Mir-i 'Arab madrasa, but the proportions are distorted and although smaller than its model it was meant to overshadow all previous buildings in scale and luxury. A rich variety of decorative devices is used. Domes and vaults are faced with a network of plaster muqarnas in fantastic combinations. A new type of muqarnas created the effect of a half-open fan through the play between star-shaped medallions and radial facets. Interior surfaces were richly painted with landscape scenes. The exterior is revetted in tile, with a heavy use of an acid green and yellow. The quality of the glaze is poor, and the limited and faded colors attest to the diminishing power of the Tuqay-timurid khaneate, whose territory and political authority were considerably reduced during 'Abd al-'Aziz's reign.

Under 'Abd al-'Aziz's successor, his brother Subhanquli (r. 1681–1702), the khaneate was reunited. He made Bukhara his capital and allowed Balkh to continue as the seat of the heir-apparent, while trying to control its administration. Subhanquli left a notable cultural legacy. He commissioned a world history, Ḍaḥil al-samārīkī ("Envelope of histories"), written in 1697–8 by Muhammad Amin b. Mirza Muhammad Zaman, which mentions some of the artists active at his court (see below). Subhanquli built a madrasa opposite the shrine of Abu Nasr Pana at Balkh, so that the two monumental portals (pālātaq) faced each other, and left a substantial endowment for a madrasa at the shrine of Ali b. Ali Tailb at Mazar-i Sharif, some fifteen kilometers east of Balkh.31 Despite Subhanquli's efforts, the Uzbek amirs became increasingly troublesome, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century Central Asia was in a state of deepening political and economic crisis as the khans steadily lost control to the resurgent tribal forces.

THE ARTS UNDER THE UZBEKS

Other than architecture, the major art form patronized by the Shibanids and Tuqay-timurids in Central Asia was the illustrated book. The production of luxury books had been a major feature of the Timurid patronage in Central Asia (see Chapter 3), and the tradition continued under the Uzbeks. Many of the calligraphers and painters captured in raids on Herat and other cities in Khurasan were brought to ateliers in Bukhara, Samarqand, and Tashkent. Nevertheless, in terms of both quality and quantity, book production declined from its fifteenth-century apogee. Books were produced in moderate quantity for local consumption. The repertory of subjects became increasingly limited, the range of compositions increasingly stereotyped, and the palette increasingly restricted. Unfinished manuscripts taken from Timurid libraries were often completed with illustrations modeled on Timurid prototypes. This updating of earlier manuscripts and the limited range of models makes it difficult to establish meaningful stylistic chronologies.

The Shibanids' debt to their Timurid predecessors is evident in the first illustrated manuscripts produced for them in the early sixteenth century, which have illustrations in the Timurid style.32 The seven paintings in a copy of Muhammad Shadi's Fathnama ("Book of conquests"), for example, have large figures with Mongol faces which could be taken for work of the mid-fifteenth century. The text, however, chronicles the exploits of Muhammad Shihani, the founder of the Shiban line.33 Manuscripts illustrated in this retardataire style have been documented to Samarqand and Tashkent, and this provincial style was apparently abandoned soon after the death of its main patron, the ruler of Tashkent, Abu'l-Muzaffar Sultan Muhammad Bahadur, known as Keldi Muhammad, in 1532–33.

A finer style of painting developed in Bukhara, where 'Ubaydallah took calligraphers, painters, and manuscripts captured in Herat between 1532 and 1536. Contemporary chroniclers such as Vasiš and Mirza Haydar Daghat praise the flowering of the arts that took place under his enlightened patronage. The earliest book that can be attributed to 'Ubaydallah's patronage at Bukhara is a manuscript of Mihr
and Muhtari, copied by Ibrahim Khalil at Bukhara in 1252. The text is a mystical poem in rhyming couplets (Farsi, muhmar) composed by Muhammad Assar of Tabriz in 1277. The subjects chosen for the four paintings—a night scene with crescent moon and starry firmament, a school scene, a reception, and a hunt—are typical of the style associated with the school of Bihzad at Herat in the last decades of the fifteenth century, and the paintings retain the rounded figures, frontal buildings, and division into simple planes of the earlier style. The palette, however, has been reduced from the jewel-like modulated tones typical of the Bihzad style to a few colors. The finest painting in the manuscript [262] shows Mihr hunting a lion. The illustration recalls the hunting scenes in the two famous manuscripts of Nizami’s Khamsa (“Five poems”) in the British Library that are attributed to Bihzad or his school, but the composition has been altered to create a wider spacing of figures in two planes and the sensitively painted foliage in the foreground creates a sense of distance between the viewer and the painting.

This reductive style modeled on the Bihzadian style continued to be in vogue in Bukhara until the middle of the sixteenth century. The continuing attachment of the Shibanids to their Timurid predecessors can be seen in a copy of Sad al-Gulistan (“Rose-garden”). According to the colophon, the manuscript was copied by the famous Timurid scribe Sultan ‘Ali Mashhadi at Herat in 1466/1500, but a long dedicatory inscription recounts that the manuscript that had been transcribed for the Timurid Husayn Bayqara was “perfected and completed” for the Shibanid ‘Abd al-Aziz, and one of the eight paintings is dated 956/1547. The paintings reproduce the Herati canon, and the compositions and style are modeled on another illustrated copy of the Gulistan made for Husayn Bayqara at Herat in 1486. Pictorial space, however, has been simplified, using larger figures and more open compositions, and the rich palette of saturated colors has been lightened and reduced.

In the 1530s a new style was introduced to the Bukharan atelier, probably by a new group of artists captured in Chapalijah’s seizure of Herat in 1529. They included the calligrapher Mir ‘Ali and the artist Shakhzada, one of Bihzad’s most famous pupils. The impact of these new artists can be seen in a manuscript of the Haft manzar (“Seven countenances”), completed at Bukhara in January 1538. The text, by the Persian poet Haiji (d. 1521), a nephew of Jami, is a romantic poem modeled on Nizami’s Haft paykar (“Seven portraits”). The copyist was the renowned master of nasta’liq script Mir ‘Ali. Originally a protégé of the Timurid prince Husayn Bayqara, he continued to work at Herat during the Safavid occupation, but in 1529 he was taken by the Shibanids to Bukhara, where he remained until his death. His work became the model of nasta’liq and was eagerly collected, particularly by later Mughal rulers who incorporated it into superb imperial albums (see Chapter 19 and 27). The manuscript of the Haft manzar contains four full-page illustrations, and the rubrics around the double-page frontispiece name the Shibanid ruler ‘Abd al-Aziz and the artist Shakhzada. The painting of Bahrum Gur and the Princess in the Black Pavilion [265] shows an elaborate setting with a flat architectural backdrop and ornate tile patterns. The same style of complex architectural setting can be seen in another painting ascribed to Shakhzada, in a manuscript of the Divan of Haiji done a decade earlier for the Safavid prince Sultan Mirza, brother of Shah Tahmasp. The figures in the Haft Manzar illustrations have plump faces and heavy brows, and the women wear embroidered white headcloths, held in place by a tiara. The palette is restricted to a limited range of strong colors: crimson and deep blue are common, and dark green is often used for the outdoor setting of a meadow, which is sprinkled with plants bearing long-stemmed flowers.

This new style was continued, with diminishing artistic results, by Mahmud Nadirabadhi (“the glider”) and his contemporary ‘Abdallah, who worked at Bukhara at least until 1575. Illustrated copies of popular texts, such as Jami’s Tafrik al-abnâr (“Gift of the noble”), were often produced in these years. A manuscript with paintings dedicated to ‘Abd al-Aziz and the date 952/1547–8, for example, shows that artists closely repeated simple compositions and stylistic features drawn from a limited number of models. In addition to manuscript paintings, these artists also did studies of single figures and couples, a genre which was taken up at the end of the sixteenth century at the Safavid court in Iran (see Chapter 12). Mahmud, for example, painted a portrait of the Timurid poet and statesman ‘Alīshahr Nava’i [267]. It is
The manuscripts of Central Asia were often written in Central Asian Khurāsān (see Chapter 19) and are characterized by their rich illustrations. The illustrations in Central Asian manuscripts were often created by雇用 skilled artists and were inspired by the art of the region. The illustrations were often used to illustrate stories and religious texts and were highly decorative.

The illustrations in Central Asian manuscripts were often created using a variety of techniques, including painting, calligraphy, and gold leafing. The illustrations were often highly detailed and included depictions of scenes from the Islamic world, as well as scenes from the region's history and culture. The illustrations were often used to convey religious messages and to educate readers about the Islamic faith.

The illustrations in Central Asian manuscripts were often highly valued and were considered to be works of art in their own right. The illustrations were often sold as separate works or were included as part of larger manuscripts. The illustrations in Central Asian manuscripts were also often collected by wealthy patrons, who used them to decorate their homes and workplaces.

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ARCHITECTURE UNDER THE OTTOMANS

CHAPTER 15

Architecture under the Ottomans after the Conquest of Constantinople

Ottoman troops entered the Byzantine capital of Constantinople at dawn on 24 May 1453, fighting ended by mid-afternoon. The following day Mehmed II, the twenty-one-year-old sultan, made a ceremonial tour of the city. Entering the Church of Hagia Sophia, he decreed that it should be transformed into the city’s congregational mosque (Arab. jam‘, Turk. cami) and that henceforth the city would be his capital. His principal concern was to rebuild and repopulate it and foster its economic revival. Although the city would continue to be known in official Ottoman documents and on coins by its traditional Arabic, Persian, and Turkish name of Qustantinivs ("The city of Constantine"), it was popularly called Istanbul. Mehmed’s conquest of a city coveted by Islam since the seventh century gained him unprecedented charisma among Muslims, and he desired to complete his mission by establishing the rule of Islam over all the lands once held by the Eastern Roman Empire, particularly Italy. To this end he conducted an incessant series of campaigns against Venice and Hungary. In addition to establishing the territory of the Ottoman empire from the Danube to the Euphrates, Mehmed laid down its ideological basis in the absolute sovereignty of the ruler whose wishes were executed by an extensive bureaucracy.1

Ottoman architecture from the period between the conquest of Constantinople (see Chapter 16) had already shown a strong preference for cubic volumes covered by hemispherical domes, but the presence of Hagia Sophia, with its massive dome looming above the skyline, undoubtedly provided further inspiration and impetus in this direction. Ottoman architecture has at times been disparaged for apparently consisting of an endless set of variations on a Byzantine theme, but its true creativity lies in such self-imposed restrictions as maintaining the integrity between the inner and outer profiles of the dome, rather than separating them as in Franciscan architecture. The canon of classical Ottoman architecture of the sixteenth century consists of a rather limited range of forms combined in a limited number of ways. As practiced by such masters as Sinan, the achievement of classical Ottoman architecture lies in the calculated solution of problems and the meticulous execution of details, with carefully controlled harmonies and dissonances. When practiced by his less talented successors, Ottoman architecture often became repetitious and dull, as the classical canon was fossilized. Ottoman public buildings are imposing, important, deliberate, and reserved; rarely are they inventive or playful, for in the Ottoman scheme of things architecture was far too serious a business for levity.

As was the case elsewhere in the Islamic world, endowments were drawn up to stipulate the ownership and support of charitable foundations, and an unusually large number of these has survived. Like all bureaucrats, Otto-

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268. View of Istanbul from Mimarh Hasah, Boyan-ı Mescid-i Câmil, Istanbul, 1537–8, Istanbul University Library, MS. 5944, II, 8v–9r

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1. Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–81), with interruption) was as eager to acquire learning as lands and was a noted patron of Turkish, Persian, and European writers and artists, who flocked to his court in Istanbul. He seems to have had a passion for building palaces; in addition to the one he completed in 1455–3 at Edirne, his old capital, he commissioned several in Istanbul. The first, built in 1455 and later known as the Old Palace (Eski Saray), was located in the center of the city on a site covering some eighty to one hundred hectares and presently occupied by Istanbul University and the Süleymaniye Mosque complex. The palace is shown in the center of a mid-sixteenth-century plan of Istanbul [268] as a large square enclosure with a single gate. Gardens surround an inner enclosure comprising several domed buildings. This unfenced palace in the center of the city was complemented by the Yedikule Fortress, set astride the southern end of the city’s land walls where they met the Sea of Marmara. Built according to Italian design theories in the shape of a five-pointed star, with a complement of seven distinctive towers, the fortress housed the royal treasury and royal residential quarters in the unlikely event of attack on the city.2

2. Mehmed’s most important palace, begun in 1459, was located on a spectacular site covering sixty hectares at the tip of the Istanbul peninsula and overlooking two seas and two continents, the Ottoman arsenal, and the docks, as well as the European colony at Galata.3 Known in its own time as the Yeni Saray or the Saray-i Ciddi ("New Palace") and since the nineteenth century as Topkapi Saray ("Cannon-Gate Palace"), it stood on the site of the acropolis of ancient Byzantium.4 Mehmed’s palace took almost a decade to complete, and it was often repaired, remodeled, and replaced to conform with changing fashions. Topkapi Palace represents an accretion of styles and tastes from several centuries, although the founder’s initial concerns are still visible in the spatial organization of the palace precincts. Unlike such European palaces as the Louvre or the Vatican, Topkapi Palace comprises a jumble of stables, kitchens, halls, pavilions, and kiosks arranged in a seemingly
The glory of the Çini Kiosk is its reversion of ceramic tiles. The interior, transformed in the twentieth century into a museum of ceramics, has dados and niches faced with hexagonal and triangular tiles glazed turquoise, blue, and white, often highlighted with gold. The most lavish decoration is reserved for the porch, where a broad band in the başalı technique crosses the façade and outlines its major divisions, and the iwan, which is lined with başalı work, the first use of the technique in Istanbul. A horizontal band of tile mosaic crosses the vault below the springing. Executed in light and dark blue, white, yellow, and purple, the band contains the foundation inscription in white thuluth script against a light blue arabesque scrolling on a dark ground. Like the plan and the vaulting, the decoration, which combines cut tile and tile mosaic, is deeply indebted to Iranian models. Although nothing is known of the builders, an undated petition in the Topkapı archives records the complaints of “Khuwarisi” (i.e. Iranian) tilecutters about the difficulties facing them after completing work on an imperial pavilion, undoubtedly this building.8

Although Mehmed could easily contemplate using Italian painters and Iranian tilecutters to decorate the pavilions of his new palace, he seems to have been far more conservative and less enamoured in the design and execution of his major project of religious architecture in Istanbul, an imperial mosque with dependencies. In function it continued the long tradition, begun by his predecessors in Bursa, of commissioning a complex of buildings centered on a large mosque and the intended tomb of the sultan.9 In form, the mosque at the center of the complex represents a conflation of the tradition of erecting imperial mosques as developed in Bursa and Edirne with the new example of the Byzantine Church of Hagia Sophia. Often known as the Faith complex after the epithet of its founder, the ensemble has given its name to an entire quarter of Istanbul. Work was ordered on 21 February 1465 and completed by December 1470/January 1471; the architect was Usta Sinan, known also as Sinan-i Ahi. or Sinan the Elder, to distinguish him from his more famous successor. The chosen site, covering about ten hectares, was the fourth hill of Istanbul, formerly occupied by the Church of the Holy Apostles, the second largest church in the city and the burial place of the Byzantine emperors.10

Unlike Mehmed’s New Palace and Ottoman religious complexes in Bursa and Edirne, the plan of Mehmed’s complex in Istanbul [271] is rigidly symmetrical and totally indiffertent to the lay of the land or practical requirements. This scale and symmetry were undoubtedly made possible by the large tracts in the city that were available for construction. It has been argued that this new arrangement was due to the presence in Istanbul of the Italian architect Antonio Filaretto, who is known to have intended to set out for Mehmed’s court in 1465, but this date is two years after the project was initiated.11 The vast, almost square area measured approximately 325 meters to a side. The mosque lay at the center of an enormous square space, approximately two hundred meters on a side, and was preceded by a forecourt and followed by a garden containing the tombs of the founder and his wife. The two types of ancillary buildings comprised charitable foundations (hayrani) and buildings of public utility to provide income for the upkeep of the foundation. To the north of the court lay a small primary school and a book storage, and four large madrasas lay on either side. Each madrasa was a rectangular building with a porticoed court surrounded by some twenty small cells, a domed teaching room, and latrines. Eight subsidiary madrasas lay behind the large ones beyond a narrow street; they had only nine or ten cells facing a long narrow court. Outlying buildings included a hospice, caravanserai, hospital, and double bath, as well as residences for the ulama employed in the madrasas. The complex also included a great covered market, with 280 shops, and the saddlers’ market, comprising 110 shops within a walled enclosure, as well as the ancillary horse-market, stables, and workshops of the stirrup-makers and farriers. In a period of military activity this district would have been thronged with troops equipping their mounts. To the south of the saddlers’ market, Mehmed ordered new barracks (the Yeni Odalar) for the Janissaries; these barracks remained their quarters until the Janissaries were dissolved in the nineteenth century.

Much of Mehmed’s complex was destroyed in the earthquake of 22 May 1766 and rebuilt by Mustafa III over the next five years, but the original mosque can be reconstructed from a variety of sources, including Mekich Lorch’s Panoramic View of the city in 1559 [272].12 The mosque was a rectangular
Fraternal struggles framed the succession of Mehmed's son, Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512), and grandson, Selim I (r. 1513–20). Bayezid's accession was challenged by his younger brother, Cem (d. 1489), who sought alliances against Mehmed with both Muslim and Christian princes. Bayezid's policy against the Mamluks in Egypt, Syria, and northern Mesopotamia was not successful, and he was sorely challenged by the rise of the Safavids, who were Shi'ites, on the eastern frontiers of his empire. His European policy was more successful: in the summer of 1484 he established control of the land route to the Ottoman vassal state in the Crimea, and during his reign the economy expanded significantly. At the end of his life, Bayezid saw his sons Ahmed and Selim struggling to succeed him; Selim, appropriately known as "the Grim," won and forced Ahmed to abdicate a month before his death. Selim's rule was marked by the expansion of the Ottoman state to the south and east; his conquests in Syria, Iraq, the Hijaz, Iraq, and Iran made the Ottoman sultan the undisputed power in the Middle East.

Muhammad, which conferred undoubted prestige to the Ottoman sultan over other claimants to universal Islamic sovereignty.

Bayezid II was a major patron of architecture, commissioning religious complexes in Tokat (1406), Amasya (1408), where he had been governor before his accession, Edirne (1408–88), still the gateway to the European provinces, Mardin (1498), and Istanbul (1500–1). Members of his family and entourage were also responsible for buildings in several cities of the empire. The variety of plans and elevations used during the period shows that architectural practice was still largely a matter of local concern, although all of Bayezid's buildings fit within the standard Ottoman vocabulary. His complex on the banks of the Tuna river at Edirne, for example, was designed by the royal architect Hayreddin Aga and financed with booty captured at the battle of Ağırman (Belgorod) on the Danube estuary. The complex [273] includes a mosque, hospital, medical school, kitchen, foodstore, bakery, laundry, refectories, and amply provision for eternar devotions. The mosque, a high walled structure 20.25 meters square covered by a single dome and preceded by a spacious forecourt, has a raised platform not bonded into the fabric of the building to one side to serve as a private balcony (mukhba) for the sultan. The function undoubtedly derives from the royal loggia of the Yezid Mosque at Bursa of nearly a century earlier [181], but the form has antecedents in a matter of some debate. The major monument of Bayezid's reign was his mosque complex in Istanbul. Located to the south of the Old Palace on the ancient Forum Tauri, the site needed extensive substructures to cover a major Byzantine cistern. The complex included an outer precinct with shops, a mosque, madrasa, school, hospice, hammam, and khan; it was the center of a district in the rapidly repopulating city. The old districts became more densely inhabited, with new building; new districts were created in formerly deserted areas of the city, especially towards the land walls. In addition to the revenues generated locally, the income from several civil buildings in Bursa, including two great khans erected in 1490 and 1508, was used to support the sultan's foundation (hamam) in Istanbul. The mosque [274] has a central dome (17.5 meters in diameter) and several domes on either end; the spacious interior is expanded with aisles along either side covered with four small domes. Although the complex as a