38: “Turkish” tent design for the garden of Den Eult, the Netherlands, unknown artists, 1767, watercolor and pencil.

After: Haydn Williams, *Turquerie: An Eighteenth-Century European Fantasy* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014). fig. 154, p. 118.

Figure 5.39: Salotto Turco (Turkish Room) with a tented ceiling and displaying several appliquéd tent panels and various other artifacts in D'Albertis' collection, 1890-1930, Castello d'Albertis, Genoa.

Figure 5.40: Four appliquéd tent panels and/or door frames, likely purchased at the *Chariah-el-Khayamia* (Tent Market) in Cairo, Egypt, on display in the Salotto Turco (Turkish Room) at Castello D'Albertis, Genoa.

Figure 5.41: Dining room at Doris Duke's Shangri La estate (now museum) designed to resemble a tent and display 19th/20th century Egyptian appliqué tent panels, completed mid 1960s

After: Shangri La Museum of Islamic Art, Culture & Design, https://www.shangrilahawaii.org/visit/Virtual-Tour/Dining-Room/
See also: Thomas Mellins, Donald Albrecht, Deborah Pope, Linda Komaroff, and Tim Street-Porter, eds. *Doris Duke's Shangri La: A House in Paradise: Architecture, Landscape and Islamic Art* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2012).

Figure 5.42: Tent display in the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin. Photograph from museum visit in 2018.

Figure 5.43: Tent fragments and other military artifacts on display recreated canvas tents in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe. Photograph from museum visit in 2014.

Figure 5.44: Children's birthday party held in a fragmented Ottoman tent, 17th century, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna. Photograph from museum visit in 2013.

Conclusion

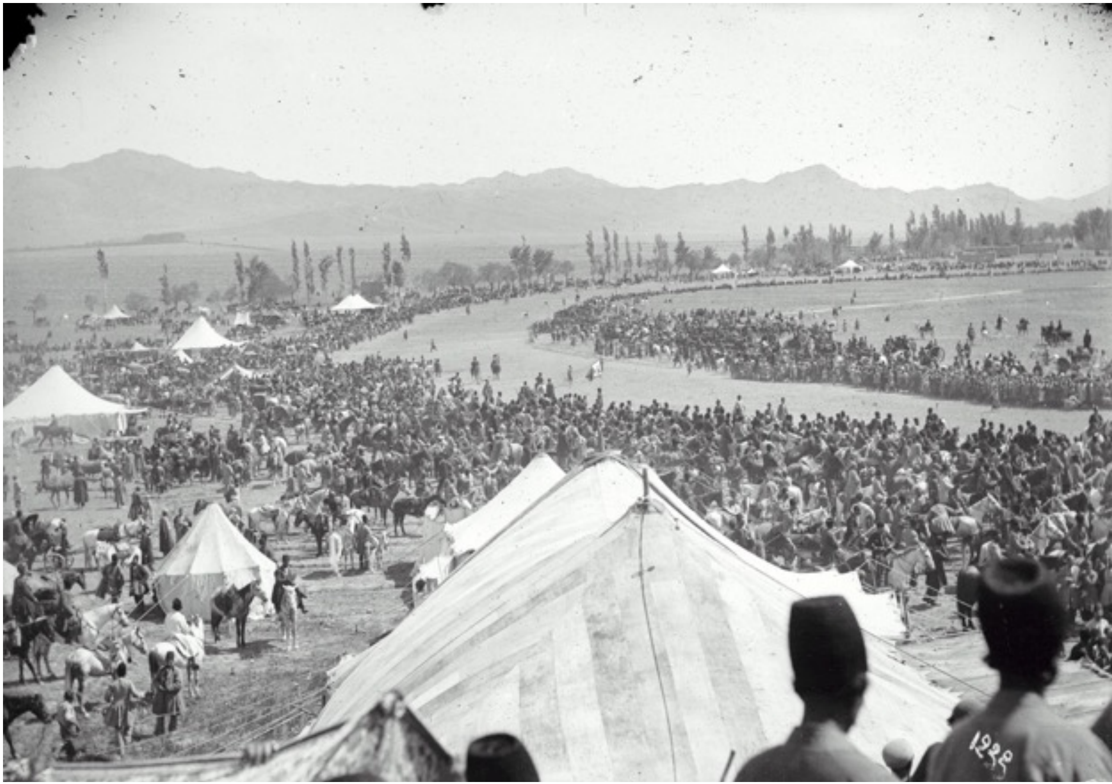

Figure 6.1: Tents erected on the occasion of an annual horse race, Antoin Sevruguin (1830-1933), Qajar period (1789-1925), Iran, Smithsonian Institution, FSA_A.4_2.12.GN.14.12.

Figure 6.2: Royal tents at annual horse race, Antoin Sevruguin (1830-1933), Qajar period (1789-1925), Dushanbe Teppe, Iran, Smithsonian Institution, FSA_A.4_2.12.GN.19.02.

Figure 6.3: Fabric walls draped across the façade of Gulistan Palace, Imarat Badgir, Antoin Sevruguin (1830-1933), Qajar period (1789-1925), Tehran, Iran, Smithsonian Institution.

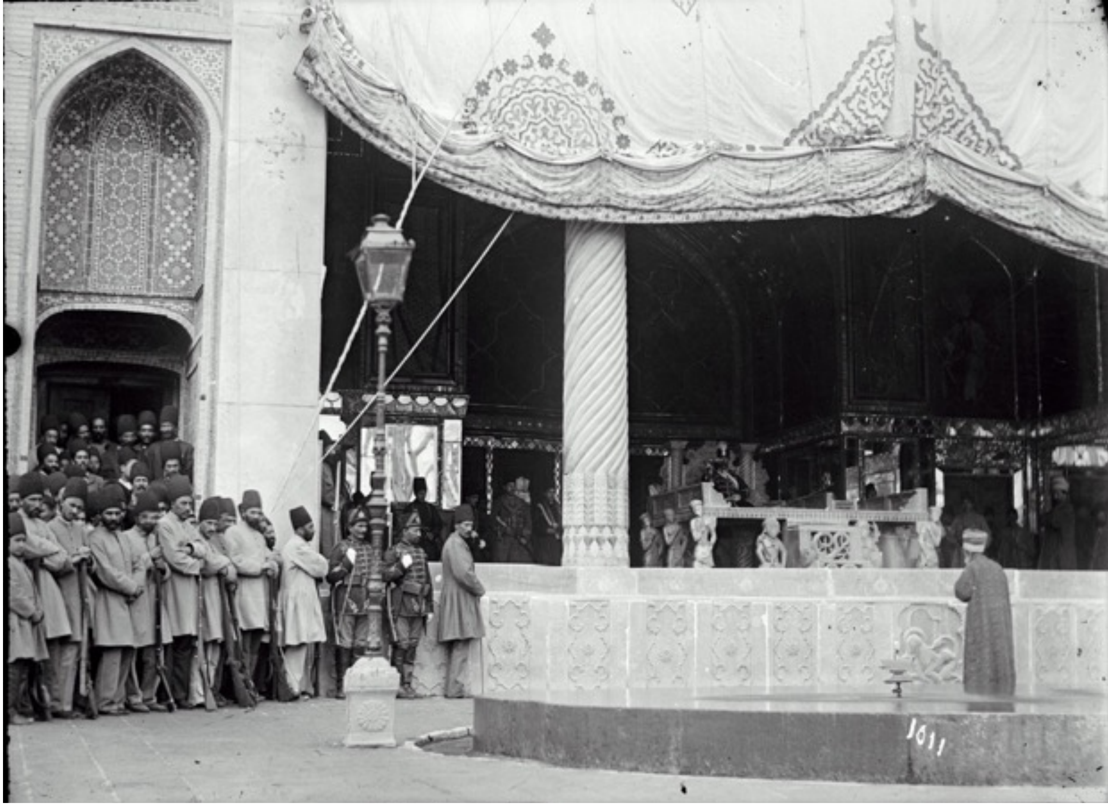

Figure 6.4: Fabric walls draped across the façade of Gulistan Palace pulled aside to reveal Takht-i Marmar (Marble Throne) at a Greeting Ceremony, Antoin Sevruguin (1830-1933), Qajar period (1789-1925), 1880s, Tehran, Iran, Smithsonian Institution, FSA_A.4_2.12.GN.51.10.

Figure 6.5: Royal tent made for Muhammad Shah (r. 1834-1848), Qajar dynasty, interior: wool and silk with leather, exterior: cotton and wool, iron rights and rope, appliqué and embroidery, Rasht, Iran, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2014.388.

Figure 6.6: Celebratory grounds including at least 50 buildings resembling royal tents constructed adjacent to the historical site of Persepolis on the occasion of the 2,500th anniversary of the first Persian Empire, 1979, Iran.

Figure 6.7: Banquet held inside one of the grand tent-buildings constructed adjacent to the historical site of Persepolis on the occasion of the 2,500th anniversary of the first Persian Empire, 1979, Iran.

Figure 6.8: Queen Victoria (1819-1901) seated beneath a fringed canopy and accompanied by Karim Abdul (1862/3-1909), July 1893, Hills & Saunders, National Portrait Gallery, London.